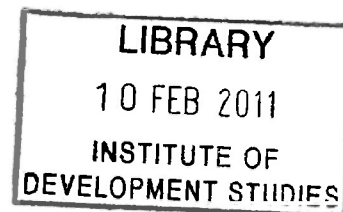


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NOTES ON THE EVALUATION OF OVERSEAS  
TRAINING POLICY IN KENYA



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1. Introduction

In a brief educational policy statement entitled, "African Education in Kenya," issued in 1951, the colonial government underscored what was to become the most dominant educational policy in the fifties and the sixties. The policy statement stated inter alia, that

.....in all educational planning priority must be given to an improvement in the quality of the education now given in the schools. Kenya needs a well-educated body of men AND women from which it can meet the needs of its technical and professional services. It needs well-trained teachers in large numbers, it needs -- Perhaps even more urgently----surgeons and agriculturists, men and women upon whose skill and ability the economic development of the country depends, for without the wealth that will be produced by the development of our natural resources we cannot afford that social services---- schools, hospitals, roads; water supplies----that we urgently need. To achieve this object the Government intends to expand the secondary school system as rapidly as possible and it plans to reach a stage within the next six or seven years when some five hundred African boys and girls will be taking the School Certificate examination every year. Some of these will go to Makerere, now developing into a University College, some to higher education overseas, some to technical and some to professional training, and it is the influence of these educated men and women which we hope will strengthen and improve the whole educational system to the standards we all desire.  
 (emphasis added)

Political and economic factors in this period made the issue of educated manpower the top priority of the educational system. To begin with, the Mau Mau revolt which began in 1952 precipitated a political

1. Kenya, Education Department, Annual Report, 1950 (issued in 1951), p.36.

crisis which necessitated the incorporation of educated Africans into positions in the colonial state and state apparatuses, hitherto only opened to Europeans and Asians.<sup>2</sup> Secondly, the achievement of political independence in 1963 accelerated the demand for educated Africans to Africanise positions in the public and private sectors.<sup>3</sup> Thirdly, there was a demand which resulted from the expansion of the economy resulting from private investments in manufacturing and industrialisation and state-increased intervention in the economy.<sup>4</sup> In addition, demand for increased educational opportunities was clearly a burning political issue and as such needed political as well as economic response. The achievement of political independence and the increased intervention of international capital at this period,<sup>5</sup> provided the opportune historical moment for educational decisions that could deal with this situation.

The quantitative expansion that resulted from this historical conjecture had three characteristics. First, expansion was more pronounced at the secondary and university education levels than at the primary school level. The enrolment in secondary school expanded from 8,148 in 1952 to 56,023 in 1963 and 280,388 in 1976. This was an increase of seven and five times in the two periods. The primary school enrollment

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2. This position was advocated in the civil service in 1954 by the Commission on the Civil Service of the East African Territories and the East African High Commission Report, 1953-1954. Sir David Lidbury, Chairman (Lidbury Report). The report also pointed out that the educational system was not producing enough educated manpower for Africanisation.

3. This period witnessed the expansion of positions in the state and state apparatuses. In 1949, employees of the public sector formed 24.5 percent of the total enumerated employees, but in 1969 this proportion had increased to 37.8 percent. The proportion of personnel designated as administrative, technical and executive, requiring educational background of more than primary education, expanded three fold during this period. For detailed analysis of this phenomenon see Cowen and Kinyanjui, "Some Problems of Capital and Class in Kenya", IDS Occasional Paper No.26,1977.

4. Clayton, Anthony and Savage Donald G., Government and Labour in Kenya, 1895-1963, p.350 Frank Cass, London, 1974.

5. International capital coming into Kenya (public sector) in the period between 1957 to 1965 came principally from grants and loans from the United Kingdom (Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, Barclay's Development Corporation and Commonwealth Development Corporation), West Germany, IBRD and the United States (AID and International Co-operation Agency). Development grants received in this period increased from £2.6 million in 1957/58 to £4.5 million in 1964/65; and loans raised for development increased from £2.5 million to £7.8 in the same period. Kenya, Statistical Abstract, 1961 and 1965

did not increase as rapidly as that, but it nevertheless doubled in the period between 1952-1963 to 870,448 and tripled to 2,894,612 in 1976.

Increased interest in higher education started in 1951 with the establishment of a higher education section in the Department of Education and an educational loans scheme. University education was, however, boosted in 1956 when the Royal Technical College was opened in Nairobi to provide university-level training courses in engineering, science, commerce, arts and domestic science. In 1963 this college became a constituent college of the University of East Africa, and by 1970, when its student population was about one thousand, it became a national university of Kenya. In 1976, the student population reached about 5,000, making the expansion of university education the most rapid in this period.

The second aspect of this educational policy was the expansion of technical education which was started after the Second World War. The establishment of the Royal Technical College must also be seen in this context. The thrust of educational policy in this direction led to the establishment of a number of technical secondary schools and tertiary training institutions.<sup>6</sup> The changes in the educational sector were to a large extent consequences of the changes that were occurring in the economy, particularly in the manufacturing sector where professional and technical skills became a much felt need.

The emergence of a policy which encouraged the expansion of higher education in East Africa, and overseas training must therefore be seen in the context of the educational, political and economic dynamics that occurred in the period after the Second World War. The educational policies followed in the fifties must therefore be evaluated in the context of the development of colonial political economy and the development of colonial education in particular.

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6. In 1951 there were three technical and trade secondary schools and Muslim Technical Institute. In 1965 the number of technical schools had increased to eight plus Mombasa Technical (formerly Muslim Institute) and Kenya Polytechnic.

## II. The Historical Background to the Emergence of Overseas Training Policy in 1950's.

Prior to the middle fifties the predominant characteristic of capitalist development of Kenya was racial, with Europeans forming the ruling class that controlled political and economic power with the aid of the metropolitan power. A fraction of the Asian community became the commercial and business class which dominated trading and other commercial transactions in the urban areas of the country. The Africans formed two predominant groups - the migrant workers in the settled areas and in urban areas, while a major section of the African population remained in the countryside as peasants - some moving into household production.

The emerging pattern of colonial education was to a large extent a reflection and reproduction of the colonial division of labour. The existence of three educational systems in the colony, with different ideological outlooks and destinations of its products was clearly intended to fit each racial group in its 'proper' position in the colonial hierarchy.

It is therefore in this context that we must evaluate colonial policy towards the development of higher education in the colony and in the evolution of government policy in regard to overseas education and training.

In the initial stages of colonisation and settlement, higher education was entirely restricted to the children of the settlers who had an educational background in the European school system and financial support to enable them to acquire education abroad. At this stage overseas education meant any type of education at whatever level, that was not being provided for in the colony. As more and more facilities were provided for education locally the emphasis on overseas education kept on shifting to non-available forms or types of education. There is evidence that the provision of scholarship assistance from public and private sources to European children was common even before the first award of Rhodes Scholarship in 1930. This award was made to a European boy to pursue a course of study at Rhodes University Grahamston. The first African recorded as having gone to study of the colony at this

junction had been admitted at Fort Hare College in South Africa. This was later followed by a few African students who went to the same institutions.

In 1935 the colonial government started what were called Government Overseas Bursaries which were awarded by the Minister of Education on the advice of the racial educational committees. The criteria for awarding of bursaries were educational qualifications, intended course of study and financial positions of the applicants. In addition to this bursary scheme, European high schools in Nairobi (Prince of Wales and Kenya High School) had their separate overseas bursaries opened to only students from those schools. Other overseas scholarships were also available in the colony, but these benefitted mainly the European and to a lesser extent Indians. For instance, in 1944 Kenya and Uganda Railways and Harbours Administration started a bursary scheme in which preference was given to the children of the employees. In the same period the General Dan Piennar Memorial Bursary Fund was started with subscriptions from South African Society of East Africa in the honour of one General Piennar, to enable, European students to study in South Africa.<sup>7</sup>

On the whole the operation of these bursary schemes was governed by the 1931 Education Ordinance Education (Overseas Bursary)<sup>7</sup>. These rules stipulated among other things that:

- (a) bursaries were to be granted to students who were undergoing or intending to undergo approved courses in institutions outside the colony.
- (b) The bursaries were to be for one year in the first instance and subject to renewal on a yearly basis up to three years, and only in special circumstances was approval for four years made. Renewal was to depend on satisfactory "conduct, industry and progress."

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7. By 1946 other scholarships were available to European student in the colony. These were provided by such organizations as the Oxford and Cambridge society of Kenya. These scholarship enable the recipients to study at Oxford or Cambridge Universities. Other scholarships were Kitchener Scholarship Awards and the British Empire Scholarship in Engineering (Loughborough College).

- (c) preference would be given to the candidates who had received the greater part of their education in the colonies, and whose guardians and parents resided continuously in the colony for a period of at least ten years.
- (d) The candidate should be of European descent and of British nationality.

Two facts are observable as regard the operation of scholarships for overseas training in the period before the Second World War and in the years immediately after the war. First, the emphasis was on encouraging students to proceed to overseas training courses which were not available in the country. This rationale for overseas training was to remain the most forceful factor in encouraging overseas education and training in subsequent years. And given that in the 1920's and 1930's post-secondary education in East Africa was not developed; even for Europeans and Asians who had a relatively well developed secondary education, overseas education and training assumed an important place in the thinking of the colonial ruling class. The second aspect of the operation of the overseas training at this historical juncture was that it was oriented to serving the interests of Europeans and to a lesser extent the Asians. For the Africans the educational route open to them was to "complete their secondary school education at the Alliance High School and at Kabaa and then proceed to Makerere."<sup>8</sup> Until the middle of fifties when Royal Technical College was opened, post-secondary education in Kenya was hardly developed. Although the development of Makerere College was done on an East African basis, and Kenya had contributed to its development budget since 1937, post-secondary training in the most important colony in East Africa remained comparative-backward to that of other colonies in West Africa. This may be attributed to the fact that the settlers were hostile to any form of development that benefitted Africans in general and in particular education. Secondly, the settlers tended to send their children for overseas training.

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8. Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1933.



But even with this educational arrangement the number of students who went to Britain, South Africa and the Indian sub-continent remained fairly small (Table 1) in the 1920's and 1930's. It is possible that the existence of rewarding and promising career opportunities in the colonial economy for Europeans and Asians with secondary education tended to make overseas training less attractive than it would seem in other circumstances. In addition, the British Government supplied the manpower needs of the colony which the local settler and Asian communities could not meet. In essence overseas education and training for all the races in Kenya became an important educational policy only in the fifties when local personnel became essential for the economic and political changes that country was undergoing.

TABLE I

NUMBER OF OVERSEAS SCHOLARSHIPS AND BURSARIES AWARDED IN  
THE PERIOD BETWEEN 1930 - 1953

1930	1
1934	1
1936	7
1937	6
1938	8
1944	3
1945	18
1947	13
1949	49
1950	58
1951	72
1952	61
1953	57

Sources: Colony and Protectorate, Department of Education  
Annual Reports, 1930-1953.

The appointment of a commission on Higher Education in East Africa in 1937 should be evaluated and seen in this context. The Commission was appointed to examine and report on the organisation and administration of Makerere College, and its relationship with other institutions or agencies for advanced vocational training in East African

territories. The review was in relation to:

- (a) the society into which these institutions were intended to serve, and
- (b) the educational systems of the territories from which the students were drawn.

There was concern that Makerere College should offer the territories it served a relevant education which took into consideration the economic and social development of the population served. IN particular the college was to pay attention to the development of women education which was lagging behind in all the territories.

Although the colonial government suggested to the Commission that Africans should get intermediate rather than degree qualifications as it was argued that "the outstanding need of African at the present moment was for native workers qualified to carry out under the direction of European officers," the Commission was convinced that despite the prevailing conception of what the Africans needed, the African themselves were demanding degree standards and that "if we fail to provide it, they may fall back upon less suitable alternatives in other countries and this has already happened in some cases".<sup>9</sup> The Commission therefore stated that whereas in the majority of cases education was best carried out in ones own country up to first degree university level, "there will always be individuals who, for a variety of reasons, will profit by study in a foreign university and should be encouraged to proceed abroad".<sup>10</sup> Cases like those of students who had had high academic achievements and those who would olike to become professional scholars were cited. As for those with "lower academic quality" it was suggested that a years study overseas would also prove to be heneficial in terms of giving them opportunity for contacts and experience in a different cultural and educational system.

It was also recommended that teachers of English holding the Makerere Higher College Diploma's should after a year or two of teaching be given scholarships and bursaries to spend a year at an English College

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9. Report of the Commission on Higher Education in East Africa  
H.M.S.O. 1937,p.25.

10. Ibid,p. 12.

in order to improve their teaching of English. They would then serve on their return "as a specially valuable link between England and East Africa from their being in a position to influence school-boys year after year."<sup>11</sup>

The Commission nevertheless recommended that full secondary and a great deal of higher education facilities should be provided, and what if this was done, then it would be advisable and desirable that Africans should stay at home for these two stages in order to promote educational development within their own country. The Commission also recommended that passage to overseas colleges should be controlled in order to ensure that the recipient colleges were prepared to welcome East African students, provide them with accommodation, arrange their vacations and "in general .....make their stay of more than purely scholastic value".

### III. The Transition to Post-Colonial Society and the Emergence of Overseas Education Policy

We have already referred to the political and economic context in which higher education policy started to assume top priority. The urgency of having highly educated indigenous people in senior positions in the public and private sector became even more pressing in late fifties and early sixties. Overseas education and training then assumed an important place in the training of manpower needed in the country and thereby attempting to rectify some of the limitations of colonial education.

As we have pointed out, in 1951 the Council of Overseas Education was established as part of Department of Education to advise the colonial state on matters pertaining to overseas education and to co-ordinate, to some extent, the work of various racial Advisory Councils and Bursary Selection Committees. In the same year the Educational Loans Scheme was also established to enable parents to borrow money of low interest rates for the purpose of higher education outside East Africa, the Department of Education also started to show concern regarding the question of the employment of Africans who returned from overseas

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11. Ibid, p.112.

education. The policy recommended at this stage was to discuss with the Africans taking up overseas bursaries the employment and salary prospects on their return from their education and training. In doing this the colonial administration was trying to avoid situations where Africans returning from overseas were demanding equal treatment with Europeans with similar qualifications, something that challenged the racial structure that existed in the employment sector. But as the country moved towards independence, this element became less emphasized, and educated Africans were encouraged to take up positions in the civil service which previously were reserved for non-Africans.

In the period between 1954 and 1962, we therefore witness important changes in regard to overseas education. In this period the number of students utilising government bursaries and loans rose considerably. The number of students awarded government bursaries each year increased from 123 in 1954 to about 177 in 1962, and the expenditure on this scheme from £17,404 to £54,730. In the same period the number of students that acquired government loans for higher education outside East Africa increased from 49 to 158. The tables below show the increasing utilisation of educational bursaries and loans for the purposes of acquiring education and training which was not available in Kenya at that time.

Table 2. The Number of Students Receiving Government Bursaries and Financial Allocation, 1954 - 1963.

Years	No. of Students	Total Expenditure on Govt. Bursaries	Average Expenditure Per Student.
		£	£
1954/55	123	17,404	141
1955/56	129	16,981	132
1956/57	138	23,168	168
1958	283	28,300	160
1959	143	32,052	224
1960	150	37,156	248
1960/61	160	47,725	282
1961/62	177	59,730	309
1962/63	172	59,110	315

Sources: Colony and Protectorate, Education Departments, Annual Reports 1954 - 1963.

The main beneficiaries of these two schemes remained Europeans and Asians. For in 1953, 123 students were given bursaries by the government to study overseas. Only 11 per cent of these were Africans while European and Asians were respectively 33 40 per cent. In 1962 the Africans took about 22 per cent of the bursaries offered. The Asians took 45 per cent of the total allocation. The same patterns will be noticeable in allocation of educational loans for overseas education. Table 3 shows the trend in the period between 1954 to 1962. The sudden decline of the numbers of Africans taking these educational loans in 1962 is attributable to the existence of many scholarship opportunities on the eve of independence.

In 1962, there were over 3500 students from Kenya studying in overseas countries. Only a small proportion (10%) of these students were benefitting from government bursaries and loans.<sup>12</sup> The increase in the number of students studying outside East Africa can be attributed

Table 3: Showing the Distribution of Educational Loans By Year and Race From 1954 - 1962.

	Europeans	Asians	Arabs	Africans	Totals
1954	17	28	-	4	49
1955	17	31	1	7	56
1956	19	41	2	10	72
1957	18	46	6	16	86
1958	17	41	4	14	76
1959	22	56	2	51	131
1960	29	63	5	32	129
1961	33	77	5	35	150
1962	35	72	46	5	158
TOTALS	207	455	71	174	907

Sources: Kenya Department of Education, Annual Reports 1954 - 1962.

12. In addition to these two schemes other scholarships awards were available. These were Colonial Development and Welfare Fund (which in 1956 became Kenya Development Scholarship), British Council Awards, Government Teachers Scholarships, British Council Awards, Government Teachers Scholarships and Commonwealth Fellowships.

to a large extent to an increase in the number of agencies and institutions awarding scholarships and educational facilities to Kenyans. Before the late fifties the destinations of most of the students who went overseas were Britain, India and Pakistan and South Africa. The historical connections between these countries and the Kenya colony accounted for this orientation. But with the prospect for political independence other avenues for overseas education were opened. Notable among the countries which provided an increasing number of educational opportunities to Kenyan students was the government of United States and its private agencies. Other countries like Federal Republic of Germany, Israel and a few African countries (Ethiopia and Ghana) also provided higher educational opportunities in their countries. The Commonwealth Scholarships were also increased in this period.

Competition for political influence in the merging nationalist movement after the Mau Mau emergency is particularly notable in the way major world powers provided scholarships and educational opportunities to leading political personalities. A clear example of this phenomenon was the way in which Tom Mboya and Oginga Odinga became involved in sending students for higher education in Western countries (America in particular) and Socialist countries respectively. Tom Mboya's efforts culminated in the famous student airlifts to U.S.A. in the period between 1959 to 1962.<sup>13</sup> The students who benefitted from these efforts were not necessarily going to study for courses which were not available in East Africa, but were rather interested in higher education in general-high school education included.

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13. For the contribution of these two politicians to overseas education see O.Odinga, Not Yet Uhuru Heinemann, London 1967, and Tom Mboya The Challenge of Independence Heinemann 1968.

The Destination of Kenya Students Proceeding for Overseas Education  
in the Period between 1954 - 1963.

Year	United Kingdom	India & Pakistan	Union of South Africa	Other Countries	Total
1954	482	360	26	34	902
1955	588	353	17	39	997
1956	725	400	17	53	1,195
1957	876	371	3	78	1,328
1958	872	409	14	91	1,386
1959	1018	485	20	208	1,731
1960	1158	623	22	578	2,381
1960/61	1307	640	20*	673	2,640
1961/62	1455	910	20	1305	3,690
1962/63	1609	712	44	1383	3,748

\* The figures for 1960/61 - 1962/63 shown here include students who went to Australia and New Zealand.

Source: Kenya, Department of Education, Annual Reports 1954 - 1963.

In short, two main developments in higher education in the period of transition to post-colonial society are noticeable. First, the development of institutions of higher learning and training were given a big boost with establishment of Royal College in Nairobi. This was to become the nucleus of university education in Kenya. The second aspect of development of higher education was the expansion of opportunities for overseas education and training. The main beneficiaries of these increased opportunities were Africans whose educational interests were previously subordinated to those of the colonial ruling class.

THE EVOLUTION OF POST-COLONIAL POLICY ON OVERSEAS EDUCATION

After independence in 1963, the government attempted to control and centralise the process of selection and awarding of overseas scholarships. The student airlifts of 1959 - 1962 had demonstrated how individual politicians used educational opportunities offered by foreign government and organisations

to enhance their political standing in the country. The issue of overseas education was becoming an important factor in the struggle between radicals and conservatives in the ruling party KANU, and in the government. In this context the Kenya government was concerned with the attempt to bring the flow of overseas students into one overall plan which was to be supervised by the Ministry of Education.

Although in the early sixties the government policy towards overseas education was not clearly formulated, two main features were becoming evident. First, the government tried to channel all the scholarships and educational opportunities offered by foreign governments and organisations through the Ministry of Education. In this way, it was argued, the government could select and offer scholarships for higher education to the most qualified candidates, and secondly it could direct students taking up the scholarships into areas of study which were not available in East Africa. Secondly, the government emphasized the need to control the flow of students proceeding to overseas institutions with the view of them pursuing courses of study which were critical to current and future manpower needs. Thus, it was government policy in the sixties to attempt to keep student enrolments in overseas countries synchronized with manpower requirements and development priorities. This was not however achieved as overseas educational opportunities remained very much outside the control of central government and the Ministry of Education. The official government policy has therefore remained at variance with the actual prevailing practice. It is with this understanding that we make a brief review of the post-colonial government policy on overseas education and training as expressed in official documents in the sixties and seventies.

(a) Post-Colonial Policy on Overseas Education and Training

In a document entitled High-Level Manpower, Requirements and Resources in Kenya 1964-1970, (1965) the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development recommended a strict policy on overseas scholarships and the selection of students. The Report suggested that the formal policy should be to offer government bursaries and loans to qualified applicants for the University of East Africa only. This suggestion was not accepted and the Government continued to offer full and partial bursaries and loans for overseas study.



The Manpower Report also recommended that foreign scholarship offers be made to the Kenyan Government and not to individual Kenyans. With such a policy, it was suggested, the Government could accept or decline depending on Kenya's of present and or prospective manpower needs. The Government would then advertise the scholarship offered and individuals could apply to the Government. Donor governments or agencies would participate in the selections but the Government of Kenya had the final say on the allocation. This recommendation was accepted and has generally been followed.

In 1966 it was Government policy to accept scholarships and bursaries from friendly overseas governments or agencies especially for courses of high priority in manpower plans. The Ministry of Education supervised the scholarships offered to Kenyans by foreign governments and agencies as well as the selection of the students for these scholarships. In 1968 the Central Selection Board was appointed to handle overseas students. All scholarships were to be processed by the Ministry of Education through the Central Selection Board. The Higher Education Section, headed by an Assistant Director of Education since 1971, today administers the affairs connected with University education and overseas scholarships.

The Manpower Report further recommended that no one be permitted to leave the country to take up a scholarship without Government approval. This does not appear to have been closely followed as there are still today students receiving scholarships from private organisations and universities.

In 1968 the Ministry of Education stated that University of East Africa places must be filled first before any consideration can be given for overseas studies, especially in fields which can be studied locally ( a recommendation of the Manpower Report 1965). This was to apply to applicants for overseas bursaries and scholarships issued through the Kenyan Government. It is not clear whether they pertained to privately sponsored students (those funding themselves or receiving scholarships from the individual universities).

The Ministry of Education developed a list of areas of needed expertise. The Ministry's Annual Report of 1967 admitted a definite bias in funding towards professional courses or academic courses not available in East Africa.

The Ministry's policy statement for 1969 "encouraged" students to take advantage of foreign scholarships offered, usually for highly specialized courses, often post-graduate level, which are not available locally. No mention of filling University of East Africa places first was then made.

It was in 1970 that the Government listed specific fields in which it would accept offers of scholarships. The Development Plan, 1970-1974 listed the following as the only fields in which it would accept scholarships from foreign governments and agencies.

- Architecture
- Engineering - civil, electrical, chemical
- Surveying
- Dentistry
- Pharmacist training
- Medicine
- Optometry and Medical technician training
- Librarian and related fields
- Accountancy, Economics, and Statistics
- Professional transport and communication

The Kenya Government bursaries then seem to have started to focus on manpower needs in their funding of candidates. During 1970, the Government offered 45 scholarships, 25 of which were reserved for teachers and 20 which were open. These were restricted, however, to courses of high priority that were not available at the University of Nairobi.

The following years saw the Government continue to state "areas of personnel shortage and high priority." In 1972 the areas were medicine, nursing, agriculture and engineering. In the following year, the emphasis was placed on medicine, engineering, agriculture, mining, education, and commerce.

In 1974 Higher Education Section of the Ministry of Education formally stated its objective as that of "assisting in the training and development of high level manpower requirements of the country." Most of the 2,821 students abroad were reported to be enrolled in science-based courses. The Government reiterated the important contribution to the nation's needs which Kenyans educated overseas have made, and stated it would continue to encourage those studying abroad to take courses that are not available locally and are of high priority in manpower needs. This use of the word "encourage" appears to imply that no restrictions would be placed on privately sponsored candidates.

(b) Control of Students While Abroad

Another feature of government policy has been concerned with Kenyan students while they are studying overseas. The earliest overseas Student Advising Office was in London. Increased enrollments in other countries made it wise to open other offices. In 1964 a Student Advisor (now known as the Education Attache) was posted in New York and an assistant added in 1965. Two additional offices were later opened. The Student Unit at the Kenya Embassy was opened in Moscow in 1966. In the following year a Student Unit in Bonn was established to cover all of Western European countries outside Britain.

In 1967 the Ministry of Education increasingly concerned with having greater control of or at least contact with Kenyan students while they were abroad. The Student Advising offices were to develop this contact. Two reasons were given for this new area of attention. First, there were increasing student welfare problems. Kenyan Students were experiencing financial difficulties as the British pound was devalued and British universities raised their fees for overseas students. There was also concern for the general welfare of the students particularly in countries where political upheavals affected Kenyan student education.

The second reason for the Ministry wishing to maintain contact with overseas students was what was called the student "tourist" phenomenon-- students who moved from university, and from country to country. When they returned home it was difficult to assess their work and experience for jobs or future training.

(c) Returning Students

The Ministry of Education became concerned with bringing returning students into priority employment areas. The Ominde Report of 1964 recommended the recruitment of returning overseas students into teaching. In 1965 the Ministry established the Central Registry of Students to work in conjunction with the Advisory Committee on Scholarships and Manpower Utilization. The Central Registry was responsible for counselling and directing returning students to available jobs.

(d) Bonding of Students

Attempts have been made to ensure that students receiving Kenya Government funding return to work in public services. The bonding of students was first suggested in the 1965 Manpower Report. This report recommended the bonding of students receiving scholarships, bursaries, or loans for higher education from the government including donor scholarships tendered to the Government and awarded by it to citizens. It was argued that persons who gained the most from education should meet part of its costs; working for the government was one way of doing it. Thus the government would have first claim on an individual's services after graduation, and thereby have control over the output of skills in short supply.

A "tied bursary" policy was initiated in 1966. Only Government bursar and scholar were bound to serve in Kenya's public services for at least three years after completion of courses at local universities or overseas.

In the early seventies the policy of bonding university student's to work for the government on completion of the studies was abandoned and replaced by a bond-free loan system in 1974. The government, however continued to provide post-graduate bursaries at the University of Nairobi to students who were bonded to work with state institutions on completion of their education.

Even before the student loan system was started, the bonding of students had become meaningless as all graduates who were bonded by the government could not be absorbed in the public sector. But this notwithstanding, bonding still remained an important issue of the Ndegwa and Wamalwa reports concerning training of government employees.

(e) Enrolment Trends

It is interesting to note that starting in 1971 the enrollment of Kenyan students studying overseas started to decrease. During 1971 and 1972 all scholarships offered for study abroad were not taken, including Government bursaries. In 1971 scholarships and bursaries for 170 were offered but only 127 were taken. In the following year, only about 146 to 157 were accepted.

It is not clear if the Government policy of funding or arranging for funding of students in science and professional courses actually disallowed arts students from studying abroad, thus causing a decline in overseas enrollments. Records of specific courses of study pursued by overseas students are either incomplete or not kept at. It is possible that expansion of the number of places, courses offered and increased enrollments at the University of Nairobi in particular has tended to discourage the qualified candidates from applying for overseas scholarships in the first instance.<sup>14</sup> It seems to us that an increasing number of applicants for overseas educational opportunities are students who have failed to get admission in the local institutions of higher education.<sup>15</sup>

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14. The Ministry of Education, Annual Report, 1976 implied that the students who sought admission overseas did so only after failing to gain admission to the East African Universities - Makerere, Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. This does not make it clear whether the 1968 restriction was being enforced or not. The 1968 restriction stipulated that all places within the local universities must be filled before consideration was given to overseas study.

15. When discussing students who want overseas because of "failing" to get admission to local institutions we have to distinguish between three classes of failures. There are those who failed to get admission simply by failing to attain the minimum qualifications for university admission at home and hence have had to go overseas to attend universities and colleges that require lower standards. Then there are those who attained the minimum admission qualifications but failed to get admission because the demand was much greater than the facilities for training available locally, hence they also had to go overseas for studies. Finally there is the group that again "failed" to get admission locally simply because the courses they wanted to study was not locally available and hence many of them were sponsored by the government to go and study in fields that were needed but not locally available.

Table 4. ENROLLMENTS OF KENYANS OVERSEAS AND WITHIN EAST AFRICA 1962 - 1976.

	<u>Overseas</u>	<u>Within East Africa</u>
1962	3800	523
1964	4506	867
1966	4413	1147
1966	3643	1017
1967	2852 <sup>1</sup>	1297
1968	3604 <sup>2</sup>	1470
1969	4432 <sup>2</sup>	2089
1970	4331	2368
1971	4561	3123
1972	Not available	3899
1973	Not available	4916
1974	2821	6159
1975	2751	5491
1976	2488	5779

Notes:

1. Deflated due to updating of registry.
2. Inflated due to high school students in UK and India.

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Reports 1962 - 1976.  
Kenya, Statistical Abstracts - 1972 - 1978.



Table 5 (continued)

	1964	1965	1966	1968	1969	1970	1971	1974	1976
Mid-East									
Cyprus		2	2						
Israel	47	81	30	23	28	25	25		
Jordan		7	5						
Lebanon		33	35	32	29				
Turkey		4	1						
Australasia									
Australia		10	9	22	24	22	25		
New Zealand	24	23	21	17	17	15			
Africa									
Algeria		7	6	9	10	10	10		
Ethiopia	55	43	39	20	31	19	19		
Ghana	26	33	22	34	34	30	30		
Lesotho (Basuto-land)		1	1						
Liberia		16	15						
Malagasy		10	12	13	22	28	37		
Malawi		2	1						
Morocco		1	1						
Nigeria	4	6	4	5	2	2	2		
Rodesia		6	3						
Sierra Leone		1	1						
South Africa		2	1						
Somalia		3							
Sudan		3	3						
UAR	26	70	15	28	30	33	33		
Zaire (Congo)		14							
Zambia		2	15						
Congo		1	13						
Other African countries	95								
Other Countries	26								
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4506</b>	<b>4413</b>	<b>3643</b>	<b>3604</b>	<b>4432</b>	<b>4331</b>	<b>4561</b>	<b>2821</b>	<b>2488</b>

Notes:

Data not available for 1967, 1972, 1973 and 1975.

1. Data for 1966 are estimates.

2. Includes some High School students enrolled in UK and India.  
1975 Total is 2751.



Table 6. OVERSEAS SCHOLARSHIPS AND BURSARIES RECEIVED BY KENYAN STUDENTS  
ACADEMIC YEARS 1966-1976.

	'66	'67	'68	'69	'70	'71	'72	'73	'74	'75	'76
Kenyan Govt Full Bursaries	181	12	?	20	20	8	15	5	62	20	*
Kenyan Govt Teacher Bursaries		25	25	34	25	18	19	15		20	*
AFGRAD Fellowship		12	?	10	6	6	3	5	8	Ended	
ASPAU and AHEP Scholar- ships		17		7							
American University of Beirut (AID) Teacher Scholarships		24									
Austrian Govt Scholarships				2							
Australian Commonwealth Teacher Bursaries		9		5	7	9		9			
Australian Postgrad Scholarships		3		3	2						2
British Council Scholarships British Govt Award	3			2	3						
Bulgarian Govt Scholarship							2			*	
Canadian Scholarship		9		12							3
Committee of Soviet Womens' Scholarship						2					
Commonwealth Scholarships: UK				9	10	5	13				
Ceylon				6							
Malaysia				3		1					
Czechoslovakian Govt				2	2						*
Danish Teachers Scholarship	4										*
Fed'l Rep of Germany	2			10	35	4	3				
French Govt Scholarship including Madagascar	11			13	21	7	8				
Greece Govt Awards						6	16				*
Hungarian Govt Awards						2	2				*
Institute of International Exchange (IIE)											
India Govt General Scholar- ship	12			12	6	6					*
INTERAF				10	5	11		16			*
Italian Govt Scholarship				12							*
Iran Govt Scholarship						2					
Iran Govt Scholarship				1	2						

Table 6. continued.

	'66	'67	'68	'69	'70	'71	'72	'73	'74	'75	'76
Japanese Govt Scholarship Awards				5							*
Nigerian Postgraduate Scholarship		1		2							
Pakistan Undergrad Scholarship		3									
Pakistan Grad Scholarship		2									
Patrice Lumumba Friendship Univ. Award					6	6					
Polish Govt Scholarship Award				4	1						*
Rumania Govt Award							5				*
Sudan Govt Award						2					
Swedish Govt Award											
UK Commonwealth Teachers Bursaries	19	21		16	12	22	23		36	50	*
UK Postgrad Scholarship		9									4
USIS									3		4
USSR Scholarship		35		15	10	10	31				*
Yugoslavian Govt Award							6				
<b>Totals</b>	<b>203</b>	<b>211</b>		<b>215</b>	<b>173</b>	<b>127</b>	<b>146</b>				

at least

Notes:

- Many years are incomplete.
- \* Indicates that an award was made but the number of recipients is not given.

V CONCLUSION:

In this paper we have attempted to examine the factors which have influenced the emergence of overseas education and training policy. We have shown how the educational policy in colonial Kenya was tied with the political economy of the colonial mode of production. In colonial Kenya, Overseas education was thus geared towards interests of the dominant groups - European and Asians. This was very much in line with the overall development of the colonial education. Overseas education for Africans at this juncture was incidental.

But after the Second World War, the colonial power started to accept the necessity of incorporating Africans in the colonial political and economic structure. This process led to the development of higher education in Kenya and strong encouragement of overseas education and Training as measures meant to cope with the changing circumstances in the colony. The nationalist groups in Kenya also saw the need for higher education and training as preparation for political independence. These forces were therefore crucial in influencing the policy which emerged in the fifties and sixties regarding overseas education. Opportunities for students proceeding on overseas education also increased tremendously in this transitional period.

In post-independence period the policy of sending students for overseas education was continued with attempts to centralise it through the Ministry of Education and also to control the courses of study so that they could fall within government manpower priorities. Despite these attempts, overseas education remains uncontrolled and to a large extent not tied to the country's manpower needs.

In summing up, we would like to point out that an evaluation of the impact of overseas training on development cannot be isolated from an evaluation of local institutions of higher education. If we are to take the view that the local institutions are to a large extent carbon copies of overseas university, then the evaluation should also focus on the local higher education institutions. In this connection it is also necessary to define in concrete terms the concept of development we adopt in our analysis. The exploratory nature of this paper has not allowed us to examine some of the issues, but we intend to make these the focus of our future analysis.

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