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DEVELOPMENTS IN PRIMARY EDUCATION IN KAJIADO DISTRICT 1963-1975.

by

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### ABSTRACT

This paper traces the expansion of first level educational facilities in Kajiado District ( One of the two administrative areas comprising Kenya Masailand) since Independence. With the history of formal education in the area characterized largely by widespread Maasai resistance to schooling, demand for such services has emanated primarily from non-Maasai ethnic groups who traditionally have controlled the major trading centres (Townships) or engaged in agriculture in the principal high potential regions around Ngong and Loitokitok. In these two widely separated areas relatively dense networks of well attended primary schools have emerged and this in turn has tended to facilitate both educational administration and supervision in both regions. In the pastoral interior however ( and despite a substantial increase in first-level facilities since the mid 1960's) the education system remains underdeveloped. Most of these schools terminate at Std.V or below and many are virtually cut off from contact either with other schools or with District and Divisional Education Offices and personnel. Moreover Maasai participation in these schools is directly affected by the traditional herding requirements associated with the prevailing pastoral economy and the inability, thus far, to link formal education to improved economic conditions in the traditional sector has meant that most Maasai parents refuse to regard educational expenditure in investment terms. Thus while the expansion of primary facilities in the past decade has been greatest in those areas where educational resistance has been most pronounced, the majority of these schools have had difficulty in going beyond the Std.4 or Std.5 level. In Ngong & Loitokitok on the other hand almost all the schools are full primaries (i.e. Std.7), enjoying some measure of local support, together with periodic supervision from nearby Divisional Headquarters. It is primarily in these schools both rural and Township that the recent substantial enrollment increases in the district have been registered.

### Introduction

Much of the discussion concerned with development in Maasai land has centred on the widespread reluctance of the local (Maasai) population to accept or support efforts directed towards socio-economic change in the area. This so-called resistance phenomenon is well known (if less well understood) and is most commonly seen as a function of the special demands inherent in a pastoral economy together with the survival in Maasailand of a largely unaltered social system where traditional modes of behavior, status, and authority continue to be relevant and well defined.<sup>1</sup>

Whereas during the colonial period the emphasis was clearly on inducing change via the schools and key individuals in the Maasai community, i.e. chiefs, elders, age-set spokesmen etc, more recent policy seems to have recognized the need for fundamental improvement in the traditional economy as a pre-condition to any popular acceptance of related economic and social programmes aimed at modernizing Maasai life-styles. Hence the importance attached to such major development projects as the World Bank - financed Livestock Development Programme in the area which has sought to influence customary pastoral practices through extensive investment in improved stock and stock facilities while at the same time retaining a link with the 'communal' nature of traditional Maasai stock farming through such concepts as Group Ranching.<sup>2</sup>

However this emphasis on creating viable economic conditions in Maasailand has not meant that the provision of complimentary social services has been temporarily shelved in favour of large scale investment in the traditional economy. Nor have concepts like Group - Ranching reduced the urgency of historically important factors such as education in the development process. On the contrary, the commitment to reformed pastoralism has stressed the importance of the educational component<sup>3</sup> and, while there is little

1. See King, K.J. - The Kenya Maasai and the Protest Phenomenon 1900-1960 - Journal of African History - Vol. 12 1971.

2. UNDP/F.A.O. - KAPUTIEI DRAFT REPORT, JAN. 19 9. This was basic study for the Livestock Development Programme. (GROUP RANCHING).

3. *ibid* pp. 63.



information available as to whether this opinion is shared by ranch members themselves, it is clear that the past decade has coincided with a significant expansion of the formal school system in both Maasai districts. In Kajiado, for example present enrollment rates at the primary level are five to six times what they were at Independence and while this must be seen against the background of a significant non-Maasai minority resident in the district, indications are that at the upper level of the primary system both the proportion and performance of Maasai students has been increasing in recent years.

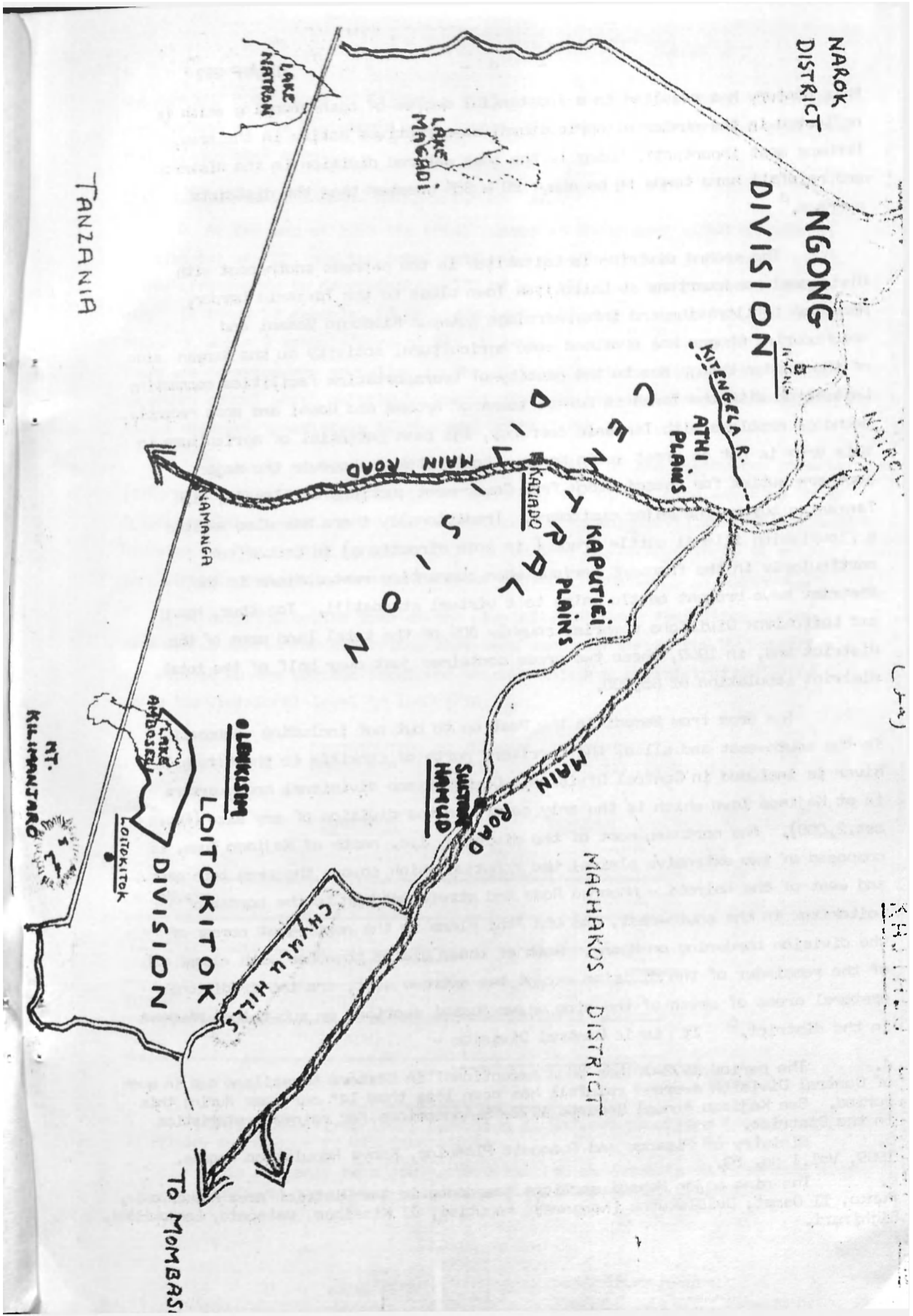
The purpose of this paper is to trace these developments since Independence and to point out some of the practical problems which were associated with primary school expansion during this period. It includes as well a brief look at the C.P.E. results in Kajiado schools between 1970 and 1975 and in very general terms, indicates the position of Std. 7 Maasai students in relation to the larger non Maasai group.

#### KAJIADO DISTRICT

Any consideration of the development of educational facilities in Kajiado must take into account the sheer size of the district and its relatively un-developed state. Although its boundaries reach to within 25 miles of Nairobi, Kajiado comprises a vast administrative area stretching from Suswa in the north-west to the Tanzania border, just opposite Kilimanjaro in the south east, and from the Nairobi - Mombasa highway in the east, to the Nguruman Escarpment which forms the district's western boundary with Narok.

Within this area of over 8,000 sq. miles (22,000 sq. km.), transportation and communications facilities are only poorly developed. The main Nairobi - Namanga Road serves as the district's major supply route with additional access points through Ngong in the north and Sultan Hamud in the east. For administrative purposes the district is composed of three divisions, (a fourth is in the process of being formed) which exhibit varying climatic and ecological characteristics both internally and in relation to one another.

The most developed division is Ngong in the north-west whose township is almost a suburb of Nairobi and which has close economic ties with the country's major market centre. Besides the presence (until recently) of Kenya Meat Commission (K.M.C.) slaughter facilities, the area affords the only opportunity in the district for shipping cattle direct to Nairobi. In addition the influence of nearby agricultural peoples and the significant infiltration and inter-marriage which has occurred in this area throughout



this century has resulted in a substantial degree of cash-cropping which is reflected in the number of agricultural co-operatives active in the area. Perhaps most importantly Ngong is the best watered division in the district and rainfall here tends to be about 20 - 25% greater than the districts average.<sup>4</sup>

The second division is Loitokitok in the extreme south-east with divisional headquarters at Loitokitok Town close to the Tanzania border. Here too infiltration and inter-marriage between Kissongo Maasai and neighbouring Chagga has produced some agricultural activity on the Kenyan side of the border though due to the paucity of transportation facilities connecting Loitokitok with the Tanzania Market towns of Arusha and Moshi and more recently, exchange problems with Tanzania currency, the cash potential of agriculture in this area is not as great as in Ngong. Loitokitok is however the major southern outlet for Maasai stock from Government auctions at Ilassit, with Tanzanian buyers the major customers. Traditionally there has also existed a flourishing illegal cattle trade ( in both directions) in Loitokitok, particularly in the frequent periods when quarantine restrictions in the district have brought cattle sales to a virtual standstill. Together, Ngong and Loitokitok Divisions comprise roughly 30% of the total land area of the district and, in 1969, these two areas contained just over half of the total district population of 85,000.<sup>5</sup>

The area from Magadi in the West up to but not including Amboseli in the south-east and all of the territory north of Lenkisir to the Kitengela River is included in Central Division. District and divisional headquarters is at Kajiado Town which is the only centre in the division of any size (Pop. est. 2,000). The northern part of the division, i.e. north of Kajiado Town, is composed of two extensive plains: the Kaputiei, which covers the area both east and west of the Nairobi - Nakanga Road and stretches down to the border of Loitokitok in the south-east, and the Athi Plains in the north-west corner of the division bordering on Ngong. Both of these plains together with almost all of the remainder of the division except the extreme west, are the traditional pastoral areas of seven of the nine major Maasai sections or sub-tribes resident in the district.<sup>6</sup> It is in Central Division -

4. The period 1972-76 has been exceptional in Eastern Maasailand and in much of Central Division average rainfall has been less than 14" per year during this period. See Kajiado Annual Reports 1972-75-Appendices for rainfall statistics in the District.

5. Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Kenya Population Census, 1969, Vol.1 pp. 53.

6. The nine major Maasai sections residents in the District are: Keekonyokie, Purko, II Damat, Dalalakutak (Kangere), Kaputiei, II Kissingo, Matapato, Loodokilani, Sighirari.

the pastoral heartlands of Kajiado - that annual rainfall tends to be lowest and, because of the Division's size (about 70% of the total district area) the distribution most erratic.

Primary Schools in Kajiado District - 1963

At the end of 1963 the total number of Government aided schools in the district was 22, and the total estimated enrollment was just under 3,000, which corresponded to approximately 15% of the eligible age group 7-15 years old.<sup>7</sup> Of these 22 schools, 13 provided instruction only up to Std. IV (Lower Primary), while 9 schools were of Std. V level or higher (Intermediate).<sup>\*</sup> There was no secondary education in the district at this time and the nearest secondary school which catered to Maasai students was in Narok, the neighbouring Maasai district immediately to the west of Kajiado.

In terms of Divisional distribution, nine of the twenty-two schools (41%) were located in Ngong Division including six of the nine existing Upper Primary or Intermediate schools. A further six schools (27%) were in Loitokitok Division and the remaining seven (32%) in Central Division - three of which were concentrated within the confines of Kajiado Township.

To get a better idea of the proximity of these facilities to the nine Maasai sections or sub-tribes they were meant to serve, the 22 primaries are related to the various locations which existed as administrative units below the Divisional level in 1963 (FIG.I).

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIMARY (INTERMEDIATE) SCHOOLS BY LOCATION, DIVISION AND LEVEL  
KAJIADO - 1963

LOCATION	DIVISION	SCHOOLS	
		P	I
LIKISSONGO	LOITOKITOK	5	1
KAPUTIEI	CENTRAL	2	0
DALALAKUTOK	CENTRAL	0	0
ILDAMAT	CENTRAL	0	0
PURKO	CENTRAL	0	0

(Cont.)

\* Until 1966 first level schooling in Kajiado comprised 8 years Std. I - IV Primary and Std. V to VIII Intermediate.

7. This can only be a rough approximation as there is no breakdown given for the enumerated age-group 0-15 in the 1962 Census. Op.cit. pp. 101.



The following table shows the number of persons in the various divisions of the District of Columbia for the year 1950.

Table 1. Population of the District of Columbia, 1950

At the end of 1950 the total number of persons in the District was 205,919, and the total number of persons in the various divisions was as follows: Central Division, 100,000; Eastern Division, 50,000; Western Division, 50,000; and Southern Division, 5,919.

The following table shows the number of persons in the various divisions of the District of Columbia for the year 1950.

The following table shows the number of persons in the various divisions of the District of Columbia for the year 1950.

(STATISTICAL DIVISION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)

Division	Population
Central	100,000
Eastern	50,000
Western	50,000
Southern	5,919
<b>Total</b>	<b>205,919</b>

The following table shows the number of persons in the various divisions of the District of Columbia for the year 1950.

(FIG. I CONTINUED)

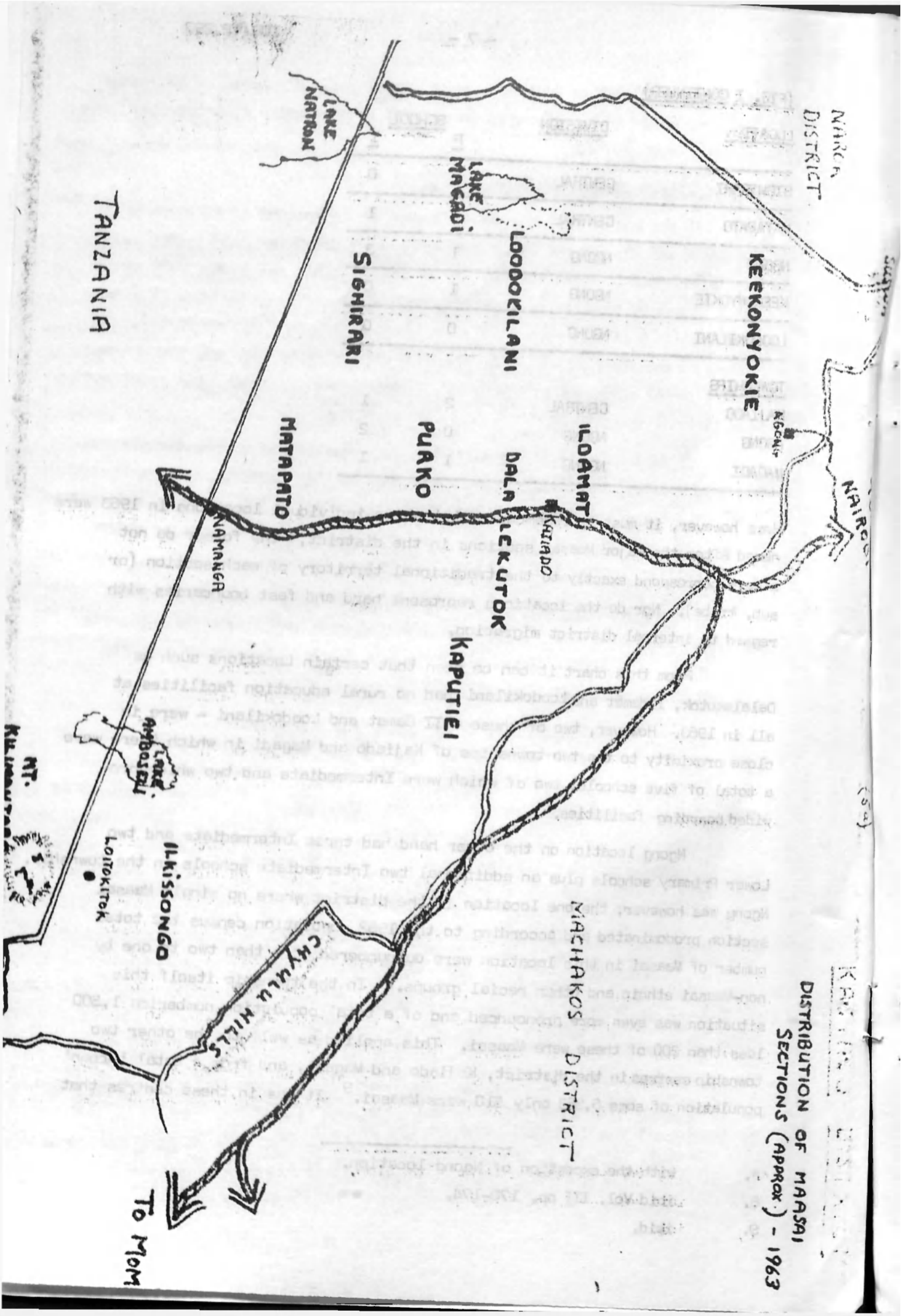
LOCATION	DIVISION	SCHOOL	
		P	I
SIGHIRARI	CENTRAL	1	0
MATAPATO	CENTRAL	0	1
NGONG	NGONG	1	3
KEEKONYOKIE	NGONG	1	0
LOODOKILANI	NGONG	0	0
<u>TOWNSHIPS</u>			
KAJIADO	CENTRAL	2	1
NGONG	NGONG	0	2
MAGADI	NGONG	1	1

Here however, it must be remembered that while individual locations in 1963 were named after the major Maasai sections in the district,\* the former do not always correspond exactly to the traditional territory of each section (or sub-tribe). Nor do the locations represent hard and fast boundaries with regard to internal district migration.

From this chart it can be seen that certain Locations such as Dalalakutok, Ildamat and Loodokilani had no rural education facilities at all in 1963. However, two of these - II Damat and Loodokilani - were in close proximity to the two townships of Kajiado and Magadi in which there were a total of five schools, two of which were Intermediate and two which provided boarding facilities.

Ngong location on the other hand had three Intermediate and two Lower Primary schools plus an additional two Intermediate schools in the township. Ngong was however, the one location in the district where no single Maasai section predominated and according to the 1962 population census the total number of Maasai in this location were outnumbered more than two to one by non-Maasai ethnic and other racial groups.<sup>8</sup> In the township itself this situation was even more pronounced and of a total population numbering 1,500 less than 300 of these were Maasai. This applied as well to the other two township centres in the district, Kajiado and Magadi, and from a total 'urban' population of some 6,363 only 510 were Maasai.<sup>9</sup> It was in these centres that

\*. with the exception of Ngong location.  
 8. ibid. Vol. III pp. 170-174.  
 9. ibid.





a third of the educational facilities of the district were located in 1963 and almost half of the schools above Std. IV.

An additional feature of educational facilities in Ngong at this time was the tightly concentrated pattern which the schools formed. With the exception of the Keekonyokie school at Ewaso Kedong, no school in this part of the district was more than 10 miles from Divisional headquarters in Ngong Town and no school was more than 7 miles away from another school. In contrast, while 3 of the 7 schools in Central Division were located within Kajiado Township, the remaining 4 stretched from Isenya in the north to Meto on the Tanzania border in the south, a distance of more than 100 miles, and there was virtually no contact between individual rural schools in this area or between the schools and the D.E.O.'s office in Kajiado.

Finally, although it would appear as if schools in Ilkissongo location exhibited many of the same features, distribution-wise, as Ngong, four of the six existing schools in 1963 had only been opened the previous year whereas Loitokitok school itself had first been established in the early 1930's and was one of the earliest Government schools in Maasailand. Thus in 1963 this area of the district was, educationally, still comparable to Central Division and both largely reflected the pattern of education which had been set up in the early colonial period.

Clearly then, in 1963, the majority of Kajiado District schools were located either in areas where there were very few Maasai at all (i.e. Township.) or in those rural parts of the district where Maasai were well outnumbered by other ethnic groups. Those few schools in the pastoral regions, primarily of Central and northern Loitokitok Divisions, were either only recently opened (Lenkisir and Enkijape) and hence still only Std. I schools, or they were located so far away from District headquarters that supervision, fee collection, recruitment of pupils, payment of teachers salaries and all of the routine administration connected with the operation of the schools was made extremely difficult. It must be remembered that in 1963 there were no hard-surfaced roads in the district and transportation facilities for Government staff were at a premium. Nor was it certain that when schools were visited they would be functioning or that the families of pupils were still in the area. As yet boarding facilities, long felt to be a necessary prerequisite to the effective promotion of Maasai education, were confined mainly to Kajiado and Ngong Townships where such luxuries were much sought after by the parents of Non-Maasai children.<sup>10</sup> The only rural primary boarding school at this time

10. In 1963 there were no extra fees charged for primary boarding facilities.



was at Bissel, 20 miles south of Kajiado.

Primary Schooling Under the County Council - 1964-1970.

Prior to Independence in 1963 responsibility for education in Kenya had rested with the Regional Education Boards, which had been set up at the Provincial level in the 1950's by the Colonial Education Department. At the district level a similar function was performed by the District Education Boards (D.E.B.'s) with the District Commissioner acting as chairman and the District Education Officer as secretary.

From 1964 this responsibility passed to the elected County Councils and while the Education Boards continued to exist during the period of the Majimbo constitution in Kenya (1964-66), effective control at the district level was exercised by the District Education Committee which was the County Councils equivalent to the D.E.B. except that instead of the District Commissioner as chairman this role was filled by a nominated County Councillor. The former D.E.O., - now renamed the County Education Officer - continued to act as secretary to the Committee.

This switch to County Council control implied several things for future educational development in Kajiado. As elected officials, county councillors had a very definite political role to play and through the Education Committee the Council made it clear that it was prepared to adopt a much stricter line than its predecessor regarding such persistent problems in Maasai education as the defaultment and the chronic under enrollment which made running many local primaries a very uneconomical proposition.<sup>11</sup>

Secondly, Education was not the only responsibility transferred to the County Council following Independence. They had as well assumed control over a wide range of local services including medical facilities, district roads, markets, social services and local staff employed in these fields, which meant that, among other things, teachers' salaries were paid by the Council. Perhaps more importantly this vesting of extensive local authority in the County Councils implied that the main responsibility for development at the district level would lay with the Council and would, in turn, be closely related to the ability of the district to finance such efforts. It was no coincidence that one of the first declarations of the Olkejiado (Kajiado) County Council on assuming control of education was a call for greater selfhelp measures in this field.<sup>12</sup>

11. Minutes of District Education Committee Meeting 12 Feb. 1965, Olkejiado County Council, File K/100/101. I D.E.O. Kajiado pp. 3.

12. Ibid. pp. 4.

Yet during the first two years of County Council control there was little noticeable change in the education picture in Kajiado. While reported enrollments reached 4,000 by 1965,<sup>13</sup> only three new schools had been opened and expansion consisted mainly of up grading existing schools to the upper primary level. Four schools progressed to Std. V during this period and this was largely in anticipation of the opening of secondary school facilities in the district at Kajiado Town in 1965. Until this time there were no such facilities in the district and this must be considered as one of the major reasons why so few schools were above the Std. IV level in 1963. There had been little incentive either from the District Education Board or at the local level to invest in educational facilities above this level when it was recognized that the great majority of primary school leavers had little chance of going on to secondary school. Although the Council was later to institute a bursary system which enabled some Maasai students to continue their education outside the district in the late 1960's, no such programme had existed prior to the establishment of secondary school facilities in Kajiado itself.<sup>14</sup>

Besides the establishment of the district's first secondary school, 1965 witnessed the first major structural change to Kenyan primary education since the report of the Beecher Commission some 15 years earlier. The two-tiered primary system was exchanged for a straight seven-year programme and standard eight was dropped. While this resulted in some initial confusion in Kajiado and it was not until the end of the following year that conversion in the district was completed, the move was generally welcomed as a rationalizing measure in view of the conditions then applying in schools in the district. It also had the added benefit of significantly raising the K.P.E. statistics and the number of candidates increased from 246 in 1964 to 644 in 1966.<sup>15</sup>

This immediate post Independence period was also one of administrative change in education in the district as the Council proceeded to take over responsibility for mission-run schools and the several non-African primaries which had existed in the Townships. While the former had themselves been the recipients of financial aid from the earlier D.E.B.'s, one of their major contributions to district education had been the provision of teaching and administrative staff. In line with the new Government's Africanization

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13. Olkejiado County Council, Annual Education Report 1965 File Gen/32/4 pp. 2.

14. Recent bursaries to Maasai students stand at 30,000/= Annually-A.E.O. Kajiado, 3 Jan. 1977.

15. Olkejiado County Council, Annual Education's Report 1966, File Gen/32/4/6 pp. 3.

goals many of these people in the mid 1960's began to make way for their Kenyan replacements. Though the sponsorship of schools in the district by such organizations as the African Inland Church (A.I.C.) and the Christian Council of East Africa (C.C.E.A.) would continue, the chief responsibility for equipping and staffing these schools now passed to the Council.

Between 1965 and 1968 both enrollments and facilities began to expand rapidly in the district. From under 3,000 pupils at the end of 1964 this total had risen to over 6,000 in 1968,<sup>16</sup> and despite the slow progress in establishing new schools up to 1965, 12 primaries were opened in the next 3 years.<sup>17</sup> All but one of these schools (A.I.C. LOITOKITOK) were set up in the rural areas of the district, and it was soon evident that the Council, having called for greater self-help efforts in education, was having difficulty financing these projects when they became responsible for the recurrent costs involved. Since 1964 the teaching staff had nearly doubled<sup>18</sup> and in 1968 alone a revision of teacher salaries entailed an increase of 120,000/=.<sup>19</sup> On top of this the extension of primary boarding facilities to the Mashuru school in Kaputiei in 1965-1966 was proving to be an expensive business and following the imposition of small equipment and activity fees on students two years earlier, the council now proposed to institute a primary boarding fee of 200/= per year above normal tuition charges.<sup>20</sup> As a complimentary measure the Council also decided to tighten up its control of school fee collection in 1968 - something which it had done successfully two years earlier. This time however the immediate result was a 20% drop in attendance during the year - a figure which closely corresponded with the estimated Maasai enrollment in the districts primaries at the time<sup>21</sup>, and whereas in 1966 collection efforts resulted in returns which exceeded the estimates by some 10%<sup>22</sup>, the expected revenue from school fees in 1968 was only achieved by recovering fees which had been in arrears since 1967. In many ways 1966 and 1968 were comparable years in Kajiado and by Maasai standards both resulted

16. Kajiado District Annual Report, 1968, pp. 29.

17. *ibid.*

18. From 112 to 194 *ibid.*

19. Olkejiado County Council, Annual Education Report 1968, File Gen/32/4/8/pp. 5.

20. Kajiado District Annual Report, 1968 pp. 30.

21. *ibid.* pp. 28.

22. The total amount collected was £8,165 which exceeded the estimates by £890 - Olkejiado County Council, Annual Education Report, 1966. *Op.cit.* pp. 3.



in adequate rainfall and sufficient grazing. In one important respect however they differed: in 1960 all of Loitokitok Division was under a strict Government quarantine for nine months and during this period cattle sales were at a virtual standstill. In Central Division similar restrictions applied for a five month period and by the end of the year total cattle sales from these two parts of the district were down 50% from 1967.<sup>23</sup>

This practical connection between education and the pastoral economy is a recurring theme in Maasailand and yet unfortunately it is one that often tends to get lost in the discussion of institutional reluctances associated with Maasai attitudes and customs. Quarantines are of course nothing new in Maasailand and it was recognized well over 40 years ago that their imposition in a district like Kajiado affects much more than just the livestock economy.<sup>24</sup> Indeed it could probably be argued historically that cattle disease and the resultant restrictions have been the single greatest impediment to development in the area and while it is not meant to maintain here that these were unnecessary measures, it is claimed that the much touted institutional reluctance of the Maasai to education was relatively insignificant in periods when the prohibition of stock sales co-incided with the determination of the Council to bring in fees at any cost.

Closely related to the availability of cash in the traditional sector at this time was also the timing and the means whereby such funds were collected for educational purposes. Having to range perhaps 150 miles to reach an isolated school, fee collectors from District Headquarters were not always on the spot when money was available in different areas:

"There are times when the money is there but due to the long distances involved the collectors were not there in time to get it."<sup>25</sup>

or this comment from the same report:

"Some headmasters complain that children are given fee receipts for classes they are not supposed to be in which makes it hard for the headmaster to keep an accurate" record.<sup>26</sup>

23. Kajiado District Annual Report, 1968, pp. 24.

24. See for example the remarks of the District Commissioner, Kajiado, concerning the effects of Quarantine on the wider Maasai Community in 1931- Kajiado Annual Report, 1931, Kenya National Archives, pp. 1.

25. Kajiado District Annual Report, Education, 1971 File Gen/32/4/14 pp. 3.

26. *ibid*, pp. 4.



With different fee rates applying to different levels of the primary system one can only speculate on the motives behind this practice but it would appear clear, at any rate, that a combination of factors - including local economic conditions and administrative shortcomings-were responsible for what was referred to as the 'vicious circle of school fees revenue and low enrollment in Maasai schools'.<sup>27</sup> The fact that school fees in Kajiado were among the lowest in the country really didn't alter the situation for, as the County Education Officer himself noted, "The parents ability to pay school fees is always unstable and in times of quarantine many people in the district suffer financial difficulties".<sup>28</sup>

As for the administrative problems attached to schooling in Kajiado these stemmed largely from the lack of adequate educational staff attached to District and Divisional Headquarters. During the County Council period and up until the middle of 1970 there was no education office either at Ngong or Loitokitok and besides the D.E.O. in Kajiado Town there was only one Assistant Education Officer.<sup>29</sup> Out a total of 39 Districts in the country only two, Garissa and Mandera in the remote North-Eastern Province, had fewer educational administrative personnel than Kajiado.<sup>30</sup> In appealing for increased assistance in 1968 the C.E.O. Mulani stated:

"The lack of educational administrative staff in this district militates against the declared equalization principal of providing educational services to this district."<sup>31</sup>

1969 was the final year of County Council control over schooling in the district and by this time the number of primaries had almost doubled since 1963 from 22 to 40, while enrollment approached 7,000.<sup>32</sup> As the chart (FIG II) below shows, the major beneficiaries of this expansion of facilities were the rural locations and particularly those in Central Division where the original 4 schools in 1963 had increased to 13.

27. Kajiado District Annual Report, 1968, pp. 29.

28. *ibid.*

29. *ibid.* pp. 28.

30. Ministry of Education, Primary Section, Vol. I 1970 Appendices, no page no.

31. See Mulani, P.K. (C.E.O.) to Provincial Education Officers, Rift Valley Province, 2 Jan. 1969 in C.E.O.'s Daily Letter File 12, Kajiado pp. 1.

32. Kajiado District Annual Report 1969 pp. 34.

DISTRIBUTION OF MAASAI PRIMARY SCHOOLS BY LOCATION, DIVISION AND LEVEL  
KAJIADO DISTRICT - 1969

FIG. II SCHOOLS

<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>DIVISION</u>	<u>STD. I-IV</u>	<u>STD.V-VII</u>	
LOKISSONGO	LOITOKITOK	4	3	DISTRIBUTION OF MAASAI PRIMARY SCHOOLS BY LOCATION, DIVISION AND LEVEL KAJIADO DISTRICT 1969
KAPUTEI		4	2	
DALALAKUTOK		1	1	
LIDAMAT	CENTRAL			
PLRKO			1	
SIGHIRARI		2		
WATAPATU		2		
NGONG		6	4	
KEEKONYOKIE	NGONG		1	
LOOOKILANI		2		
<u>TOWNSHIPS</u>				
KAJIADO			3	
NGONG			1	
MAGADI			1	
LOITOKITOK		2		

Looking at the breakdown of enrollment by sex and standard it is seen that by 1969 substantial numbers of girls were in the district's primary schools with first year female enrollment slightly more than two-thirds of that for boys, declining to a ratio of about 1 : 2 in standard 7

ENROLLMENT IN KAJIADO PRIMARY SCHOOLS BY SEX & LEVEL, 1968 - 69

Standard	1968		1969	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
I	752	493	887	606
II	647	441	741	396
III	608	342	638	426
IV	547	283	584	336
V	497	228	471	249
VI	442	201	494	221
VII	382	182	426	211
TOTAL	3,833	2,172	4,242	2,445

SOURCE -

EDUCATION ANNUAL REPORTS KAJIADO DISTRICT, 1968 - 1969.

Comparing the figures for 1968 and 1969 (and making no allowance for repeaters) it is seen that already by standard II, 20% of the girls who began the previous year have disappeared while for boys the critical year seems to be between standard IV and standard V. Except for these two points the rate of attrition was only slightly higher for girls than it was for boys in this two year period.

In view of the very short history of female education in Maasailand the fact that by 1969 almost 40% of total enrollments were girls must be seen as a definite achievement. However at the same time it must be assumed that the great majority of these girls were not Maasai and a brief look at female recruitment in the district during the 1960's should support this.

As recently as 1956 there were only 58 maasai girls in Kajiado's five primary schools.<sup>33</sup> Under an agreement reached between Maasai chiefs and Colonial Educational Authorities during the Emergency it had been decided that Maasai girls would be recruited on a 1:3 ratio with boys.<sup>34</sup> But things had not proceeded as rapidly in Kajiado as they did in neighbouring Narok, mainly it was felt, because of the lack of girls boarding facilities in the district. Under a certain amount of pressure from District authorities the African Inland Mission (A.I.M.) was persuaded to establish girls boarding facilities in Kajiado Township in 1959 and until 1967 when a second A.I.M. (A.I.C.) girls boarding school was opened at Rombo in Loitokitok, A.I.M. Kajiado remained the only such institution specifically for girls in the district.

33. Kajiado District Annual Report, 1956, Kenya National Archives pp. 17.

34. Narok District Annual Report 1954, Kenya National Archives, pp. 18.



Yet while the A.I.M. facilities were designed especially to cater for Maasai girls, no attempt was made to discourage enrollment from other quarters and since the school was located within the township it proved a great attraction to many non-Maasai parents resident in the area.

Instead, the A.I.M. Headmistress, Elgin, relied upon the D.C. to put pressure on Maasai chiefs to supply recruits for the school and to present her in advance with a list of the quota girls names. A look at some of the correspondence which circulated between Elgin, the District Commissioner and the County Council Secretary during the 1960's illustrates some of the difficulties which the promotion of Maasai female education encountered during this period.

In November 1962 the D.C. received a letter from the Headmistress complaining that 24 Maasai girls had left the school and not returned and II others feared that when they went back to their homes during the school break (DEC) they would be circumcized and not allowed to return. She urged the D.C. to have the 24 girls returned to the school and to extract a promise from the chief concerned not to have the other II circumcized or taken out of school.<sup>35</sup> A year later a similar appeal was received by the Secretary of the Kajiado County Council which was preparing to take over responsibility for education in the district.

"All 14 of our Keekonyokie girls have gone, 9 of the Kaputiei, 6 of the Loodokilani, 5 Kangere (Dalalakutok), 4 Matapato and 1 - Purko. That is a total of 49 girls who have been at the school for a couple of years but have just dropped out"<sup>36</sup>

But drop-outs were only half of the problem. From the mid-1960's on, the school found it increasingly difficult to get any Maasai girls into Std. 1 at all. In enclosing the school's attendance record to the County Education Officer in March 1964 Miss Elgin noted that none of the 19 children in Std. 1 were Maasai conscripted children, as the chiefs had not brought any in.<sup>37</sup> In 1966 of 36 girls on the Quota list only 7 names had been received by the Headmistress when school began in January<sup>38</sup>, and again in 1969 there were no Maasai children to fill vacancies at the school.<sup>39</sup>

35. A.I.M. Kajiado (Elgin) to D.C. Kajiado, 4 Nov. 1962 in File no. Sch/15 D.E.O. Kajiado.

36. Elgin to secretary, Olkejiado County Council, 7 Oct., 1963 in File no. Sch/15 C.E.O. Kajiado.

37. Elgin to County Education Officers, Kajiado 17 March 1964; File no. Sch/15 C.E.O. Kajiado.

38. A.I.M. Kajiado to C.E.O. Kajiado 11 Jan. 1965 File no. Sch/15/128, County Education Office, Kajiado.

39. *ibid.*



In March 1969 the D.C. Kajiado sent the following letter to the Keekonyokie chief Ole Lemoiko:

'The headmistress of A.I.M. Kajiado has reported to me that there are no children to fill Std. 1 vacancies .. I therefore urge you to take your personal initiative in seeing that at least ten (10) pupils from your section are sent to the Headmistress for enrollment. Please act now.'<sup>40</sup>

This letter went to Ngong and five other identical appeals were forwarded to the respective chiefs in Kaputiei, Dalalakutak, Marapato, Loodokilani and ILDAMAT in short to all areas of the district with the exception of Loitokitok, (which after 1967 did its own recruiting). But with no legal recourse whereby compulsory primary education could be enforced, chiefs were reluctant to /<sup>press</sup> the issue of female education: It was one thing to recruit Maasai boys to the local day primaries but it was quite another to expect parents to send a 10 year old girl perhaps a hundred miles or more to A.I.M. Kajiado where during the mid 1960's the school operated in very uncertain financial conditions.<sup>41</sup> It must be remembered as well that one of the strongest objections to girls education in Narok in the early 1950's was precisely the fear that allowing them to attend schools in the Township areas would bring them into contact with alien and corrupting influence - most notably prostitution.<sup>42</sup>

In addition there were strong traditional reasons which militated against sending girls to school or allowing them to remain there. Maasai custom continues to be that following female circumcision usually at about the age of 15 girls go directly to their husbands and this is probably one of the major reasons why most girls who do start school seldom go beyond standard III or IV.

Finally it must be stated that in a district like Kajiado, Maasai women stand much less of a chance of making it outside the so-called traditional sector than do women from many other ethnic groups. While increasingly there is a real element of choice for Maasai men in the selection of a

40. D.C. Kajiado District to Chief Mweru ole Lemoiko, 6 March 1969, File Sch/15 C.E.O. Kajiado.

41. For example, the sudden decision in mid April 1964 to close the school until the financial situation between the District Education Board and the District Education Committee was resolved re: Grants in aid to the school. See A.I.M. (Kenya Field) to Maasai Store Kajiado 15 April 1964 File Sch/15 C.E.O. Kajiado.

42. See Narok Annual Report 1953, Kenya National Archives, pp. 53.

life-style, the customary role of women in Maasai society remains well-defined and highly circumscribed. Such limitations are underlined by the fact that unlike the case with Maasai men, women only rarely marry into other non-Maasai ethnic groups and as such their future is directly dependent on the reservation of accepted female roles as set down by Maasai society.

Thus it is doubtful if more than a handful of the 369 boarder at A.I.C. Kajiado and the Std. II Girls schools at Rombo (Loitokitok)<sup>43</sup> were in 1969 actually Maasai. In terms of overall female enrollment in the district these two schools accounted for about 16% of the total and in view of the constraints associated with enrolling Maasai girls in boarding schools and keeping them there it seems highly unlikely that the day primaries were any more successful in improving the proportion of Maasai girls in the rural schools where the official recruitment policy for girls largely did not apply.

#### Central Government Control of Education 1970

It was not without a certain amount of relief that in January 1970 the County Council handed control of Education in the district over to Central Government. While in many districts the transfer of responsibility for schooling, together with that for Roads, Medical facilities and Personal Income Tax (G.P.T.) resulted in greatly reduced finance for Local Authorities this was not the case in Kajiado. Revenue from the newly enlarged Amboseli Game Park more than off-set reduced grants from Central Government and as we have seen, fee defaulting and the mounting burden of such re-current educational costs as teachers salaries and primary boarding facilities had constituted an increasing drain on council finances.

Moreover towards the end of the 1960's attention in the district came to be focused more and more on the emerging Group Rancing Scheme in Kaputiei. By 1970 the first large-scale loans from the Agricultural Finance Corporation were beginning to be disbursed to the Ranches and the Council became increasingly involved in problems related to land adjudication and the granting of title deeds and the provision of increased stock facilities in the area.<sup>44</sup>

But while the transfer from Local to Central responsibility for education was welcomed, it was not immediately clear just what this change entailed. The council relinquished control in January 1970 but it

43. Kajiado District Annual Report 1969 pp. 36.

44. Kajiado District Annual Report 1970 pp. 25 - The first two loans from A.F.C. totalled 1.5 million shs.

wasn't until June of 1971 that the relevant Education Amendment Act was passed by Parliament,<sup>45</sup> and the inaugural meeting of the re-constituted District Education Board did not take place until Sept. 1972.<sup>46</sup> In the interim there was some confusion as to how the financing of recurrent and capital expenditure was to be divided between Central Government and the Council. The latter were no longer responsible for fee collections - that had already been taken over by Government staff from the D.E.O.'s Office in early 1970. Nor were teachers salaries any longer paid by the Council as a new organization, the Teachers Service Commission, (EST. in mid 1967), had assumed this function with effect from Jan 1970. However when it came to maintenance /existing facilities, construction of teacher housing and the supply of equipment to the schools, there were no guidelines laid down either in the Act or by the Education Ministry. Public opinion in the district, however, tended to assume that all financing would be done by the latter and in the absence of any clear cut directives the Education Office in Kajiado could only refer problems, in 1971 and 72, to an as yet non-existent D.E.B. One minor example;

"There are a number of schools in this district without desks. Parents in these schools still expect this office to provide desks and other furniture. Here again is another problem for the D.E.B. to solve."<sup>47</sup>

One area where Government take-over resulted in a fairly rapid improvement however was in the provision of Educational Administrative Personnel in the District. Within an eighteen month period from the middle of 1970 to the end of 1971 Kajiado received 2 Public School Inspectors, two additional A.E.O.'s and Education Offices were opened and both Ngong and Loitokitok.<sup>48</sup> With 40 schools to run in 1970 and 8 new ones proposed for the following year these staff increases succeeded in bringing Kajiado up to the level of other comparable districts in the Province such as Laikipia with 41 schools (2 A.E.O.'s, 1 School Inspector) and Narok with 46 schools. (3 A.E.O.'s, 1 School Inspector).<sup>49</sup>

When the District Education Board finally convened in Sept. 1972 it faced a number of immediate problems. The extended drought which had

45. Government of Kenya, Education Amendment Act no. 17, 1971 Kenya National Archives .

46. Inaugal Meeting, District Education Board Kajiado District Sept. 21, 1972. D.E.O. Kajiado.

47. Kajiado District Annual Report - Education 1971 pp. 10.

48. ibid. pp. 8.

49. Ministry of Education, Primary Education Section Statistics, Nairobi. 1971.



begun in June of 1970 was only temporarily relieved by the long rains of 1971 and except for limited areas around Ngong and Loitokitok no part of the district received more than 14" of rainfall in 1972.<sup>50</sup> This situation had its usual effect on school fees and whereas slightly over half of the Districts tuitions revenue was collected in 1971 less than 20% of the fees from the six boarding schools was secured.<sup>51</sup> With boarding costs running at over 500,000/= in 1972<sup>52</sup> the D.E.B. had little alternative but to officially sanction a per/pupil boarding subsidy of 490/= annually while retaining a 180/= fee with a 10% remission designed for the most needy cases.<sup>53</sup> This marked something of a departure from the earlier Country Council policy which had sought, as far as possible, to cover boarding costs with fees alone and it was an indication that the Government was now concerned with expanding boarding school facilities in the area primarily on enrollment grounds. As the preceding three years had shown, boarding schools were relatively less affected by the prevailing climatic conditions than rural day primaries and enrollment had increased steadily in the former from 830 in 1969 to over 1,250 in 1972.<sup>54</sup>

A second problem faced by the Board at its inaugural meeting was pressure from the Teachers Union to provide adequate housing for their members. Since 1970 the question of responsibility in this field had not been resolved and during this three year period the number of primary schools in the district had increased by 13 and the teaching staff had gone up by 30%.<sup>55</sup> When the Union representative at the D.E.B. meeting proposed that a Housing Committee be appointed to 'review plan and implement housing programmes for all the primary schools within the jurisdiction of the Board', the latter side stepped the issue claiming that housing was a problem in all rural areas.<sup>56</sup> Similarly when the question of a Remote Area Allowance for district teachers was brought up by the union, the Board felt that this could not be contemplated, suggesting instead that the matter be taken up with the teachers employer, the Teachers' Service Commission (T.S.C.) In a later meeting when this question was again raised by the union, the Board ruled that because the district contained 'urban pockets' it did not qualify for such an allowance.<sup>57</sup>

50. Kajiado District Annual Reports 1970 - 72, pp. 25, 16 and 14 respectively.

51. Kajiado District Annual Report - Education 1971, pp. 5.

52. Kajiado District Annual Report 1972 pp. 47.

53. Ministers of D.E.B. Meeting, Kajiado 21 Sept. 1972 Min. 4/72.

54. Kajiado District Annual Report 1969 pp. 36 and, Kajiado District Annual Report, 1972 pp. 45.

55. Kajiado District Annual Reports 1970 pp. 48 and 1972 pp. 45-48. The increase was from 277 in 1970 to 359 in 1972.

56. D.E.B. Meeting Sept. 21, 1972 op.cit. Min. 13/72.

57. ibid. Min. 14/72.



These beginnings of confrontation between the Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) and the D.E.O. had their origin in the late 1960's when the organization emerged as a vociferous - if not to say militant - spokesman of teachers rights in the district. Particularly with regard to the prompt monthly payment of teachers salaries the Union put continued pressure on both the County Council and the District Education Officer to ensure that all teachers received their pay on time. Under prevailing conditions in most of Kajiado this was virtually impossible as the absence of Banks precluded payment by cheque. This required that all teachers either turn up at the District Education Office on the last day of the month, or that District and Divisional administrative staff personally deliver salaries to each and every school. An attempt had been made to operate a Mobil Bank in the area but this had quickly been discontinued for security reasons and there appeared to be no other feasible alternative. This issue became such a heated one between KNUT and the authorities that at one point the union threatened to call out it's members on strike if prompt payments were not received:

"If no payments are received the Union will call all teachers in the District on Protest" ... "Do not take time on a protest. No salary payment on 30/10/71, no teaching on 1/11/71".<sup>58</sup>

In reply the D.E.O. could only point out the impossibility<sup>of</sup> such a demand in a district like Kajiado, and, although the situation was somewhat relieved by the establishment of Divisional Education Offices, many teachers continue to trek to District Headquarters at the end of each month to receive their salary.

Perhaps more serious were the charges by the Union that district educational authorities tended to favour non-Maasai candidates both for teacher training colleges and for in-service<sup>course</sup>/designed to up grade teacher qualifications. These accusations had first been levelled both by KNUT representatives and local politicians in 1971,<sup>59</sup> and later the secretary of the Olkajiado (KAJIADO) Branch of the Union claimed that the D.E.O. deliberately neglected to distribute applications for in-service courses to Maasai teachers.<sup>60</sup> In addition KNUT charged that the D.E.O. in Kajiado failed

58. Executive Secretary, Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) to Kajiado D.E.O. 5 Oct., 1971 - OLJ/KNUT/39/2/72 D.E.O. Kajiado.

59. The District Education Officer included his reply to these charges in his year-end report. See, Kajiado District Annual Report 1971 pp. 44-45.

60. See letter from KNUT/Olkajiado to D.E.O. and latter's reply in file Ref. K/53/176 File. 1974 District Education Office, Kajiado.

to employ local people as untrained teachers (U/T's) preferring instead to import them from various districts including Kitui, Kakamega, Kiambu and Nyanza. According to the Union out of a total of 132 U/T's in the district in March 1974 only 34 were local people.<sup>61</sup>

As is apparent, these charges (and countercharges) soon developed into personal enmity between Union Representatives and the local educational authorities and in fairness to the latter it should be pointed out that on more than one occasion the District Education Office had appealed to recruiters from the Teachers Training Colleges to bear Maasai candidates in mind when selecting students.<sup>62</sup> Moreover there is some evidence that teaching held little attraction for Maasai students and that especially those who completed Form II preferred to join companies rather than utilizing their option of going to Teachers Training College.<sup>63</sup> Frequently this resulted in pupils from outside the district coming into these institutions under the name of Kajiado and when they completed their training some only taught in the district for a few months before putting in for a transfer to their own home district.<sup>64</sup>

However that may be, KNUT could do relatively little to improve the conditions under which teachers in the district were forced to operate. While it is true that from 1974 a certain increased measure of job security has been attained,<sup>65</sup> most teachers in the district continued to be cut off either from the Educational Offices in the District and Divisional Headquarters or from any significant contact beyond the school. Visits to the few township areas were rare and it is not surprising in view of the wide spread isolation of most primaries that teacher desertation was a relatively common problem.<sup>66</sup>

The schools themselves were often primitive constructions usually lacking all of the basic facilities and equipment. Even in a township/school like A.I.C. Kajiado there was, in 1971, no running toilets or even latrines and

61. Minutes of D.C./D.E.O. and KNUT Meeting 18 June, 1974 Kajiado, District Education Office, pp. 5.

62. Kajiado District Annual Report - Education 1970 pp. 3 or minute of B.E.C./D.E.O. joint meeting 22 File. 1971 when 29 of 37 selected for Teacher Training were Maasai. B.E.C./1/71 pp. 2.

63. Kajiado District Annual Report Education 1971. pp. 3.

64. ibid.

65. Up to and including Dec. 1974 it was possible to dismiss teachers who had failed in - service courses. See letter to Teacher's Service Commission (T.S.C.) from A.N. GETEO (Chief Inspector of Schools) dated 30 Jan. 1976 in File K/77/Vol. II D.E.O. Kajiado.

66. In 1974 desertion accounted for 8 of 11 teacher interdictions in the District. Kajiado District Annual Report - Education 1974 pp. 9.

the traditional bucket system was still in use.<sup>67</sup>

Moreover teachers in rural schools were expected to fulfil a variety of roles including that of recruiters, fee collector, arbitrator of local disputes outside the classroom and a host of other functions beside instructor and as has been indicated large number of these people were not local district residents and as such were often totally unfamiliar with prevailing conditions in a place like Kajiado.

By October, 1973 the D.E.O. was warning the Board that Std. I enrollments were going lower and lower as the drought - described as the worst in 10 years - set in. Already by March the number of children at this level was down 25% from 1972.<sup>68</sup> and in an effort to stem this tide the Board discussed the possibility of instituting some sort of feeding program in the rural day primaries. In addition increased fee remissions were recommended especially for Central Division, and the District Commissioner was already preparing to send out his Chiefs to collect recruits for 1974.<sup>69</sup> Finally, appeals were made to all Boarding Schools in the district to increase their intake and two new streams of boarders were recommended for the day primaries at Ewaso Enkidong (Ngong) and Elangata Wuas (Central).<sup>70</sup>

These measures were taken primarily as an attempt to maintain existing levels in the schools in the face of the adverse weather conditions in the district and the Board had no way of knowing that within two months a Presidential Decree would make the first four years of primary education free and increase total primary enrollment rates by 50% almost overnight. In Std. 1 alone enrollments went from 2021 in 1973 to 4845 in March of 1974.<sup>71</sup> Where a few months earlier the Board had been recommending the boosting of Standard One enrollment it now found itself unable to cope with the increase. Since 1972 when enrollment had been just over 10,000 only 5 new schools had been opened, and the effect of the Decree together with a co-ordinated and concerted recruitment campaign had raised enrollment by 5,000 in two years.<sup>72</sup>

67. Kajiado District Annual Report - Education 1971 pp. 5 and D.E.B. meeting Kajiado 16th October, 1973 K/36/80. D.E.O. Kajiado.

68. Kajiado District Annual Report 1972 pp. 45 and Kajiado District Annual Report - Education 1973 pp. 4 or Annual Statistical Returns - Primary Schools - Kajiado District. File K/34 March 31, 1973, D.E.O. Kajiado.

69. D.E.B. Meeting, Kajiado District, 16th Oct. 1973 op. cit. Min. 14/73

70. *ibid.* Min. 5/73.

71. *ibid.*

72. Kajiado District Annual Reports, 1972 pp. 46 and 1974 pp. 58.



ENROLLMENT BY STANDARD

TABLE II KAJIADO DISTRICT PRIMARY LEVEL

1973

STDS	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	TOTAL
ENROLLMENT	2021	2101	1867	1355	1304	1213	1128	11660
TOTAL CLASS/STREAM	347							

1974

STDS	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	TOTAL
ENROLLMENT	4845	2749	2274	1974	1409	1485	1207	15923
TOTAL CLASS/STREAM	441							

SOURCE - Kajiado District Annual Reports 1973 - 74 Education.

In an effort to provide sufficient teaching staff to the 94 new streams the district was required to employ 56 additional untrained teachers (U/T's) as well as some 45 new P3 level teachers and at the end of the year over 73% of the teaching force of the district was either untrained or was not above the P3 level.<sup>73</sup> (P3= C.P.E. / <sup>plus</sup> Teacher Training)

As enrollment rates passed the 16,000 mark in 1975 serious overcrowding began to develop in the districts 60 primary schools. Already in 1974 a quarter of the schools had average per-stream enrollments of 40 or over and several, such as Kiserian, Endomatasiani, Ongata Ronkai and A.I.C. Loitokitok exceeded 50.<sup>74</sup> As all but three of the heavily populated schools were full primaries i.e. Std. 7, it must be assumed that the density was most acute at the lower levels. With 109 Std. 1 streams for 4845 pupils in 1974. its difficult to see how classes in some schools could have been under 60.

73. Kajiado District Annual Report - Education 1973 pp. 4 and 1974 pp. 5.

74. Kajiado District Annual Report - Education 1974 pp. 3-4.



PRIMARY SCHOOLS WITH AVERAGE PER STREAM  
ENROLLMENT 40+ - KAJIADO - 1974

TABLE III	SCHOOL	ENROLLMENT	STREAMS	AVE.
	KAJ./TWNSP	560	12	42
	NGATATAEK	80	2	40
	ILBISSSEL	319	8	40
SOURCE:	A.I.C. KAJ.	559	14	40
KAJ. DIST.	KISERIAN	842	16	54
ANNUAL	ENDOMATASIAN	621	12	52
REPORT	NGONG/TWNSP	1228	26	47
EDUCATION	A.I.C. LOITOKITOK	356	7	51
1974	OLOOLUA	426	9	47
	NGAMA	567	12	47
	ILIASSIT	650	13	50
	LOITOKITOK (D.E.B.)	580	14	42
	ONGATA-RONKAI	899	18	50
	OLCHORO	772	17	45
	ENTRARARA	293	7	42

Almost half of these big schools were located in Ngong Division and the remainder were either Township or Boarding Schools. The one anomaly here is Ngatataek which is a relatively new day primary in the Matapato Location of Central Division and in 1974 was still only a Std. II school.<sup>75</sup>

Nine schools, all located in the postoral areas of either Central or Loitokitok Division averaged less than 20 pupils per stream in 1974. With the exception of Oloylankalani just north West of Kajiado Town, and Kitengela, none of these were full primaries i.e. Std. 7.<sup>76</sup> What is more interesting is that 4 of these schools registered a significant drop in total enrollments between 1973 and 1974.<sup>77</sup> These schools, Kitengela, Lenkisir, Enterratoi and Enkijape were all in or on the border of Kaputiei. Only one of the nine schools, Meto, registered an increase of more than 20 pupils.<sup>78</sup> Obviously here the effects of the drought weighed heavier than the Presidential Decree or the sanction of the D.C.

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75. Kajiado District Annual Report - Education 1974 Pp.5  
76. Kajiado District Annual Report - Education 1973 Pp.4, 1974p.5  
77. Kajiado District Annual Report - Education 1973pp. 3-4, 1974pp.  
78. *ibid.*

Notwithstanding the poor response in some areas 1974 represented a very definite breakthrough in education for the district as whole. From having perhaps 10-15% of the primary age group in the schools in 1963 this had risen to an estimated 40% by 1975<sup>79</sup> and this at a time when Maasailand is reputed to be experiencing something of a population explosion. Of the 60 schools operating in 1975 more than half were full primaries and were submitting over 1,000 students a year for the C.P.E.<sup>80</sup> Moreover the bulk of this development had taken place during a period when conditions in the district, many feel, have been as bad as anything in recent memory. The succession of drought years, which began in 1970, has continued almost without interruption and stock losses in the past two years alone have been estimated at 40 - 45% of total Maasai herds.<sup>81</sup>

The relevant question here is, of course, to what extent this development is reflected in increased (and improved) Maasai participation in the primary school system. In an attempt to gain some kind of insight into this \_\_\_\_\_ at least at the upper level \_\_\_\_\_ a look has been taken at the C.P.E. results for the District between 1970 and 1975 and an effort made to distinguish specifically Maasai performance from that of other ethnic groups who sat the exam during these years. Before looking at these results, two things must be pointed out. First, the manner in which the two groups are differentiated from one another is a crude one, based solely on the family names of Std. 7 pupils in the class lists. To what degree many of those with Maasai names represent that section of the Maasai community we are interested in cannot be determined and the influence of such factors as inter-marriage remains uncovered. Moreover a significant proportion of the designated Maasai group during these years also had Christian first names which casts some doubt on their role as spokesmen in terms of a wider Maasai reference group.

Secondly, this data is still very much in a raw state and it is only intended here to present preliminary information on proportional increases during the six year period and to look at overall Maasai performance in a few of the schools. Much statistical work remains to be done on this material and it is hoped to present more detailed findings in a separate paper.

79. Kajiado District Annual Report 1975 pp. 2.

80. *ibid.* pp. 5-7.

81. Personal Communication with K.M.C. Livestock Marketing Division Officer, Dec. 29, 1976. Nairobi.

THE C.P.E.

The Certificate of Primary Education is taken at the end of Standard VII and it is on the basis of these results that selection to secondary school is determined. The examination comprises three separate papers, English, Mathematics and a General Paper which included History, Geography, Civics and Science. Each paper receives a grade between A and E, there being twelve alternatives within this range i.e. A, A-, B+, B, B- etc. to E which denotes failure) and each letter corresponds to set number of points between 12 (A) and 1(E). Thus a perfect score on a C.P.E. would be 36 and any combination of grades totalling 15 points or more constitutes a pass.

However because of the shortage of secondary school places in relation to the number of primary school leavers in the country, a pass in the C.P.E. does not guarantee secondary selection. Depending on the district, various minimum scores above 15 are usually required to gain entry and this minimum tends to vary from year to year and from district to district. Thus relative performance in the C.P.E. is all important.

C.P.E. RESULTS IN KAJIADO DISTRICT 1970 - 75\*

In 1970, 17 primary schools in the district presented candidates for the C.P.E. Six years later this number had grown to 35 which meant that well over half of Kajiado's 63 schools were full primaries. In order to get an idea of the performance and composition of C.P.E. candidates during this period the percentages for each of the two main groups have been calculated and are presented below.

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\*The material used in this part of the paper is taken from the Print-Out of C.P.E. results for the district between 1970 and 1975. This is found in C.P.E. RESULTS FILES DISTRICT EDUCATION OFFICE, KAJIADO.

A summary of this information is attached.



PROPORTION OF MAASAI TO NON-MAASAI

C.P.E. PASSED IN KAJIADO PRIMARY

SCHOOLS 1970-1975 FIGURE. IV.

YEAR	A TOTAL NO. OF C.P.E. CANDIDATES	B TOTAL NO. OF MAASAI CANDIDATES	C TOTAL MAASAI PASS	D TOTAL NO. NON-MAASAI CANDIDATES	E TOTAL N-M PASS	F TOTAL PASS
1970	635	213	78	422	168	245
%	100%	OF 'A' 33%	OF 'B' 36%	OF 'A' 57%	OF 'D' 40%	OF 'A' 38%
1971	667	258	97	409	177	274
%	100%	OF 'A' 34%	OF 'B' 40%	OF 'A' 68%	OF 'D' 43%	OF 'A' 41%
1972	804	312	113	492	211	324
%	100%	OF 'A' 39%	OF 'B' 38%	OF 'A' 61%	OF 'D' 43%	OF 'A' 40%
1973	909	361	143	548	246	389
%	100%	OF 'A' 40%	OF 'B' 40%	OF 'A' 60%	OF 'D' 45%	OF 'A' 43%
1974	1027	374	101	653	243	344
%	100%	OF 'A' 37%	OF 'B' 27%	OF 'A' 63%	OF 'D' 37%	OF 'A' 32%
1975	1245	496	372	749	526	898
%	100%	OF 'A' 40%	OF 'B' 75%	OF 'A' 60%	OF 'A' 70%	OF 'A' 73%

From these estimates it is seen that Maasai candidates accounted for between one third and two-fifths of the total number of C.P.E. Students during these years, with most of this increase coming between 1970 and 1972. An interesting contrast in pass-rates for both groups is provided by the results of 1974 and 1975 and this illustrates mainly the varying degree of severity of the exam from year to year. This appears to effect overall Maasai performance more than it does the non-Maasai group and in 1975 a relatively 'easy' C.P.E. gave the



former a higher pass rate than non-Maasai for the first time and Maasai passes alone in this year were greater than total C.P.E. passes in the whole district for every previous year but 1973.

However as mentioned, in term of secondary selection; pass rates are relatively less important than individual C.P.E. scores. With a limited number of secondary school places within the district inter-ethnic competition in Kajiado is marked and although no extensive work has been done yet on the C.P.E. data for the 1970-75 period a random sample of individual results from 22 Kajiado schools indicates that average non-Maasai scores have remained higher than those for the Maasai-group.

RANDOM SELECTION OF AVE. C.P.E. PASS SCORES FOR 22 KAJIADO SCHOOLS 1970 - 1975.

TABLE V

YEAR	AVE. MAASAI SCORE	AVE. NON-MAASAI SCORE
1970	19.3	20.2
1971	18.6	19.1
1972	19.4	18.8
1973	18.1	18.8
1974	18.2	20.1
1975	20.0	20.4

The only criterion used in selecting these schools was that each of the two groups accounted for at least 30% of the total C.P.E. passes in the individual schools. Because of the changing composition of C.P.E. classes from year to year this meant that the same schools were not selected every year although an attempt was made to include schools from all parts of the district each year.

By national standards the average results of both groups are low, which means that very few Maasai or non-Maasai would qualify for entry to secondary institutions in the more educationally advanced district of Central and Western Kenya. While the non-Maasai averages in this limited sample are generally higher than those for the Maasai group, the difference is not that great and there is very little indication here that the longer educational tradition generally associated with the non-Maasai groups remains that much of a factor in terms of average C.P.E. performance. The low scores in both groups would seem rather to reflect the poor quality of education in the district in general and this is re-inforced by overall pass rates in both groups which until the most recent exam - have remained well below 50% for Maasai and non-Maasai alike.

Performance in Maasai schools has often been closely related to the degree of resistance to education in different parts of the District. Thus it is assumed that, in areas like Ngong and Laitokitok where getting children into the schools is relatively less of a problem than in much of Central Division, this willingness is reflected in school results. While it cannot be denied that this is an important factor regarding drop-outs, it would not appear that it conditions results directly by the time Std. 7 is reached. Thus for example Ngong Primary School, in which the overwhelming majority of std. 7 students have been non-Maasai between 1970 - and 75, has one of the poorest C.P.E. pass rates in the district, while schools like Isenya, Ilassit & Euso-Kidongi which cater primarily to Maasai conscripts and are not located in Townships, have had consistently better C.P.E. records. In general, pass rates in schools located away from urban centres have tended to be better than the larger schools of the Townships (one exception here is Magadi, - a school which was originally provided to service the children of employees of the large Soda Company in Western Kajiado and still draws most of its pupils from company employees).

AVERAGE C.P.E. PASS RATE OF RURAL AND TOWNSHIP SCHOOLS. 1970 - 1975

TABLE VI

YEAR	RURAL SCHOOLS	TOWNSHIP SCHOOLS
1970	44% (10 SCHOOLS)	37% (5 SCHOOLS)
1971	43% (12 SCHOOLS)	35% "
1972	41% (16 SCHOOLS)	31% "
1973	44% (21 SCHOOLS)	39% "
1974	32% (25 SCHOOLS)	27% "
1975	74% (29 SCHOOLS)	71% "

In general the rural schools held a 5 to 10% margin over their main urban counterparts and performance in the Exam in both groups of schools was clearly related from year to year. During this period the estimated proportion of Maasai pupils in the rural schools ranged from between 36-48% of C.P.E. students while in the townships they accounted for 25 - 38% of the pupils who sat the exam between 1970 and 1975.

A second assumption which has long been held with regard to Maasai schooling is the effect of boarding schools at the primary level. Mainly the argument here has been that the provision of such facilities neutralizes the effect of semi-nomadism on enrollment and attendance and that Maasai parents are more inclined to soften their resistance to education if they are assured that adequate provision is made, particularly in terms of food, for their

PROPORTION OF MAASAI C.P.E. CANDIDATES IN  
RURAL AND TOWNSHIP SCHOOLS - 1970 - 1975

TABLE VII

YEAR	TOWNSHIP	RURAL
1970	27%	40%
1971	25%	48%
1972	29%	44%
1973	37%	41%
1974	30%	30%
1975	38%	48%

children in schools. Recently there have been efforts to extend boarding facilities in the district and as all of the present boarding schools are of C.P.E. level it may be worthwhile to glance at performance in these institutions over the past few years. It should be remembered that while primary boarding schools in Kajiado were designed to fit Maasai needs, they are well patronized by other groups, especially in the township areas.

C.P.E. PASS RATES - KAJIADO PRIMARY BOARDING SCHOOLS,  
1970 - 1975

FIG. V.

% MAASAI PASS  
(% TOTAL PASS)

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
LIBISSFL	14% (25%)	44% (43%)	56% (56%)	32% (32%)	33% (42%)	92% (95%)
P.B.S. KAJIADO	35% (33%)	57% (52%)	29% (25%)	50% (52%)	21% (31%)	84% (87%)
LOITOKITOK	36% (40%)	9% (18%)	30% (28%)	36% (31%)	14% (20%)	83% (77%)
A.I.C. GIRLS	53% (26%)	18% (26%)	5% (14%)	14% (22%)	17% (19%)	50% (61%)
MASHULRII	20% (23%)	40% (36%)	55% (54%)	46% (64%)	14% (27%)	74% (68%)
ROMBO GIRLS				63% (68%)	33% (30%)	88% (92%)
AVERAGE MAASAI PASS	35%	40%	36%	40%	27%	75%
AVERAGE DISTRICT PASS	38%	41%	40%	43%	32%	73%

Both Maasai performance and the C.P.E. pass rates in general in Boarding Schools reflects the erratic pattern of the districts day primaries. Seldom between 1970 and 1974 did more than half the C.P.E. candidates at the districts boarding schools pass and Maasai boarders did no better on average than Maasai in the day schools. In the girls schools the period between 1971 and 1974 was a particularly poor one. In the main A.I.C. Girls schools in Kajiado Town only 45 of 197 female candidates secured C.P.E. Passes and of these it is estimated that only 14 were Maasai girls (see Appendix).



At the D.E.B. Boarding School in Loitokitok between 1970 and 1974 just over 1 candidate in 4 passed and there was virtually no differences in the average pass rate between Maasai and non-Maasai during the period.

Nor does any desirable pattern emerge from a look at average pass rates in the different divisions of the district.

AVERAGE C.P.E. PASS - RATES IN  
KAJIADO PRIMARY SCHOOLS BY  
DIVISION - 1970 - 75

TABLE VIII

YEAR	DIVISION		
	CENTRAL	LOITOKITOK	NGONG
1970	34%	49%	45%
1971	46%	44%	44%
1972	37%	41%	43%
1973	44%	53%	40%
1974	31%	24%	41%
1975	75%	79%	71%

While the variation between the divisions from one year to the next is clearly evident in no one are they constant. Fluctuations appears particularly marked in Central Division with a 10-12% change being registered both up and down between 1970 and 74. Surprisingly, pass rates for Ngong Division, commonly held to be the most advanced educationally in the district declined steadily until 1975 and even here the rate of 71% was less than that of Loitokitok or Central Divisions where traditional pastoralism predominates.

In its present form this data only indicates areas of interest with regard to recent relative performance in Kajiado's C.P.E. Schools. The proportion of Maasai candidates would appear to have increased by about 7% between 1970 and 1975 but more important here is the fact that while the non-Maasai proportion has been reduced correspondingly, their absolute numbers continue to rise more quickly than the Maasai group. Together with apparent higher average individual scores this gives the former a decided edge in the competition for scarce secondary places. In addition the Maasai portion of the C.P.E. population seems to be more vulnerable to the year to year changes in the exam and this may partly explain why overall pass rates in Central Division are relatively less stable than in Loitokitok and Ngong.

At the same time this does not mean that predominantly Maasai C.P.E. classes perform less well in the exam than predominantly non-Maasai classes. On the contrary, it would appear as if the latter, at least in the main township areas are generally behind rural schools in average pass-rates and this applies

as well when general performance in the Towns is compared to that of schools in Central Division. An added factor here however is that the proportion of Maasai C.P.E. Candidates in the Towns seems to be increasing more rapidly than the proportion in rural schools and this may be influencing 'urban' performance.

Finally, unlike in neighbouring Narok where infiltration over many years has resulted in the schools of some areas displaying various more or less homogeneous ethnic characteristics, the non-Maasai element in Kajiado is spread throughout the districts schools. Although in most of the schools Maasai are still in a minority it is very difficult to find a school where there are no Maasai at all. Moreover, ethnic composition, at least at the C.P.E. level, fluctuates from year to year and from school to school throughout the district. Thus in 1970 for example a school like Kiserian in Ngong Division had just over 40% Maasai students in Std.7. Two years later this had dropped to less than 10% only to go up again to 45% the following year. Similarly, Kerarapon, a new school in the same division had only 14 Maasai (out of a total of 40) C.P.E. candidates in 1973 whereas in 1975 Maasai dominated Std.7 here with 44 out of 49. This applies as well to Central and Loitokitok Divisions where in a school like Enkorika, South-East of Kajiado Town, less than a third of C.P.E. students were Maasai in 1974 and a year later there were only Maasai pupils in Std.7.

This is not to say that there are no schools which maintain a predominantly Maasai or non-Maasai complexion over the years. Schools like Isonya, Mashuru and Elagata Wua in Central Division can usually be relied upon to have 70% Maasai in the Upper Primary classes while in Ngong Township school, Ngama (Loitokitok) and Kajiado Township, rarely more than 25% of C.P.E. candidates have been Maasai since 1970. Partly this changing ethnic composition in Kajiado primary schools (not only in Std.7 but at other levels as well) reflects the varying degree of success of yearly recruiting campaigns carried out by administrative personnel attached to the District Commissioner's office. In addition the increased frequency of movement occasioned by declining grazing and water resources during periods of drought takes a heavy toll in the form of drop outs and repeaters making it extremely difficult to predict class sizes or composition from year to year. Significantly the major Maasai increases at Std.7 level between 1970 - 75 have occurred in schools located in the more well-watered areas of Ngong and Loitokitok whereas

those schools in the Central Plains which attained full primary status during this period have suffered declining Std.7 enrollments. In some cases (i.e. Oloyiankalani) school have had to terminate C.P.E. classes after a couple of years of operation. Exceptions to this deteriorating situation in Central Division have been the two rural Primary Boarding Schools at Mashuuru and Bissil along with the Primary Day School at Isenya. As mentioned earlier, the former appear to have allayed some of the anxiety which many Maasai parents feel about sending their children long distances to poorly equipped Day Primaries, although the financial outlay for Boarding Primaries remains prohibitive for many Maasai families. At Isenya on the other hand, enrollments at all levels have remained relatively stable through-out the six-year period and this must, in part, be laid to the fact that the school forms part of a larger and well established Rural Training Centre which includes an experimental Ranch, a Tannery leather working facilities and a village Polytechnic. Set up in the early 19'0's this complex continues to receive substantial support from outside sources - most notably the Anglican Church of Kenya who are the founders and sponsors of the scheme.

One of the major problems facing educational authorities in a District like Kajiado is how to make formal schooling attractive to the parents of Maasai children. Traditionally the promotion of first level education in Kenya has depended on local, grass - roots or community support. In most areas it continues to be a pre-requisite to the take over responsibility for such facilities by the Ministry of Education: Yet even here Central Government's responsibility is limited to the payment of teachers salaries and other re-current expenditure but does not include the maintenance of existing facilities provision of desks teacher - housing or those capital costs incurred in the up-grading of lower primaries to Std.7 Schools. Thus both the establishment and further development of primaries is very much the result of the prevailing Harambee spirit in the surrounding community and where, as in much of Maasai, settled communities are far and far between, the effectiveness of local school committees, particularly with regard to fund raising activities, is severely hampered. Moreover information on existing cash receipts in the pastoral areas is extremely difficult to ascertain from month to month and apparently wealthy stock farmers can find themselves impoverished during a surprisingly short period of time. Under such conditions the initiative in establishing primary facilities in these designated 'backward districts' is supposed to revert to the Ministry but with little local demand for such services the latter find it difficult to



justify the provision of expanded facilities when, it is felt, many existing ones remain underutilized.

For many years it was felt that one of the major drawbacks to educational promotion in Maasailand was that the schooling offered was not relevant to local needs. Most frequently the latter were seen in terms of improving stock practices, instilling a sense of commercialism into the prevailing livestock economy and fostering better resource management. Instead, the early Maasai schools concentrated on the promotion of alternatives to the existing economy, most notably agriculture, and produced semi-artisans for whom there was little or no demand in the Reserve. During the late 1940's and 1950's the Maasai school system became integrated with that of the rest of the country and as such attention became increasingly focused on the C.P.E. (or K.A.P.F.) By the early 1960's experimentation with school ranches had virtually come to an end and with it any pretense that schooling in the area was to be directed along lines which would be particularly suited to Maasai conditions. Already in a weak competitive position with regard to selection to secondary schools, this period also witnessed a sharp and rapid devaluation of primary education and in Kajiado, as elsewhere, the possibility of gaining wage employment on the basis of a primary school leavers certificate became negligible. Thus both the required investment in education and the time lag prior to return are increasing and this fact is not lost on Maasai parents who also are aware that it is not uncommon today to find Form IV leavers in the District Townships unable to find work.

It would not appear therefore, that holding out the possibility to Maasai parents of their children ultimately going on to secondary or higher education could realistically be used as an incentive in encouraging increased primary level participation in Kajiado. Not only are the financial implications of such a long term investment staggering to most families but many are only too aware that the chances of Maasai children completing such a cycle are, in view of prevailing educational conditions in the District, exceedingly slim.

However there are indications that educational appeal among some groups within Maasai society may be taking other forms. As implied, many Maasai parents tend to consider the welfare aspect rather than the educational one when faced with the decision of sending their children to school or not. While this is most noticeable with regard to boarding facilities, such innovations as

school feeding programmes in the day primaries could do much to soften the resistance of parents, particularly in periods when the family itself is hard pressed.

In addition subtle yet important changes can be observed in one of the most resistant elements of the Maasai community - the moran, or warrior, age set. Traditionally this corporate body of young Maasai between the ages roughly of 16 and 27 distained any thought of formal schooling and had very little to do with those of their fellow who, either through bad luck or some other misfortune, were co-opted to the schools. More recently it would appear that increasing numbers of Maasai Moran, particularly in the Manyattas around Kimana and Loitokitok, are <sup>desirerous</sup> of acquiring at least some of the skills which form part of the larger package of formal education. To be able to read your own letter rather than having to walk perhaps 10 miles to have it read to you is seen as a distinct advantage by many of these young men and it is not uncommon to find Primary School leavers living with their age-set members in Moran encampments where their skills are much appreciated by their peers.

Nor has the impact of consumer goods been lost on this group. Many morans today sport watches, shoes, pens etc along with their traditional 'shuka' spear and ochred hair. To get these they generally must sell either some cattle or small stock and while the Maasai are keen traders they may not be as fully conversant with the cash aspect of buying and selling in the Townships here again, numeracy and an ability to understand the existing terms of trade -- if only to avoid being cheated -- is increasingly seen as a vital acquisition.

Finally, the link between a modicum of education and traditional status or prestige has to a certain extent, been finally established through the educational requirements attaching to applications for administrative posts as Chief or Assistant Chiefs. Since Independence these are salaried Civil Service positions with all of the benefits accruing to Government employees, and other considerations are weighed in as well. In the selection process the emphasis on minimum educational qualifications has had important implications regarding the value of schooling in the wider traditional community where these office holders would have considerable influence.

These perhaps are only minor examples of the pervasive influence of formal schooling in present-day Maasailand but they indicate nevertheless that at least some of what the schools have to offer is of interest to sections of the Maasai Community, and this is likely to increase as the practical benefits become more widely recognized.



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APPENDIX A C.P.E. RESULTS - KAJIADO DISTRICT - 1970

(16 SCHOOLS - 1 MISSING)

SCHOOL	TYPE	TOTAL C.P.E.	TOTAL M	TOTAL N.M.	TOTAL M.PASS	TOTAL N.M.PASS	TOT.PASS
ILIBSSEL	CENT.	37	22	15	3	6	9 25%
P.B.S. KAJIADO	CENT.	42	20	22	7	6	14 33%
KISEKIAN	NGONG	50	20	30	5	8	13 26%
LOITOKITOK	LOIT	49	14	35	5	15	20 40%
MAGANI	NGONG	45	18	28	2	19	21 48%
ULASSIT	LOIT	20	7	13	5	8	13 65%
NGONG TWSP	NGONG	96	15	81	8	31	39 40%
OLOOLUA	"	42	12	30	4	15	19 42%
A.I.C. KAJ. (GL:13)	CENT.	49	17	32	9	4	13 26%
ONGATA	NGONG	45	4	41	1	13	14 31%
EMOCHATA	NGONG	13	4	9	4	6	10 18%
ISENYA	CENT	12	12	0	6	0	6 50%
ROBBO BOYS	LOIT	21	9	12	3	5	8 38%
KAJIADO TWIN SHIP	CENT.	48	11	37	6	17	23 48%
NGAMA	LOIT	33	8	25	5	11	16 52%
MASHURU	CENT	32	20	12	4	3	7 23%
TOTAL		655	213	422	78	168	246
% (AVERAGE)		100%	33%	67%	36%	40%	37%

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C.P.E. RESULTS - KAJIADO DISTRICT - 1971 - 18 SCHOOLS

SCHOOL	DIV.	TOTAL C.P.E.	TOTAL M	TOTAL M-PASS	TOTAL N-M.	TOTAL N-M PASS	TOTAL PASS
IBISSSEL	CENT	30	25	11	5	2	13 (43%)
P.B.S. KAJIADO	"	31	21	12	10	4	16 (52%)
KISERIAN	NGONG	48	16	4	32	7	11 (23%)
LOITOKITOK	LOIT	38	16	1	20	6	7 (18%)
MAGADI	NGONG	38	9	8	29	22	30 (78%)
ILASSIT	LOIT	38	13	6	25	14	20 (53%)
NGONG TWNTP	NGONG	99	19	2	80	18	20 (20%)
OLOOLUA (GIRLS)	"	45	22	8	23	8	16 (35%)
A.I.C.KAJ.	CENT	50	22	4	28	9	13 (26%)
MASHURU	"	22	15	6	7	2	8 (36%)
ONGALA ENOG KONKAL NGONG	NGONG	34	8	5	26	15	20 (59%)
MATASIANI	"	36	8	3	28	16	19 (53%)
ISENYA	CENT	16	12	7	4	3	10 (63%)
ROBO BOYS	LOIT	22	15	3	7	5	8 (36%)
KAJIADO TWNSP	CENT	46	10	5	36	21	26 (57%)
NGALA EWAS	LOIT	30	8	5	22	15	20 (67%)
ONKIDONGI	NGONG	11	9	4	2	1	5 (45%)
KERANAPON	NGONG	33	8	3	25	9	12 (36%)
TOTAL		667	258	97	409	177	274
AVERAGE		100%	34%	40%	66%	43%	45%

Not all central schools went up in C.P.E. Performance in 1971

C.P.E. RESULTS - KAJIADO SCHOOLS - 1972 - 22 SCHOOLS (1 MISSING)

SCHOOL	DIV.	TOTAL C.P.E.	TOTAL MAASAI	TOTAL P.PASS	TOTAL NON- MAASAI	TOTAL N - M PASS	TOTAL PASS	% PASS
IBISSEL	CENT	29	18	10	11	8	18	58%
P.B.S.KAJIADO	"	36	21	6	15	3	9	25%
KLERIAN	NGONG	49	25	12	24	11	23	55%
LOITOKITOK	LOIT	61	30	9	31	8	17	28%
MAGADI	NGONG	62	5	2	57	42	44	71%
MASSIT	LOIT	37	7	2	30	12	14	39%
NGONG TWISP	NGONG	92	20	5	72	26	31	33%
OLOOLUA	"	42	15	5	27	8	13	31%
A.I.C. KAJIADO GLIJS	CENT	45	21	1	24	5	6	14%
MASHUURU	"	24	20	11	4	2	13	54%
ONGATA RONKALI	NGONG	40	2	1	38	14	15	38%
ENOOMATASIANI	NGONG	47	16	3	31	10	13	28%
ISENYA	CENT	30	24	8	6	2	10	33%
ROEBO BOYS	LOIT	MISSING	-	-	-	-	-	-
KAJIADO TWISP	CENT	47	12	8	35	18	26	55%
NGAMA	LOIT	28	4	3	24	13	16	57%
EWASO ONKIDONGI	NGONG	12	11	3	1	0	3	25%
KEGALAFON	"	33	8	6	25	13	19	57%
ENKORIKA	CENT	18	9	4	9	4	8	44%
ELANGATAKA	"	11	10	1	1	0	1	9%
LESENKOYO	"	19	12	5	7	5	10	53%
KIDENGELA	"	16	14	3	2	1	4	25%
ELBULBUL	NGONG	26	8	5	18	6	11	42%
TOTAL		804	312	113	492	211	324	
% AVERAGE		100%	39%	36%	61%	43%	40%	



C.P.E. RESULTS - KAJIADO SCHOOLS - 1973

SCHOOL	DIV.	TOTAL C.P.E.	TOTAL MAASAI	TOTAL MAASAI-PASS	TOTAL NON-MAASAI	TOTAL N-M.PASS	TOTAL PASS	% PASS
ILBISSEL	CENT.	38	25	8	13	4	12	32%
KAJIADO P.B.S	CENT.	19	10	5	9	5	10	52%
KISERIAN	NGONG	42	7	2	35	18	20	48%
LOITOKITOK	LOIT	81	36	13	45	12	25	31%
MAGADI	NGONG	67	7	2	60	36	38	57%
ILASSIT	LOIT	43	12	9	31	18	27	63%
NGONG TWSP.	NGONG	99	17	8	82	28	36	35%
OLOOLUA	"	43	14	5	29	7	12	28%
A.I.C. KAJ (GIRLS)	CENT	50	29	4	21	7	11	22%
MASHUURU	"	25	20	12	5	4	16	64%
ENGATA RONGAI	NGONG	48	19	10	29	10	20	42%
ENOOMATASIANI	"	36	16	9	20	11	20	56%
ISENYA	CENT.	15	14	3	1	0	3	20%
ROMBO BOYS	LOIT	16	12	4	4	2	6	38%
KAJIADO TWSP.	CENT.	43	16	8	27	16	24	56%
NGAMA	LOIT	37	10	4	27	10	14	37%
EUSA-ENKIDO- NGI	NGONG	15	14	3	1	0	3	20%
KERARAPON	NGONG	46	14	7	32	18	25	55%
ENKORIKA	CENT.	15	7	3	8	1	4	27%
ILANGATAUAS	"	13	10	3	3	3	6	46%
LENSOKOYO	"	13	9	2	4	3	5	39%
KITENGELA	"	12	10	4	2	1	5	42%
EMBULBUL	NGONG	29	5	0	24	6	6	21%
OLCHORRO	LOIT	19	5	3	14	9	12	63%
NAMANGA	CENT	13	3	2	10	8	10	77%
ROMBO (GIRLS)	LOIT	19	8	5	11	8	13	68%
ENOORETET	CENT.	13	12	5	1	1	6	49%
TOTALS		909	361	143	548	246	389	
% (AVERAGE)		100%	40%	40%	60%	45%	43%	

C.P.E. RESULTS - KAJIADO SCHOOLS - 1974 (31 SCHOOLS)

SCHOOL	DIV.	TOTAL C.P.E.	TOTAL MAASAI	TOTAL MAASAI-PASS	TOTAL N-M.	TOTAL N-M-PASS	TOTAL PASS	AVERAGE %
ILBISSSEL	CENT.	18	12	4	6	4	8	42%
KAJIADO P.B.S	"	26	14	3	12	5	8	31%
KISERIAN	NGONG	50	22	8	28	11	19	38%
LOITOKITOK	LOIT	62	28	4	34	10	14	20%
MAGADI	NGONG	68	3	1	65	42	43	61%
ILASSIT	LOIT	48	10	3	38	6	9	19%
NGONG TWSP.	NGONG	98	25	7	73	20	27	27%
OLOOLUA	"	38	14	4	24	5	9	24%
A.T.C. KAJ. (GIRLS)	CENT	52	30	5	22	9	14	19%
MASHUURU	"	29	21	3	8	5	8	27%
ENGATA RONKAI	GONG	54	9	3	45	24	27	48%
ENOOMATASIANI	"	43	11	3	32	2	5	11%
ISENYA	CENT.	17	9	3	8	5	8	47%
ROMBO BOYS	LOIT	14	11	2	2	1	3	20%
KAJIADO TWSP.	CENT.	50	12	2	38	16	18	37%
NGAMA	LOIT	50	5	2	45	13	15	30%
EUSO-ENKIDO- NGI	NGONG	8	8	4	0	0	4	50%
KERARAPON	"	41	17	5	24	8	13	30%
ENKORIKA	CENT.	16	6	2	10	3	5	29%
ELANGATA WAS	"	15	12	4	3	2	6	40%
LENSOKOYO	"	20	17	3	3	1	4	19%
KITENGELA	CENT	13	8	0	5	2	2	14%
EMBULBUL	NGONG	23	8	2	15	7	9	39%
OLCHORRO	LOIT	30	4	1	26	6	7	24%
NAMANGA	CENT.	17	2	1	15	7	8	47%
ROMBO (GIRLS)	LOIT	20	6	2	14	4	6	30%
ENOORETET	CENT.	15	7	5	8	3	8	53%
OLOOSEOS	NGONG	22	17	7	5	2	9	41%
NKOROI	NGONG	29	15	6	14	8	14	45%
OLOYIAN- KALANI	CENT	7	6	0	1	0	0	0%
KIBIKO	NGONG	34	5	2	29	12	14	41%
TOTALS			374	101	653	243	344	
% (AVERAGE)			37%	27%	63%	37%	32%	
			$\frac{1027}{100\%}$					

C.P.E. KAJIADO SCHOOLS - 1975 - (35 SCHOOLS)

SCHOOL	DIV.	TOTAL C.P.E.	TOTAL MAASAI	TOTAL MAASAI-PASS	TOTAL N-M	TOTAL N-M-PASS	TOTAL PASS	%
ILBISSSEL	CENT.	43	25	23	18	18	41	95%
P.B.S. KAJI ADO	"	46	25	21	21	19	40	87%
KISERIAN	NGONG	84	35	23	49	36	59	77%
MAGADI	NGONG	75	7	3	68	51	54	72%
ILASSIT	LOIT	37	6	2	31	16	18	49%
NGONG TWSP.	NGONG	97	31	18	66	30	48	50%
OLOOLUA	"	39	13	8	26	13	21	54%
KAJ.AIC (GIRLS)	CENT.	75	28	14	47	32	46	61%
MASHUURU	"	25	19	14	6	3	17	68%
ONGATA RONKAI	NGONG	69	31	21	38	28	49	71%
ENOOMATASIANI	"	49	10	7	39	21	28	57%
ISENYA	CENT.	16	16	13	0	0	13	81%
KAJIADO TWSP	"	49	11	9	38	30	39	80%
ROMBO BOYS	LOIT	7	5	4	2	1	5	71%
EUSO-ENKIDO- NGI	NGONG	9	8	8	1	0	8	89%
NGAMA	LOIT	40	8	7	32	19	26	65%
KERARAPON	NGONG	49	44	37	5	5	42	86%
ENKORIKA	CENT.	9	9	9	0	0	9	100%
ELANGATAUAS	"	12	8	8	4	3	11	92%
LESONKOYO	"	12	6	5	6	5	10	83%
KITENGELA	"	9	4	1	5	4	5	56%
EMBULBUL	NGONG	31	7	6	24	16	22	71%
OLCHORRO	LOIT	23	6	6	17	15	21	91%
NAMANGA	CENT.	21	5	4	16	13	17	81%
ROMBO (GIRLS)	LOIT	37	3	7	29	27	34	92%
ENOORETET	CENT.	19	15	9	4	3	12	63%
OLOYIANKALANI	"	9	8	4	1	0	4	44%
OLOSEOS	NGONG	21	16	13	5	3	16	76%
KIRIKO	NGONG	45	5	4	40	32	36	80%
NGOROI	NGONG	44	22	18	22	20	38	86%
METO	CENT	4	4	1	0	0	1	25%
UPPER MATASIA	NGONG	36	11	8	25	14	22	61%
LOITOKITOK A.I.C.	LOIT	27	11	11	16	13	24	89%
ITIANA	"	10	5	5	5	5	10	100%