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KENYA AND NORTH AMERICA: EDUCATIONAL COMPARISONS
OF THEIR BLACK POPULATIONS

A Dissertation Presented

By

Ruth Stutts Njiiri

Submitted to the Graduate School of
the University of Massachusetts in
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KENYA AND NORTH AMERICA: EDUCATIONAL COMPARISONS
OF THEIR BLACK POPULATIONS

A Dissertation

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A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

For ten consecutive years, Kenya was my home. During those years, Kenya was transformed from a British colony to an independent African nation.

The preparation of this study has enabled me to relive, as well as to evaluate, the many momentous occasions which marked extraordinary political, economic, and educational frustrations and aspirations of the African population struggling against the discriminatory practices of colonialism.

It was for me an education and a great privilege to have shared with Africans some of their battles to overcome barriers prohibiting their full participation in the development of Kenya. The tremendous progress witnessed since independence is a tribute to the thousands of Africans who had faith in their own capabilities.

Those who have supported me in this study are too numerous to acknowledge individually. However, special mention must be made of some.

I am honored to have been assisted by His Excellency President Jomo Kenyatta and the Honorable Mbiyu Koinange, with whom I had worked for several years. Gilbert Oluoch, a doctoral student from Kenya, served on my committee and gave encouragement and validity to this document.

I am grateful to each member of my committee for their contributions. I feel particularly indebted to my chairman, Dr. George E. Urck, who never failed to find time to share his knowledge and experience for the benefit of this study.

Augmenting the academic support was the vital moral support in constant supply from my parents, Samuel and Lavinia Stutts, and sisters, brothers, and in-laws. To my sons, Kari and Bari, go many thanks for their understanding and love.

Kenya and North America: Educational Comparisons
of their Black Populations

(December 1974)

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Directed by: Dr. George E. Urch

Formal education has been a key factor in the evolution of black people in Kenya and North America. Colonialism in Kenya and slavery in America played significant roles in the development of education for the black populace in these two countries. The depressive systems engendered attitudinal behaviors which were of a long-term duration, and have contributed to educational dilemmas existing today in Kenya and America.

People of the Kikuyu tribe in Kenya have paid special homage to formal learning by viewing it as a panacea to their past and present problems. Despite the fact that they were especially victimized by British colonial administrators and white settlers, Kikuyus pursued formal education with a passion and dedication which surpassed all expectations of missionaries and the colonial government, who maintained control over the educational system.

Political independence was granted to Kenya in 1963. The new African government was headed by Jomo Kenyatta, a

Kikuyu, and an innovator in African education during the colonial régime. Under this leadership, education has been prioritized in government spending. Community efforts, through self-help, have complemented government resources in order to meet the expanding demands for more and better educational facilities.

Tribes previously apathetic to the formal learning system under the colonial administration are now responding with increasing fervor to encouragement from the country's leadership to send their children to school. Formal education has gained status in these communities, and has raised hopes for a higher standard of living.

However, the nation's limited economy and industrialization portend to frustrate these aspirations. Such has been the case for vast numbers of school-leavers. Nonetheless, the surge towards academic proficiency continues to mount.

In the southern states of America, there were striking similarities in the educational development of blacks to that of the Kikuyus. Forced into a cohesive unit under the brunt of discrimination, southern black people heeded the doctrine of their leaders that they should grasp every available educational opportunity. They thus defied attempts by whites to deprive them of what blacks saw as their one hope of alleviating the burdens of subjugation.

Black people living in the northern states were more similar to tribes in Kenya who were less enthusiastic about formal education. Survival within a white-controlled society, which practiced overt and covert discrimination, was considered by northern blacks to be most likely if educational achievement did not manifest itself as a group goal. Therefore, no northern black leadership emerged which gave strong sponsorship to formal education.

Thus, group cohesion and leadership have been fundamental to attitudes adopted by Black Kenyans and Black Americans in their assessment of the value of formal education and the benefits it would offer.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

The word education has meant many things to many people, but perhaps no one has found it to be more attractive, mystical, elusive, and disillusioning than have black people in different parts of the world. For example, in studying the histories of Africans in Kenya, and black people in America, one finds numerous and striking similarities in their efforts to acquire even the rudiments of formal education.

In these two cases, British colonialism and American slavery shared commonalities in shaping educational policies for their black populations. Both intentionally and unintentionally, the forces of colonialism and slavery spawned educational practices of far-reaching consequence, not only for the black population, but also for white societies.

Today Kenya and America are in an educational battle to affirm to those previously denied such, their right to be educated. However, the vestiges of suppression and oppression are still sufficiently strong and have, in some cases, weakened efforts of rectification. The battle continues nonetheless, and only time will prove its worth and success.

Some of the most crucial decisions made by the power

structures in colonial Kenya and segregated America centered on the question of education for the black inhabitants. Arguments in the two countries were identical in nature and concerned such considerations as: the feasibility of educating blacks; the immorality of not educating them; the economic benefits to whites once they were educated; if they could be kept "in their place" once they were educated; and what type of education was best for them.

In both countries it was economic exigency which won the most points favoring formal education for the black population. However, a stipulation of this gift was that it must reap returns, but mainly for the benefit of the white population. There was little compunction about unfair practices, because the two white societies believed blacks to be "the white man's burden"¹ and therefore they were justified in exercising control over their black wards.

Interpretations of the Bible reinforced this belief,² but perhaps the greatest support was derived from theories espoused in the eighteenth century. In 1785, a German scientist, S.T. von Soemmering, started a controversy which reverberates in theories being proposed today. He published a work proclaiming the mental inferiority of black Africans, theorizing that the cranial capacity of black men was

¹ Bond, Horace Mann, Negro Education in Alabama (New York: Atheneum, 1969) p. 167

decidedly smaller than that of a white man.² Opponents and proponents of such theories followed von Soemmering right up to the present century.

Thus began the conflictual course of education programs designed by those who believed in the deficiency of the black man's mind, and those who had faith in his ability to respond to a learning environment in the same way as any white man.

Having noted some of the similarities of conditions, beliefs and ideals of the white power structures in developing Kenya and America, one must also take note of the reactions and responses of the black masses of these societies on the question of formal education. Considering the equations of their problems, there is validity in comparing these reactions and responses to see where there is similarity. On the other hand, there is need to explore the variables which might have caused dissimilarity.

A phenomenon in Kenya's history is the tenacity with which the African population, to a large extent, has held to its strong belief in education. Even when formal education has failed to provide significant upward mobility, as was expected, its irresistible appeal has remained constant. Schooling is highly prized in villages, towns and cities.

Post-independence has brought a rash of self-help schools, the latest being technological institutes. These

² Lyons, Charles H., Essays in the History of African Education, "The Educable African" (New York: Teachers College, 1970) p. 12

community-initiated schools have been financed, built and staffed by many who never had entered a classroom, but yet were ambitious for the youth of their communities to gain knowledge through a Western education.

The Government of Kenya has shown its high priority for education by allocating to its Ministry of Education funding which by 1969, amounted to one of the largest educational expenditures in all of Africa, representing seven percent of the Gross Domestic Product.³ In the 1970-74 Development Plan, it is proposed to increase school enrollment from the 1968 figure of 61 percent, to a 75 percent increase in 1974.⁴

Fundamental to this great educational expansion has been the attitude and motivation of the people regarding formal education. The acceleration of educational opportunities was due, in the main, to an exceptional impetus from the African populace, no matter what kinds of politics or economic exigencies dominated the scene.

Colonialism could not effectively thwart or diffuse efforts to obtain the quality, type, or duration of schooling which Africans felt was their right to have. The dramatic

³ Sheffield, James R., Education in Kenya (New York: Teachers College Press, 1973) p. 90

⁴ Ibid.

development of education in the 1950's has been credited to African persistence rather than to the recommendations of the government-sponsored Beecher Report.⁵ This was the decade when the British Government had its most crucial years trying to intercept the "wind of change"⁶ on the continent of Africa. Educational growth in Kenya during this period was twice the target set by the colonial government.

A periscopic view of America in its early history reveals the same kind of attraction to formal education by the black population as was exemplified by Africans in Kenya. Black Americans viewed education with favor and a hope that it would uplift them from the lowest stratum of the overall society.

Biographers such as W.E.B. DuBois and Horace Mann Bond recount evidences of high motivation for learning among slaves and ex-slaves of all ages.⁷ Within the confines of slavery, a few slaves were able to achieve some intellectualism through the liberality of their slaveholders. Once classrooms were permitted after slavery, blacks filled them to overflowing whenever they could receive instruction.

⁵Ibid., p. 78

⁶Harold Macmillan, Prime Minister of Britain in 1960, gave a speech to the two Houses of Parliament of the Union of South Africa in which he used this expression to warn of impending changes being foreseen because of a spreading nationalism all over Africa.

⁷Bond made these references in Negro Education in Alabama and DuBois in The Education of Black People.

Motivation for learning was especially observable in the South, where blacks prioritized formal education and set out to create more and better educational facilities. Such impetus eventually forced the establishment of higher education programs, from which a black leadership emerged.

But something different was happening in the North among manumitted blacks. Documents disclose that, although some accredited institutions for learning were available to the black community, classrooms were never filled to capacity.⁸ Student achievement was high, but the motivation among parents to expose their children to an intellectual atmosphere was relatively low.

The directors of the African Free Schools in New York rationalized that parents felt little need for their children to receive formal training, since their children would not reap remunerative and social benefits comparable to children in the white community.⁹ Black school leavers maintained the same low status in employment as did black illiterates.

Thus, northern blacks did not exude the same intensity of desire for formal education as southern blacks even after the Civil War; neither were they compelled to accept segregated public schooling, as did their southern counterparts. However, de facto segregation in urban environments

⁸ Andrews, Charles C., New York African Free Schools (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969) p. 113

⁹ Ibid., p. 117

accomplished in later years a dual educational system similar to that in the South.

Purpose of the Study

This study will explore certain aspects of the histories of Africans in Kenya and Blacks in America. Although it does not purport to present a detailed historical description of Kenya's past events or its educational development, an overview is given so that comparisons may be made of particular patterns of behavior and development which can be observed in the history of Black Americans.

Prominent in these comparatives was the strong opposition of the dominant white societies in Kenya and America against allowing the black communities full opportunities and benefits of formal education. From this opposition emerged certain attitudes of the black groups toward the concept of formal education and its role in their societies.

Specific aspects of this study are the following:

- 1) to survey, historically and comparatively, particular elements of the social fabrics of Kenya and America which appear to have affected the processes of education for the black populations;
- 2) to observe the similarities in responses and

attitudes toward situations and conditions within the cultures where there was similarity in the two countries;

- 3) to observe dissimilarities in responses and attitudes where cultural situations and conditions were comparable for the two groups;
- 4) to explore the causes for positive and negative attitudinal behaviors toward formal education as experienced in Kenya and America among the black populace.

This study should help to verify the influence of specific social factors which dictate either a positive or negative attitude in the learning processes, and most particularly in motivation. However, the ultimate objective of the study is to invite further investigation of certain factors which might have an ability to influence and control attitudinal behaviors and motivational stimuli in respect to formal education.

Limitations of the Study

There will be no attempt to establish hypotheses on the intellectual capabilities of Kenyan Africans or American Blacks, as there is already sufficient evidence to disprove any theory of inferiority. However, it must

be recognized that the inferiority concept has been all pervasive in the educational histories of Africans and those of African descent; therefore, the subject cannot be overlooked entirely.

Although comparisons between Kenya and America will not always adhere to the same chronology in years, the study will establish a chronological linkage of social change in these countries, and the ensuing impact on education in the black communities.

The periods covered in Kenya are from the late 1800's to 1973, which will include pre-colonial, colonial, independence, and post-independence. In America, the periods covered begin with the middle 1800's to 1973, which includes pre-emancipation, post-emancipation, Reconstruction, World Wars I and II, and after.

Review of the Literature

Since Kenya's independence in 1963 from British rule, there has been a general reinterpretation of that country's history. This reinterpretation gives a more sympathetic and realistic accounting of the African's role in the formation of what is now recognized as one of the leading nations of Africa.

The tremendous contributions made by Africans in their zealousness for formal education have only recently been

lauded instead of denied or denigrated as in the past. This is not to say that all authors have captured the fervor of the educational movement in Kenya; however, the pattern for a more comprehensive and objective accounting has now been set for others to follow.

The past decade in America has also brought about a rectification in literature of the history of black people. Recognition of their contributions to nation building is slowly transforming textbooks and encouraging the writing of other literature.

As concern has grown over the deficiencies of the educational system for blacks and other minorities, there has been a prolificacy in the condemnation of these deficiencies and suggestions for remedial actions. An exposé of the existing "crisis" has brought about the republication of Carter G. Woodson's Mis-Education of the Negro, originally published in 1933. There has also been a reprint of The Philadelphia Negro, by W.E.B. DuBois, which was a sociological study sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania in 1899. This research empirically defined the kinds of environments, conditions and attitudes which were responsible for the "problems of Negroes."

These revived books, as well as others, indicate a need for educators to be cognizant of the sociological

background of the black community if efforts to eradicate educational inadequacies expect any measure of success.

Research Procedure

Research was undertaken in Kenya, the United States, and England. Interviews were held with university and school administrators, faculty and teachers, students, parents, the President of Kenya, political leaders, church and mission personnel, government and business officials. Library sources included books, pamphlets, government documents, newspaper articles, journals, magazines and periodicals. There were also classroom and societal observations.

Definition of Terms

During British rule in Kenya, the various races were categorized as European, Asian, Arab, and African. Some members of these groups now wish to be called African, but this designation will only refer to those who have always been so classified both by themselves and by others.

An interchange of terminologies for the masses of people transported in bondage to America from Africa, and their progenitors, will be those used at different periods of history: African, Negro, colored, Afro-American, and black.

When using the terms America and North America, reference is being made to the northern and southern states within the United States of America.

CHAPTER I

KENYA: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW - 1840-1973

The problems of East Africa are the problems of the world. We see the social, racial and economic stresses which rack modern society already at work here, but in miniature.¹⁰

The history of Kenya portrays a phenomenal determination of the African people to set their own pace for educational advancement in spite of the inequities and oppressions of British colonial rule. The appeal which formal education held for the African community far surpassed the expectations of missionaries and British administrators, and precipitated changes and improvements which had not been anticipated. Moreover, the present independent government has exemplified the Africans' determination to prioritize formal education, and motivation for educational achievements increases yearly.

During the European scramble for Africa and the subsequent Anglo-German Agreement of 1886,¹¹ Kenya became a possession of Britain and was declared The East African Protectorate on July 1, 1895. Uganda, bordering Kenya on the west, and Zanzibar, a nearby island on the Indian Ocean, completed the British sphere of influence in East Africa.

¹⁰Winston Churchill, as Colonial Secretary, described his impressions of Nairobi upon his return to London. He felt it showed great similarity to South Africa. G.H. Mungeam, British Rule in Kenya 1895-1912 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966) p. 189

¹¹This Agreement has been termed "the scramble for Africa," when Britain, France, Germany, Holland divided the continent.

Zanzibar housed the first administrative headquarters for The East Africa Protectorate, where the Imperial British East Africa Company held responsibility for its administration.¹² When the British Government began to plan for the exploitation of raw materials from her East Africa possessions, a Consul-General was selected in London and sent to Zanzibar with the dual responsibility of serving as Commissioner to The East Africa Protectorate, as well as carrying out his functions in Zanzibar. Arabs in Zanzibar were engaged in the slave trade and were capturing victims from the mainland's African tribes to work on their large plantations. Britain finally succeeded in abolishing slavery in Zanzibar in 1907.¹³

*In the nascence of The East Africa Protectorate, policy was formulated by the Foreign Office in London and instructions were sent out to the Commissioner. In 1905, the Protectorate was transferred to the authority of the Colonial Office,¹⁴ thus officially becoming part of the British Colonial Empire. Policy was decided upon in London for the East Africa territories; however, the Commissioner took many liberties in decision making which at times were at variance with official policy. Justification for these decisions was that they were considered necessary for expediency.

¹² G.H. Mungeam, British Rule in Kenya 1895-1912 (op. cit.) p. 8,

¹³ Ibid., p. 33

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 51

Early administrators employed in East Africa reported that they encountered large and varied tribal groupings who warred against each other and caused tremendous loss of life.¹⁵ In their endeavors to establish respect for British authority, these administrators undertook measures which also resulted in an enormous destruction of life. Punitive expeditions of such magnitude were dispatched that "minor" expeditions from 1902 to 1905 were reported as: "enemy" losses, 2,426 killed, 28,693 cattle and 64,853 sheep and goats captured.¹⁶ The Protectorate's forces lost 179, the majority being levies¹⁷ from the nomadic Maasai tribe.¹⁸ Much of the confiscated livestock went to the recruited levies.

Tribes in all parts of the Protectorate resisted colonialization, futilely pitting their spears against guns until their defeat was inevitable. The British Government in London expressed disapproval of punitive expeditions and their massive killings. There was also disfavor for the idea of using levies. However, in spite of this displeasure, the British Government failed to issue instructions for the discontinuance of punitive expeditions and recruitment of African levies.

¹⁵ Carl G. Rosberg Jnr., John Nottingham, The Myth of 'Mau Mau' (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1966) p. 10.

¹⁶ G.H. Mungeam, British Rule in Kenya 1895-1912 (op. cit.) p. 11

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

This initial period of massacres, looting and control of the African population by the colonizers was to become a symbol of the attitude held by the Administration toward the "natives." Though there was conflict at this time between the policies of the British Government in London and the Administration in Kenya, there was sufficient compatibility in ideals to lay the foundation of a racist and discriminatory society. This conflict of policies was especially true over the issue of land.

Colonial policies led to the disruption of existing African social structures. This disturbance to African societies caused a disorganization of far-reaching dimensions. Social disorganization was especially prevalent among the agricultural tribes of Bantu stock living in Central Kenya.¹⁹ Their entire culture was based on an emotional attachment to the land, which also included a special relationship with their ancestors, who had for many generations cultivated the same land.²⁰ Relocation to other areas destroyed their system of land ownership and subsequently created a void in their social patterns.

Of primary concern to the Administration was the Protectorate's economic viability. European²¹ settlement

¹⁹ C. Ojwando Abuor, White Highlands No More (Nairobi: Pan African Researchers, 1970) p. 75

²⁰ Ibid.

was viewed as a means to secure revenue. In order to attract this settlement, a decision was made to build a railway from the coast inland to Uganda.²² It was therefore necessary to recruit coolies from India, another British possession, to assist African laborers. Many of these Indians took up permanent residence in the Protectorate and added a third racial dimension to the society. The railway attracted the Europeans, but it also forced many Africans off their traditional landholdings.

A concerted effort was made to recruit whites from South Africa and England, as they were approved as acceptable settlers. Boers from South Africa were especially responsive to the call and arrived in such numbers and, in many cases, such poor financial conditions that the Administration had to devise a more cautious recruitment campaign.²³

At an early date, supremacy was placed in the hands of the white settlers by the Administration. Settlers were allowed to survey for the most desirable areas of settlement, and they arbitrarily demarcated lands occupied by Africans.²⁴ Their acquisitiveness seemed insatiable, and

²²

G.H. Mungeam, British Rule in Kenya 1895-1912 (op. cit.) p. 40

²³

Ibid., p. 197-8

²⁴

C. Ojwando Abuor, White Highlands No More (op. cit.) p. 20

the most fertile areas were gradually absorbed into the holdings of a rapidly-growing white population. The man who was to become known as the "father" of the settler community, Lord Delamere, was leased 100,000 acres of the best land in the Colony. Controversy eventually ensued over this matter when Lord Delamere continued to be granted additional holdings.²⁵

As early as 1902, Africans were contributing significantly to the revenue of the Protectorate.²⁶ The Administration had imposed a Hut Tax on every head of household, and its returns were more lucrative than had been expected. It was not long before another method of direct taxation was imposed; all "able-bodied males" became liable to a Poll Tax.²⁷

Although direct taxation was originally instituted for the purpose of obtaining revenue, it soon became a means by which the white settlers could be guaranteed a supply of cheap black labor. It was only by working on European farms that Africans could secure the required tax money.

²⁵ Correspondence with the Governor of Kenya relating to Lord Delamere's acquisition of land in Kenya. Presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, April 1926 (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1926)

²⁶ Draft Estimate of the Revenue and Expenditure of the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya for the Year 1925 (Nairobi: Government Printer)

²⁷ G.H. Mungeam, British Rule in Kenya 1895-1912 (op. cit.) p. 115

Since many of the settlers were from South Africa, where blacks were forced to work for whites, the settlers felt it their right to have the same system in the new environment. The Administration took pains to make this labor source available by relocating Africans in close proximity to European farms, thus shaping a racial, economic and social stratification of the society in the early 1900's.

Indian residents were considered important to the Protectorate for their ability to stimulate commerce; however, their social attributes were viewed with some disdain. Restrictions on their immigration seemed feasible, as well as their confinement to the "low-lying" parts.²⁸ This would ensure a separation from the European community and at the same time reduce their influence on the African population. Such attitudes persisted into the period when the Protectorate became a Colony, causing increased friction because of discriminatory policies.

European immigration received high priority because there were areas in the highlands suitable in climate for their settlement. These high, cool, fertile highlands were eventually named "White Highlands" and were restricted

28

Ibid., 199-201

to European occupancy. Vast areas of land were appropriated from African tribes for the settlers' use, and the highlands became the focal point of white supremacy and oppressive racism. As the settlers entrenched themselves in the highlands, their determination grew to convert the entire Colony into a white man's country.²⁹

European settlement was given credibility because of its claim that it would bring civilization to the "natives." The Administration believed such civilization would entice Africans to European centers, thus enabling commerce to flourish. Also, the Administration depended upon white settlers to initiate excursions into remote areas, using both caution and strength of force when necessary against the inhabiting tribes.³⁰

The rights of Europeans were given priority by the Administration, although such a policy was antithetical to that of the British Government in London. Recognizing Kenya as an African territory, the British Government believed the interests of Africans should be paramount, even when those interests conflicted with other racial groups.³¹ However, the Administration in Kenya needed and depended upon the support of the settler community for development purposes. Because no public pronouncement

²⁹

Elsbeth Huxley, White Man's Country (London: Chatto & Windus, 1935) p. 44

³⁰

Carl G. Rosberg Jnr., John Nottingham, The Myth of 'Mau Mau' (op. cit.) p. 15

³¹

Great Britain, Colonial Office, Indians in Kenya. Cmd. 1922. London (H.M.S.O.), 1923. p. 10 (Devonshire White Paper)

was made of the British Government's philosophy,³² administrators and settlers pursued their own course of white supremacy.

Africans were relegated to the bottom of the social and economic ladder. Their value was intrinsic in the economic potential they portrayed. Prognosed as being mentally inferior, heathenish, and inherently "the white man's burden," Africans assumed the ascribed role of laborers who reaped profits for the European and Indian communities. Their opinions were neither sought nor expected. Their vulnerability to ill-treatment was so apparent that the British Government, after witnessing some atrocities, issued a directive to the Administration demanding the establishment of a Department of Native Affairs, whose officers would protect Africans against forced labor and employers who turned them out to die of starvation rather than pay earned wages.³³

This did not deter the settlers from futilely introducing to the Administration a Masters and Servants Ordinance, which allowed payment in kind and enforced imprisonment of laborers who breached their contracts.³⁴

³² G.H. Mungeam, British Rule in Kenya 1895-1912 (op. cit.) This was the rationale of the Administration in Kenya to continue its discriminatory policies. p. 190

³³ Ibid.

Decisions on suitable habitable areas for Africans were premised on their proximity to European farms, which guaranteed a continuous labor supply but provided sufficient distance to preclude any social interactions between the races. Implementation of such decisions eventually required the establishment of African reserves.

Having been uprooted from their cultural environments and exposed to European and Indian influences, Africans were undergoing social changes in the new milieu which were to make their presence in the overall society more visible. One of the most effective factors in this change was Western education.

Missionary education was made available to Kenya in 1846.³⁵ Because European "scientists" of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had propagated theories on the innate mental inferiority of black people, missionaries embarked upon a crusade of proselytizing Christianity to the "heathens" in a "dark continent"³⁶ and offered little more than the basic Three R's as teaching instruction. This knowledge was deemed adequate to assure Bible reading; also, it did not reach beyond limitations of the missionaries' own educational levels.

³⁵ John Anderson, The Struggle for the School (London: Longman Group, 1970) p. 10

³⁶ Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London: Lowe and Brydone, 1970) p. 9

Rejection of traditional African customs by missionary educators caused an initial resistance to Western education, but Africans soon recognized the values and endowments this new educational system provided. The thirst for formal education and a rapid increase in mission school attendance prompted the establishment of a greater number of schools and a recruitment of academically qualified teachers. Visualizing the potential for African participation in government as clerks, interpreters and policemen, the Administration collaborated with mission schools and exercised some control over their standardization.³⁷

Limitations on the labor market for educated Africans did not curtail the enthusiasm for formal education, particularly among the Kikuyu tribe, a Bantu group of agriculturists living in close proximity to European farms. These farms were not too distant from Nairobi, the center of administration. Social disorganization and constant deprivation of their ancestral land by settlers and the Administration induced Kikuyus to seek other avenues of livelihood. Education was viewed as the instrument necessary to that prospect.

African District Councils, established by the Administration to take responsibility for certain social services in

³⁷David G. Scanlon, Traditions of African Education (New York: Teachers College, Columbia U., 1964) p. 31

a specified regional district, were composed of African community members under the supervision of Administration officers. These Councils encouraged payment of school fees so that educational facilities could be extended to a wider population.

However, with the advent of the First World War, a profound effect on the African populace introduced both positive and negative elements of change. Britain's involvement in the war required the assistance of her East Africa subjects, and Nairobi became a major base for military administration.³⁸ In addition to the King's African Rifles, there grew a need for porters and machine gun carriers. A recruitment campaign was launched and by 1917, 160,000 men from the Kikuyu, Kamba and Luo tribes were enlisted, many compulsively.³⁹

The British Government paid tribute to the "ardent loyalty and alacrity" of the Carrier Corps and the generosity of chiefs in supplying foodstuffs and cattle during the war years.⁴⁰ But the destruction of life among the African population was far in excess of any inter-tribal wars, and most families never received official notice about their dead. The greatest loss was among unarmed porters (41,952), who fell victim to disease as well as to the gun (366).

³⁸ Carl G. Rosberg Jnr., John Nottingham, The Myth of 'Mau Mau' (op. cit.) p. 109

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 110

Total loss between the Armed Forces and porters was 46,618.⁴¹

European officers were reluctant to arm porters for fear of a change in the African's self-image and a subsequent alteration of his subservient relationship with the white community.⁴² In spite of this precaution, the African's self-image and attitude toward whites had altered, giving rise to a new consciousness of his place in Kenya's society and planting the seeds for political organization.

Prominent among the war recruits were future Kikuyu political leaders, who utilized their organization experience in unifying African opposition to settler and Administration discrimination. In 1921, the East Africa Association, though predominantly Kikuyu, showed a united and transtribal protest against a proposed wage cut for African workers of all categories before it was banned in 1922.⁴³

In southern Kiambu during this same period, the Kikuyu Association was organized to protest European alienation of land and settler incursions into African reserves.⁴⁴ Discontent over land loss, forced labor, even for young women, and increases in the Hut and Poll Taxes gave rise to the

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 109

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ C.G. Rosberg Jnr., J. Nottingham, The Myth of 'Mau Mau' (op. cit.) p. 38

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 38

creation of a branch office of the Kikuyu Association in Nairobi, and membership expanded.

In addition to the grievances which were given prominence in their protests, Africans were victims of daily pernicious de-humanizing practices by the white community. The Administration required them to be in possession, at all times, of a registration. This registration, or 'kipande,' was worn around the neck in a case, since there were no pockets in which it could be carried, and the demands were that it was to be kept clean.

No African could smoke near a 'Mzungu'⁴⁵ or sit down when a 'Memsahib'⁴⁶ was passing. All white men and boys had to be saluted; Africans were not allowed to use any public facilities unless clearly marked for African use; stores patronizing European customers refused to serve Africans unless they were purchasing something for their employers; no 'boy,' the name used for all African males regardless of age, could wear shoes in the master's house; and at all times subservient behavior was expected of Africans in their relationships to Europeans. It was commonplace to read signs such as "No Africans or Dogs Allowed." The 'Memsahib' was usually most vicious in her treatment of Africans, and she

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This is the Swahili word which refers to a white person.

46

Terminology in Swahili used to show deference to a female considered on a higher social plane.

was given support in her conduct by her 'Bwana,'⁴⁷ head of the household.⁴⁸ Not only was the European community guilty of these attitudes and practices against Africans, but the Asian and Arab communities also shared in the de-humanizing process.

Harry Thuku became the first African leader to emerge as an opponent to the discriminatory policies of the Administration. He protested against practices of depriving Africans of the right to grow cash crops, as well as seeking redress on the land alienation problem. Thuku's followers were strong in number, and it was not long before he, in his capacity as leader of the East Africa Association, was arrested by the Administration and jailed. Thousands of Africans from all over the country converged upon Nairobi in front of the police station where Thuku was being held, and they engaged in a peaceful demonstration for his release.⁴⁹

When the Administration persisted in ignoring the demonstration, a woman named Mary Nyanjiru started encouraging the men in the crowd to release Thuku themselves, and excitement grew among the demonstrators. The police then

⁴⁷The term used to show deference to a white male, or one who is in a superior position.

⁴⁸The white male and Indian male often acted as if they ruled a kingdom.

⁴⁹C.O. Obuor, White Highlands No More (op. cit.) p. 35.

opened fire on the unarmed protestors and killed over 100 men, women and children, although the Administration reported the death toll as twenty-five.⁵⁰ Thuku was imprisoned for nine years.

Among those present at the demonstration was a man named Johnstone Kamau, later re-named Jomo Kenyatta. Kenyatta was employed by the Administration as an Assistant Water Engineer. He was also Propaganda Secretary for the East Africa Association.

Kenyatta had received his early education in the Church of Scotland mission schools and had then entered government service. He was a Kikuyu and therefore was aware of the severe deprivations among his tribal community. He was also cognizant of the grievances of other tribal groups and supported organizations which gave voice to the African's poor circumstances.

Kenyatta's leadership qualities became evident in the East Africa Association. When this Association was proscribed, the Kikuyu Central Association was formed in 1925. Much of Kenyatta's spare time was spent with this Association in writing memoranda and addressing meetings.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 36

⁵¹ Jomo Kenyatta, Suffering Without Bitterness (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968) p. 20

The work of the East Africa Association was continued through this new Association, which petitioned peacefully for more education, better wages, hospitals and roads. The Kikuyu Central Association expressed grievances against the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1915, which made Africans tenants on property they had previously occupied and were therefore subject to removal at the will of the Crown.⁵²

There was protest against the change from Protectorate to Colony because the new status guaranteed rights for everyone, but Africans were to have the least. Representations were made to the government, commissions, and to the British Government in London, but redress was not offered.

Influence from the settler community increasingly enveloped the Administration and compromises were usually in favor of the settlers. Included in the Europeans' achievements for white supremacy was the establishment of African reserves, to which the African population was relegated. Realizing that whites would not do the hard work of farming while blacks were available, the Administration manipulated these reserves so that cheap and continued labor was always within reach of the settlers.

Even though the Administration cooperated fully with the settlers in satisfying their land and labor needs, there

⁵²Ibid., p. 21

was still dissatisfaction on the part of the settlers regarding policies which hampered their complete dictation of government rules, such as mandatory and free labor of Africans. In 1923, the settlers formed a Vigilance Committee with the objective of kidnapping the Governor and wresting control of the Colony from the Colonial Office.⁵³ This plot failed and friction developed between the Administration and settlers.

In an act of appeasement, however, the Administration allowed settler representation in the Legislative Council, a body formulated in 1919 to pass legislation on the governance of the Colony.⁵⁴ Eleven settlers entered the Legislative Council and two nominated Asian representatives, although the Asian population in 1919 was larger by three to one to that of the European population. Such disproportionate representation was unacceptable to the Asian community, and pressure increased against the Administration to an extent that, in 1921, Asian representation increased to four.

As this was still unacceptable to the Asians, the Wood-Winterton Committee in 1922 recommended common electoral roll.⁵⁵ This recommendation was totally out of favor with

⁵³ Elspeth Huxley, White Man's Country (op. cit.) p. 79

⁵⁴ C.G. Rosberg Jnr., J. Nottingham, The Myth of 'Mau Mau' (op. cit.) p. 90

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 66

the European settlers. This disagreement became a rationale for the formation of the Vigilance Committee by the settlers.

The Legislative Council remained the almost exclusive body of white representation for many years. Although Lord Delamere, the "father" of the settler community, had been selected as the leader of settler representation in the Council, Indians were informed that it was not customary for any section of the community to propose to government the name of a particular person for nomination to the Legislative Council.⁵⁶ They were told by the Administration that suitably qualified members of the Asian community could not be found.

No African was allowed to represent African interests in the Legislative Council until 1944. The Administration nominated a few whites during these many years to speak for the Africans and to look after native affairs. The deprivation of rights to representation by Africans was to become a prime issue in the number of African grievances.

In their struggle to control the Colonial Office, the settlers gained the leadership of two men whose names became synonymous with white supremacy. Captain E.G. Grogan, one of the leaders, was prone to violent actions. In his capacity as president of the Colonists' Association, he was responsible for the public flogging of three African men accused of

⁵⁶ Minutes of the Executive Council, 17th February 1912, Nairobi, Indian Representation on the Legislative Council. Public Records, London

"insulting" a white woman. It was later discovered that the insults were not as serious as had been alleged.⁵⁷

Grogan's aggressive and volatile behavior was repugnant to some settlers, but he was popular because of his unremitting determination to enforce policies of white supremacy.

Lord Delamere, descendant of a socially-prominent British family, was strongly sympathetic to the settlers. He was gifted with a personality which commanded respect and admiration even among local administrators. Shortly after his arrival in Kenya, Delamere acquired 100,000 acres of land on lease and went on to become the largest landholder in the Colony.

It was a foregone conclusion that Delamere would represent settler interests in the Legislative Council, where he took every opportunity to protect the superior status of Europeans. Delamere supported the idea of educating Africans, but only to the extent that they were taught skills which were useful to Europeans.⁵⁸ He had no desire to see Africans leave their "place" at the bottom of the social and economic scale, since he was a firm believer that Kenya was a "white man's country."⁵⁹

Indians, along with the few residing Arabs, were

⁵⁷G.H. Mungeam, British Rule in Kenya 1895-1912 (op. cit.) p.184

⁵⁸Elspeth Huxley, White Man's Country (op. cit.) p. 100

⁵⁹C.P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa. Vol. 4 (London: Lutterworth Press, 1958) p. 158

fulfilling their role as traders, and held a middle status in the stratified society. Although the Indian community was viable and securing control of commerce, there was resentment toward the Administration concerning restrictions on Indian immigration. Hostility between settlers and Indians, as well as prejudice of administrators, persisted in limiting Indian influence on the "natives," since Europeans believed that Africans were the white man's burden and only through their influences could civilization, in due time, reach Africans.

Education for European and Indian children was developing, but there were discrepancies in government commitment. In 1908, the question of education for whites was under consideration, and a decision was made by the government to encourage private enterprise by granting a site or building and offering grant-in-aid rather than establishing a purely Government school.⁶⁰ Provisions were made in 1913 for an extensive area in Nairobi to be set aside as a school site and playground for European children.⁶¹

In 1926, European education was allocated £215,000 by the government for suitable school buildings. Encouragement was given by government officers to the idea of compulsory education as a means for Europeans to remain the leading

⁶⁰ Minutes of the Executive Council, 22nd May 1908, Nairobi. Education for Whites. Public Records, London

⁶¹ Minutes of the Executive Council, 27th January 1913, Nairobi. Nairobi European School re Land for Playground for: Public Records, London

race of the Colony while setting an example for other races.⁶²

Asian education⁶³ was plagued by problems of poor facilities, inadequately-trained teachers, and, above all, insufficient government funding. Though some Asian and Arab schools received grants from government, most funding of schools derived from community contributions. Indians suggested that, since the government seemed unable to recruit qualified teachers from India, it should consider employing European teachers for their schools in order to raise the standard of education in the Asian school system.⁶⁴

Despite these complaints, education in Kenya remained segregated and unequally subsidized. European children benefitted from support and encouragement by the government to seek admission into institutions of higher education in London. Compulsory education from the age of seven, and qualified teaching in the European school system became the criteria to meet this end. As late as 1954, only Indian boys between the ages of seven and fifteen were compelled to attend school; Arab children had no compulsory education; and Africans boys and girls attended school on a "voluntary" basis.⁶⁵

Regardless of the minimal financial support from government, African schools were expanding at an incredible rate.

⁶³The terminology "Asian" applies to those of Indian descent, including Goans.

⁶⁴Education Department Annual Report, 1926 (op. cit.) p. 12.

⁶⁵Report of the Committee to Inquire into the Organization, Cost and Financing of the Education of all Races in Kenya, 1956 (Nairobi: Government Printer) pp. 23, 26

Fees for education were readily paid to the African District Councils, and a spirit of self-help was developing, particularly in Kikuyu country. Education had become a prime concern and was envisaged as the instrument to achieve social change. A growing dissatisfaction with missions over school curriculum and objections to traditional African practices, especially clitorectory,⁶⁶ impelled a group of Kikuyus to establish their own schools, having been granted the right to do so by the Colonial Office.

Private support for the new Karing'a⁶⁷ and subsequent Kikuyu Independent Schools Associations was overwhelming. By 1930, over 300 of these independent schools, combined with independent African churches, were educating over 60,000 children.⁶⁸ Africans educated in these schools, as well as in mission and government schools, constituted a cadre of teachers, medical assistants, clerks and court interpreters.

The first secondary school for Africans was the Alliance High School, built in 1926 through initial funding by Africans.⁶⁹ Located in a Kikuyu area not far from Nairobi, the Alliance High School was a cooperative endeavor of

⁶⁶ Clitorectory is an initiation custom for girls entering womanhood. Jomo Kenyatta says in Facing Mount Kenya: "No proper Gikuyu would dream of marrying a girl who has not been circumcised, and vice versa." (New York: Vintage Books) p. 127

⁶⁷ "Karing'a" denotes Kikuyuism in its truest and purest form. Interview with Minister of State, Hon. Mbiyu Koinange, July 26, 1973.

⁶⁸ Jomo Kenyatta, Suffering Without Bitterness (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968) p. 27

⁶⁹ Education Department Annual Report, 1926 (op. cit.) p. 28

Protestant missions, which supplied personnel and received grants from the government for its operation. Alliance was to produce the largest number of Cabinet Ministers and top officials in government service in post-independence than any other secondary school in the country.

In 1928, as inequities and injustices continued to frustrate the African community, political organization showed greater intensity. Jomo Kenyatta was selected for leadership within the Kikuyu Central Association and left government service to devote full time to the work of the Association.

In addition to his representations on grievances, Kenyatta founded the Association's newspaper, "Muigwithania" (He who brings together). This was Kenya's first African newspaper, which developed into an effective media for informing and unifying Kikuyus on issues pertinent to their social, educational, and economic environments. Emphasis was placed on the importance of Africans respecting their identity and not regarding themselves as slaves. There was also advice on cleanliness, using good farming techniques, and following church rules. Education was viewed as a necessity, and Kikuyus were urged to educate all their children.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Carl G. Rosberg, jnr., J. Nottingham, The Myth of 'Mau Mau' (op. cit.) p. 101

Because of the collaboration between the Administration and settlers to institutionalize discriminative and oppressive practices, and the lack of African representation within the Legislative Council, the Kikuyu Central Association raised funds and sent Kenyatta to London in 1929 to present their grievances to the British Government. The Acting Governor in Kenya tried to dissuade Kenyatta from making the trip, insisting he would only be representing the 3,800 members of the Association and not the entire 250,000 or so male members of the Kikuyu tribe.

The journey was not cancelled and Kenyatta met with the Under-Secretary of State. He appealed for the release of Harry Thuku, rectification of labor practices, protection for Africans against European alienation of their land, and also that Africans be allowed to represent African interests in the Legislative Council and the Nairobi Municipal Council.

While in Britain, Kenyatta spoke to a Committee of the House of Commons, heads of Churches, and to anyone else who might help the cause of his people. Travelling to Germany and Russia, he had an opportunity to attend some beneficial international conferences.⁷¹

Kenyatta returned to Kenya but went back to England in 1931, remaining there until 1946. His time was spent

⁷¹Jeremy Murray-Brown, Kenyatta (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1972) pp. 114-127

acquiring the education Africans were told was necessary if they wished to participate in the Legislative Council. While at the London School of Economics, he wrote the well-known anthropological book on Kikuyu culture, Facing Mount Kenya, which brought to the world for the first time an African's published interpretation of his culture. Being in England for a prolonged period, Kenyatta was allowed greater opportunities of contact with those whose influence might help to ameliorate the African's condition in Kenya.

Eradication of injustices against his fellow Africans in Kenya remained Kenyatta's prime concern. However, a growing awareness of the ill-effects colonialism wrought on all Africans and their descendants in other parts of the world prompted Kenyatta to broaden his struggle against colonialism through the philosophy of Pan-Africanism.⁷²

During Kenyatta's absence from Kenya, oppression and resistance escalated. African political parties disregarded tribal lines and united to protest grievances.

The establishment of higher education facilities became an urgent aspiration, especially among the Kikuyu. Senior Chief Koinange,⁷³ though employed by the government, was an

⁷²The Pan-African Federation was formed in 1935. Kenyatta was its first president, and Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast (Ghana) its secretary-general. Active members were George Padmore, a West Indian, and W.E.B. DuBois, a Black American.

⁷³Senior Chief Koinange defied the colonial authorities by planting coffee trees, a cash crop forbidden to Africans.

ardent advocate for the rights of Africans. He asked his son, Mbiyu Koinange, on behalf of fellow Kikuyus, to carry out the task of promoting higher education.⁷⁴ Mbiyu, an Education major and holder of an M.A. degree from Columbia University, accepted the request and converted one of the independent schools into the Kenya African Teachers College.⁷⁵

The college, which encouraged admission from members of all tribes, was immediately successful. Enrollment was high and the curriculum provided access to higher education. The school exemplified the spirit of a dawning African awareness, and it was here that the first seeds of African nationalism in Kenya were sown.⁷⁶

The years of the Second World War meant more military involvement for Kenya. Post-war years displayed an intensifying of political organizations, both African and Asian, which threatened the Administration's control and promoted actions of containment. But containment was to be difficult because of the experiences and exposure many educated Africans had gained while fighting Nazism and Fascism in other parts of the world. Nevertheless, in a move to tighten control, the Administration banned the Kikuyu Central

⁷⁴ Interview with the Minister of State, Hon. Mbiyu Koinange, July 3, 1973.

⁷⁵ The term "college" was used, but the school provided instruction only up to the secondary level.

⁷⁶ Interview with Musa Ndirangu, founder of the Independent Schools, August 22, 1973.

Association and other political organizations, and jailed their leaders despite a record of peaceful petitioning and affirmations of loyalty to the government.

Friction continued to escalate while the Administration turned its thoughts to settling large numbers of British soldiers in the segregated White Highlands, with the purpose of obtaining more political leverage and furthering the goal of transforming Kenya into a white man's country.

Kikuyu frustration over land alienation magnified, and economic disparities between Africans and Europeans widened yearly. Africans considered "loyal," usually chiefs and others in the government's employ, harassed their fellow tribesmen and perpetuated a system of subjugation.

Although Kikuyus were in the forefront as protestors against unfair practices towards Africans, particularly on the land issue, tribes in other parts of the Colony had learned the value of political organization. Two of the strongest, Taita Hills Association and Ukamba Members Association, were banned along with the Kikuyu Central Association.

But education had spread throughout the Colony, and

unrest was prevalent even among tribes like the Nandi, who, after putting up a most fierce opposition to British occupation, had settled into relative conformity to the Administration's dictates. Luos were angered by the Asian monopoly on commerce, and the cattle-grazing Kamba were incensed over the confiscation of their livestock by the Administration because they refused to sell at cheap and below-level prices.

African railway workers went on strike in Mombasa protesting against their extremely low wages. Only the nomadic and cattle-owning Maasai seemed untouched by events around them. However, the Administration had physically transferred the entire tribe to a different area so that European settlers could occupy their fertile lands?⁷⁷

It was not until 1944 that Africans were allowed one nominated African to represent their interests in the Legislative Council. This representative, Eliud Mathu, considered a conservative Kikuyu, was a graduate of Oxford University and had received his secondary education at the selective Alliance High School.

In the same year of Mathu's entry into the Council, a transtribal organization called the Kenya African Union (KAU) was formed. However, opposition from the government

forced a name change to the Kenya African Study Association. When Jomo Kenyatta returned to the Colony in 1946, he was elected its president.

The name Kenya African Union was restored shortly after the organization's inception. Headquartered in Nairobi, KAU developed into the strongest vehicle for African mobilization, but it continued to use a peaceful approach in its appeals. Though the organization was transtribal, its largest support came from Central Province, which housed the Kikuyus.

KAU became the watchdog of African interests and therefore lent its support to their representatives⁷⁸ in the Legislative Council. Other support came from a few fair-minded Europeans and Asians inside and outside the Council. Apa B. Pant, Commissioner for India in East Africa, established close ties with leaders in the African community. Through him several students from the Kenya African Teachers College at Githunguri left Kenya to pursue their studies in India. Kenyatta had joined Koinange at the Teachers College and was dividing his time between education and politics.

Militancy among some of the younger and less patient members of KAU began to worry Kenyatta and other officials, though there were some leaders who supported militant strike

⁷⁸ Oginga Odinga, Not Yet Uhuru (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967) p. 97

actions of the banned East African Trade Union Congress.⁷⁹
 An association called "Mau Mau" was beginning to be heard of, whose philosophy differed from the more nationalist and non-militant KAU. On several public occasions Kenyatta denounced "Mau Mau" and re-affirmed KAU's non-affiliation with it.⁸⁰ Oathing, a traditional Kikuyu practice when loyalty was desired, became a common occurrence in an effort to unify the people against oppression.

On October 7, 1952, incidents of violence culminated in the assassination of Senior Chief Waruhui, a Christian supporter of government policy, which led the government to declare the Colony in a State of Emergency. On October 21, in the very early hours of morning, Kenyatta was arrested and accused, along with other leaders of KAU, of having organized and managed "Mau Mau."

Kenyatta's trial was held in a remote area of the Rift Valley Escarpment, called Kapenguria, which forebade easy access to his tremendous following. By now Kenyatta had been designated leader of the African community, and he carried the respected and affectionate name of "Mzee."⁸¹

The trial at Kapenguria was to plague the British Government for many years because of its questionable application of British justice, always so highly lauded.

⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 114-15

⁸⁰At a public meeting before at least 50,000 people, Kenyatta denounced Mau Mau and lawlessness. He urged people to renounce force and rely instead on the supreme power of justice and brains. Jomo Kenyatta, Suffering Without Bitterness (op. cit.) p. 49

⁸¹

At the close of the trial and Kenyatta's testimony of innocence in January 1953, the Court completely disregarded facts presented at the trial. In his defence, Kenyatta had reminded the Court of his various public denouncements of Mau Mau because of its violent and illegal tactics. He reiterated KAU's record of constitutional protest against the inequities and injustices Africans were made to suffer.⁸²

The Court found Kenyatta guilty and sentenced him to seven years imprisonment with hard labor and a subsequent indefinite period of restriction. He was to spend his time in the remote and desert-like areas of Lokitaung and Lodwar. Maralal was eventually decided upon for his period of restriction before returning to his home. In April of 1953, four other officers of KAU joined Kenyatta at Lokitaung to begin their prison sentences. Kenyatta was allowed to return to Gatundu, his home, located about thirty miles from Nairobi, in August 1961.

The Emergency brought great havoc and upheaval to the Kikuyus, who were viewed by the Administration as agitators who required containment. Massive relocations ensued, and oppression was at every hand. Poverty from confiscation of livestock reached alarming proportions, and movement was restricted unless permission was granted by the authorities.

⁸² Jomo Kenyatta, Suffering Without Bitterness (op. cit.) p. 62

Identification cards had to be carried at all times, and thousands of Kikuyus were detained or killed. Many managed to escape to live with other tribes, adopting their customs and learning to speak their language. All of the independent schools and churches were closed or burned, and the Teachers College at Githunguri was turned into an administrative post.

Kenyatta's home and trees were destroyed by the Administration, and his papers either burned or confiscated. Children in government and mission schools tried to continue their education in spite of the disruptions, though the task was difficult.⁸³ Curfew regulations restricted activities of a social nature and no gatherings were allowed which could have been interpreted by the authorities as being political. Tea parties were considered legitimate since they implied a purely social event. No Africans had ever been permitted legally to purchase alcoholic beverages.

When the Emergency was declared, large numbers of Kikuyu men and women entered the forests and periodically raided or killed for food. Comparatively few Europeans or Asians were killed by Mau Mau, but the destruction on African life through the work of Mau Mau and Government Security Forces was heavy. By the end of 1956, 11,503

⁸³ Charity Waciuma, Daughter of Mumbi (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969) pp. 120-22

Kikuyus were killed; 1,035 captured wounded; 1,550 captured unwounded; 26,625 arrested; and 2,714 surrendered. European casualties were 95, with 127 wounded. Asians killed were 29, and 48 were listed as wounded. Losses to other African tribes were 1,920 killed, 2,385 wounded.⁸⁴ Divisions between "loyal" and other Kikuyus deepened and several chiefs were assassinated.

During the Emergency period, 1953 to 1961, many changes were in motion. Sentiment was developing in the European community for the concept of multi-racialism, and African representation with the Legislative Council progressed from one nominated Minister to eight elected Members. There was an eventual increase to fourteen Council Members. Asian representation had also shown an increase.

But now Africans were determined to have "Uhuru Sasa"⁸⁵ (Freedom Now), and they wanted their leader, Kenyatta, to be returned to them. The political motto became "Uhuru na Kenyatta" (Freedom and Kenyatta).

There was a renewed spirit of enthusiasm for education, particularly higher education, and young men and women from all tribes sought avenues to enter universities and colleges in the United States. Tom Mboya,⁸⁶ a young and active trade unionist, gained the cooperation of sympathetic sponsors in

⁸⁴ C.G. Rosberg, Jr., J. Nottingham, The Myth of 'Mau Mau' (op. cit.) p. 303

⁸⁵ This was a Swahili slogan used at political rallies, and wherever the colonial authorities would get its message.

⁸⁶ Tom Mboya was assassinated in July 1969 while serving as Minister for Economic Planning and Development.

America, and close to 300 students left East Africa to pursue their education through a program which became known as "The Airlift."⁸⁷ Tea parties brought together large gatherings of men, women, and children who contributed their small savings or earnings to send these and other students overseas.

African fervor for Kenyatta's release accelerated, having been proposed originally in the Legislative Council by Oginga Odinga, a representative from the Luo tribe. The Governor of Kenya, Sir Patrick Renison, refused this release on the grounds that Kenyatta was a "leader to darkness and death."⁸⁸ Pressure on the government finally resulted in Kenyatta's release on August 14, 1961, to the cries and shouts of joy from thousands of Africans who journeyed from all over the Colony to welcome him at his home in Gatundu.

One of the greatest influences on Kenyatta's release was the refusal of the new dominant party in the Legislative Council, the Kenya African National Union (KANU) to take up its functions in the Council until Kenyatta was returned. The government had encouraged the formation of another party, predominated by members of smaller tribes, the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), which collaborated with the Administration in continuing the work of the Council.

⁸⁷ The writer was an administrator for the "airlift" and travelled to the United States with the students. She personally experienced the struggles of these students in their search for an education.

⁸⁸ George Bennett, Kenya: A Political History (op. cit.) p. 93

It became obvious to the government that there would be no normal functioning of the Colony unless Kenyatta was allowed recognition and access to the body which controlled legislation of the Colony. Arrangements were made for Kenyatta to attend talks in London set up by the British Government.⁸⁹ This was the initial preparation leading to internal self-government. Kenyatta was accepted as leader of the majority party, KANU, and Ronald Ngala⁹⁰ became leader of KADU.

In order to facilitate Kenyatta's entry into the Legislative Council, the elected Member for Fort Hall, Kariuki Njiiri, gave up his constituency and Kenyatta became Member for Fort Hall. After the meeting at Lancaster House, Kenyatta returned to Kenya as Minister of State for Constitutional Affairs and Economic Planning. Ngala held the title of Minister of State for Constitutional Affairs and Administration. Though the white government would have liked the leader of KADU to head the upcoming government, it was evident that the majority of Africans would not accept anyone but "Mzee."

On June 1, 1963, Kenya gained internal self-government and Jomo Kenyatta was the nation's first Prime Minister.

⁸⁹ This was called "The Lancaster House Conference." After his return to Kenya as a Minister, Jomo Kenyatta invited the writer to become his Personal Secretary in his Ministry.

⁹⁰ Ronald Ngala was killed in an automobile accident in December 1973 while serving as Minister for Cooperatives and Social Services.

Six months later, December 12, 1963, full independence from Britain was granted. A year later, December 12, 1964, the country's status was changed to that of a Republic, and the title of President was conferred upon Jomo Kenyatta.

Prior to independence, many Europeans left Kenya, especially those of South African stock who could not live under an African-controlled government. Most Asians held the status of British subjects but remained in Kenya for the next few years. However, when Africanization threatened their economic position, a frantic exodus ensued during 1967-68. After that time, the rate of emigration decreased but still continued during the 1970's.

Post-independence brought a development of Kenyatta into that of an elder statesman. Europeans and Asians who formerly hated his name prayed for his long life, because he had not taken retaliatory and vindictive measures against them. Even though in advanced age⁹¹ when he assumed leadership of the government, Kenyatta did not appear to be handicapped by his long years of isolation, and was instrumental in the institution of various progressive policies. Although financial investments and technological skills were adding significant revenue to an increasingly stable economy, Kenyatta steered the nation, as well as possible,

⁹¹It was estimated in 1963 that Kenyatta was seventy-five years old. There was no written proof of his age.

from alliance with any power which would bind the people to a new form of colonialism.

Poverty still presented many problems, but improvements in general services such as hospitals, housing and roads were evident. Education received top priority, and in 1973 one-third of the government's budget was allocated to the development of schools, teacher-training colleges, and to the University, of which Kenyatta was Chancellor.⁹² Secondary school attendance more than tripled from 1962 to 1969.⁹³

The spirit of "harambee," the Swahili word interpreted as "let us pull together," enabled communities to build hundreds of secondary schools. The most recent self-help effort has been the funding and building of institutes of technology. A further improvement in the country was that all schools and public facilities were desegregated, and Africans became visible in living areas which had previously prohibited their presence except as servants.

KADU disbanded and joined KANU. The "Majimbo" constitution devised by the European government, which cut the country up into regional administrative centers, was discarded shortly after independence and all areas came together under a central administration.

⁹² Kenya - An Official Handbook (Nairobi: East African Publishing House) p. 150.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 153

Though the constitution does not limit representation by only one party in the National Assembly, the former Legislative Council, there is at present representation only by KANU Members.

Under President Kenyatta's leadership, Kenya passed its tenth anniversary in 1973 as one of the most stable governments in Africa. However, its problems of nationhood were far from being solved, its greatest difficulty seeming to come from finding its own definition of "African Socialism"⁹⁴ and implementing it. The search for Kenya's African identity is strongly evident in the government's efforts to Africanize the school curriculum.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ African Socialism is a term describing an African political and economic system that is positively Africa and not imported from any country; nor is it a blueprint of any foreign ideology. However, it is capable of incorporating useful and compatible techniques from whatever source. African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya (Nairobi: Government Printer) pp. 2-3

⁹⁵ George E.F. Urch, The Africanization of the Curriculum in Kenya (Ann Arbor: Malloy Lithoprinting, Inc., 1968) pp. 257-8

CHAPTER II

FACTORS OF INFLUENCE ON EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The development of formal education for Africans in Kenya portrays the influences of both positive and negative factors. These factors stimulated African initiative, but also contributed to a process of haphazard and ad hoc educational growth. Though often in conflict with the controlling church missions and colonial authorities, African aspirations for educational advancement never diminished; instead, they became the instrument through which majority rule was finally obtained.

Primary in their effectual influences on the development of education were:

- (a) Traditional Education
- (b) Missionary Education
- (c) Colonial Education
- (d) African Initiative
- (e) Phelps-Stokes Educational Commission
- (f) African Nationalism
- (g) Independence

However, tantamount to all these influences was the firm stand of many Africans to disallow a predetermination of others to dictate or prescribe their educational

capabilities. The fortitude exemplified in the span from pre-colonialism to post-independence is not only commendable, but also lends great credibility to formal education.

Traditional Education

Traditional education was the forerunner to all African education. Tribal groups maintained non-formal education systems which inculcated doctrines of the tribe, clan and family. Knowledge was acquired through verbal transmission and practical application, and learning was relevant to the individual's life in the home, social, and economic environments. The learning process never ceased from birth to death, as each person was responsible for knowing what the society expected of every age group.⁹⁶ Customary laws also required meticulous learning and retention.

Survival of the African society was dependent on the accurate verbal transmission of information from generation to generation. The necessary learning of family and clan genealogy created an awareness of self in relation to the history of the tribe.⁹⁷

Moreover, traditional education in Kenya utilized verbal communication to edify for each member of the family, according to age levels, rules of proper demeanor, dress, manners, and general behavior. This socialization permeated the entire social structure and encompassed family, clan and tribe. Minds were therefore carefully trained, through verbal

⁹⁶ J. Cameron & W.A. Dodd, Society, Schools and Progress in Tanzania (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1970) pp. 47-8. For other descriptions of traditional education, read Jomo Kenyatta's Facing Mount Kenya.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

communication, to adhere to the society's dictates. Transgressions against the prescribed rules of behavior imperiled an individual's membership in the society and invited a penalty of ostracization from fellow kinsmen.

Education in the traditional society transcended the home and provided opportunities to develop skills potential. Training was available to those interested in becoming beekeepers, medicinemen, hunters, tanners, wood-carvers, blacksmiths, and other similar trades. Thus, traditional education aided the economy of the community and, furthermore, preserved the values of the society by its inculcation of successive verbal lessons in history, beliefs and practices of the family and tribe. However, early missionaries condemned much of traditional education as being adverse to their purpose of Christianizing Africans through education.

Missionary Education

Mission education came to Kenya circuitously. In 1844, Johann Krapf, a German Lutheran missionary seconded by the British Anglican Church Missionary Society, arrived at Rabai, near Mombasa, enroute to Abyssinia in a second attempt to work with the Gallas tribe.⁹⁹ While at Rabai,

⁹⁸Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mount Kenya (op. cit.) p. 126

⁹⁹John Anderson, The Struggle for the School (London: Longman Group, 1970) p. 10

Krapf perceived an interest among the Wanyika tribe for the teachings of Christianity.

In 1846 and 1849, two other missionaries¹⁰⁰ joined Krapf. Collaborating with the British Imperial East Africa Company, a group of traders, the missionaries blazed a trail of evangelism while allowing the Company to follow and trade with the inland tribes. However, in the next twenty years, only six converts were baptised and six others were under tuition.¹⁰¹

Although success for the Church Missionary Society (CMS) was minimal among the Wanyika, a pattern for missionary education had been set. As Protestant Christianity demanded individual reading of the Bible, it was inevitable that rudimentary instruction in the Three R's would accompany proselytization.

The attitude of early missionaries towards Africans formed another pattern for mission education. Theories on the educability of Africans started circulating in Europe as early as 1785, when a German scientist, S.T. von Soemmering, concluded in his "findings" that the cranial capacity of black men was decidedly smaller than that of white men.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰ Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London: Longman Group, 1970) p. 8

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 6

¹⁰² Charles H. Lyons, Essays in the History of African Education "The Educable African" (New York: Teachers College, 1970) p. 12

It was not long after this publication that a Manchester medical student, Charles White, espoused the superiority of a white man's brain over that of a black man's. After checking von Soemmering's findings on only one African skeleton, White deduced in a 1795 publication that there were four quite different races of men: white, yellow, red, and black. He further deduced that each had a separate origin, plus a different mental capacity. His conclusion was that whites were the most capable, and blacks were the least.¹⁰³

Similar theories were published by the American scientist, Samuel Morton, in 1844, which strongly influenced thinking in British society.¹⁰⁴ Although other scientists attempted to refute these propagations, whites were generally content to accept a belief in the mental inferiority of blacks.

It was with this belief that missionaries embarked upon their evangelical course in Kenya during the middle nineteenth century. There was no intention of establishing an educational system; neither did missions originally send missionaries qualified to do so. The sole concern was for the conversion of the "heathens" to the teachings

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., pp.3-4

of Christ and to uplift them through exposure to the white man's civilization.

David Livingstone, a British missionary, firmly believed that the greatest detriment to the African was his society's great social evils. He felt it was the duty of Europeans to accept the African as the white man's burden.¹⁰⁵

Livingstone's attitude became popularized among the various missionary societies, and thus their educational philosophy for African education was founded on paternalism.

Invigorated by their sense of moral obligation to the African, missionary societies accelerated their activities in East Africa, where slavery was running rampant. In the latter part of the 1860's, Britain was forced to deal with the critical problem of the slave trade in Zanzibar. Traffic in slavery was on the increase, and between 50,000 to 70,000 Africans were being shipped to the East Coast annually.¹⁰⁶ With the 1863 abolition of slavery in the United States, missions turned their attention to East Africa and staunchly agitated against the cruelties

¹⁰⁵Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (op. cit.)

¹⁰⁶p. 10

Ibid., p. 15

of the slave trade.

Reacting to public pressure, the British Government finally appointed Sir Bartle Frere, in 1872, to confer with the Sultan of Zanzibar on the total abolition of slavery.¹⁰⁷ Although slavery in Zanzibar was not legally abolished until 1907, detribalised, freed, or escaped slaves were finding their way into some of the mission stations. From his observations of the various missionary efforts to rehabilitate freed slaves, Frere was most impressed with the education and training being offered by the missionaries of the Holy Ghost Fathers, who had left Zanzibar to settle in Bagamoyo, situated on the coast of Tanganyika.¹⁰⁸

The Bagamoyo mission provided shelter for the freed slaves, although they worked hard for this amenity. Skills training was considered a necessity for the time when the freedmen would marry and leave the mission to live in Christianized villages. Ex-slaves with the highest intellect received a literary education; the average group learned a skilled trade; and the less intelligent spent their time in manual labor.¹⁰⁹ It was envisaged by the

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 19
¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 20
¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 22

missionaries that products of this educational system would constitute a nucleus of evangelists who would spread the Word of the Gospel to outlying areas.

Upon Sir Bartle Frere's recommendation, Bagamoyo mission was used as a model for the Church Missionary Society, associated to the Church of England, which set up its own Freretown station outside Mombasa in 1875. Freretown became the largest mission for freed slaves. The original mission station at Rabai also devoted its activities to the rehabilitation efforts.

Missionary activity increased rapidly from 1894 to 1910. By then, mission representation included the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the Catholic Church, and a fundamentalist sect from America called the African Inland Mission. All four Protestant missions operating around Nairobi in 1903 had a network of branches upcountry a few years later.¹¹⁰ Such expansion was evidence of the enthusiasm with which Africans were responding not only to Christianity, but, to an even greater degree, rudimentary Western education.

Colonial Education

As the colonial administrators in Kenya calculated

¹¹⁰ John Anderson, The Struggle for the School (op. cit.) p. 24

ways to economically develop the Colony, educational work of missions among the African populace was given deeper consideration. The incentive for government ~~in-~~ terest in African education was the potential of exploiting a vast human resource for its own ends.

Though tenuous, a collaboration between the colonial administration and missions was spawned. This union gave birth to the first system of education planning for the Colony. Missionaries supplied government authorities with "graduates" of their schools, who filled lower-stratum posts as interpreters, clerks, and policemen.

In 1911, the Administration established an Education Department, and grants of land were dispensed to missions for the expansion of their educational activities.¹¹¹ This aid allowed the Administration greater control over the standardization of missionary education, since it had the reputation of being of low quality. However, the Administration was not permitted to alter or interfere with religious instruction in mission schools.¹¹² The issue of standardization often was the cause of conflict between missionaries and government authorities, but the cooperative relationship continued.

¹¹¹ L. Gray Cowan, The Cost of Learning (New York: Teachers College Press, 1970) p. 2

¹¹² George Urch, The Africanization of the Curriculum in Kenya (op. cit.) p. 47

In 1922, the Education Department published a document giving instructions on the governance of African education.¹¹³ The document delineated the school system into Elementary Schools, Central Schools, and Rural Schools. The latter were further defined as Intermediate Schools, or out-stations, and Village Schools.¹¹⁴

Elementary education formed the principal part of education, and it was given up to the apparent age of fourteen. Central schools provided a higher literary education and a definite course in some kind of vocational, and, especially, manual training. It was mandatory to have a qualified European Headmaster and sufficient European staff in these schools. Intermediate education went as far as the fourth year and was under the control of a resident African teacher. The simplest unit of education was offered in the Village schools, which gave instruction only as far as the second year. Teachers for these schools usually were recruited from Central schools.

As the demand for formal education increased, the need for teachers accelerated. The existing number of European teachers was insufficient to accommodate all the schools; therefore, it became imperative to promote teacher training for Africans. Most especially in the early days

¹¹³ Education Department, Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Departmental Instructions Governing Native Education in Assisted Schools (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1922) p. 2

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

of the educational system, Africans were the recipients of only a few years of education. Consequently, they were prepared to train for teaching only at the lower levels. As they reached greater heights in academic attainments, resulting from success in competitive examinations, Africans were permitted to enter teacher-training programs for higher levels. However, there was a persisting problem of insufficiency in the number of teachers at all levels.

Because of limited professional training opportunities, a large proportion of male and female school-leavers joined teacher-training programs. Similarly, nursing training attracted African males and females, since it offered some hope of upward mobility. Although this training generally did not lead to full qualification, nursing was recognized as the only other paid career, other than teaching, offered to the unmarried girl.¹¹⁵ Nursing was encouraged by missions and government because it afforded girls preparation for marriage.

From the inception of Western education in the African community, many changes in attitude occurred. Missionaries realized that Africans were not only educable, but were indeed hungry for formal education. Government authorities acknowledged the value of educated Africans to serve its own

¹¹⁵ Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Conference of Women Educationists, 15th to 17th August, 1950, to Consider the Beecher Report in Relation to the Education of African Girls (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1950) p. 8

needs, and it responded to this awareness by assisting mission schools and establishing its own government schools.

In addition, attitudes in London were changing concerning education in British dependencies. Reflecting on the inefficiency of uncoordinated educational activities of the various missions, the Colonial Office created in 1923 an Advisory Committee on Education. The Committee was an outcome of a 1925 memorandum¹¹⁶ which had been submitted to the Secretary of State on behalf of the Education Committee of the Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland.

The memorandum included a description of education in Africa and a recommendation that missionary organizations cooperate with each other in the colonies of that continent. The Advisory Committee acknowledged the existence of common problems in the various British colonies, and it thus made a commitment to have them officially examined.¹¹⁷ A further committee was then appointed to carefully scrutinize educational matters pertaining to the indigenous populations of British colonies. It was to make its reports to the Secretary of State.

¹¹⁶ J.H. Oldham, who was Secretary of the International Missionary Council, did much of the work on this memorandum.

¹¹⁷ L.J. Lewis, Educational Policy and Practice in British Areas (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1954) p. 13

Successive policies emanating from London influenced education for Africans in Kenya. The 1935 Memorandum on the Education of African Communities¹¹⁸ attempted to relate schools to their communities. Emphasis was placed on the economics of the community and how schools could assist in the improvement of the economy.

The idea of eventual self-government in the African colonies was indicated by the British Government's policy of Mass Education in African Society, formulated in 1943.¹¹⁹ Obviously influenced by signs of restiveness in colonies such as Kenya, this policy drew upon various experiences to develop techniques which would prepare children and adults for eventual self-government. One of the experiences drawn upon was work done among black people in the southern areas of the United States.

Of inestimable value to African education in Kenya were funds allocated by the Colonial Office in London under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1945.¹²⁰ The objectives of this Act were to enhance various types of development over a ten-year period. In the consideration of the Colonial Office, educational development was tantamount to economic development. Through this Development

¹¹⁸ Great Britain Colonial Office, Memorandum on the Education of African Communities, Col. no. 103 (H.M.S.O., 1935) (The 1935 Memorandum)

¹¹⁹ Great Britain Colonial Office, Memorandum on Mass Education in African Society, Col. no. 186 (London: H.M.S.O., 1943)

¹²⁰ L.J. Lewis, Educational Policy and Practice in British Areas (op. cit.) p. 43

and Welfare Act, the Colonial Office affirmed a prerequisite of an educated community if economic development was to ensue.

Not only did missions, local colonial authorities, and the British Government adjust their attitudes towards African education, but so did the white settlers. Though firmly ensconced in their racism, settlers realized the benefits they could derive from Africans trained in agriculture or other skill areas which provided a more comfortable existence for the white community. In this respect, there were settlers who would even permit minimal school facilities on their farms for their laborers and their children.

However, settlers viewed classical education for Africans as dangerous and detrimental to the social order of a society stratified by race and economics. It was therefore not without rancor that many settlers had to compromise their beliefs as the "wind of change" swept through Kenya.

African Initiative

The greatest transition of attitudes toward Western education appeared in the African community. An initial resistance from tribal authorities confronted missionaries when an attempt was made to entice children into an

instructional environment. This missionary activity was viewed by these authorities as a disruptive element in the social milieu. It was not long, however, before Western education not only gained the respect of tribal authorities, but, in addition, a concerted effort was made on their part to provide educational opportunities for an increasing number of African children. To these tribal authorities, the concept of formal education offered prospects of status change and economic prosperity which were unrivalled by any existing methodology.

The first official role played by Africans in decision making for their schools was through the African District Council (ADC).¹²¹ These Councils were established by the Administration to facilitate governance of specifically demarcated districts. The ADC's were responsible for collecting school fees and taxes, which were then turned over to the Central Administration in Nairobi. Since educational expansion in the district depended largely upon Africans themselves, ADC's, whose members were representatives from the district, strongly urged prompt payment of school fees. The rapid growth of schools was evidence of the willingness with which Africans paid their school fees.

However, concurrent with this school growth, was a

¹²¹The A.D.C.'s were headed by Europeans, although Africans were supposed to have some authority.

dissatisfaction which developed regarding mission education. This discontent was particularly evident among the Kikuyu tribe, now some of the most ardent school attendants. Although mission schools were eligible for financial grants from the government if they complied to regulations of the Department of Education, there were still many such schools with inadequately-trained teachers and, consequently, an inferior standard of education.

But more important to many Kikuyus was the adverse position taken by missionaries and government officials to some customary Kikuyu practices. One of the most vital practices in Kikuyu society was the ceremony of female circumcision, which was strongly opposed by both Church and State. Furthermore, Christianity forbade polygamy, and Kikuyus customarily embraced the concept of polygyny.

It was such disagreements which led a Kikuyu, Musa Ndirangu,¹²² as early as 1913, to sever his relationship with the missionaries and to organize the first African school, independent of both missionary and government assistance. Built in Dagoretti, an area not far from Nairobi, the capital, this independent school was to launch a remarkable trend in African education. Moreover, it initiated the first large-scale voluntary assistance to African education,

¹²² For a full narrative given in an interview to the writer, see Appendix. Musa Ndirangu tells the story of the founding of the first independent school for Africans by Africans. Interview August 22, 1973.

which became known as the independent schools movement.

As early as 1922, the spirit of independence had taken hold in the Fort Hall district, now called Murang'a. A meeting of parents and elders was held to express their dissatisfaction with the quality of mission teaching.¹²³ A decision was made that the parents would provide education for their children on a cooperative basis rather than to continue sending them to mission schools. Arrangements were made immediately for accommodations.

However, until the new quarters were completed, which would also house a church, school classes and church services were conducted in the open or in temporary facilities. By 1928, this school and three others, completely independent of missions, were designated "government" schools after having passed inspection and been given approval by the Inspector of Kikuyu province.¹²⁴

The enlargement of the independent schools movement promoted the establishment of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association in 1929. This Association strengthened the bonds of relationship between the schools, and standardized goals in the curriculum. The curriculum was designed so that it was relevant to African life, respectful of African

¹²³ John Anderson, The Stuggle for the School (op. cit.) p. 116

¹²⁴ Ibid.

culture, encouraged agricultural training, as well as other skills, and gave preparation for higher academic achievement.¹²⁵ The schools were desirous of preparing students to cope with Western knowledge while at the same time maintaining an appreciation of the values inherent in their own African culture. This initial endeavor to Africanize the curriculum was the beginning of African nationalism in the schools.

The independent schools were of great assistance to the government and missions. Without the aid of this self-help movement, the government and missions would have been unable to cope with the financial burden of providing education for the large number of Africans determined to have formal training.

The Beecher Report¹²⁶ of 1949 substantiated the immense contribution which Africans were making to primary education jointly through cash, labor, materials, grants, and school fees.¹²⁷ As visible evidence of this assistance, approximately four hundred independent schools were in operation when the Mau Mau rebellion racked the Colony.

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 124

¹²⁶Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, African Education in Kenya (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1949) The Report was named after The Venerable Archdeacon L.J. Beecher, who was appointed chairman of a committee to inquire into the scope, content, and methods of African education, its administration and finance, and to make recommendations.

¹²⁷Ibid.

In spite of the value and purpose which the independent schools served, the government assumed them guilty of harboring the philosophy of subversion, thereby fostering Mau Mau. This suspicion caused the government not only to close all the Kikuyu Independent Schools in 1951, but also to destroy buildings and school records. Schools spared this destruction were given to missions,¹²⁸ with a disregard for the African who legally owned the land on which the school was built. The Kenya Teachers College was taken over by the government and converted into an administration post, as a reminder to the people in the area of the strength of the British force.

As the independent schools movement began to gain momentum, criticism of missionary education by both Africans and Europeans was evoking reaction in government and mission circles. Being fully aware of African dissatisfaction with low-quality mission education programs, the British Government in London decided to take measures to rectify the situation.

This action was to involve the American-based Phelps-Stokes Fund in the education of Africans in Kenya. Acting on the recommendation of the Advisory Committee on Education, the Colonial Office in London solicited finances from the

¹²⁸ Talk with His Excellency President Jomo Kenyatta on July 24, 1973, State House. The President said that restitution of land being used by the missions was still under discussion.

Phelps-Stokes Fund, as well as other organizations, to examine African education in East Africa.¹²⁹ The Fund was further invited to personally conduct this examination.

The Phelps-Stokes Fund, an American education organization, had vested much of its concern and finances in the education of black Americans. Because of its relationship with a black population and its compatibility with British thinking regarding education for black people, which placed great stress on industrial and manual training, the Fund was invited by the Colonial Office to form an Educational Commission for the purpose of examining education in Africa. The Phelps-Stokes Fund had undertaken its own survey of education in West Africa during 1919; now the Phelps-Stokes Educational Commission to East Africa was to make its survey in 1924, under the direction of Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones.¹³⁰

In its observations, the Commission verified the fact that most mission education was of a low quality. Moreover, it had much to say about the relevancy of mission education to the African's needs, which, in the Commission's opinion, was given little consideration.

Drawing comparisons between Africans and American blacks, the Commission's report praised the work of the American,

¹²⁹ L.J. Lewis, Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas (op. cit.) p. 14

¹³⁰ Thomas Jesse Jones, Education in East Africa (London: Edinburgh House Press, n.d.) p. xiii

General Armstrong¹³¹ at Hampton Institute in Virginia. Armstrong had found "book learning" of the old type entirely inadequate for freed slaves after the Civil War. The philosophy of Hampton was that proper knowledge of the plow, the anvil, the hammer, the broom, the frying pan, and the needle was necessary to supplement customary instruction.¹³²

Using as examples Booker T. Washington's industrial training program at Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, and J.E.K. Aggrey's educational work in the Gold Coast,¹³³ the report highly recommended training in agriculture, industry, and home economics.¹³⁴ Such instruction was viewed as having both mental and moral value, which would ultimately ensure positive character training.

Secondary and higher education were given only minimal consideration in the report. Although the Educational Commission endorsed skills and home economic training for the masses, it stated that there was recognition of the need to provide training for leaders in the historical, physical and social sciences, and other disciplines "which white civilization has found valuable."¹³⁵ Therefore, its

¹³¹ General Armstrong was the white founder of Hampton Institute, Virginia, who was a strong proponent of industrial training for Black Americans.

¹³² Thomas Jesse Jones, Education in East Africa (op.cit.) pp. xv-xvi.

¹³³ Now the country of Ghana.

¹³⁴ Thomas Jesse Jones, Education in East Africa (op. cit.) p. xvii

¹³⁵ Ibid., xviii

recommendation was that "the doors of the great universities of Europe and America must be kept open to the rare Native of any nation who is qualified to enter and to profit by the instruction."¹³⁶

The recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Educational Commission were lauded by the British Government, and their implementation was given priority by the Kenya Government. Having been attributed a disparaging assessment by the Phelps-Stokes Educational Commission, mission schools were obliged to revamp their instructional programs, as well as their facilities, particularly if they expected to be recipients of government grants-in-aid.¹³⁷

As a result of the report, strong emphasis in the curriculum of African education was focused on agriculture, home economics, and industrial training. Primary school syllabi included such subjects as Handwork, Nature Study, and Gardening.¹³⁸ Special attention was concentrated on teacher-training courses in agriculture, handicraft, and home economics for all levels.¹³⁹ The Jeanes School,¹⁴⁰ an

¹³⁶Ibid.

¹³⁷James R. Sheffield, Education in Kenya (New York: Teachers College, 1973) p. 18

¹³⁸Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Education Department, Syllabus for African Primary Schools (Nairobi: W. Boyd & Co.) pp. 6-7

¹³⁹Ibid.

¹⁴⁰The Jeanes Fund gave generously to industrial training programs for Black Americans.

industrial institute sponsored by an American Fund, incorporated these subjects in its training program for older students.

In the viewpoint of the Educational Commission, religious training was paramount to the education of African children, in that it inculcated principles of moral conduct and character training which could not be obtained outside the school environment. Government support reinforced this sentiment, since it believed African homes were generally devoid of moral and character training.¹⁴¹ Thus, Christianity and its teachings became an integral part of the training of Africans, although those who had adopted the Moslem religion did not have these teachings imposed upon them.

While renewed interest in African education was being shown by government officials, Africans had already begun to promulgate their aspirations for better educational opportunities. This was illustrated by African initiative in contributing to the founding of Alliance High School, the first African secondary school in the Colony. Alliance was built from the balance of the East Africa War Relief, a fund contributed by Africans for Africans.¹⁴² Opened in 1926

¹⁴¹L.J. Lewis, Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas (op. cit.) p. 141

¹⁴²In a discussion with President Jomo Kenyatta at State House, Nairobi on July 24, 1973, the writer was told how the President had assisted in the raising of funds for Alliance High School.

with a highly-selective student body of twenty-six boys, Alliance was to maintain its status of an exemplary educational institution from the days of colonialism to post-independence.

Missionary involvement in African secondary education was precipitated by the issuance of a 1923 White Paper.¹⁴³ This Paper of British Government policy acknowledged Britain's acceptance of the fact that Kenya was an African territory. It further stated that "the interests of the African natives must be paramount, and that if, and when, those interests and the interests of the immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail."¹⁴⁴ However, policies actually practiced within Kenya completely negated this dictum.

Nonetheless, the possibility of actuating Kenya Colony into a white man's country was given a setback. Missionaries were perceptive to the irrevocable stance of the British Government on this issue, and thus they altered future educational planning.

The priority of missions to evangelize among Africans superseded all other considerations. Being fully aware of

¹⁴³The Devonshire Paper (op. cit.)

¹⁴⁴Ibid.

African obduracy for higher academic attainment, missions disregarded their own financial insufficiencies and struggled to meet the demands for more schools.¹⁴⁵ To retain their influence on African education, Protestant missions made a decision to be the vanguard in African secondary education by means of collaboration. This joint body named itself "Alliance."

The physical proximity of educational and evangelical activities sponsored by Protestant missions inadvertently induced ecumenism in Kenya. Four missions - the Church Missionary Society, the Church of Scotland Mission, the African Inland Mission, and the United Methodist Mission - were all operating in Kikuyu, a small area close to Nairobi. A 1913 Conference in London culminated in an agreement by these missions to unite their educational activities in Kikuyu. By 1918, the Alliance of Protestant Missions was formulated and subsequently founded the Alliance High School.¹⁴⁶

The high school assumed the name "Alliance" from its sponsors. However, "alliance" held a different interpretation to Africans. The name connoted an alliance between the Church, the State, and the People. Also,

¹⁴⁵J. Stephen Smith, The History of Alliance High School (Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books, 1973) p. 12

¹⁴⁶Ibid., p. 14

the school seemed appropriately named because it indicated that the intention of the school was to make its facilities available to children from all parts of the country and not just from one area.¹⁴⁷

This secondary school was the realization of an educational ideal for Africans, and their participation in the development of the Alliance High School remained constant. A staunch supporter of Alliance was Jomo Kenyatta, destined to become Kenya's Head of State thirty-seven years later. School fees were paid by Kenyatta when his brother Muigai enrolled with the first group of students into Alliance.¹⁴⁸

Over the years, the educational philosophy of Alliance was modified by Kenya's political and social environments. But most significantly, this modification was due to African motivation and achievement. The educational philosophy also incorporated the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Educational Commission, particularly the high esteem conceded to the teachings of Christian doctrines. Moreover, the first headmaster selected for Alliance had been a recipient of a Phelps-Stokes grant, to study educational

¹⁴⁷Discussion with President Jomo Kenyatta July 24, 1973.

¹⁴⁸J. Stephen Smith, The History of the Alliance High School (op. cit.) p. 26

methods used in America for its black population.¹⁴⁹ Another visit had been made to South Africa for the same purpose.

The curriculum of Alliance, however, was implicit in its acknowledgement of a need to adjust to forces within the political and social environments of the country. For the first time, Africans were allowed to acquire two years of literary education which advanced them into a category of potential higher educational preparedness. In his annual report of 1926, the Director of Education, J.R. Orr, admitted that this could be thought by some to be a "mistake," but in reality it was not. Explaining the "project method" being used increasingly, Orr elaborated:

By this method the attempt is made to make use of the "urge," the driving-power inherent in the instincts, in moulding the mind and hand, and so to make every activity of the school a purposeful activity.¹⁵⁰

The introduction of a more classical education into the African school system concretized efforts of the African community to extend their goals for even higher academic achievement. It was for this reason that Mbiyu Koinange, in 1927, future director of the independent Kenya Teachers College, left Alliance High School to pursue higher studies

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 19

¹⁵⁰ Education Department Annual Report, 1926 (op. cit.) p. 28

at Hampton Institute in the United States of America. Five years later, Eliud W. Mathu, who became the first African in the Legislative Council, departed from Alliance to Fort Hare College, South Africa, to finally enter Oxford University in London. Makerere College¹⁵¹ in Uganda admitted five Alliance students from 1927 to 1933. One of these students, Jason P. Likimani, who became Director of Medical Services after independence, was the first African from Kenya to study medicine. The colonial administration did not look favorably on these departures, but this did not deter the students from seeking educational opportunities elsewhere.

Alliance High School was structured on the British system of secondary education. It later served as a model for the development of other secondary schools in the Colony. Acceptance into the school entailed a careful scrutiny of a candidate's previous examination results and consideration of his apparent potential for development under the rigorous academic and religious curriculum.

Because student progress in the new high school was determined by examinations, in keeping with the British system, Alliance students sat for the first upgraded Junior

¹⁵¹ Makerere College was used by students from Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika (Tanzania).

Secondary School Certificate in 1927. This examination was given after the first two years of secondary education. Without any revision work prior to the examination, fourteen of the twenty-four who took the examination passed.¹⁵²

There were two compulsory subjects in the examination: English and Arithmetic. Optional subjects included Religious Knowledge, History and Geography, Algebra, Geometry, Biology, Art, and Agriculture with Hygiene. No student was allowed to take more than five subjects, and a pass had to be obtained in three subjects.

In 1928, the school began preparing students to take the Senior Secondary Examination; in 1939, students were being given instruction to sit for the Cambridge School Certificate Examination¹⁵³ to be given the following year. The two candidates who sat for this examination, which was constructed and graded at Cambridge, passed.¹⁵⁴

With this twelve years of formal education, students were more likely to enter teacher-training institutes. The teaching profession was to remain for many years the major field in which educated Africans would enter because of their exclusion from other employment.

¹⁵² J. Stephen Smith, The History of the Alliance High School (op. cit.) p. 35

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 104

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

It was not long before Alliance held the highest record of successful examinations over all other secondary schools in Kenya, which included European and Indian schools. The credibility of its academic standing made Alliance the most sought-after for admission even when the small number of secondary schools for Africans slowly began to develop.¹⁵⁵

Although some success in secondary education was visible, due largely to the continued pressure of the African community, little was being done for girls. Alliance High School had unprecedentedly enrolled two girls as an experiment in 1938, but it was not until the Beecher Report of 1949 that specific reference was made by the government of the neglect in education for girls. In a 1950 Conference of Women Educationists, the Minister for Education, E.A. Vasey, pleaded for consideration of the recommendations in the report. He stressed the need for flexibility in educational opportunities for girls so as to assure maximum development of their potentials.¹⁵⁶

Girls were largely handicapped for entrance into secondary schools because of their inadequate preparation through primary education. School officials believed it

¹⁵⁵ Alliance still was in high demand by African students even after European schools were desegregated.

¹⁵⁶ Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Conference of Women Educationists (op. cit.) p. 13

practical to teach girls homemaking and smallholdings farming, to the exclusion of subjects which would qualify them for secondary education. There was also a heavy drop-out rate in both the primary and intermediate levels due to various reasons, which was applicable to boys as well as to girls. Therefore, selection of girls for secondary education was minimal.

The first secondary school for African girls, The African Girls High School, was opened in 1948 as an affiliate of the Alliance High School. One of the early girl students enrolled at Alliance before the completion of the girl's school was Joan Gitau. At the end of the school year, Joan had surpassed all the boys in her examination results and became the first girl from Kenya to enter Makerere University, which held a special relationship with London University. Holder of a teaching diploma, Joan was selected Headmistress of The African Girls High School in 1969.¹⁵⁷

Another early girl student at Alliance and the Girls School was Margaret Wambui Kenyatta, daughter of the future president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta. Margaret was elected first African woman mayor of Nairobi in 1971, after having

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J. Stephen Smith, The History of the Alliance High School
(op. cit.) p. 258

served as deputy mayor since 1969.

African Nationalism

During the 1950's, the political environment both stimulated and curtailed African educational pursuits. Oppressed and frustrated, Africans were agitating for equal rights and restitution of landholdings. Through constant pressure, the barriers to educational advancement were becoming less formidable.

However, financial repercussions from involvement in World War II disallowed full compliance to African demands for schools, even had the colonial government felt inclined to comply to the requests. Missions suffered drastic cuts in government grants and were devoid of resources from which to substitute the loss. In addition, the State of Emergency imposed during the Mau Mau rebellion catapulted the Colony into a financial situation so critical that possibilities for educational expansion were even more remote.

It was in this climate of educational atrophy that Africans were supported by their growing nationalism and set out on a search for alternatives to their educational dilemma. Their interest ignited an extraordinary confrontation between British colonial intransigence and African nationalist defiance.

American institutions were overwhelmed by letters from Africans appealing for admission and scholarship assistance. Once again, the colonial government was to witness a large-scale independence movement by Africans reminiscent of the independent schools movement. Much to their dismay, local administrators and white settlers were powerless to contain the movement, although attempts were made.¹⁵⁸

In order to comply with government regulations forbidding Africans to gather in what might be suspected as political meetings, potential students maneuvered their fund-raising activities circumspectly. Seizing upon their only privilege for large gatherings, these prospective students manipulated tea parties into fund-raising campaigns.

Villagers responded zealously to the appeals of their young people, and financial sacrifices from a poor population enabled many of the aspirants to realize their educational ambition of travelling to the United States, Canada, and subsequently, Europe, for further studies. In the forefront of the contributors were women, who were predominantly illiterate but knowledgeable of what they wanted their children to have.

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Because of working with the students, the writer knew there were some who had difficulty obtaining passports, money exchanges, and of acquiring other documents necessary for travel.

Fund-raising was not the only burden placed upon those desirous of leaving the Colony. Because the government feared this exodus, it devised tactics to discourage the departures. American education was denigrated as being inferior, regardless of the outstanding academic achievements of some of its educational institutions.

Students leaving for the United States or European countries were labelled inferior, since most had been unable to receive placement in the highly-selective and limited local institutions for higher learning. Even though the government had expanded the Royal College¹⁵⁹ in Kenya, and Makerere University in Uganda was admitting more Kenyans, the majority of Africans seeking advanced education were excluded from these facilities.

A further impediment to the departing students was the difficulty some of them faced obtaining the necessary travel documents. All of these incidents tested to the utmost the students' perseverance and persistence.

Nevertheless, Africans failed to be distracted from their objectives. In September 1960, a record number of 289 students flew to the United States under the auspices of the African-American Students Foundation, to actualize their educational goals. The spirit of self-help which had

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Most female students were channeled into domestic science programs at the Royal College.

spurred this "airlift" was to be revived a few years later in the "harambee" schools movement, and yet still later, in the "technology" schools movement.

African nationalism was recognized, if not completely respected, by the British Government. In 1951, A.L. Binns was appointed chairman of an East and Central Africa study group, which, unfortunately, was exclusive of Africans. However, the study group set its goals to make recommendations to the Colonial Office.¹⁶⁰

The Binns Report was the subject of discussion, along with the Jeffery Report on West Africa, at the Cambridge Conference organized by the Colonial Office. No dramatic revision or implementation of fresh ideas occurred in school curricula from this conference, but the sentiment had been expressed that funding for education should be prioritized. This suggestion did not materialize, however, until Africans came into power.

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The study group, under the chairmanship of Binns (Binns Report), took back to England views on education they had received from various sectors of the East African community.

CHAPTER III

INDEPENDENCE AND AFTER: ACCELERATION
OF FORMAL EDUCATION

Kenya was granted a hard-won independence from British colonialism in 1963. Jomo Kenyatta, president of the ruling majority party, Kenya African National Union, became the new nation's first Prime Minister. One year later, December 12, 1964, his title changed to that of President of the Republic of Kenya.

Freedom from colonialism brought forth the need for a new racial composition in the Civil Service, Cabinet of Ministers, and Members of Parliament, with Africans assuming a majority representation in these capacities. As a consequence, crash training programs were hastily organized for Africans in order to replace Europeans and Asians in government service. Coupled with the need to train civil servants was also the necessity to Africanize the business sector. It was recognized by industrialists that their continued prosperity in Kenya was predicated on an eventual Africanization of their personnel.

The teaching profession was severely taxed by the withdrawal of teachers from its ranks, who became Members of Parliament, Cabinet Ministers, business trainees, and government officials. Since the teaching field had been

the primary source of employment for educated Africans during the colonial period, independence created some disruption in the supply of educators, especially during the early years of freedom.

Kenya was in great need of trained manpower. The training of Africans for high- and middle-level employment had been virtually ignored by the colonial administration. The newly-independent government found itself with outstanding shortages of manpower to replace expatriates.¹⁶¹ People were needed for occupations which required university or professional training.

Demands were heavy for doctors, mechanical and electrical engineers, architects, surveyors, pharmacists, physical planners, veterinarians, lawyers, journalists, and graduate secondary school teachers. There were shortages in primary school teachers, nurses, non-certified accountants, draughtsmen, engineering technicians, aircraft pilots, navigators and flight engineers.

Little had been done to train African secretaries, stenographers, bookkeepers and other clerical workers. This particular category of manpower was to suffer the greatest shortage of all after independence, even though

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Expatriates are those not holding Kenya citizenship, who have been hired largely because they hold skills not obtainable, or are in short supply, in the African community.

training programs were increased.¹⁶² In order to develop the country's potentials, the government was compelled to accelerate its programs for education.

Education had been a major concern of the electorate during the pre-independence election campaign. The Kenya African National Union, which was voted into power, had made a pledge to eradicate poverty, disease and ignorance. Particular attention was given to education by this political party, showing sensitivity on the part of its politicians toward one of the main grievances among the masses.

The Kenya African National Union dedicated itself to formal education by issuing its KANU Manifesto, which promised free and universal primary education to all Kenya citizens. It stated:

The KANU Government is guided by the principle that every child in Kenya shall have a minimum of seven years free education. In pursuance of that great objective our first requirement has been to provide the necessary school facilities and teachers.¹⁶³

KANU Members of Parliament were aware that this promise of free and universal education could not be offered lightly without prospects of fulfillment. The KANU government carried the onus of reconciling the country's poor economic condition with the unrelenting demands of the population for more schools, as well as other social services.

¹⁶² Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, High-Level Manpower Requirements and Resources in Kenya 1964-1970 (Nairobi: Publications Office, Government Press, 1965)
p. iii

¹⁶³ KANU Manifesto (Nairobi: Kenya African National Union) p. 6

It was this problem, among many others, with which Jomo Kenyatta and his government had to wrestle as the nation struggled to stabilize itself. The promise of free education remained in the forefront of expectations a decade after independence.

New Leaders and New Directions

With the emergence of new leadership in Kenya after independence, educational policies were reviewed. The need to restructure the educational system was deemed a priority. Many of the government's leaders were former teachers; others were the first Africans to receive secondary education at Alliance High School. They were products of the era when secondary education for Africans was almost non-existent.

The Cabinet of Ministers, in particular, was heavily weighted with Alliance alumni. The Minister for Education, Mbiyu Koinange, had proceeded from Alliance for further studies in America and England. The Minister for Health, Dr. Njoroge Mungai, completed his secondary education at Alliance and moved on to Fort Hare College, South Africa, and Stanford University in America, where he received his medical degree. Dr. Julius Kiano, another alumnus of Alliance, and Minister for Commerce and Industry, had gone

to Uganda and the United States to obtain the first Ph.D. among Kenyan Africans. Others who had attended Alliance High School were the Minister for Lands and Settlement, the Minister for Finance, Secretary to the Cabinet and Head of the Civil Service, and the Attorney-General.¹⁶⁴ Jomo Kenyatta, instrumental in the construction of Alliance, and himself a former teacher after his studies in England and Russia, continued to be a prime-mover in education in his capacity as leader of the Cabinet of Ministers.

Kenya's independent government immediately embarked upon revamping the educational system. One of the most significant achievements in 1964 was the abolition of racial schools. All European and Asian schools were commanded to open their doors to African students. The policy of integration had actually begun on a small scale in 1963, just prior to independence.

However, only eighty-one Africans were able to secure places in high-cost European secondary schools at that time.¹⁶⁵ By 1964, the year following independence, the number of Africans in former European schools had increased to 286.¹⁶⁶

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These were Angaine, Gichuru, Ndegwa, and Njonjo.

¹⁶⁵

Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education Annual Summary 1964 (Nairobi: Government Printer) p. 2

¹⁶⁶

Ibid.

The government donated bursaries to those students who needed financial assistance to attend these schools.

After independence a common syllabus was used in all schools. There were no longer examinations labeled "European," "Asian," and "African," as all students took a common examination. Racial discrimination was thereby ruled out in school curricula planning.

In December of 1963, just after independence, the Minister for Education appointed a Kenya Education Commission which was chaired by Professor Simeon H. Ominde, a Ph.D. Kenyan educationist.* The terms of reference for this Commission were:

- (a) to appropriately express the aspirations and cultural values of an independent African country;
- (b) take account of the need for trained manpower for economic development and for other activities in the life of the nation;
- (c) take advantage of the initiative and service of Regional and local authorities and voluntary bodies;
- (d) contribute to the unity of Kenya;
- (e) respect the educational needs and capacities of children;

(f) have due regard for the resources, both in money and in personnel, that are likely to become available for educational services; and

(g) provide for the principal educational requirements of adults.¹⁶⁷

After surveying the existing educational resources of Kenya, the Commission was to report to the Minister for Education, in an advisory capacity, to formulate and implement national policies for education.

In what was to become known as the Ominde Report, the Commission, comprised largely of African educators and community development leaders, recommended a revision of the syllabi in order that it would present an appraisal of facts and events in history as viewed through African eyes.¹⁶⁸ A call was made to African writers for textbooks which would promptly rectify historical misinterpretations.

Another recommendation by the Commission concerned language. Contrary to the views of colonial educators, the Commission advocated the early use of English as the language for instruction. The rationale was that this would prevent the traumatic transition from a vernacular as the

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Government of Kenya, Kenya Education Commission Report Part I (Nairobi: The English Press Ltd., 1964) p. 2

168

Ibid.

medium of instruction to that of English at a later stage. English should therefore become the medium of instruction in the first year of primary school.¹⁶⁹

The Commission made it clear that this recommendation did not imply negativism towards vernaculars. It was, however, an attempt to confront realistically a situation where students were compelled to sit for highly competitive examinations, and also were expected to exhibit competency in the English language.

In a review of the examination system, the Kenya Education Commission was distressed by the fact that students failing examinations were forever labeled "failures." This was especially pertinent to those who took and failed the Kenya Preliminary Examination (K.P.E.), which was taken by all students at the end of their seventh school year.

Because it believed that the nation could not be built "on the backs of failures,"¹⁷⁰ the Commission recommended that all students receive a certificate upon completion of the K.P.E. Such a certificate was envisioned as a means of inculcating positive self-images in the younger generation, even though they might not have achieved a passing grade in the examination. The possession of a

169

Ibid., p. 60 There was later a reversal on this. Swahili became the national language and was taught in all schools.

170 Ibid., p. 23

certificate would also keep employment opportunities open to school-leavers whether or not they had passed the Kenya Preliminary Examination.

Construction and grading of examinations was another concern of the Commission. Secondary school courses were historically constructed and graded in Britain. The Commission felt that change was necessary in this pattern, and therefore recommended the establishment of an East African Examinations Board. This Board would hold the responsibility of examining all East African students.¹⁷¹

Moreover, the Commission hoped that less emphasis would be placed on the examination system, but rather, that children would be encouraged to acquire knowledge for their own advancement and not for the sole purpose of passing an examination.

In addition to its recommendations for the upgrading of music and art, the Commission noted the dismal failure of teaching methodologies for agriculture. It therefore suggested that school gardens become outdoor laboratories for practical experimentations in science.¹⁷² The Commission recommended a complete break from the methods used in the past to teach agriculture. The word 'agriculture' had

¹⁷¹ Ibid., p. 61

¹⁷² Ibid., p. 59

become distasteful to the African community because it was associated with punishments and tedious chores.¹⁷³

The two-part Ominde Report was a comprehensive study of not only primary and secondary school levels of education, but also that of adult, technical and commercial education. It endeavored to encompass a variety of educational programs in its review. Recommendations for these programs were aimed at coordinating educational activities so that the country could maximize its manpower necessities.

In a design to improve and enrich the curriculum, the Ministry of Education established a Curriculum Development and Research Center. It was attached to the Kenya Institute of Education,¹⁷⁴ which provided teachers and students with training programs for the improvement of teaching methodologies. The Curriculum Development and Research Center introduced educational innovations into the primary school system.

One of these innovations was the "new mathematics," a methodology of teaching mathematics which had been adopted by some Western and African countries. Another input to the curriculum was the New Primary Approach, a program which encouraged learning that was child-centered.

173 Ibid.

174 James R. Sheffield, Education in Kenya (op. cit.) p. 94

This deviated from the existing system of rote-learning, which was teacher-centered.

The Kenya Institute of Education not only developed training methodologies for teachers and students, but it also acted as an advisory body to the government. One of its greatest achievements was the impetus given toward the Africanization of the curriculum.

Africans had long been aware of deficiencies in the educational program of the colonial administration, especially in the treatment of African history. Textbooks had focused on the accomplishments of the Western world. An in-depth knowledge was gained of white nations, but comparatively little was taught which gave Africans an awareness of their own history, or that of other African peoples. This appeared to imply that Africans either had no history worth relating, or their accomplishments, if any, were of little consequence.

Art, music and the sciences were also areas neglected in the colonial period. These fields were now considered to be of contemporary relevance, and had need to be upgraded in the curriculum.

Major Changes and New Shifts

Independence brought several alterations in Kenya's school system. Of great significance was the change of

relationship between Church and State. During the colonial era, churches and missions maintained control over their curricula, and were the decision-making bodies on the content of their syllabi. With the advent of independence, this privilege was withdrawn from religious organizations, and all curricula were devised by the Ministry of Education. Even religious instruction came under the supervision of the Ministry, as religion was considered to be a subject rather than a vehicle for proselytization.¹⁷⁵ Standardization continued to be under the purview of the Ministry of Education, as it had been during colonialism.

Many within the Church community were dismayed by the government's new policies, even though the government had affirmed its desire to collaborate with religious organizations in educational programs. However, it was made clear by the government that there was no longer to be supremacy of Church over State in matters of education.

Not wishing to cease their activities in Kenya, churches and missions agreed to comply with the government's directives. Education continued to receive high priority in their social welfare programs.

The National Christian Council of Kenya, an organization

¹⁷⁵ Religion is now taught as a subject in primary and secondary schools.

uniting various denominations of churches and missions, showed a growing concern for the nation's large numbers of unemployed school-leavers. City and town populations steadily increased with the influx of youths seeking jobs. Few were equipped with skills required for industry; even fewer had sufficient education to be absorbed into government service. Moreover, these undereducated young people were further victimized by having to compete with older job seekers, who invariably received preference.

The Christian Council commissioned a study of this unemployment problem.¹⁷⁶ Its findings resulted in the establishment of village polytechnics and rural training centers. These institutions aimed at developing means of exploiting existing and potential resources within rural areas. When this had been accomplished, it was hoped that school-leavers would find sufficient employment opportunities in rural districts, thus curtailing massive migrations to urban sectors. Twenty training centers were built and operated by the Council within a few years after independence.¹⁷⁷

Churches and missions played a leading role, through the Christian Council, in spearheading programs essential to the development of the nation, such as medical, agricultural, and non-formal education activities. The Kenya Government

¹⁷⁶ The study was called "After School What?"
¹⁷⁷ Republic of Kenya, Adult Education in Kenya, Decadal Report (Nairobi: Government Printer) p. 20

voiced its appreciation of these services; however, it nonetheless reprimanded the Council when there appeared to be interference by the Council in political matters.¹⁷⁸

The new government showed a determination to uphold its policy of disallowing the Church undue influence over matters of State. This policy was in direct contrast to that of the colonial administration. Participation in the nation's social concerns was what the independent government desired of the Christian Council. When it failed to be participatory, according to the views of government leaders, the Council was rebuked.¹⁷⁹

Reliance on voluntary and private organizations did not divorce the government from its own commitment to education and other social services. The Ministry of Education was constantly overhauling its administrative machinery so that educational opportunities were more evenly distributed throughout the country.

African political frustrations in colonial Kenya were compounded by the struggle for more and better schools. Independence eased political encumbrances; it also accelerated demands for educational improvements. The

¹⁷⁸

East African Standard, February 4, 1974, p. 1. The Vice-President of Kenya, Daniel arap Moi, called for the churches' cooperation so that they and the state could work in harmony for the good of the country.

¹⁷⁹

Ibid.

development of secondary schools became an educational priority.

The colonial administration had restricted and restrained the number of Africans allowed into secondary education. Expansion of secondary schools during this period was limited and of insufficient quantity to accommodate students who were academically and intellectually prepared for secondary education. The independent government set out to alter this pattern of extreme exclusivity in secondary-school training.

However, the government's major impediment to school expansion was financial inadequacy. It was in this period of dilemma that communities rallied to assist their government by providing secondary educational facilities through self-help efforts. "Harambee"¹⁸⁰ schools, as they were called, germinated so rapidly that they simultaneously relieved a bottleneck at the primary level, and plunged the government into new worries about finances. These schools, which were built and financed by various communities, were proof of a willingness by many to exercise their ability to do certain things for themselves. However, the government's worry was that it was expected to eventually manage and

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"Harambee" is a Swahili word interpreted as "let's pull together."

finance all "harambee" schools under the Ministry of Education.

Although self-help and cooperation had been requested for the building of roads and health centers, also in short supply, only the building of secondary schools evoked an overwhelming response from communities.¹⁸¹ Cognizant of its financial stringencies, but yet reluctant to stifle self-help endeavors, the government was obliged to warn against the danger of an over-expansion of "harambee" schools.¹⁸² This warning, however, did little to contain the self-help movement in the building of secondary schools.

The government attempted to cope with this situation by aiding those "harambee" schools which were deemed sufficiently viable and capable of offering quality education. Along with this undertaking was the need to expand government schools. This expansion was proceeding at a rate commensurate with financial capabilities.

The phenomenal growth of secondary education is best exemplified by a comparison between the year 1964 and the year 1971. In 1964, there were 222 government-maintained and assisted secondary schools.¹⁸³ In 1971, there were 809

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Report: Conference on the University of East Africa
(Kampala: Uganda Press Trust Ltd., 1967) Speech delivered
by the Minister for Education, Kenya, J.J.M. Nyagah. p. 24

182

Ibid.

183

University of Nairobi, Report of the University Grants
Committee, February 1972 p. 31

secondary schools, and of this number 478 schools were un-aided.¹⁸⁴

Secondary school enrollment also took a startling leap upwards between 1964 and 1971. In 1964, 27,476 students were enrolled in government-maintained and assisted secondary schools.¹⁸⁵ By 1971, enrollment had increased to 140,719, with 59,676 of these students attending unaided secondary schools.¹⁸⁶

By 1969, Kenya had one of the highest rates of educational expenditures in all of Africa.¹⁸⁷ Despite this burden on the national budget, educational opportunities continued to be explored. One outcome of this exploration was the abolition of fees for students in Forms 5 and 6, the last two years of secondary school. This action subsequently gave a larger number of students access to a university education.

University education underwent dramatic transitions in the years following independence. An expanded secondary school system streamed ever larger numbers into higher education. This necessitated an adjustment of programs and

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 66

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 4

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 73

administrative policies in those institutions offering advanced-level courses.

The structure of higher education was also re-shaped. The Royal College, a non-degree granting institution and sole facility for higher education in colonial Kenya, became one of three colleges¹⁸⁸ which formed the East African University.¹⁸⁹ It assumed the name of the University College of Nairobi. With Jomo Kenyatta as its Chancellor, the University College granted its first degrees in November 1964. At the graduation exercise, forty students received Bachelor's degrees, one a Master's degree, and four gained diplomas in Engineering.¹⁹⁰

Also in 1964, students at the University College formed a National Union of Kenya Students. This evolution in higher education continued as the East African University structure dissolved, and all three University Colleges in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda became autonomous. Kenya's university was known as the University of Nairobi.

Elevation to the status of a full university placed emphasis on the need to enlarge the institution's academic and professional departments, as well as their staffs. As

¹⁸⁸ The other two were Makerere in Uganda, and Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania.

¹⁸⁹ The East African University disbanded in 1970, but an Inter-University Committee was established so that specializations within the three Universities could be shared.

¹⁹⁰ James R. Sheffield, Education in the Republic of Kenya (Washington: U.S. Government Printing, 1971) p. 20

it was, there were already insufficient higher education facilities for the nation's population. An estimated accounting revealed that during 1964/65, a total of 4,506 men, women, and children were continuing their education beyond the boundaries of Kenya.¹⁹¹ The overwhelming majority of this number came from the African community. Moreover, their choice of careers indicated a more diversified vocational distribution. Teaching was no longer the profession receiving major concentration.

Teachers were an essential component of the educational system, and Kenya had long been faced with a shortage. In particular, there was a significantly low supply of Africans trained for secondary teaching, and dependency on expatriate staff was heavy.¹⁹²

The University took a leading part in alleviating this shortage. A Department of Education was established at the University which offered a Bachelor's degree in Education, and a one-year post-graduate diploma course for teachers. In addition, the University affiliated itself with Kenyatta College¹⁹³ and the Kenya Science Teachers College,¹⁹⁴ which were supplying some of the nation's secondary school teachers.

¹⁹¹ Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education Annual Summary 1964 (Nairobi: Government Printer) p. 12

¹⁹² James R. Sheffield, Education in Kenya (op. cit.) p. 94

¹⁹³ Formerly known as the Kenyatta Teachers College, it is located on the premises which used to house the British Army in Kenya.

¹⁹⁴ The Kenya Science Teachers College was originally funded by the Swedish Government in its largest grant-of-aid.

These two teacher-training institutions had begun their early programs with the assistance of expatriate teachers. This reliance on expatriates showed a gradual decrease over the years.

Teacher-training objectives were consolidated by the affiliation of the University, Kenyatta College, and the Science Teachers College. Furthermore, greater enrollment of non-graduate students in teacher-training programs portended well for the replacement of expatriate teachers. Enrollment figures revealed that in 1966, 397 students were taking courses in education; in 1970, there were 1,112.¹⁹⁵ Most secondary schools had acquired African headmasters by the early 1970's.

Rapid educational changes in independent Kenya demanded a periodic review of what had transpired. An assessment of the educational program was essential for future directions in planning and financing educational enterprises. In 1964, the government had appointed the Kenya Education Commission to this responsibility. On May 20, 1970, a government agreement was signed with the International Development Association, to carry out a similar assignment.¹⁹⁶ This Association had previously done a study on Kenya's educational

¹⁹⁵ James R. Sheffield, Education in Kenya (op. cit.) p. 94

¹⁹⁶ Team Leader was Gordon S. Bessey, C.B.E., Director of Education, County of Cumberland.

system¹⁹⁷ and was instrumental in financing the expansion of secondary schools and primary teachers' colleges between 1966 and 1970.

The 1970 agreement with the International Development Association was expected to bring additional expansion of schools, as well as recommendations for curricula, examinations, syllabi, textbooks, and materials. The government was also seeking recommendations for teacher-training programs, the Kenya Institute of Education, the Inspectorate of the Ministry of Education, and the teacher-training program under the University's Department of Education.

For the purpose of this study, members of the Association called themselves the "Curriculum Development Mission." The Ominde Report of 1964, named from the Kenya Education Commission, was used as a basis for investigation of progress achieved by 1971.

The Mission's Report noted that Kenya had attained rapid expansion of education since its independence. Primary school enrollment had risen at an annual rate of 6.5 per cent from 1963 to 1970.¹⁹⁸ Further, education had captured the attention of nomadic tribes in remote areas. The government

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These studies helped to finance expansion in secondary schools and provided aid for primary teachers' colleges.

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Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education, A Study of Curriculum Development in Kenya (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1972) p. 7

had established boarding schools and remitted fees in order to encourage greater attendance.¹⁹⁹

In the primary schools, success was observable from the New Primary Approach, aimed at improving classroom teaching and materials for instruction. Pre-school training of youngsters was gaining in popularity, and a rash of centers in both rural and urban areas provided working parents with an assurance that their children would be reading, writing, and handling number work by the time they entered the first year of primary school.²⁰⁰

The teaching of English and its use as a medium of instruction had not precluded development of materials for teaching vernaculars. The General Methods Section of the Kenya Institute of Education had already produced a series of first readers, which were translated into fourteen Kenyan languages.²⁰¹ The readers were designed to facilitate language learning.

The Mission evaluated the expansion of secondary education as "spectacular." This growth was attributed to two things: national manpower needs in the middle and higher levels; and the response from individuals and communities seeking to advance themselves. Both aided and unaided self-

199 Ibid.

200 Ibid.

201 Ibid.

help community schools were of primary inspiration to this development.²⁰²

A marked expansion of alternative secondary technical and vocational schools was observed. Technical and vocational education presently made provision for the attainment of School Certificate subjects and Higher School Certificate courses. Trade courses previously included in the curriculum were replaced with craft work strongly based on theory. Industrial arts was now part of the secondary school curriculum.²⁰³

Higher education also came under the Mission's review. It was noted that enrollment in 1963/64 was 571 students; by 1970, it had risen to 2,655.²⁰⁴ Concurrent with additional students was more diversity in course offerings. Child study, the economics of education, testing and measurement, language learning, and African studies were only a few of the University's new areas of competency.

The Mission recorded its admiration for the advances in Kenya's programs of adult education, post-training

202

Ibid., p. 8

203

Ibid.

204

Ibid., p. 7

facilities, radio and correspondence programs, and other voluntary private educational endeavors. The favorable report submitted by the Mission paved the way for a further invigoration of educational programs.

Particular attention was given to adult education under the new government. The country was faced with a problem where 40 per cent of the school-age children would not receive formal education until they became adults,²⁰⁵ due largely to financial privation. Of the 60 per cent privileged to be in school, only three-quarters of that number would succeed in obtaining entrance to secondary schools, and 0.5 per cent entrance to the University.²⁰⁶

The sizeable percentage of untrained adults posed ominous dangers to the economic development of Kenya. As a measure to overcome this obstacle to development, Parliament passed a Board of Adult Education Act,²⁰⁷ which paved the way for new programming in adult education.

In its initial operation, the Board of Adult Education was placed under the aegis of the Ministry of Education; later it was moved to the Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services. Nevertheless, there remained an affiliation with the Ministry of Education, which designed syllabi

²⁰⁵ James R. Sheffield, Education in Kenya (op. cit.) p. 73

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ The Act was passed in 1966, and it gave the Board responsibility for advising the Minister of Education on matters relating to adult education.

and trained teachers to work with adults. In addition, various government ministries²⁰⁸ collaborated in adult education programs with the aim of effecting a correspondence between the education of adults and the development needs of the nation.

~~Community response to non-formal and formal education~~ continued to spiral upward as the nation neared its tenth year of independence. An indication of this trend was seen in school enrollment during the severe drought of 1971. The drought pervaded the remotest parts of the country, where school enrollment was just beginning to show some increase. Fearing a reduction in the number of enrollees, the government waived payment of school fees in severely drought-stricken areas.

In its end-of-the-year report, the government recorded the fact that those areas most affected by the drought had the highest percentage of increase in school enrollment.²⁰⁹ This rise in school attendance contributed to the necessity for the construction of 285 new schools across the country between 1971 and 1972.²¹⁰ Not only was there acceleration in school attendance and school building, but greater

²⁰⁸ Republic of Kenya, Adult Education in Kenya, Decadal Report (op. cit.) p. 20

²⁰⁹ Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education, Annual Report 1971 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1972) pp. 5-6

²¹⁰ Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education, Annual Report 1972 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1973) p. 5

numbers of students were also successfully completing their examinations.

Technology captured the minds of Kenyans in the 1970's. There was a growing realization that Kenya was handicapped by its strong emphasis on literary education and its weak programs for technological training. There was no way to be free of dependency on expatriates unless the indigenous population was equipped to provide required services.

Despite the various training programs which the government, churches, and private organizations were operating, there was an obvious need for broader scope and larger facilities if technological training was to make a significant impact on the economy and functions of the country. But financial constraints precluded massive government input to such planning, while churches and private organizations were similarly constrained.

The spirit of community self-help once again came to the government's rescue. Planning for technological institutes became a matter of pride in country-wide communities. Fundraising efforts included such activities as dances, sports events and walkathons. Participation in these self-help gatherings was shared by members from every strata of the society, and the government gave them its endorsement.

The first self-help institute of technology was opened in 1973. Significant in this opening was the fact that its location, Kiambu, was where the first independent school was operated during the colonial era. It was also where the first secondary school was founded, and where girls were, for the first time, allowed a secondary education.

One of the most dramatic episodes in the development of education in Kenya occurred on December 12, 1973, the nation's tenth independence anniversary. On this occasion, President Jomo Kenyatta issued a decree that, henceforth, all primary education from Standard I to Standard IV was to be free. The announcement was the initial step towards fulfilling the promise of seven years free education for every child in Kenya.

The President's decree relieved a tremendous burden from parents who had several children attending school. It also forecasted a precipitous increase in government expenditure on education. By 1974/78, this expenditure would approximate £1,004,000.²¹¹ Therefore, parents were called upon to take greater responsibility for buildings and classrooms. No school was to be authorized unless there were buildings to accommodate students sufficiently.

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East African Standard, February 23, 1974. The Minister for Finance and Planning, Mwai Kibaki was addressing the Alliance High School Economic Society, when he spoke of the projected 1974/78 development plan. p. 1

Therefore, the government and public were to share a joint responsibility in the provision of free education.

Analysis

The independent government of Kenya moved into its new nationhood with the concept that education was a major factor for the potential development of the country, and therefore this warranted a review of past practices in formal education. There was little hesitation in revamping the educational system where it seemed likely to provide quality to the educational process. Furthermore, there was a willingness to experiment with ideas which were contrary to doctrines passed down from the colonial educational system.

-Community motivation in supplying necessary equipment for an expanded school system was especially high in those areas which had demonstrated, prior to independence, their faith in formal education. The spirit of self-help, which contributed to the enlargement of secondary schools, was evidence of this belief and determination. Government encouragement was also greatly responsible for a gradual adherence to formal education in areas of the country where there had been apathy towards schooling.

However, with the obvious benefits from self-help

projects, and the government's generous allocations of funds for educational purposes, there was an additional burden to the society: an overabundance of unemployable school-leavers. The threat of detrimental repercussions from a lack of farsighted educational planning thus loomed forebodingly over efforts to create political and economic stability. Frustration and disappointment over the lack of prospects for employment could appreciably diminish community-sponsored educational efforts, thereby encouraging young people to seek less acceptable means of gaining a livelihood.

The idea of introducing into the school system technological training as a legitimate and respectable educational experience gradually gained prominence as a potential solution to massive unemployment. The general public enthusiastically responded to campaigns for self-help institutes of technology. Furthermore, the government did not discourage such activities, which was an indication of its approval.

Although these institutes portended hope for the alleviation of some employment problems and the development of a supply of essential technicians, much reorientation about formal education appeared evident. Viability of the institutes of technology will depend on the success which

government educational planning has in upgrading technical education so that it is recognized by the public as having the same respectability accorded to literary and professional training. There will be need for greater advocacy by the government both through significant funding and careful consideration of staff, curriculum, and facilities for technological studies, if these institutes are not to be a dumping ground for primary schools which have failed to pass their students on to an academic secondary school.

In addition, there is a danger of repeating the error of training too great a number of potential job-seekers for too few job opportunities. Manpower planning is essential to these institutes if they are to gain public respect and educational credibility.

Adult education is another area where new ventures are being undertaken. Although expansionism is occurring in school facilities and school attendance, the nation still suffers the disadvantage of having a largely illiterate and untrained adult population. With the government's present participatory role in adult education, there are prospects of decreasing this handicap.

Nevertheless, disillusionment caused by unmet expectations could eventually foster negative attitudes toward

adult education programs if foresight is not used in planning curriculum and calculating employment feasibility.

During Kenya's ten years of independence, education underwent many enlightened and progressive changes. The government accorded education high priority in its national budget; and large numbers of the public partook of available educational opportunities. The next decade will determine whether or not the nation should expect reasonable returns from this investment in education.

CHAPTER IV

KENYA AND AMERICA: EDUCATIONAL COMPARISONS
OF THEIR BLACK POPULATIONS

The history of Kenya and its effect on African education outlined the high value which many Africans placed on formal education. In spite of social, racial, and economic discrimination during the colonial period, formal education was pursued by many Africans with fervor and optimism. They held an unfaltering belief in education's ability to create social change and provide upward mobility.

Political independence and majority rule by Africans fulfilled these promises for a large number of Africans who had endured the arduous processes of competitive and selective school programs; others were not so fortunate. Those who were denied expected benefits from their formal education were usually victims of an educational system which had failed to give them skills, and a national economy which was insufficiently stable and thereby unable to accommodate them. This situation gradually constituted a glut of unemployables on the labor market.

Even though having an education does not automatically guarantee employment, greater numbers of Africans in Kenya now are in the race to obtain not only primary and secondary

schooling, but also higher education. Motivation and determination appear to be on the increase,²¹² as formal education becomes one of the nation's most sought-after prizes.

Since the country's independence, there are indications that the ambition to obtain some degree of schooling has extended to groups of people who were virtually uninvolved with formal education. With the government's encouragement, nomadic tribes and people living in remote areas of the country are showing an unexpected enthusiasm regarding school attendance. Although there still exists some opposition to formal education, resistance to it is becoming increasingly tenuous.

What has occurred in Kenya bears similarity to America's history and its effect on the education of the country's black population. America's black people were also faced with social, racial, and economic discrimination, which seemed to place impenetrable barriers to their acquisition of formal education. This was particularly true during the days of slavery, and in southern states for many years after slavery was abolished.²¹³

Because of the restrictions of a prejudiced and discriminatory society, the South's black population could not

²¹² All indications point to the fact that the introduction of free education will heighten competition for higher academic attainment.

²¹³ John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Vintage Books, 1969) p. 29

expect much remunerative return from formal education, as the labor market limited them to menial employment. Nevertheless, like their slave ancestors, black southerners looked to education with optimism and sought various means of obtaining not only the rudiments of formal learning, but also intellectual and professional development through higher education.

Black people living in the North during and after slavery showed somewhat different tendencies towards formal education. Northern states ostensibly denounced slavery and discriminatory racial practices, which made the North a less overtly hostile environment for the black race. Nevertheless, social and economic biases promoted inequalities between the black and white races, and placed black people in the position of underdogs.

Northern blacks experienced less obstructionism than southern blacks in gaining formal learning. There was an attempt by northern whites to either withhold educational opportunities from blacks, or to relegate them to a segregated school system. However, these devious measures were thwarted by laws which were instituted to guarantee public schooling to black children in the same classrooms as whites.²¹⁴

Yet northern blacks did not exhibit a corresponding fervor exemplified among southern blacks to exploit educational

²¹⁴ Ibid., p. 101

opportunities and aspire to higher levels of learning. Southern blacks appeared to have defied overt demonstrations of prejudice by the white society and paved their own path to achieving formal education. On the other hand, northern blacks seemed overwhelmed by covert, and, oftentimes, overt prejudice and did not view formal education as a panacea. Therefore, enthusiasm for higher learning was less visible among northern blacks.²¹⁵

While making this brief comparison of specific aspects of the educational histories of African Kenyans and Black Americans, it must be noted also that certain assumptions have been made about these two groups of people.

It has been assumed, particularly by many in Britain and America, that all black people are similar in their lifestyles, behavior, occupational bent, and inferior mental capabilities.²¹⁶ These assumptions were responsible for the social role which blacks in Kenya and America were ascribed by their white overlords. Because of their views, British and American educators collaborated in an attempt to foist on these two black groups the kind of education they felt best suited to an inferior race.²¹⁷

²¹⁵ W.E.B. DuBois, The Philadelphia Negro (New York: Schocken Books, 1899) pp. 89-90

²¹⁶ Thomas Jesse Jones, Education in East Africa (op. cit.) pp. xv-xviii. Also, Arnold Rose, The Negro in America (The condensed version of Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma) (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968) p. 31

²¹⁷ Ibid.

As a result of this predilection for categorization by whites, black people in Kenya and America have been compelled to circumvent, where possible, white-controlled educational systems in an effort to obtain the quality, type, and degree of education they desired. Their social environments played a major role in determining attitudes towards formal education and their resultant effects on society.

Past and present occurrences depict similarities and dissimilarities in attitudes adopted by African Kenyans and Black Americans in their educational histories, reflecting possible mutual causes. These coincidences therefore warrant an isolation of factors which could be attributed to a particular form of behavior.

Several factors have had commonality in the social organizations of these two black groups, which have had a profound effect on their attitudes towards formal education.

Those which appear to be most prominent are:

1. Circumstances of Bondage
2. Inspiration of Formal Education
3. Attitudes of Government, Religious and Philanthropic Bodies
4. Educational Programs
5. Indigenous Leadership
6. Elitism

Circumstances of Bondage

Although there is some distinction between colonialism and slavery, both states of bondage connote suppression and oppression. Africans in Kenya were subjects of colonial rule by the British; and blacks in America lived under lawful slavery and an unlawful system of servitude. Moreover, these two black populations were victims of a dehumanizing defamation of character and intelligence in order that their white rulers could assume a position of superiority.

Slavery for black people in America exceeded the cruelties of colonialism in that, under slavery, human bodies were sold at will. Conditions under which slaves existed were deliberately calculated to minimize human development, and to debase their lives to the lowest extent.

Colonialism, on the other hand, though not as brutal as slavery, denied Africans access to development essentials such as freedom of mobility, freedom of thought and speech, and freedom to evolve talents and abilities. Unlike slavery, there was a modicum of stability for those being ruled, in that members of families were not sold away from each other, causing a subsequent total family disintegration.

The abolition of slavery, and the following period of Reconstruction²¹⁸ moved America's black population to the

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After the end of the Civil War, Negroes were allowed to share in the reconstruction of a devastated country.

fringes of integration. As the country strove to reconstruct a devastated economy, and to unite a divided North and South after the Civil War,²¹⁹ blacks were permitted a semblance of respectability and participatory privileges in rebuilding the nation. It was not long, however, before insecurities and economic exigencies, especially in the South, relegated black people to a peculiar form of American colonialism, which showed a striking resemblance to British colonialism.

America's South was like Kenya in that it was agricultural. Also in the South, as was the case in Kenya, large landholdings were in the hands of white owners. Crucial to these owners was the question of labor and how it might be acquired at the least expense and the highest profit expectancy. A solution to these problems was found within the black populations of the two countries.

In Kenya, white farmers wistfully eyed the African population and saw its great numbers as a potential cheap labor force. Collusion with the colonial administration eventually guaranteed this supply of labor, and Africans were compelled to work on farms either through force or because of their necessity to earn money for tax payments.

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The Civil War not only brought an end to slavery, but it made the South recognize that it had to remain an integral part of the United States.

Those most affected by these policies were agricultural tribes, particularly the Kikuyus.

Black Americans in the South were in a similar situation. The abolition of slavery had deprived plantation owners of a labor force. Pertinent to their economic survival was a replacement of this labor force, and they set out to obtain it. Through stealth and strategy, the white community, with the backing of local officials, was able to constrict black workers to low-wage employment on plantations, as this was the most probable means by which they could make their livelihood.²²⁰

Share-cropping was another device through which farmers were able to force blacks to labor cheaply. Moreover, vagrancy laws were passed which made blacks liable to arrest and imprisonment if they quit their jobs: the crime being breach of contract.²²¹ Similar tactics had been used in Kenya to discourage a departure of Africans from the farms.

These connived impediments to economic survival of the South's black population were instrumental in allowing whites to regain control over blacks, which was like that of slavery. White lawmakers took advantage of the black community's vulnerability by resurrecting the Black Codes,²²²

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Horace Mann Bond, Negro Education in Alabama - A Study in Cotton and Steel (Washington: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1939) p. 42

221

Ibid.

222

Ibid., p. 92

implemented during slavery, which gave explicit rules of conduct for the behavior, activities, habitation and obligations of every black person. Not only were the Codes restrictive and dehumanizing, they were also employed to inculcate inferiority and servility into the minds of black people.

Some blacks had managed to overcome the obvious handicaps of their race, and were landholders and prosperous businessmen. The great majority, however, did not meet with such good fortune, and could neither rent nor purchase property other than in specified areas. Such conditions were prevalent in both the North and South, although the North claimed to be liberal.

Regardless of this degradation and humiliation, there was a miraculous determination for physical, psychological, and intellectual survival, which corresponded, in many respects, to the desire for survival which Kenyan Africans exhibited under colonial dominance.

Inspiration of Formal Education

As formal education had been an innovation for Africans in Kenya during colonialism, it was also for blacks in America during and after slavery. Slaves pursued book learning even under threat of punishment, and in the most

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adverse conditions. Many received literacy instruction through the beneficence of a slaveowner, or their children, surreptitiously, since it was unlawful to teach slaves to read and write.

Phillis Wheatley was a unique example of a slave who wanted to receive a formal education and was given her first instructions by her owners. She was eventually bought out of slavery by her owners and was encouraged by them to pursue her literary abilities. Miss Wheatley was one of the more fortunate ex-slaves, as she was able to develop her talents and become a world-known writer and poet.

However, the majority of slaves, former slaves, and their progeny, laboriously devised means of educating themselves and members of their race through self-education efforts. They are credited with having had the sheer willpower and initiative to defy the great odds against their gaining even the rudiments of an education.

Opposition to the education of blacks by southern whites was reinforced after the Civil War, just after slaves had been freed and were to be integrated into American society. There were worries within the white

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Frederick Douglass, Life and Times of Frederick Douglass
(Hartford: Park Publishing Co., 1882) p. 84

community that education would "spoil" black people and make them hostile to their environment. Other sentiments were that black people were destined to be the "white man's burden," and therefore their educational ambitions were presumptuous.²²⁴

But basic to these and other stated feelings was the worry over economics. Whites feared losing their cheap labor supply both on the farms and in other work capacities which allowed the hiring of blacks. Further, it was feared that the education of blacks would have dire consequences to the social structure of the South, and the supremacy of whites would be threatened.²²⁵

Those whites who did advocate some formal learning for blacks only saw its value if training were geared to the needs of the white community. A relevant education in their view provided knowledge in such things as agriculture, animal husbandry, homecrafts, and programs which inculcated docility.²²⁶

This opposition to the education of southern blacks by white southerners almost paralleled that of white settlers, and to an extent, colonial administrators in Kenya. In

224

Horace Mann Bond, Negro Education in Alabama (op. cit.) p. 75

225

Ibid.

226

Henry Allen Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967) p. 76

their opposition to African education, their rationale also ran the gamut from not wanting to "spoil" the African, to that of reluctantly agreeing to an education if it would meet the needs of the white community.²²⁷ However, there appears little doubt that their innermost fears rested on an anticipated loss of a cheap labor force and disruption of their racially-stratified society.

In spite of these and other obstructionist tactics, formal education was not to be completely denied southern blacks and Africans in Kenya. Supplementary to state, government, church and mission contributions to their education were self-help efforts of both black groups in their pursuit of learning opportunities. Self-help activities in the two communities gave a considerable boost to the educational programs afforded black people.

Southern black communities showed the greatest affinity in their self-help efforts to those which occurred in Kenya's Kikuyu communities. The zeal for learning among the black population was an astonishment to whites who obligated themselves as instructors. Even though word had spread about this enthusiasm in the South, one writer exclaimed that "the half had not been told me."²²⁸ Those seeking knowledge

227 Ibid., p. 77

228 Earle H. West, The Black American and Education (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1972) "Zeal for Learning Among Freeman - 1868" p. 73

encompassed ages ranging from children of five to adults well beyond their sixtieth birthday. Some had managed, through their own means, to learn to read at a very elementary level; others were completely illiterate.

Confronted with the unwillingness of local authorities to adequately fund education programs for black people, if funding were given at all, black communities were spurred with determination to provide their own requirements. Meagre resources were available within the community; therefore, the schools which the community operated were usually of poor quality in facilities and staffing. However, because of these self-help endeavors, opportunities for blacks in the South were eventually expanded to include secondary and college education.²²⁹

Private contributions from the black population were responsible for at least rudimentary educational instruction, even in the remotest rural areas. Evidences of self-help mushroomed all over the South.

Attitudes of Government, Religious, and Philanthropic Bodies

As in Kenya, church missionaries played an active part in the advancement of education among America's black

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Although black southern elementary and secondary schools generally lacked quality, this did not prevent blacks from desiring to further their education through college training. This was the subject of controversy among many who opposed the establishment of higher education facilities for blacks.

population. However, many shared the belief of some missionaries in Kenya that they were God-appointed emissaries obliged to care for ignorant black heathen, who would not survive but for the supervision of a "superior" white race.²³⁰ With such attitudes, American missionaries patterned educational programs for their black learners that adhered to concepts of certain incapacities allegedly inherent in all black people.

Prominent among these concepts was that concerning the mental inferiority of black people.²³¹ This handicap, in the eyes of these missionaries, naturally precluded the learning of subjects with a classical content, and, therefore, industrial education was the sensible educational preparation black students should receive.²³² Industrial education was viewed as the only solution to rampant economic deprivations within black communities, and the sole means by which blacks could hope to raise themselves from a subsistence level.

Furthermore, by advocating industrial education, missionaries were able to appease hostile southern white authorities and communities who opposed educating the black

²³⁰ This was the concept adhered to by most white southerners, as well as many northerners.

²³¹ General Armstrong, founder of Hampton Institute, advised special education for Negroes because they were "capable of acquiring knowledge to any degree, and, to a certain age, at least, with about the same facility as white children; but lack the power to assimilate and digest it." Bullock, A History of Negro Education in the South p. 76

²³² Ibid.

population.²³³ Industrial training would guarantee a supply of black labor for those occupations requiring work with the hands and offering little chance for mental development. Because of this forecast, missionaries were able to carry on their educational work with little interference from the white community.

However, in spite of these attitudes held by missionaries, they were among the strongest proponents of education for black people, and were instrumental in developing for them a network of institutions which encompassed primary, secondary, and college education. As early as 1864, the year after slavery was abolished, more than 3,000 blacks were attending schools under the auspices of the American Missionary Association.²³⁴

With the insistence of the black community, secondary education became available largely through missionary efforts, and eventually, with some reluctance, college training. However, it still remained the wish of missionary societies to restrict higher learning to industrial education.²³⁵

As dissatisfaction with mission education had spread in Kenya, particularly in the Kikuyu areas, so it did also among blacks in the South. Mission schools brought increasing

²³³ Horace Mann Bond, Negro Education in Alabama (op. cit.) p. 79

²³⁴ John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (op. cit.) p. 203

²³⁵ Lerone Bennett, Before the Mayflower (Chicago: 1964) p. 233

disappointment to blacks because of their low calibre of teaching, curricula, and facilities.²³⁶

In addition, there were feelings of resentment against mission societies because of their disinterest in providing other than industrial training. It was in this climate that northern philanthropists came to the rescue of thousands of black people hungering after formal education.

America's booming economy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries enabled several white northerners to accumulate great wealth. Education, particularly that of black people, was recognized by a few of these nouveau riche to be a worthy cause for sharing their fortunes.

Because the South held the largest number of educationally, socially, and economically deprived black people, northern philanthropy converged upon southern states with unprecedented impact, and attempted to rectify the disparity between white and black education.

Most notable for their contributions were the Peabody Education Fund (1867), the John F. Slater Fund (1882), the General Education Board (1903), the Anna T. Jeanes Fund (1905), the Phelps-Stokes Fund (1910), and the Julius Rosenwald Fund (1913). Each of these donors had specific

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John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (op. cit.) p. 384

ideas on how black people should be educated and for what purpose. Unequivocal stands were taken on what and where their donations were to be dispensed. The greatest dispensation from all of these donors went into industrial and vocational training programs.²³⁷

One of the major problems which confronted northern philanthropists was the poor quality of education in black schools. Southern states, after variously granting black children the benefits of public education, had set up a dual system of education which showed great disparities. State laws prescribed a separation of black and white students;²³⁸ thus, separate schools were established for each race.

However, as was the case in Kenya, white schools were apportioned the largest share of school funding. In the 1935-36 school year, ten southern states²³⁹ expended a total of \$161,445,377 for white pupils, and only \$21,615,513 for black pupils. In these ten states, black students constituted 28 per cent of the total school enrollment, but received only 12 per cent of the total current expenditure.²⁴⁰

²³⁷

Ibid.

²³⁸

Horace Mann Bond, Negro Education in Alabama (op. cit.) p. 98

²³⁹

These states were Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina.

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Doxey A. Wilkerson, Special Problems of Negro Education (Westport: Negro Universities Press, 1970) p. 49

Teaching staff in black schools generally reflected low academic qualifications and poor to mediocre teaching methodologies. Inferior schooling therefore perpetuated itself through successive generations. By 1929, the average urban black teacher received two years of collegiate or normal school training, while her white counterpart had obtained three years or more college training. Black teachers in rural areas usually had received three and one-half years education beyond the eighth grade, and white teachers had five years education beyond the eighth grade.²⁴¹

There were also enormous discrepancies in salaries of black and white teachers. The average annual salary for black elementary teachers in rural schools in 1930-31 was \$388.00; for white elementary teachers in the same or similar situation it was \$945.00.²⁴²

Northern blacks were not immune to racial segregation and discrimination by states, although school segregation did not last. Before the abolition of slavery, school segregation was initially practiced, separating white and "African" children.²⁴³ However, this dual system was eventually discarded, and black and white children attended the same schools.

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The Journal of Negro Education, July 1932, "A Critical Survey of the Negro Elementary School" 'The Teaching Staff,' Carroll L. Miller & Howard D. Gregg p. 221

²⁴²

Ibid., 197

²⁴³

This term was applied to all those of African descent.

Nevertheless, as the small black population endeavored to assimilate into the white culture, the seeds of racism had already been deeply planted among many northerners before the Civil War. Thus, there were reflections of this hostility, often more covert than overt, in the school system, as well as in the overall society.

Before the War, competition between northern blacks and whites seeking employment erupted into a bitter issue. White workers had been induced by a newspaper campaign to fear the presence of blacks who would be free if the abolitionists won their battle. The newspaper campaign claimed that emigration of ex-slaves northwards would eventually limit the number of jobs for whites.²⁴⁴

Further distrust was created when blacks were enticed by employers to break picket lines of white workers seeking higher wages. After the lines were broken, black workers were hired at lower earnings. Thereafter, it was difficult for whites to find employment at their requested rates.

The New York draft riots of 1863 illustrated another form of protest against a potential black work force. White draftees openly rebelled against their recruitment into the army to fight for the abolition of slavery.²⁴⁵

²⁴⁴

John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (op. cit.)
p. 237

²⁴⁵

Ibid.

The draftees were afraid that the abolition of slavery would actuate a flow of blacks into the northern labor market.

Yet another form of racial animosity in the North rooted friction between blacks and whites. As it happened in Kenya when Africans volunteered for military service, American blacks in the North and South also offered to fight during the Civil War. However, there was great reluctance to accept this offer, as some whites claimed black men were not American citizens and thus should not be allowed to wear the country's uniform.

Others feared giving blacks firearms because they might be used against whites in retaliatory incidents. Still others were unhappy about allowing blacks to fight, because military training would elevate their status and could eventually bring disruption to the country's social order, both in the North and South.

But like black men in Kenya, black men in America fought and died in segregated regiments, and little recognition was given them for this service. Northern states were as remiss in this matter as were southern states.

The attitude of the federal government toward the black population was ambiguous. At the close of the Civil War, the American Government joined forces with missions

in establishing schools for ex-slaves. A Freedmen's Bureau²⁴⁶ was set up with the designated function of overseeing the affairs of the freed slaves. However, in 1866, the Reconstruction Congress had to override President Andrew Johnson's veto of a Civil Rights Bill²⁴⁷ intended to increase the life of the Bureau and give it greater support.

Federal educational programs gave assistance to states, and vocational education was given high priority in subsidies. In the 1930's, black people constituted 11 per cent of workers in the entire nation, and 25 per cent of workers in the South. In the nation they constituted 19 per cent of the agricultural workers, and 32 per cent of those in domestic and personal service. In the South 33 per cent were agricultural workers, and 60 per cent were in domestic and personal service.²⁴⁸

Although black people were most heavily employed in less skilled areas, proportionately little of the federal funds for vocational education was apportioned them in southern states. Ninety per cent of federal funds for vocational education in 1934-35 went to whites, and ten per cent to blacks.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁶ Ibid., 161

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Doxey A. Wilkerson, Special Problems of Negro Education (op. cit.) p. 90

²⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 97

Cities, states, and the federal government began to feel pressures to desegregate schools, and from the late 1940's to the early 1950's, there was more financial provision made for black schools. This was a tactic to deflect the growing demands from blacks to rid the South of separate schools. This situation came to a head in 1954, when the Supreme Court of the United States decided that separate schools were unlawful because they were unequal.²⁵⁰

Unlike Kenya, when the independent government outlawed racial schools, the move to integrate schools in the South progressed at a snail's pace, and, in most cases, with great reluctance on the part of city and state officials. This unwilling compliance with the law was also evidenced in the North when de facto segregation in the schools was assailed and cities were ordered to balance their schools racially.²⁵¹

One of the most recalcitrant cities was Boston,²⁵² which over the years had developed large ghettos of blacks. The busing of black and white students to achieve racial balancing of schools continued twenty years after the 1954 Supreme Court ruling.

²⁵⁰The Supreme Court ruled that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."

²⁵¹Schools in the North were usually segregated because blacks lived in isolated ghettos.

²⁵²As late as 1974, the National Guard had to be called to protect black children being bused into white neighborhoods.

Educational Programs

Africans in Kenya lived through an educational history which exhibited a perpetual struggle between colonial educators who differed in their opinions on whether Africans should have an industrial or classical education. Most Africans appeared to favor classical education; many whites preferred industrial education.

Black people in America were also caught in between these varying opinions. But industrial education was given even greater support because much of the funding from philanthropists was earmarked for that purpose. Likewise, the influence of black leaders such as Booker T. Washington, who promoted industrial education, and W.E.B. DuBois, who campaigned for quality higher education, added to the controversy. However, resistance to the industrial education concept was prevalent in the black community, and classical education became a status symbol.

The Jeanes Fund and the Phelps-Stokes Fund were committed to uplifting blacks through the establishment of rural and industrial training schools. The Jeanes Fund gave \$200,000 to the General Education Board for use in the improvement of rural schools in the South.²⁵³

Hampton Institute in Virginia was the recipient of

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John Hope Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom (op. cit.)
p. 385 -

sizeable grants from the Phelps-Stokes Fund for its industrial training program. This same Fund had made recommendations to the British Government for the improvement of African education, and strongly suggested the introduction of industrial education into the school system.

The donor of the Slater Fund, John F. Slater, was concerned that the newly-emancipated black population in America should have a Christian education. He therefore contributed \$1,000,000 to church and private schools for teacher-training programs.²⁵⁴ Donations were also made to industrial and vocational training programs, with preference being given to schools recognizing and introducing industrial training.²⁵⁵

The Peabody Education Fund promoted and encouraged intellectual, moral, and industrial education. The Fund aimed to give its assistance to the establishment of a permanent public school system in the South. As a result, from 1867 to 1914, the South received more than one-half million dollars to help educate its black citizens.²⁵⁶

The Rosenwald Fund took an interest in the construction of school buildings for black children. Between 1913 and 1932, the Fund assisted 15 southern states in building

²⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 384

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

5,000 schools.²⁵⁷

Not all aid for educational programs in the South was derived from northern philanthropists. Some southern white benefactors sympathized with the plight of the black community and rendered service to them.

Also, there were members within the black community who led the movement for better trained teachers, improved curricula, decent school buildings, and an increase in school enrollment.

The desire for higher education institutions showed comparisons between Africans in Kenya and America's blacks, particularly those in the South. As W.E.B. DuBois stated, the concept of education for Negroes was agriculture, manual training, religious training, normal schools, and kindergartens. The Negro college was never mentioned at educational conferences.²⁵⁸

Thus it was the black community which embarked upon an educational program to press for higher education facilities. However, once acquired, these institutions generally were not up to college level academically, and were more like high schools.

Nonetheless, as formal education gained popularity

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 385

²⁵⁸ W.E.B. DuBois, The Education of Black People (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1973) p. 91

and school attendance swelled, growing numbers of high school graduates continued their educational pursuits in academically deficient colleges. These deficiencies tended to plague the black community in the North as well as the South, as most northern blacks who attended college went to southern colleges.

Thus, higher education facilities in the South generally produced a considerably different product from that of higher education facilities in Kenya. While Kenya's university system experienced both quantitative and qualitative growth, particularly after independence, southern black colleges only showed significant development in their quantity. This situation led many graduates to seek upgrading courses in northern colleges, especially those in the teaching field.

However, the majority of blacks attending northern colleges prior to the 1960's were admitted into institutions which were academically deficient.²⁵⁹ This was due to the poor academic backgrounds of the black students; also, these colleges were less expensive than those of a higher calibre.

The North made its contribution to the supply of academically under-educated black people. As the South's repressive environment forced large migrations of black families into northern and western cities, ghettos of

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Leonard Broom and Norval Glenn, Transformation of the Negro American (New York: Harper & Row, 1965) p. 95

poverty usually awaited their arrival. White families fled from urban areas to escape this growing influx, and cities were deprived of their monetary contributions. Other conditions of cities added to the scarcity of financial resources as well. Inner-city schools were some of the victims of this deprivation, and black children were the greatest losers.

Education within heavily-populated black areas left much to be desired in curriculum, teaching, materials, and physical facilities. Apathy among administrators, teachers, parents, and students led to a decline in the quality of education in inner-city schools, which again produced more apathy and even more inferior education.

In the latter part of the 1960's, vociferous protests from the black community in the North and South activated the federal government, college administrators, and school systems into providing remedial programs intended to counteract prominent deprivations in the education of vast numbers of the black population.

Early childhood education was viewed by the government to be essential to the future development of human beings, and thus it funded the Head Start program as one of its major efforts to supplement educational training lacking in most poverty-ridden homes. There was evidence of success

in some of the work done through the Head Start program; however, government funding was inadequate to touch upon more than a small portion of the problem.

Admission into first-rate northern colleges was almost impossible for blacks, even for those who graduated from northern high schools. Costs were prohibitive, racial tensions were discouraging, and entrance requirements were usually beyond the preparation blacks had received from their school systems and homes. Of those who did enter college, the drop-out rate far exceeded that of whites, mainly for the same reasons which curtailed their entrance.²⁶⁰

Frustrated over their academic handicaps, members of the black community demanded open door admission into colleges through a modification of academic entrance requirements. Many colleges complied to these demands, and enrollment of black students into predominantly white institutions took a significant leap upwards.

Some colleges provided sufficient additional tutelage to these students; others failed to follow through on this necessity. Therefore, the attrition rate depended on the responsibility undertaken by colleges, and on motivation of the students. Although there were some drop-outs, the majority remained to complete their studies, thus setting

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Ibid., p. 88

a new trend for blacks in higher education.

One of the severest criticisms by blacks against the educational system countrywide was the obliteration or distortion of the history of black people in school textbooks. As was true in Kenya's colonial setting, the white man's history was thoroughly documented and indoctrinated, while black history was either ignored or defamed. In Kenya, however, history of the clan or tribe was usually preserved through oral transmission, so that Africans were not completely deprived of knowledge relating to their past. This was rarely the case among Black Americans, who were the victims of a lost history.

Black student protestors, having picked up the challenge from members of their community, made demands that colleges institute departments of black studies.²⁶¹ These departments were to accommodate the need for remedial education among black students, in particular, concerning their race's contributions to history. Another purpose for their existence was to provide positive self-images among black people after they had imbibed accurate information of their backgrounds.

Strong opposition to the student demands usually preceded compliance, but black studies departments sprouted

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Harvard University was one of the first colleges to open a black studies department, which was in January 1969.

up all across the country. However, enthusiasm for these black studies departments generally dwindled after a few years, due to inefficient planning by college administrators, and lack of input and attendance by black students.²⁶²

Nevertheless, the introduction of black studies at the college level filtered down, in a limited degree, into elementary and high schools. The number of black studies programs on these levels was far from adequate, but what was offered proved beneficial especially to black children of the North. Southern black schools and colleges had managed, to some degree, the preservation of black history.

But black studies alone could not rectify the deterioration of education in predominantly black inner-city public schools. By the 1970's, failures in early school years were commonplace; students graduated from high school with elementary-level qualifications; reading levels continued to decline; school drop-outs increased; and student motivation was notoriously absent.

The difference between this situation and that of Kenya's expanding educational program of the 1970's shows great disparity. In America, compensatory educational programs have tried to salvage some black students from inferior formal education; in Kenya, compensatory education

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Harvard University had a demise of its black studies program.

has never been a major necessity.

Although many students in Kenya's primary and secondary schools have repeated grades, a significant number opted to repeat a grade in order to assure greater possibility of passing well in the Kenya Preliminary and School Certificate Examinations.²⁶³

Indigenous Leadership

In order to measure what impact leadership might have had on the educational processes of Kenya and America, especially in their black communities, it is necessary to compare the leadership which emerged from the two black populations.

For over fifty years, Jomo Kenyatta has held a position of leadership in Kenya. Though there have been other figures who have shared this role with him, the most recent being the late Tom Mboya, Kenyatta has been a major leader longer than anyone else in the African community. His predecessor, Harry Thuku, was the first African in Kenya to be a representative of Africans countrywide.

Thuku and Kenyatta were compatible in their political ideologies. In education, both had a fondness for formal education, and strongly impressed upon their people the importance it would hold for their future aspirations.

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Employment, Incomes and Equality - A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya (Geneva: International Labour Office, 1972) p. 526

Kenyatta gave support to the value he placed on formal education by assisting in the teaching and management of the Kenya Teachers College. Tom Mboya, in a leadership role during Kenyatta's detention, carried forward the impetus for formal education by arranging a massive migration of students overseas to attend institutions of higher education.

In America, the first person to gain national recognition as the spokesman for the black population was Frederick Douglass. Born into slavery but having escaped, Douglass became a firebrand abolitionist and devoted an immense amount of time and energy to wipe out slavery.²⁶⁴

Much credit is attributed to Douglass for the skill with which he used his gift of oratory to dismantle slavery. Strongly supported by white abolitionists William Lloyd Garrison and Captain John Brown, Frederick Douglass was dauntless in his condemnation of human bondage. Moreover, he personally assisted fugitive slaves seeking escape from slaveholders. Douglass received recognition nationally and internationally for his multitudinous activities.

On the educational needs of black people, Douglass clearly expressed his views to Harriet Beecher Stowe,²⁶⁵

²⁶⁴ Douglass was a self-educated man of high intellect and a talent for writing. He was the editor for several newspapers.

²⁶⁵ Miss Stowe brought the world's attention to the cruelties of slavery in her book, "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

when she wished to donate money. Mrs. Stowe had suggested making her contribution to an industrial school, but this was rejected by Douglass. He pointed out that such schools were already in existence; furthermore, "colored" people were shut out from all lucrative employment. They were forced to work as barbers, waiters, coachmen, and at other menial jobs for such low wages that they prohibited any savings. It was Douglass' opinion that young black people should learn trades as well as reading, writing, and counting.²⁶⁶

The next spokesman for the black race in America did not emerge until twenty-odd years after Douglass' passing. He was Booker T. Washington,²⁶⁷ born into slavery but declared free during his childhood, after the Emancipation Proclamation.

The hardships of acquiring literacy and, ultimately, formal training at Hampton Institute left an indelible mark on Washington's memory. He learned well the practice of self-discipline during his struggles for an education, and this helped him to accomplish the extraordinary task of establishing Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.

Booker T. Washington's concept of a utilitarian education was industrial education. After being under the tutelage

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Booker T. Washington, Frederick Douglass (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs, 1906) p. 72

²⁶⁷

Booker T. Washington wrote the classic, "Up from Slavery," which told of his phenomenal rise from slavery to his becoming the founder of Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.

of General Samuel Chapman Armstrong,²⁶⁸ the white founder of Hampton Institute, Washington subscribed to the belief that black people could more realistically benefit from industrial training than from a purely classical education.

Washington was highly successful in gaining from northern and southern whites financial support for the building of Tuskegee. He made clear his intentions to train blacks for employment which would not antagonize whites in the South. Tuskegee was not to offer classical education; it would instead give instructions on how to manage farms intelligently, or build a dwelling skillfully, and other similar subjects. Character training, religious knowledge, and learning good manners were high priorities in the curriculum.

Washington's success reached unimaginable heights, even had he not been black. His reputation was further enhanced after his speech at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895. He told thousands of black and white listeners:

In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the five fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.²⁶⁹

This speech, though enthusiastically endorsed by many whites, created friction within the black community. One

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Armstrong preached the necessity of the training of the hand and eye, as well as of the mind - or rather, the training of the mind through observation and manual labor. Samuel Chapman Armstrong, Education for Life (Hampton: Press of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, 1914) p. 2

²⁶⁹

Booker T. Washington, Up from Slavery (op. cit.) p. 49

of the strongest opponents to Washington's sentiments encouraging the continuance of segregation was a Harvard-educated sociologist and teacher, W.E.B. DuBois.²⁷⁰ He labeled Washington's speech the "Atlanta Compromise."

DuBois was born and reared in Massachusetts. He believed that racial discrimination was foreign to his childhood. However, when DuBois, a brilliant student in high school, made preparation to enter a northern college, he was confronted with the discrimination of poverty. He subsequently decided to enter Fisk University in Tennessee, which afforded him the experience, for the first time in his life, of living in a predominantly black community.

DuBois remained in the South teaching in rural schools before he entered Harvard University for a doctoral degree. His teaching career among poor blacks sharpened his awareness of their educational needs, along with other deficiencies.

Even though DuBois was critical of some ideas espoused by Booker T. Washington, there was not a complete dichotomy between their views. DuBois respected industrial training, but he did not believe such training was the only salvation for American black people. He felt that their greatest need was for the classical education which should be given to the specially gifted: the "talented tenth."

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DuBois became the victim of American injustice and eventually departed for West Africa. He is buried in Ghana.

DuBois believed that this select group would uplift the masses with their intellect. Thus DuBois became an outspoken advocate of institutions of higher learning offering quality education to black people. His criticisms of the low standard of education in black colleges were effective in creating some change.

DuBois gave up his active work in America and moved to Ghana, where he lived until his death. While in Ghana, he devoted much of his time to developing the Encyclopedia Africana and writing prolifically. His leadership role among Black Americans was muted for many years by the harassment he underwent from the white society. Nevertheless, DuBois resurfaced in the minds of Black Americans during the period of black student protests, and he continued to gain renown.

In the absence of a charismatic leader, two organizations, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the Urban League, played major roles in fighting legal battles for black people, and breaking down barriers to their employment. Although there was noticeable white support behind these organizations, the black community gave some measure of loyalty to them.

The next two charismatic black leaders to gain national and international prominence were Martin Luther

King, Jr.²⁷¹ and Malcolm X.²⁷² As contemporaries, each carried support from different factions of the community. This situation also prevailed in the white community.

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. was a product of the South, having been born and reared in Atlanta, Georgia. He had lived under the segregated system of the deep South, and was fully aware of the indignities to which blacks were subjected through the white power structure's racist policies.

King's philosophy was that white and black people in America had to learn to live together harmoniously. Therefore, he was a proponent of integrated education. It was also his belief that black people should seek every educational opportunity possible, so that they might break down barriers of discrimination in employment.

King involved college students in his non-violent sit-ins,²⁷³ which gave protest to discriminatory policies. This was, in his view, an exercise in black pride.

Malcolm X also believed in exhibiting black pride, but he advocated a different tactic. He had no faith in non-violent protest; neither did he adhere to the philosophy of not striking back with physical force when the situation called for it.²⁷⁴

²⁷¹ Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated in 1968.

²⁷² Malcolm X was assassinated in 1965.

²⁷³ Many students went to jail during these protests.

²⁷⁴ Malcolm X, The Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York: Grove Press, 1965) p. 281

Distrustful of whites, Malcolm espoused separatism. He believed that existing educational systems prohibited a proper development of minds and attitudes of black people, which thereby perpetuated a reliance on the white man.²⁷⁵

Further, Malcolm X adhered to the policy of seizing power, since it would never be given. Such doctrines made most whites antagonistic towards him, and unwilling to recognize him as a black leader with a considerable constituency. His militant manner also caused many blacks to reject his leadership.

Both King and Malcolm X were assassinated before black people were unanimous in their decision about the type of education they wanted: integrated or separate. However, the trend appeared to have moved toward integration, but with greater control by black people over educational policies.

Elitism

Both Kenya and America experienced class changes within its black populations once formal education became widespread. Education produced elitist groups among Kenyan Africans, as well as Black Americans. Their attitudes toward their new status might have contributed to their

²⁷⁵ Malcolm X, The Autobiography of Malcolm X (New York: Grove Press, 1965) p. 281

attitudes toward formal education.

In Kenya, mission education produced the first form of elitism springing from formal education. Once Africans entered mission schools and made their conversion to Christianity, they were taught to feel superior to their pagan and illiterate tribesmen. They had to maintain a different standard of living from that of the uneducated, which often isolated them from their own families and childhood friends.

As higher-level employment in government and private industry became available to them, Africans could afford to acquire more, thus raising their standard of living. It was also expected, by custom, that they would contribute to the education of others within their families.

Therefore, within the elitist group developed higher degrees of elitism. The introduction of secondary education for Africans produced another elitist group, as these highly-selected young people were looked upon with great respect by the public. This deference inclined students in this category to think of themselves as a special group.²⁷⁶

University graduates created another elitist grouping. At this point in their lives, these graduates had grown up almost completely away from their childhood environment

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Since education is becoming more widespread, there has been some change in these attitudes.

and former standard of living. School and university curricula had transformed them into English models, who maintained only a semblance of their African culture. They were treated as a privileged class, even to the extent of not having to pay tuition in government-supported institutions of higher studies.

As Kenya's schools were desegregated, children of prosperous or well-known parents were the most likely candidates for the former high-cost European schools. A study²⁷⁷ was undertaken to determine whether this groups of students would form their own special elitist clique. The results of the study indicated that little elitism was exhibited by the students.²⁷⁸

E. Franklin Frazier in 1957 labeled educated blacks in America "black bourgeoisie."²⁷⁹ He maintained that education per se has become meaningless to blacks, and is only a means through which they can attain a certain lifestyle. In his opinion, apathy toward learning, seen in colleges and universities, is rampant; the attraction of fraternities and sororities is greater than their desire to learn.

Carter G. Woodson was another critic of elitism among the black educated. He firmly disapproved of the

²⁷⁷ The Journal of Negro Education

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie (New York: The Free Press, 1969)

kind of education being offered in schools, which encouraged a false sense of pride. He termed this "mis-education."²⁸⁰ Such 'education' had little relevance to black people, but was given approval because its acquisition elevated a person to an acceptable level of the dominant society.

During student protests of the 1960's, the black middle class was accused of isolationism from the masses. It appeared to these critics that once the middle class had managed to rise on the social scale, they failed to remember the plight of others still hampered by poverty and ignorance.

Members of the middle class retorted that they could recall the loneliness of their struggles for an education. At that time, they found members of the race more prone to discouraging their efforts than willing to give support. Therefore, once they had achieved their objectives, they did not bother to look back.²⁸¹

Analysis

Educational development and behavior of Africans in Kenya and Black Americans can be compared because there is commonality in their backgrounds. They share certain characteristic experiences which have made both positive and negative impacts on their societies and communities.

²⁸⁰ Carter G. Woodson, Mis-education of the Negro (Washington: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1933) pp. 17-19

²⁸¹ E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bougeoisie (Ontario: Collier-MacMillan, 1965) p. 235

Both groups have attempted to influence their destinies, particularly concerning education, and success has been achieved, to an extent. However, America's black population has been unable to control one of the greatest assets to public education: money. Insufficient school financing in a country where monetary remuneration is expected after every service is rendered, has caused black schools in the South and inner-city schools in the North to be victimized by default of city and government authorities.

Africans in Kenya also suffered from an unequal and insufficient allocation of funding from the colonial administration. This, no doubt, had some effect on the quality of curricula, teachers, and materials. Independent self-help schools were in the forefront of financial deprivations even after the country's independence. However, there did not appear to be an overall educational inferiority of those who attended these schools, as is evidenced by the countrywide increase of examination passes.

Segregation in the South and ghettoized conditions of the North resulted in separate and unequal school systems for black children, which ultimately led to an unequal quality of education between America's black and white children. Repressive social conditions encouraged a perpetuation of inferior schooling in both sections of the

country. Black children in the South generally continued their almost feverish pursuit of formal education; those in the North, especially in urban settings, exhibited mounting apathy toward schooling.

Up to the time of Kenya's independence, people living in one of the most repressed parts of the country, Kikuyu-land, showed an increase in their desire for formal training. They gave an incentive to the educational movement, which had a tremendous impact even ten years after the country's freedom from colonialism. There appears to be no decline in this inspiration.

C H A P T E R V
FACTORS OF AFFINITY

There is historical evidence that formal education has been looked upon with high value by many Africans in Kenya during the colonial period through post-independence. There is also historical evidence that formal education was highly prized by many Black Americans during slavery, through the period of Emancipation, and up to the 1970's. However, there has been some differentiation in the degree of enthusiasm for formal education exhibited between Kenyan Africans and Black Americans, and also within the different communities of these two large groups.

Self-motivation was a major factor in the development of education for Africans in Kenya and the black population in America. Both groups appeared to be stimulated in their pursuit of formal education by an expected reward of upward mobility. However, racial discrimination seemed to forecast an interminable barrier to such an achievement. Moreover, untrained teachers, sub-standard facilities, and inadequate educational materials constituted an additional impediment to members of these black populations to their receiving a qualitative educational background.

During colonialism in Kenya, some of the greatest opposition to political and educational inequities emanated

from the Kikuyu people. In addition to suffering the indignities of racial discrimination which other African tribes had inflicted upon them, Kikuyus were most prone to the designs of white settlers who wished to deprive them of their land and compel them into a cheap work force.

Contrary to the wishes of the colonial administration and the white community, an African leadership emerged from the Kikuyu tribe, which eventually gained acknowledgement from other tribes. This leadership played a prominent role in the successes achieved by Kikuyus.

Although it was not possible to ignore completely the leadership of British-appointed chiefs and headmen, who worked under chiefs, Kikuyus selected their own leadership and generally followed those men and women of their own choosing. Thus they were able to consolidate their opposition to colonialism and appoint emissaries to appeal their grievances.

An added value of this leadership was the consistency in the ideologies of the appointed leaders. Harry Thuku, the first Kikuyu leader to emerge with a wide following, not only sought redress for political and economic disparities between the racial groups residing in Kenya, but he was also an outspoken advocate of educational advancement

for the African population. Thuku sparked the drive for education and made it clear to his constituents that formal training was a necessary element to political freedom.

After Harry Thuku's arrest and imprisonment, Jomo Kenyatta became the standard bearer among the Kikuyus. He continued the work begun by Thuku through his appeals for political reform and restitution of land rights for those who had been deprived of their land. Kenyatta also gave high regard to formal education, and admonished his people not to expect political freedom unless they were educationally equipped to achieve it. To further emphasize this affirmation, Kenyatta himself enrolled in the London School of Economics and acquired the educational qualifications which he felt would enable him to enter the Legislative Council of Kenya.²⁸²

Upon his return to Kenya, Kenyatta became actively involved in education by joining Mbiyu Koinange in managing the Kenya Teachers College. By combining his teaching role with that of political leadership, Kenyatta gave credence to the necessity for an educated African population if other gains were to be expected.

Tribal cohesion was brought about by popular leadership

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Jomo Kenyatta, Suffering Without Bitterness (op. cit.)
p. 31

among the Kikuyus. Although not all members of the tribe were devout followers of Thuku and Kenyatta, there was a sufficient number who gave their support, and were able to rally members of the community to undertake self-help projects. Even though British control fostered repression and restriction, Kikuyus exemplified high motivation in building and staffing schools, and also in promoting an educational design which showed relevance to the African lifestyle.

Loyalty to the tribe was regarded by many Kikuyus as a prime requisite, and therefore unity was imperative. This loyalty was often secured through oathing, which was intended to bind members of the tribe into unbreakable bonds of fidelity. Unity against a common foe, which was colonialism, enabled the leadership to assume greater persuasive power among their followers, because the survival of the group was predicated on an adherence to leadership.

Thus, when education was stressed as a necessity to uplift and progress the tribe, the response from the masses was to send their children to school, and to persist in providing educational facilities. Group approval and the desire for tribal inclusiveness appeared to have played a primary role in the high level of motivation displayed in

the race for formal education.

In other areas of Kenya, there was a considerable lack of enthusiasm for formal education, or, at least, minimal interest. Government and mission schools were in operation among other tribes, but none subscribed so wholeheartedly to formal education as did the Kikuyu. Self-help schools did not flourish, and there was no great agitation to expand and improve educational programs. Little effort was made by the colonial administration to open schools for nomadic tribes, or those living in remote areas of the country. Education did not appear to offer much incentive to these groups until after Kenya's independence.

The attainment of independence brought some anticipated rewards to educated Africans, when they were allowed to fill posts in the Civil Service, became Members of Parliament, and were placed in executive positions of industries. Formal education was granted increased credibility by the government's substantial allocations toward measures assuring quantitative and qualitative educational returns. This show of faith in education created additional allegiance to formal education among the Kikuyus, and also ignited a spark of incentive for learning amidst tribes who previously were relatively uninvolved with formal education.

Some correlations can be observed in the development of education and attendant attitudinal responses among the black population in America. One of these correlations is reflected in the conditions of Kikuyus during colonialism and those of southern blacks during the periods of slavery and after Reconstruction. There were times when the black community in the South suffered under environments of extreme racial discrimination and social oppression.

After the end of slavery, blacks in the South experienced only a brief time of relative freedom during Reconstruction, before they were again enmeshed in a legal system of discrimination which barred them from enjoying their full rights as citizens. Political and economic deprivations were coupled with educational disparities between blacks and whites, with the result that the black population received considerably less benefits than their white compatriots. Friction, tension, brutality, and inequities toward the black population typified southern states, causing an eventual massive migration to northern states.

However, the majority of blacks remained in the South, and a strong bond of kinship welded them together as they set out to survive in a punitive society. It was in this atmosphere that formal education was accepted as the instrument to bring salvation to those on the bottom rung of

the social ladder. No obstacle seemed powerful enough to stem the tide of educational development in the black community, even though the education in itself was of an inferior quality.

Although there were attempts by the white community to prohibit blacks from bannng together, these measures did not meet with complete success. Sufficient solidarity within the black community enabled its members to take the initiative in building and staffing schools, which far surpassed the meagre number of educational facilities sponsored by city and state authorities.

The black church played a major role in consolidating the community, and encouraging its members to make education a priority in their lives. Local leaders pressed parents into sending their children to school; they led campaigns to collect funds, materials, and teaching staff for self-help schools. The response from the community was overwhelming, and it became the accepted pattern for southern black families to make great sacrifices to send their children to school.

In addition to the leadership of the black church and local men and women, there emerged from the South a black leadership, which assumed national and international

recognition. However, the greatest impact of this leadership was felt by those blacks living in the South.

Frederick Douglass escaped from the South to avoid slavery, and began his fight for the abolition of slavery from his new base in the North. The various social ills he struggled to correct were most prevalent in the South, and therefore more pertinent to the majority of the country's black population, which resided all across the southern states.

Other black leaders of national repute either were products of the South or, because of its preponderance of social injustices, focused their attention largely on the South. Therefore, southern blacks had the benefits of a visible leadership, or one that was heard of through the media or by word of mouth. This furthered the cohesiveness of the community, and gave direction to the struggles against oppression.

Contrary to the leadership in Kenya, however, black leaders in America lacked consistency in their ideologies. This was especially true of their divergent views about education. Douglass, Washington, DuBois, King, and Malcolm X respected formal education as a necessity for the advancement of the black race; yet each envisioned different ways

in which education should be utilized in accomplishing this aim.

In spite of the contradictions of some of these views, the southern black community did not appear to be diverted from its interest in formal education. However, northern blacks might have been affected.

Black communities in the North showed some correlations to tribal areas in Kenya which in the past exhibited little involvement in formal education. Although there was less overt friction and social malpractice in the living environments of these groups, there seems reason to believe that certain factors functioned to stifle or inhibit educational growth. They did not appear to respond to formal training until an impetus was forthcoming from their communities.

During the days of slavery, the black population in the North was minimal. Subsequent migrations of blacks from the South gradually spread black families across northern states, where they eventually formed into small clusters. Their survival depended on the degree to which they were able to integrate into white society, although full integration was unacceptable to most whites. Nevertheless, the black community was little inclined toward

activities which would obviate their acceptability in the overall society, and thus there was no great drive to unify themselves into a separate group.

The church, which historically had been the pillar of leadership in the black community, served as a catalyst for northern blacks in their ostracism from the total society. It was a proponent of integration, but sanctioned a policy of social separatism rather than encouraging its members to "rock the boat."

This attitude had its reflection on the subject of education. Northern black churches did not take a strong lead in the encouragement of youth to pursue higher education; nor did it offer much incentive for northern young blacks to place a high value on formal education. The acceptable and expected pattern was for black school-leavers to seek employment of any kind after their education ended.

State laws in the North made it obligatory that every child, regardless of color, be allowed admission into public schools. However, integration of the school system did not preclude discrimination; neither did it induce large numbers of black students to seek advanced education or skills training. There was little in the school administration which encouraged black students to aspire to jobs which

were monopolized by whites.

College entrance of northern black students was inconsequential before the 1960's, when blacks protested for open admission policies. Job discrimination negated prospects of upward mobility, and black college graduates were generally forced to accept employment in low-level positions with their less-educated compatriots. Moreover, those blacks who did seek college education were often frowned upon by their community, because they were deviating from the norm of the society.

Apart from the affects of the church's leadership upon the northern black community was the affectiveness of the black national leaders. In several respects, northern blacks were virtually leaderless, particularly prior to Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X. Organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Urban League held credibility as leaders in motivating political, economic and various social reforms for the benefit of the black community. But their memberships did not embrace large numbers of the community. However, activities of these organizations were generally respected, and members of the black community often sought their services.

But northern blacks were deprived of the same visible leadership which southern blacks had enjoyed. Part of this was due to the fact that greater attention was focused on the South; another part was attributed to technology and its ability to disseminate news and to project an image of a leader. Television and an improved media were largely responsible for the nationwide followings of Martin Luther King and Malcolm X. Previous leaders did not have this advantage, nor were they able to encompass blacks living in the North into programs which might have fostered greater educational ambition.

Nonetheless, this public exposure of King and Malcolm was not sufficient to rectify the growing apathy and general deterioration in northern inner-city schools. Community arousal to those conditions demanded an examination of schoolhouses, where conflicts existed between teachers, students, parents, and administrators. Low-level motivation among the students was blamed on inefficient and indifferent administration, unimaginative and disinterested teaching, dilapidated and overcrowded facilities, inadequate and insufficient equipment, and other inequities in the educational system. Poverty was also given as a reason for low motivation and underachievement of black children.

There appears to be no doubt that many inner-city

schools with a predominantly black student body have been afflicted by some or all of these degenerative conditions; yet other questions are raised concerning the extent to which these conditions have affected motivation and achievement.

There is evidence that African school children in Kenya have mainly come from poor families. The majority of these students have been instructed by inadequately-trained teachers; they have confronted indifferent administrators; they have studied in dilapidated or primitive facilities; and they have had less than sufficient learning materials.

Children from black families living in the southern states of America have a history of poverty, especially since little opportunity was given them to raise their economic status. Lack of public funding relegated black children to schooling which was comprised of poorly-trained or untrained teachers, disinterested white administrators, below-standard facilities, and minimal instructional materials.

Despite the deprivations of these schools in Kenya and in the South, motivation and achievement did not appear to have been significantly influenced by conditions of poverty,

inadequate facilities, poor teaching, unfavorable administration, or insufficient learning materials and equipment. These are factors which are more likely to affect the quality of education given rather than the desire to acquire formal learning.

The high level of motivation for formal learning among Kikuyus and southern blacks appears to be based on two factors: leadership and group cohesion. Within the area of leadership lies the importance of a visible commitment to formal education on the part of the leader. In Kenya, leaders reinforced their belief in education by assuming the posture of educators. The leadership in the South did the same, or else it allied itself to students and educational institutions through other activities.

Leaders of both groups strongly espoused formal education as a prerequisite to social, political, and economic equality in the total society. They encouraged their communities to discipline themselves to accept a delayed gratification of economic gains rather than dispense with their belief in formal education and the benefits which it might bring.

Those areas in Kenya which did not exhibit aggressiveness in acquiring formal education during colonialism appear to have lacked an indigenous leadership and a government which strongly advocated the need for schools in those

parts of the country. The result was that few members of tribes living in remote areas ever attended school. Learning was achieved solely through informal and non-formal methods.

However, under the independent government, the response to formal education took a significant leap upwards. The government played a leadership role by encouraging community leaders to appreciate the value of schooling, and this was subsequently transmitted to the community. Since children were not compelled to attend school, the rapid increase in school attendance in remote areas since independence appears to indicate that leadership was necessary to effect a change in attitude toward schooling.

School attendance in Kenya has been rising steadily nationwide since the country became free, and even more so after the President's declaration that the first four years of primary school would not be paid for through school fees. This seems to indicate that greater numbers view formal education as an incentive to achieve upward mobility, even though joblessness among the educated is reaching alarming proportions.

Formal learning is becoming the norm in many communities; employment which utilizes such knowledge appears to be hoped for but not necessarily expected. In spite of some imminent dangers, such as juvenile delinquency increases and

restiveness among the adult population, the government is continuing to take the lead in advocating formal education and effecting changes in attitude towards it.

A change in attitude to formal education is also taking place among some northern blacks. After the student protests of the late 1960's, which subsequently opened college doors to blacks, many leaders in the black community vigorously campaigned for formal education. They urged youth to complete their high school education and aspire to a college education, or to training which would give them entrance into the mainstream of the economic and social structure of American society.

Although the drop-out rate remains high among inner-city youth, there appears to be a positive response to this new leadership and directive. More black students are completing high school, and college enrollment of blacks has increased. College attendance among northern blacks has not become the norm. However, earning a college degree does not necessarily portend alienation from the black community as it once did.

The desire to remain in favor with the community and peer groups apparently deflected many capable northern black youth from accepting formal studies as a necessary element in their lifestyle. This viewpoint was reinforced

by the system of discrimination which removed educational opportunities that provided rewards of employment advancement and social respectability. However, a situation such as this might not have been so detrimental to black youth in the North if a counter-reinforcement had been forthcoming from the leadership. This counter-reinforcement did occur in southern black communities.

No doubt other factors besides leadership, group cohesion, and conformity have been influential in attitudes towards education. It is likely that northern blacks are experiencing an additional impetus for changing their ideas on formal education because of the visible transformation in the black image being projected by television, movies, and newspapers.

Another factor could be the encouragement of businesses and government, which now declare themselves equal opportunity employers. Still another factor could be that schools are beginning to respect the black child by recognizing his heritage, and teaching him and his white classmates that his race has made a significant contribution to mankind.

Because most of these reforms have occurred only within the past decade, the potential degree of their influence on motivation and achievement will remain speculative for the next decade, at least. The political climate of the

country, as well as the economic situation, apparently will be variables to be given serious consideration. However, the present trend appears to predict a greater future involvement in formal education within the nation's black society.

The next decade in Kenya's educational history seems likely to introduce some changes in attitudes towards schooling in its present form. There is already some indication among university students that higher education is not necessarily one of the most valuable possessions to be sought.²⁸³ This attitude is mostly attributed to students who have experienced little academic and financial difficulty in acquiring a formal education. However, at present, there does not appear to be a significant drop-out rate due to a decreased interest in university education.

Other attitudinal changes are observable and might create new trends in education. In recent years, student behavior on all levels of schooling has become more disruptive and volatile. The deterioration of discipline in schools throughout Kenya has evoked strong reprimands from government officials, who feel that parents are responsible for disciplinary problems.²⁸⁴

Nevertheless, the decline of discipline in schools has not adversely affected examination results on the whole, as students still give high consideration to their

²⁸³ Interview with Dr. Albert J. Maleche, Faculty of Education, University of Nairobi, on August 22, 1973.

²⁸⁴ There is a growing sentiment among government officials that parents are paying little attention to their children.

competitive examinations and aim to pass well. It appears, therefore, that competition in Kenya's school system has been a major incentive for students to perform well.

The desire of the Ministry of Education to de-emphasize examinations as the ultimate indicator of learning has not brought significant reform to the examination system. Neither has there been complete success in revolutionizing teaching practices which have fostered rote learning in the preparations for the examinations.

If it is true that competition in examinations had induced student motivation and achievement, a reformed examination system which lessens competition might curtail motivation. Moreover, the ideal of introducing more humanism²⁸⁵ in the curriculum and encouraging inductive learning must have a corresponding examination method which will respect the learner's reasoning powers as well as his/her ability to assimilate facts.

A crucial test for the Ministry of Education is whether it can design examinations that will maintain student motivation and high achievement aspirations, and at the same time reflect the government's wish to incorporate humanistic educational practices in the student's learning experiences.

²⁸⁵ This concept advocates a recognition of human capabilities inherent in everyone.

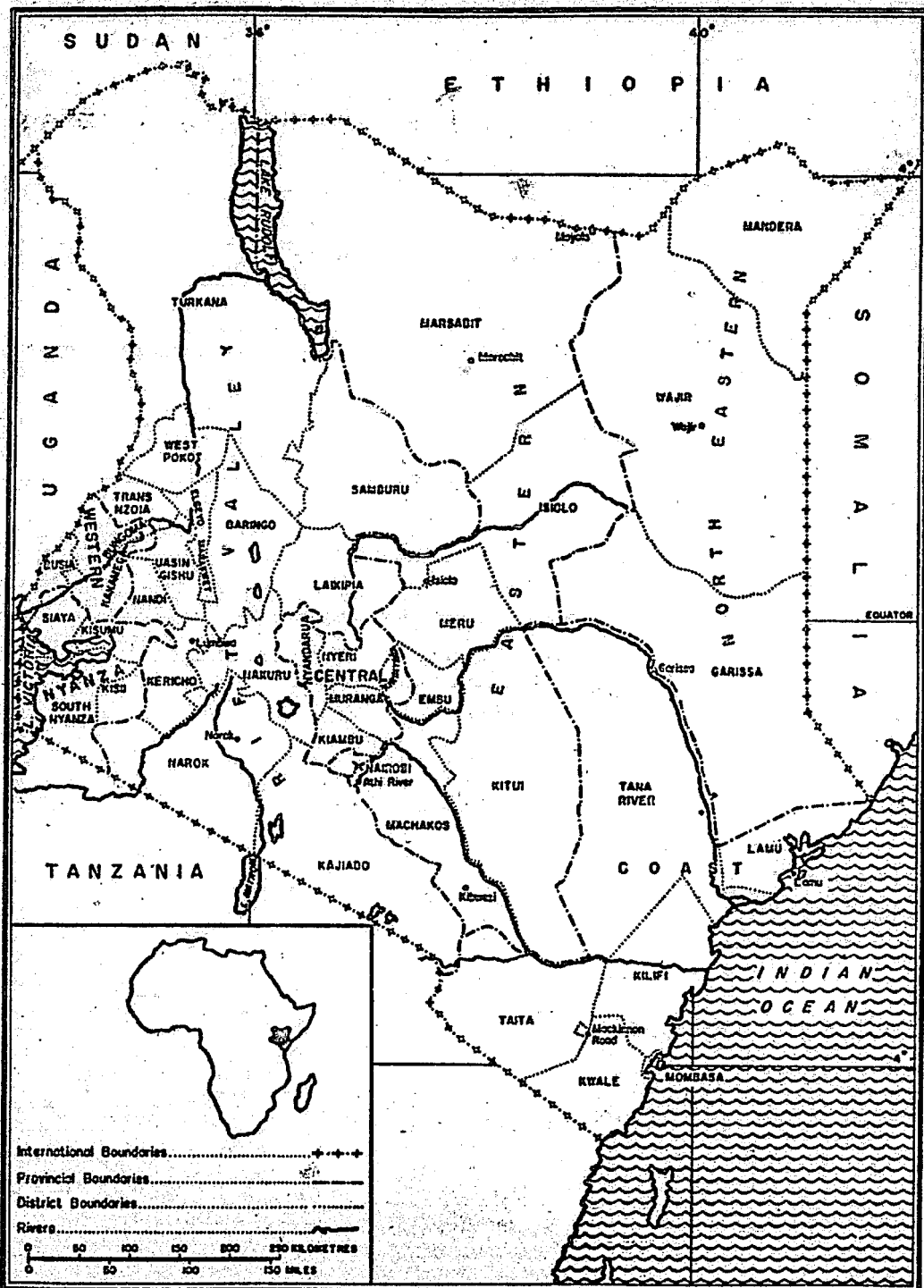
Great strides have been made in Kenya's efforts to ensure an educated population. But the cost of formal education is prohibitive, and the country's resources are inadequate to bear the financial burden which formal education entails. Non-formal education, a system of learning which can be obtained outside the classroom, seems to be an alternative which could gain more recognition and acceptance in the future. This does not mean that formal education will necessarily lose its high appeal. But the formal learning system might not be held in such high esteem because of its failure to guarantee monetary returns for thousands of school-leavers.

The concept of non-formal education has gained considerable support from government and private concerns. Public response to non-formal learning has encouraged a growth of schemes aimed at providing employment preparation, knowledge pertaining to higher productivity, and instruction on greater efficiency.

If non-formal education records significant success in these goals, there is likely to be a re-examination of the present system of formal education and its relevancy to the needs of the country and its people. Manpower requirements would probably call for the institution of changes in the present system.

Tradition and conservatism have hampered proposed curricular reforms in Kenya. Educators have had the onerous task of revamping an inherited educational system which was too expensive to totally dismantle. In its revision, the curriculum was shaded with eclectic theories borrowed from other educational systems. Not all of these revisions have met with success, but some have proved their worth.

Experimentation within the formal learning setting is an indication that Kenyans can be flexible in their approaches to education. More importantly, they are willing to persist in their search for a relevant and productive educational program.



Administrative map of Kenya

Appendix

Musa Ndirangu had been educated in mission schools and was undergoing church studies when he decided to renounce Christianity. His traditional socialization made it repugnant to have Christian women and children making decisions on who could be baptized into Christianity. He therefore thought it best to go back to the original tree and worship God.

Musa began thinking of a school without missionaries. Having worked as a dishwasher on the railway from 1902 to 1913, he had saved his rupees,²⁸⁶ because at that time only bananas, sugar cane, and yams could be purchased. He knew nothing about banks or how to form a company. One day he bought some bananas for an old man, after which time he attracted a large following and became an example of an African who had money.

It was with his own capital that Musa started building his school. There was no difficulty receiving permission to build the school, as the chief was related to him on his grandfather's side of the family.

Dagoretti, where the school was to be erected, was heavily populated with hyenas, leopards, porcupines, and

²⁸⁶ Indian rupees were used for currency at that time.

wild pigs, with no people living within a two-mile radius. Musa Ndirangu and another teacher, Kariuki Kimani, who had trained in the same mission schools, began the work of constructing the building in January 1913, completing it in June of that same year. No trees were available which could be utilized for building posts, so poles (mukoi) and many other necessities were given free by members of the surrounding community. Thatching reeds (ithanji) were purchased from women, who were unaware of what was being built.

In order to propagandize the new school and invite the enrollment of children, Musa bought a bull at the end of the year and held a big celebration to thank the women for their assistance. He had skins cut into straps so that women could carry reeds on their heads.²⁸⁷ They were also given meat as a gift.

It was a unique experience for these pagan women to be eating with Christians, since the two groups were like enemies. Missionaries declared converts disobedient to Christianity if they mingled with pagans; therefore, the Church disallowed them permission to return to their father's house once they became Christians. Circumcision of women had become a divisive issue and was the strongest reason

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Kikuyu women traditionally carried loads on their backs by using a strap around the head which held the loads. This is still practiced.

for a separation from the missions. It was believed by many that missions and government were purposefully collaborating to destroy Kikuyu customs.

In 1914, during World War I, the new school registered as Musa Ndirangu School. It became a haven for young men trying to escape conscription into the army. This introduced a number of older students into the school who were physically capable of defending themselves against policemen attempting to force their return for army service. Because these students were unable to leave the school grounds for fear of arrest, Musa purchased two footballs²⁸⁸ for their recreation after studies were completed.

In the following year, there were no outside contributions. One day Musa bought and killed a bull and two goats, solely for the purpose of letting all the young people enjoy a celebration together. Also purchased was a very expensive bag of rice, a bag of good-quality salt, and a large bag of sugar. While all were eating, Musa began putting the students into age groups (riikas). As Kikuyu culture is founded on age groupings, which has a significance to every aspect of the culture, the institution of riikas in this independent school was to become a foundation for the future development of the independent schools movement.

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The terminology for Americans is soccer balls.

In 1915, the school had only two teachers, and one of them was uncircumcised. According to Kikuyu custom, it was very difficult having an uncircumcised man accepted as a teacher, or in any other capacity in the society.²⁸⁹ Nevertheless, activities within the school continued to progress, especially football. By now football was beginning to bring the school recognition, and the team often competed with other schools. In addition, this independent school was gaining publicity because it dared to defy the government by refusing to allow war recruitment from among the student body. Moreover, the school would not include the teaching of Christianity in its curriculum.

Several mission schools in the area did not have sufficient enrollment at this time. Subsequently, the attention of missions was drawn to the Musa Ndirangu School. Musa had become a businessman and was in Naivasha purchasing goats, when missionaries sent some African elders to the school as a gesture of friendliness. They later sent a teacher, Karika Munaina, free of charge, to work in the new school.

However, it was eventually discovered that Karika was a spy for the missionaries and had been sent to learn what was going on, and also to undermine the school's

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This is what Jomo Kenyatta speaks of in Facing Mount Kenya.

activities. He was dismissed after only one term of teaching, because he had often physically abused the students and called them disobedient.

Musa went to the Kiambu mission to report why Karika had been released. He then requested the missionaries to send an older man to the school, preferably one who was married and would realize that the school was largely populated with grown-up students. What they wanted from their teachers were periods when they could hold discussions and not be treated as children.

Because those who had spied on the Ndirangu school liked what they saw and wanted to join it, the mission gave the school another teacher, Muiruri wa Kibinge. This brought the teaching staff up to three, with a student body of about two hundred from Central Province. At this time, only Kikuyus attended the school.

In 1917, the government sent a letter to W.P. Knapp, a missionary, requesting him to find strong people who could carry luggage for the army, as the First World War was still continuing. Knapp asked Musa for twenty-five men and requested Musa to be a leader for the porters. Both requests were answered, and Musa took his twenty-five men to Thogoto, a village not far from the school. After spending a few

days in Thogoto, the group went to Mombasa, where most of the men died from the climate. From Mombasa, Musa and his men were shipped to Tanganyika, joining groups from missions led by a Dr. Arthur.²⁹⁰

The war ended in 1918 while the porters were at Morogoro. They completed their work by carrying the dead bodies, along with the luggage, back to Kenya. Upon his return to the school, Musa found that the missionaries had dismissed one of the two original teachers, Kariuki Kimani. Kariuki's offense was that he was a "lady-killer" among the few girls who now attended the school. No dormitory had yet been built for the girl students.

As was customary, Musa sent two elders to see the missionaries for a resolution of the problem. However, when the two elders went to Kiambu Church to speak to the church elders, they were turned away because they were not Christians. Thus occurred a separation of Christians from the independent school. Musa declared at that time that the missions could take their people, and he would stay with his people at the school.

The school was then moved a quarter of a mile away on land given by a teacher, Wilson Gathuru. A decision was made by the government to close Ndirangu because it was not

associated with any mission. Musa went to the Kikuyu Central Association and met with Henry Gichurieri, a clerk from Murang'a, who asked him to wait and talk with the secretary of KCA, George Ndegwa, about the government's decision.

Upon his return home, Musa was paid a visit by members of the Central Intelligence Division, who had been sent by the District Commissioner of Kiambu. Musa offered the visitors tea and bread, after which the District Officer, one of the visitors, told a man named Kiambathi to find out why the school was closed and to ascertain what kind of school it was. Because the men were not wearing uniforms, Musa had not known who they were. After drinking the tea and wrapping the bread, with a promise to eat it later, the visitors left, saying they would be in Kiambu Boma on a certain day.

On the appointed day, Musa went to Kiambu and heard the District Officer say he was very happy to open the school. He gave Musa a bugle and told him to blow it whenever he wanted to call the students. The District Officer said he had found nothing wrong with the school.

However, when Senior Chief Waruhiu, a Christian, heard Musa was given a bugle, he was very unhappy. The

chief did not have a friendly relationship with Musa and wanted the school to remain closed.

Nevertheless, Musa hired a carpenter from Uganda and built a large, impressive building of bamboo, which was paid for by Musa. Teachers still were not receiving a fixed salary, but they obtained what they wanted in the way of money from Musa. When the building was completed, Musa contacted George Ndegwa from the KCA and accompanied him to the Ministry of Education in search of a teacher. They were told of a man, Justus Kang'ethe, who had recently arrived from Malindi.

The two men went to Pumwani, an African Location in Nairobi, and met with Kang'ethe. The KCA owned a hotel in Pumwani and Musa contributed money to it while the three men ordered food. He then told Kang'ethe he was looking for someone to teach in the new school just built in Kiambu. When Kang'ethe said he was ready to go to the school, Musa hired a car and went to see the District Commissioner of Kiambu.

A discussion was held with the District Commissioner on how much money Musa would be able to pay the new teacher. The District Commissioner was disbelieving when Musa replied he could pay forty rupees. Kang'ethe was then asked

by the District Commissioner if he would accept forty rupees, and the reply was "yes, because I am going to teach my own people." After seeing letters from Kang'ethe certifying the salary he was presently receiving, the District Commissioner could not believe he was willing to accept so little from the new school.

After Kang'ethe joined the teaching staff, the first fifteen girls came from Murang'a to Musa's school. About 400 more arrived from all over the country. The girls were interested in learning cookery, and therefore they took food from Musa's farm. There was also another very well qualified teacher, Wilson Waitthaka.

Chief Waruhiu was still very dissatisfied with the school and made a report to the District Commissioner that he could not control the growth of the school. This report made the District Commissioner go to the Ministry of Education, which sent three European teachers to make investigations.

Kang'ethe met them and took them around the school. The Europeans saw fifteen girls sleeping on the floor and suggested that they be given beds. Furthermore, when they saw the signboard for the new school, which read "Kikuyu Karing'a," meaning pure, real Kikuyu, Musa was told to remove the signboard and change the name. It was Kang'ethe and Musa who decided on the name "Kikuyu Independent Schools,

Githunguri."

No funds from the public or government were as yet coming to the school. Three elders, Kivia Munga, Kamere Rivero, and Javonson Karina, wanted to become leaders of the school, since Musa was away so often developing his business. It was thought best to move the school again on land being offered by Kamere, one of the three elders.

Chief Waruhiu wanted to contribute materials for the building, but his offer was turned down. Then the three elders began arguing over ownership of the school and the case went to court. Musa was called as a witness, and the court's judgement was that, though Kamere had offered land, he could not be in authority of the school. Musa was to remain the school's head. Fees collected from the students would be used to pay salaries of the teachers. It was further decided that the elders could contribute to the building of a church, which was to be independent of existing missions and part of the school.

The following years were years of development for the school. The building was completed with six classrooms, and the church had also been built. In 1939, Mbiyu Koinange, the first African holder of an M.A. degree, recently returned from studies in the United States and England, called the elders together and suggested that he could start a

college within the existing building. The new building had already been named Kenya Teachers College, although it was not a college in the true sense.

Koinange was given responsibility for the college and began searching for teachers. Musa Ndirangu's elder son, Samuel Waithoki, a government-qualified teacher, became head teacher of the Teachers College. Although elders were still involved with the college, management was turned over to Koinange.

Jomo Kenyatta returned to Kenya in 1946, after having spent several years in England studying and lecturing. Koinange invited Kenyatta to visit him at the school, since his friend, Kenyatta, had no house of his own. After two months at the school, Kenyatta thought he should begin lecturing.

Koinange instituted the practice of age groups and began collecting money for the school through these groupings. Musa went to the Rift Valley with Zachari Mungai to raise money, and the age group represented by "ndege," the Kikuyu word for airplane, brought in the largest amount. Musa and Zacharia began looking for an airplane at the airport, hoping to use it to drop money at Githunguri, where the school was located. However, the government refused to allow this kind

of publicity and maintained that only Koinange and Kenyatta could handle the money.

The collected money was used to erect a building which could not be destroyed easily. George Waiyaki, a qualified engineer, laid a foundation eight feet deep, and it was not long before the building was completed. Dedan Mugo was selected treasurer of the school, and Waira Kamaa its secretary.

In 1951, Mbiyu Koinange was given funds by the High Commissioner of India, Apa B. Pant, to go to England on business of the school. Thousands of people attended a meeting in Kaloleni, an African Location in Nairobi, for Koinange's send-off. The responsibility of running the school was left to Kenyatta. The school was catering to about 1500 students from tribes in all sections of the country and in East Africa.

Political unrest was reaching a climax at this time in the Colony, and pupils of the school began taking oaths without knowing what they were doing. Kenyatta held a political meeting in which he denounced Mau Mau. Even Chief Waruhiu was there at that meeting.

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Mr. Ed Joel, Adult Studies, University of Nairobi
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Dr. Vertistine Mbaya, University of Nairobi
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Dr. Albert J. Maleche, Bureau of Educational Research,
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Mr. Musa Ndirangu (translators, Kariuki Njiiri, Samuel Waitthoki)
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at State House, Nairobi, July '24, 1973