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REGIONAL AND CLASS INEQUALITIES IN PROVISION  
OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN KENYA, 1968-1973:  
A HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.	INTRODUCTION	1
2.	THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN COLONIAL AND POST-COLONIAL KENYA	10
3.	REGIONAL INEQUALITIES IN PROVISION OF PRIMARY EDUCATION, 1968-1973	46
4.	SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION AND PROVISION OF EDUCATION	57
5.	CONCLUSION	77

But (educational) opportunities to 'rise' are not a substitute for a large measure of practical equality, nor do they make immaterial the existence of sharp disparities of income and social condition. On the contrary, it is only the presence of a high degree of practical equality which can diffuse and generalize opportunities to rise. The existence of such opportunities in fact, and not merely in form, depends, not only upon an open road, but upon an equal start. It is precisely, of course, when capacity is aided by a high level of general well-being in the milieu surrounding it, that its ascent is most likely to be regular and rapid, rather than fitful and intermittent.

R.H. Tawney, Equality, 1952

#### INTRODUCTION:

In the financial years 1970/71 to 1974/75 the Central Government of Kenya spent an annual average of 25 per cent of its recurrent expenditure on formal education. In 1974/75 financial year this amounted to about K£51.2 million, an increase of about 64 per cent from the 1971/72 recurrent expenditure on education. In the same period, the Central Government spent about five per cent of the development expenditure on education.<sup>1</sup> But this is not the only public expenditure on formal education. The four main towns in the country -- Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru and Kisumu -- are each responsible for most of the financial requirements needed for the development and recurrent costs of primary education in their respective municipalities.<sup>2</sup> In 1972, primary schools in these four towns catered to about seven per cent of the total primary enrollment in the country. In the same year, the municipal councils spent about 16 per cent (about K£2.8 million) of their

1. Kenya, Statistical Abstract, 1974, pp.223-224. This expenditure refers only to moneys allocated to the Ministry of Education, and does not include financial allocation given to other ministries for the purposes of non-formal education, e.g. the Ministry of Agriculture, Health, Housing and Social Services.

2. In 1969 the central government took over the responsibility of primary education from local authorities. However, the four municipalities were allowed to retain their responsibilities over primary education. The Local Government (Transfer of Functions) Act, No. 20, 1969.

total annual expenditure on education.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to this public input, there is also private expenditure on education which goes to meet recurrent and development costs. Private expenditure on formal education consists of contributions made by private firms, education trusts, co-operatives and individuals. These contributions are usually channelled through voluntary educational agencies, self-help school committees, or through bodies which award bursaries to students. Contributions of this kind are made to all levels of education and have in the past benefitted both rural and urban communities. In the last ten years or so, private funding of educational development has become an integral and indeed an accepted method of financing expansion of education. In short, private efforts have become a major source of educational initiative.<sup>4</sup>

This private initiative in education is particularly noticeable in the countryside where rural communities, through self-help groups, are responsible for capital development and maintenance of primary schools as well as self-help secondary schools. For rural primary schools, the Central Government provides teachers, pays their salaries and supplies the basic textbooks. The parents of children attending these schools are required to shoulder the remaining costs of educating their children. These costs take the form of school equipment, additional books to supplement the text provided, uniforms and the overall costs of maintaining school compounds. In contrast, the urban communities are not required to pay for capital and recurrent costs of school compounds or costs of any school equipment. These costs are taken care of from

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3. See City Council of Nairobi, Annual Budget for 1973; Municipal Council of Mombasa, Budget for Revenue and Capital Estimates, 1972; Municipal Council of Nakuru, Annual Budget: Estimates for 1973; and Municipal Council of Kisumu, Annual Estimates for 1972.

4. Anderson, J.B. Organization and Financing of Self-help Education in Kenya, Paris, UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1973, pp.28-64.

See also E.M. Godfrey and G.C.M. Mutiso 'The Political Economy of Self-help Kenya's Harambee Institute of Technology' in David Court and Dharam Ghai (eds.), Education, Society and Development, Oxford, 1974,

public funds of the municipalities.

The development of secondary education has also been heavily dependent on self-help efforts. In 1972, for instance, more than forty per cent of the total secondary school pupils were attending schools initiated and maintained by funds from private sources. Once again the rural communities have borne the heaviest burden in financing these schools.

The main point that needs to be noted, however, is that an enormous amount of public and private resources are being channelled into education.

A number of questions may be raised about this expenditure on education. First, in a situation of scarce resources like we have in Kenya, is it rational to allocate about a quarter of the national recurrent expenditure, and another large proportion of private resources on formal education? Would the country have a better rate of return if part of this money was invested elsewhere? For instance, in provision of health services which are taking about seven per cent of recurrent expenditure, or economic services which take an average of 11 per cent annually.<sup>5</sup> A clear indication of public and private benefits accruing from the present rate of investment in education is needed, and especially in view of the increasing unemployment among the educated.<sup>6</sup>

Secondly, if it was to be assumed that the objectives of education in Kenya, and the proportion of national resources utilized thereof is justified and wholly acceptable, it can still be questioned whether these resources are being effectively and efficiently utilized. We shall, however, not go into this question in this paper.

The third question, and this is the main concern of this paper, is how the benefits of the large expenditures on education are distributed between regions and among social classes. In this paper the assertion

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5. Kenya, Statistical Abstract 1974, p. 225.

6. See International Labor Office (ILO), Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya, Geneva, 1972.

that the structure of educational resources and opportunities reflects the socio-economic structure of the society will be treated rather as a hypothesis to be demonstrated or disapproved in the course of the study of the historical and socio-economic context of the development of education in Kenya.<sup>7</sup> Tentatively, we argue that the distribution of educational resources and opportunities in a country does not only affect the structure and the nature of the educational system, but has also a strong bearing on issues such as social mobility, income distribution and social differentiation. In the last fifteen years of political independence in Kenya, the level of education attained by an individual has been a major factor in access to high income, political power and social status.<sup>8</sup> This, to a large extent, explains the importance formal education assumed in both colonial and post-colonial Kenya.

Equality in the field of education must of necessity, therefore, be seen within the general context of the quest for a strategy for development that benefits the majority of the people. The failure of the economic growth achieved in the fifties and sixties to have any substantial impact in up-lifting a majority of the third world people who live in poverty, has strongly underlined the need for redefining development in terms that are distinct and which go beyond economic growth as measured by gross national product (GNP) or average income per capita. The emphasis on development, as evident in literature in this field, is now shifting to questions of who benefits from economic

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7. A number of recent studies have dealt with the relationship between economic inequality and the structure of education. For excellent statement of this position in the U.S.A., see Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America, Basic Books, 1976, p. 85; and Martin Carnoy and Henry Levin, The Limits of Educational Reform, David MacKay Company, 1976, pp. 23-82. On the European scene, see Bourdieu, Reproduction, Sage Publications, 1977.

8. ILO, Kenya Report, op. cit., p. 94.

growth achieved by a particular country, region or group.<sup>9</sup> In quest for new development strategies, the distribution of basic human necessities, food, clothing, shelter, health services, land, education and political power are becoming important indices of development a particular country, region or social group is making.

We must, however, be aware that while a great deal has been written on the need to reorient development towards the needs of the poor, and both international aid agencies and national governments have incorporated this thinking in their numerous policy statements, there is still lack of serious commitment to the fundamental changes that a different developmental strategy entails. For instance, the World Bank, which in recent policy statements has taken up this theme, betrays this ambivalence in its 1974 Education Sector Working Paper where it states:

The growing realization that equitable income distribution is not an automatic corollary of growth has helped turn attention to a development strategy which is directed to sharing the benefits of growth as well as growth itself...  
A major implication is emphasis on mass education to ensure that all receive education and training of some kind as soon as resources permit and to the extent that that course of development requires.<sup>10</sup> (emphasis added)

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9. Literature in this field from liberal and radical perspectives is numerous. See, for example, Arun Shouries 'Growth, Poverty and Inequalities,' Foreign Affairs: American Quarterly Review, January 1973, pp.340-352; Dudley Seers 'The Meaning of Development' International Development Review, vol II, no. 4, December 1969, pp.1-6 and 'What are We trying to Measure?' in The Journal of Development Studies, vol 8, no 3, April 1972. In that Journal issue see also Nancy Banister's 'Development Indicators: An Introduction', pp.1-20; and Chenery H. et al, Redistribution with Growth, Oxford University Press, 1976.

For a radical critique of economic growth models of the fifties and sixties, see Samir Arwin, 'Growth Without Development', U.N. Development Forum, June 1973.

10. World Bank, Education Sector Working Paper, Washington, 1974, pp.3-4. Since 1972, President of World Bank, Robert S. McNamara, has emphasized this theme in policy statements.



The gap between what is stated in policy documents and in Development Plans<sup>11</sup> and what is actually implemented is clearly evident in post-colonial Kenya. This has been shown in a number of recent studies, which we need not review here.<sup>12</sup> However, our study will attempt to demonstrate how commitment to overall equality in the development process has not seriously altered the structure of education inherited from the colonial period.

### 1.2 The Purpose and Limitations of the Study

In the broad framework outlined above, the purpose of this study is thus to analyze the nature and extent of inequalities in primary education in Kenya, focusing mainly on the period between 1968 and 1973. We are limiting ourselves to this period because we do not have adequate data covering the period after 1973.

The paper will also attempt to identify and discuss the forces that have influenced and continue to shape the emergence of inequalities in the provision of educational resources and opportunities at the primary school level.

Hence the paper is divided into two main parts. The first part gives the historical and socio-economic background to the development of education in colonial and post-colonial Kenya. The historical background is divided into the early period of the foundation of capitalist mode of production, and the later period of reforms and transition to post-colonial economy. The second part of the paper will deal with the regional and class inequalities in the distribution and allocation of

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11. Kenya, African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya, sessional paper no. 10 of 1966, Nairobi 1966, pp. 1-2, and Development Plan: 1964-1970 introduction. Also see G.K. Helleiner comments on Kenya, Development Plan: 1974-1978 in a paper entitled 'Beyond Growth Rates and Plan Volumes -- Planning for Africa in the 1970s', in Strategies for Increasing Productive Employment in African Countries, p. 334.

12. See ILO Kenya Report 1972 and Colin Leys, Underdevelopment in Kenya: The Political Economy of Neo-Colonialism, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1974.

educational resources and opportunities at primary school level. In conclusion, we shall briefly discuss the relationship between the socio-economic structure and the development of education in Kenya. An attempt will also be made to identify some critical issues for future research on inequalities in education in Kenya.

At this point it is necessary to spell out some of our limitations. This paper does not intend to discuss the appropriateness of the present content of education. We are aware of the criticisms which have been levelled against the content of Kenyan education for being academic and elitist in orientation, but this shall not be dealt with here. It needs to be pointed out, however, that equitable distribution of education also means provision of appropriate education that prepares the recipients to participate gainfully in the economy. Another problem which is related to the general theme of this paper is the serious unemployment of primary and secondary school leavers. Although this shall not be the concern of this paper, it is nevertheless an important factor when discussing policy implications of the findings of this paper. The problem of unemployment among school leavers is partly due to the rapidly increasing output of school system relative to the low absorptive capacity of the 'modern' sector of the economy. Therefore, any future expansion of education in Kenya must of necessity contend with this outcome.

Lastly, we intend to limit ourselves to the discussion of primary education, thereby leaving out preschool, secondary and post-secondary education.

### 1.3 Definitions

Schools in this context will therefore refer to primary, standards one to seven. School opportunities refer to chances of getting into either primary or secondary school for a given population or a section thereof. Education attainment in this study will be used to mean the average number of years of schooling accomplished by an individual in the formal educational system. The educational data given in the population census of 1969 will be used to calculate the educational attainment in Kenya.

The issue of educational inequality will be explored from a regional point of view, using as our unit of analysis the existing administrative districts. No doubt there will be limitations to using a large unit like a district, but using small units would not be possible as official data

is usually given by districts. The districts, in addition to being administrative units, also tend to be political and ethnic entities. For the purpose of this paper, the towns of Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru and Kisumu shall be regarded as units of analysis on the same level as the rural districts. In addition to showing interdistrict disparities in the provision of education, we shall attempt, where possible, to indicate intra-district disparities.

The second major thrust of this paper will analyze the inequalities in education in terms of class. This is a more difficult task than the analysis of regional inequalities because first, there are definitional and analytical problems associated with the concept of class and in particular its application to Kenyan context. Secondly, the data on class aspects of provision of education are not usually given in the official documents and research has as yet to be carried to this area. However, we shall utilize all the available sources to deal with the latter problem in this paper.

The problems of definition of classes in the context of Kenya are more complex than we can hope to deal with here. Nevertheless, for the purpose of our discussion, we define class in terms of the position or location of an individual in the process of production, and in the disposal, control and sharing of the products of production. Further to this, the relations that emerge in this process determine the individual's economic and political power and social status. The totality of these relations and the location of an individual in the process of production indicate the class position of an individual in the society.

Using this definition, we can identify four social classes in urban Kenya. The class which controls and exercises surveillance in the process of production: this class includes the owners, managers and senior civil servants. This can be referred to as the national bourgeoisie. Below this class is a stratum of petit-bourgeoisie, who are mainly involved in the supervision and distributive services in the process of production. These two classes exercise most influence in the economic and political processes of the country. The wage earners, skilled and unskilled, in private and public sectors form the third class, which is the real working class segment of the urban population. A large proportion of the members of this class are organized in trade unions. Another segment of the urban population is unemployed and these form the fourth class which has working class aspirations but are not involved in the production process. We shall call this class the unemployed.

In the countryside the situation is even more complicated than in the urban areas. First, there is a capitalist class of farmers involved in large-scale and estate farming in the former European settled areas. In the former African land units this class is represented by a segment of rich peasants. Farming in this respect is essentially capitalistic, involving the process of control and utilization of wage labor in commodity production.

Between the rich and poor peasants there is a category of middle peasants who are involved in commodity production, but utilize mainly the family labor in the process of production.

However, the commodity production by middle peasants is controlled from outside through government agencies. The quality of products produced, marketing, and indeed the prices to be paid to the producers is determined by the agencies which control this process. Hence the position of middle peasants involved in commodity production is more or less that of semi-proletariat. The peasant owns the land, but the process of production and the prices given for his commodities are controlled by external forces.

The poor peasants own land which is mainly utilized for subsistence crops. This supplemented by income from wage labor for the rich and middle peasants. Below this is a landless class which sells its labor to the rich and middle peasants. This labor is important for commodity production in the countryside.

The class position of the pastoral people in Kenya is more problematic than we can venture here. We are therefore going to treat them as a distinct segment of rural population which is not deeply penetrated by the capitalist economy as other parts of the countryside have experienced in the last eighty years.

We have avoided using wage and salary incomes as indicators of class position of a person mainly because of the process which is common in Kenya of straddling between permanent employment and private enterprise. This means that a person may be earning an income from permanent employment, while also employing labor in a private enterprise. This makes it difficult to determine his class position solely on the basis of employment.

2.1. The socio-economic context of development of education in colonial and post-colonial Kenya

In this section we intend first to give a few basic facts of Kenya, and secondly outline briefly the socio-economic development of the country in the colonial and post-colonial periods. This is seen as a necessary background to the discussion on inequalities in provision of education which follows in the second part of the study.

2.2. Kenya: Some Basic Information

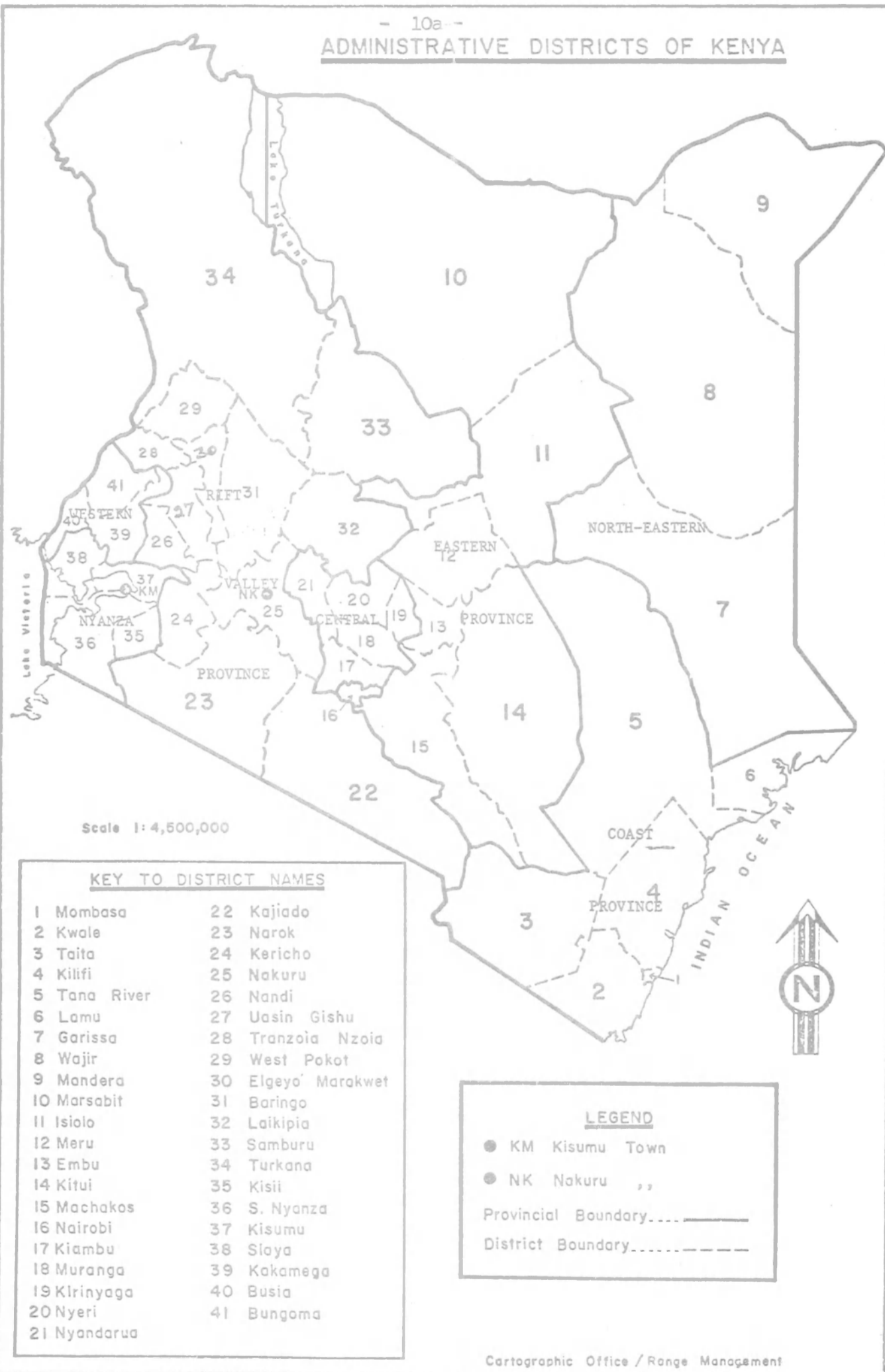
Kenya has an area of 569,250 square kilometres and a population estimated at 14 million in 1975. About 85 per cent of this population live in the countryside and the rest live in urban centers, the main ones being Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru and Kisumu. Most of the rural population is concentrated in central and western parts of Kenya, where land is fertile and rainfall for agriculture is sufficient and reliable.

The country is divided into 7 major rural administrative units called provinces and the capital city, Nairobi, has the status of a districts. The rural provinces are subdivided into forty administrative districts which vary a great deal in area and population density. The districts in the arid and semi-arid countryside are the largest in terms of land size, and the most sparsely populated parts of Kenya. Marsabit district in the Eastern Province, for instance, is the largest district in the country with an area of 72,750 square kilometres (12.8 per cent of total national land area), but has a population of one person per square kilometre, or less than half per cent of the total national population. In contrast, Mombasa district has an area of 270 square kilometres and a population density of 1,200, and is inhabited by two per cent of the country's population.

The present provincial and district boundaries emerged in 1962 as a result of fifty years of colonial government attempts to evolve political and ethnically suitable administrative units. The main changes in provincial and district boundaries occurred in the early period of colonization (1900-1930). Thereafter changes involved some adjustments to district boundaries and grouping of districts in different provinces. Most of these changes occurred in 1962 as a result of a Boundaries Commission appointed to make necessary adjustments to internal boundaries which were to be legitimized and entrenched in the independence constitution of 1963.

- 10a -  
ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS OF KENYA

IDS/OP 37



Scale 1:4,600,000

KEY TO DISTRICT NAMES	
1 Mombasa	22 Kajiado
2 Kwale	23 Narok
3 Taita	24 Kericho
4 Kilifi	25 Nakuru
5 Tana River	26 Nandi
6 Lamu	27 Uasin Gishu
7 Garissa	28 Transoia Nzoia
8 Wajir	29 West Pokot
9 Mandera	30 Elgeyo Marakwet
10 Marsabit	31 Baringo
11 Isiolo	32 Laikipia
12 Meru	33 Samburu
13 Embu	34 Turkana
14 Kitui	35 Kisii
15 Machakos	36 S. Nyanza
16 Nairobi	37 Kisumu
17 Kiambu	38 Sioya
18 Muranga	39 Kakamega
19 Kirinyaga	40 Busia
20 Nyeri	41 Bungoma
21 Nyandarua	

LEGEND	
● KM	Kisumu Town
● NK	Nakuru "
-----	Provincial Boundary
-----	District Boundary

Cartographic Office / Range Management

In addition to being administrative units, the districts are also units of central government planning and the nucleus of local government. From 1924, when the colonial government introduced local authority institutions in the country, the district has been the unit of organizing the local governments. In the colonial period, when the Africans were not allowed to participate in the political and administrative affairs of the colony, the local authority institution established at the district level was an important focus in the struggle for political power and provision of rural services such as education, agricultural and health improvements, water and roads. As the activities of local authorities were to show in the colonial period, these services -- particularly education -- were in great demand in the country-side, where the colonial state had little interest in developing.

Although the activities of district authorities were tightly controlled by the colonial administration, for about forty years of colonial rule they were the only state institutions which the Africans could utilize for their social betterment. This was clearly so in the field of education, where tax levied by African district authorities supplemented colonial revenue allocated for African education.

The district authorities remained powerful institutions in the countryside in the 1950s and the early 1960s despite the serious financial problems they experienced in this period. These problems stemmed from rapidly increasing financial commitment to primary education without corresponding increase in total revenue. Because of the increasing demand for primary education in the country, some local authorities were spending more than 2/3 of their total revenue on education alone, which meant other services suffered. By 1966 most of the local authorities could not cope with rising costs of services on a relatively static budget. In 1969, therefore, the central government decided to take up the responsibility of running these services.<sup>13</sup>

But even with centralization of most of the responsibilities carried out by local authorities before 1969, the district remained an important unit of allocation and planning of government resources and services. The recent establishment of District Development Committees in the district headquarters is an indication of the importance placed on the district as a unit of resource allocation and socio-economic planning. However, despite the recent attempts to make the districts the units of social and economic planning, they still remain administrative rather than

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13. For a discussion on the politics of financing education see Cowan, L. Gray The Cost of Learning: The Politics of Primary Education in Kenya, Institute of International Studies, Columbia, New York, 1970.

Table 1. Kenya administrative province, land and population

Province	Area of square Km.	Proportion of high potential agricultural land	Number of rural districts	Urban centres w/population above 20,000 in 1969	Proportion of total population	Main ethnic groups
Central	13,190	9.3	1. Kiambu 2. Kirinyaga 3. Murang'a 4. Nyandarua 5. Nyeri		15.3	1. Kikuyu
Coast	83,040	11.7	1. Kilifi 2. Kwale 3. Lamu 4. Taita-Taveta 5. Tana-River	Mombasa	8.6	1. Miji-Kenda 2. Taita-taveta 3. Pokomo 4. Kamba
Eastern	154,540	27.2	1. Embu 2. Isiolo 3. Kitui 4. Marsabit 5. Masaku 6. Meru		17.3	1. Kamba 2. Embu 3. Meru 4. Boran
North Eastern	126,900	-	1. Garissa 2. Mandera 3. Wajir		2.3	1. Somalis
Nyanza	12,530	12.6	1. Gusii 2. Kisumu 3. Siaya 4. South Nyanza	Kisumu	19.1	1. Luo 2. Kisii 3. Kuria
Rift Valley	170,150	31.6	1. Baringo 2. Nakuru 3. Kipsigis 4. Laikipia 5. Narok 6. Olekejuado 7. Samburu 8. K. Marakwet 9. Nandi 10. Transzoia 11. Uasin Gishu 12. W. Pokot 13. Turkana	Nakuru	19.8	1. Kalenjin 2. Masai 3. Kikuyu 4. Luhya
Western	8,220	7.4	1. Bungoma 2. Busia 3. Kakamega		12.1	1. Luhya
Nairobi	680	0.2		Nairobi	4.7	1. Kikuyu 2. Luhya 3. Luo 4. Kamba
National	569,250	100.0	39. districts	4	100.0	

Source: Kenya, Statistical Abstract, 1972 and Population Census, Vol. II and III



economic entities. This is largely attributable to the nature of capitalist penetration in the countryside in colonial and post-colonial Kenya, something which will become more obvious in the discussion below.

### 2.3 The Foundation of Colonial Economy, 1900-1950

For the past fifty years government, missionaries and settlers have caused a revolution in the native's way of life.

Carson J.B., Peoples of Kenya:  
The Administration of Kenya Colony  
and Protectorate, 1951

The colonization of Kenya by British interests towards the end of the 19th century had fundamental implications to the future economic and political developments of the territory. At the international level, this meant the systematic economic and political incorporation of the country into the British Empire and the world economy in general. The structural relationship which emerged between the colony and the metropolitan power led to the under-development of the economy of the colony by the metropolitan capital. The present international inequality between each of the third world countries has to be traced to its historical relationship with international capital. While in Kenya formal colonization was crucial in setting up this process, the dynamics of this economic system does not need direct political control, as the granting of political independence to many countries has shown in Africa in the last twenty years.

Within the country the same dynamic forces observable at the international level are also at work leading to uneven development between the enclaves of the metropolitan capital or white settlers in colonies of settlement like Kenya, and the countryside inhabited by most of the indigenous people. Thus through political and economic forces working within each colony, the inhabitants are integrated with the local centers of international capital which in turn integrates the territory into the world economy. This process inevitably leads to unequal regional development of the territory, something that is inherited and in some cases accentuated by the post-colonial state. The degree of integration of each region to the enclave within each country depends to a large measure on the penetration of colonial and post-colonial state by domestic and international capital and the response and initiatives of inhabitants of the region. The development of western education was a factor sometimes leading or accelerating the rate and pattern of internal integration and uneven development. The discussion below intends to show the mechanisms and dynamics of this process and its

implications to the development of education in Kenya.

The Development of Settlers' Enclave

A critical factor in the penetration and eventually the effective colonization of the hinterland of Kenya was the building and completion of Uganda Railway in the period between 1895 and 1901. Prior to this, contacts between the hinterland and the outside world were confined to limited intrusions by imperial adventurers, missionaries and traders. However, contacts between the Kenyan coast and overseas merchants, British and others were well established and of long standing. Nevertheless, the impact of these contacts on economic and political structure of African societies in the hinterland were limited and to a large extent almost negligible.

Hence, the building of the railway marks a phase in the relationship between the hinterland and the imperial forces which were at work in the world in this historical period. The railway paved the way and gave the rationale for the establishment of a capitalist economy in the hinterland of Kenya.<sup>14</sup> So, in the period between 1900 and 1905 the debate between the colonial administrators and the British government was how best this capitalist economy could be realized. The choice was between whether this could be carried out through encouraging indigenous capitalist agriculture or through immigrant settlement in the highlands. The colonial administrators settled on white settlement, ruling out Indian or Jewish settlements which were considered possible. Thus, in 1903 Commissioner Charles Eliot, who was responsible for the East African Protectorate -- which in 1920 was renamed Kenya Colony -- invited whites from Great Britain, South Africa, Canada and Australia to settle in the Kenya Highlands.<sup>15</sup>

The initial period of settlement occurred before the First World War, when about 1000 settlers had already occupied land allocated to them by the colonial administration.<sup>16</sup> The second influx of British settlers

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14. Wolff, Richard D, The Economics of Colonialism: Britain and Kenya, 1870-1930, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1974, pp. 47-50.

15. Wolff, ibid, pp. 51-61. Also Brett, E.A., Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa: The Politics of Economic Change, 1939, Heinemann, London, 1973.

16. Leys, op.cit., p. 29.

occurred soon after the First World War, when further land expropriation was carried out. At this time, about 2.5 million acres were set aside for what came to be known as the Soldiers Settlement Scheme. The critical period in the alienation of African land for white settlement therefore occurred ten years before and after the First World War. By 1934, about 5.1 million acres of what was to be popularly known as the Kenya White Highlands was alienated and occupied by about 2,000 settlers.<sup>17</sup>

The emphasis placed on the development of the settlers' capitalist agriculture by the colonial state had a tremendous impact on the nature and extent of the transformation of colonial and post-colonial economy of Kenya. As Brett has put it, 'Such people (settlers) could not simply be dumped into the bush and told to get on with it; they expected to be provided with roads, railways, doctors, schools and clubs and all the other paraphernalia of the British way of life.'<sup>18</sup> We would, however, argue that first and foremost the settlers required a steady supply of cheap labor and thereafter an infrastructure to support the development of the land they had acquired.

For settlers to bring about the changes they wanted in the colonial economy, that is, to make the development of their enclave the predominant form of economic activity, they had to control the colonial state, something they accomplished in the period between 1920 and 1950 through the legislative council and through other state apparatuses.<sup>19</sup> Although this control was never absolute, and need not be so, the settlers were able to orient the development of the whole of colonial infrastructure (railways, roads, agricultural research, and marketing and schooling) towards serving the White Highlands.<sup>20</sup>

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17. Brett, p.172, Wolff p. 57 and Leys, p.29

18. Brett, p.168.

19. The settlers controlled not only Legislative Council, but also the Executive Council which assisted the governor in running the affairs of the colony. See S. and K. Aaronovitch, Crisis in Kenya, Lawrence & Wishart, pp. 28-34. Brett also points out how the settlers controlled practically every agricultural committee and marketing board. However, the crucial factor is that the colonial state was committed to the settlers' economy.

20. Brett, pp.190-205.

The labor policies and regulations that emerged during this period were meant to meet the demands of the settler community for cheap and reliable labor force. As it will be seen later on, the colonial state was an important instrument in creation of this labor market. It must be pointed out, however, that the settlers' attempts to make the colonial state an instrument of their interests often provoked conflicts with the colonial administrators and the British Colonial Office. The British government maintained that their policies were aimed at the paramountcy of the African interests and actually asserted this point in 1923 and 1952<sup>21</sup>, but in essence the colonial state served the interests of the dominant class, the white settlers. Hence, the main conflict of interests was between this settler class and the indigenous people who had lost land and were now increasingly required to sell their labor power for a meager wage. This contradiction between settler interests backed by the colonial state and the British imperial power on one hand, and the African peasantry backed by the emerging laboring class on the other, was the dynamic force in colonial Kenya and was instrumental in the changes which occurred in the fifties and sixties. We shall discuss how reforms and repression of this period attempted to diffuse this conflict. Before dealing with the implications of capitalist development in the early phase to the development of education, we shall briefly outline the emergence of a labor market in Kenya.

Efforts to create a stable, reliable and cheap labor force were carried out through the colonial state apparatuses in the period between 1902 and 1930. The measures ranged from direct taxation to use of force. The settlers viewed and argued that the colonial state had an obligation to provide them with cheap labor for the development of their farms. One settler expressed this ideology succinctly when he argued that it was 'grossly unfair to invite the settler to this country, as has been done, give him land under conditions which force him to work, and at the same time do away with the foundation on which the whole of his enterprise and hope is based, namely cheap labor'<sup>22</sup> The colonial state was hardly doing this to the settler

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21. In 1923 the British government published a White Paper asserting 'That the interests of African natives must be paramount, and that if and when those interests and the interests of immigrant races should conflict, the former should prevail'. This position was asserted again in 1952 by the Colonial Secretary when he said that 'rule by small minority was over' and the political control of Kenya must involve all races.

22. Quoted by Wolff pp.93-94.

class. Rather it followed a consistent policy, at times enthusiastic and at other times restrained, in 'encouraging' Africans to sell their labor power. This policy often raised conflicts between the settlers and the imperial establishment in Kenya and Britain, but in the final analysis the labor force the settlers were craving for did emerge.

The two World Wars accelerated the process of creating a labor market. The First World War led to the mobilization of Africans for military labor, something that demonstrated to the settlers the need to use force to recruit labor, hence the use of force in the years immediately after the War.<sup>23</sup> The Second World War fuelled the process of creation of a labor market by offering higher wages to Africans with education and skills. This was an important incentive for acquisition of education and skills needed in the labor market. This process had already taken hold in some parts of the country in the 1930s.

Thus, in this period we observe a transition from pre-colonial economy to colonial economy in which some segments of independent peasant producers are transformed into a laboring class, while others move into petty trade and commodity production. On the whole, this period witnesses the systematic incorporation and integration of the African 'reserves' into the settler economic enclave -- a process that brings underdevelopment and differentiation in African areas. The colonial state was central in the transformation of the African areas into labor supplying reserves and in the transfer of surplus, through direct and indirect mechanisms, from the African reserves to the settler enclave.<sup>24</sup>

Our attention will now be focused on the implications of this capitalist development to regional and social differentiation and its relationship to the development of education.

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23. This was done by Governor Sir Edward Northey, who issued circulars urging administrative officers to recruit labor for the settlers. These circulars are 'Northey Circulars' and were issued in the early 1920s.

24. See the Report by the Financial Commissioner (Lord Moyne) on Certain Questions in Kenya, May 1932. Lord Moyne details the amount of tax Africans were contributing to the colonial revenue and the benefits that were accruing to them. On the whole, he found that Africans were getting less than what they were contributing to colonial revenues. See also Brett pp.190-199, where he discusses African contribution to colonial revenue through direct and indirect taxation.

Uneven Development and Special Differentiation

a) The most pervasive aspect of social differentiation in colonial Kenya was the division and the organization of the whole society on racial grounds. The whole set-up of economy, politics, education and social interaction was intended to reflect and to justify supposed racial differences. The Europeans, who were a numerical minority (less than one per cent of total population in 1948), dominated large scale and estate agriculture, large enterprises in commercial sector, and the colonial state apparatuses -- Legislative Council, administration, statutory boards and education.<sup>25</sup> They therefore commanded an overwhelming economic and political power in the colonial society. This was obviously resented by both Asians and Africans. The Asians, however, formed a privileged stratum in the colonial political-economy. Although slightly more than Europeans, about two per cent of the population in 1948, they commanded relatively less influence in the colony. They had a marked influence in the commercial sector, however, where they controlled wholesale and retail trade. The middle level occupations in the European enterprises and in the colonial administration were predominantly occupied by Asians.<sup>26</sup> Some Asians did, nevertheless, accumulate enough capital to allow them to move into sectors of commerce and manufacturing which were a preserve of the European capitalists.

At the bottom of the racial stratification were Africans, who were predominantly involved in subsistence agriculture, while a sizable proportion of males were migrant laborers doing lower level skilled and unskilled jobs in the European farms and enterprises, and state apparatuses. Some other Africans were involved in the enclave economy as resident squatters on large farms and estates. In addition, a limited proportion of the African population in the reserves were engaged in production commodities such as maize, cotton and wattle bark for domestic and export markets. Although the Africans performed the lowest ranking and least rewarded economic activities, they were nevertheless the critical force in the development of the colonial economy. The dominant minority were aware

25. The Phelps-Stokes Report, Education in East Africa, 1924, p.113, gives the occupational breakdown of Europeans in Kenya as follows:

Settlers	1,893
Missionaries	300
Commercial group	1,816
Civil servants	1,117
Total	<u>5,126</u>

26. The breakdown of the Asian group in 1921 was given as:

Civil servants	3,355
Commercial group	<u>14,524</u>
Total	17,879

of this and attempted to maintain it through the control of all state apparatuses, thereby ensuring their hegemony over the economic sector.

In education this racial division of labor was manifested and reinforced by the organization of three racial educational systems, each catering to a racial group. The allocation of colonial state revenue, the ideological outlook encouraged and the skills imparted in each of the education systems reflected the expected position its products would occupy in the colonial hierarchy.<sup>27</sup> Table 2 below illustrates this point by showing the allocation of colonial revenue for education in the years 1924, 1936, 1948 and in the financial year 1962/3. In interpreting these figures, it should be noted that each of these years the Africans made about 92 per cent of the total educational enrollment. Asian enrollment was about six per cent and European about two per cent.

Table 2. Allocation of colonial revenue on education for racial groups in Colonial Kenya

Racial Group	1924	1936	1948	1962/3
Europeans	38.9	29.2	36.5	9.6
Asians	18.8	23.5	24.2	22.5
Africans	42.3	47.3	39.3	67.9
Kenya	100.0 £56,615	100.0 £159,218	100.0 £568,554	100.0 £6,094,034

Sources: Kenya Education Department, Annual Reports, 1924, 1936, 1948, and 1963.

27. The need for an educational system that would help Europeans to maintain their dominance in the colony was expressed openly in the early colonial period. For instance, the Education Commission of East Africa Report, 1919 stated:

The number of Europeans and Asiatics are fewer and if they are to exercise the right sort of influence over the mass of natives it is highly essential that they should be educated. The Commission, therefore, lays great stress on the immediate provision of the means for such education . p. 5.

The Department of Education, Annual Report, 1924, reiterated the position when it stated it must never be forgotten that the European community is a small handful in the midst of a large African population and that if Europeans would retain the leadership of Kenya a high standard of education must be demanded. 3(emphasis mine)

The inequality between Africans--who made 97 per cent of the colony's population--in allocation of education revenue, and the non-indigenous races is glaring in the whole of colonial era. The change noticeable in 1962/3 financial year is attributable to the political and economic reforms the country was undergoing just before independence. Nevertheless, the differences between the three racial groups were still great, even on the eve of political independence. This was also the pattern in the distribution of income in colonial situation.

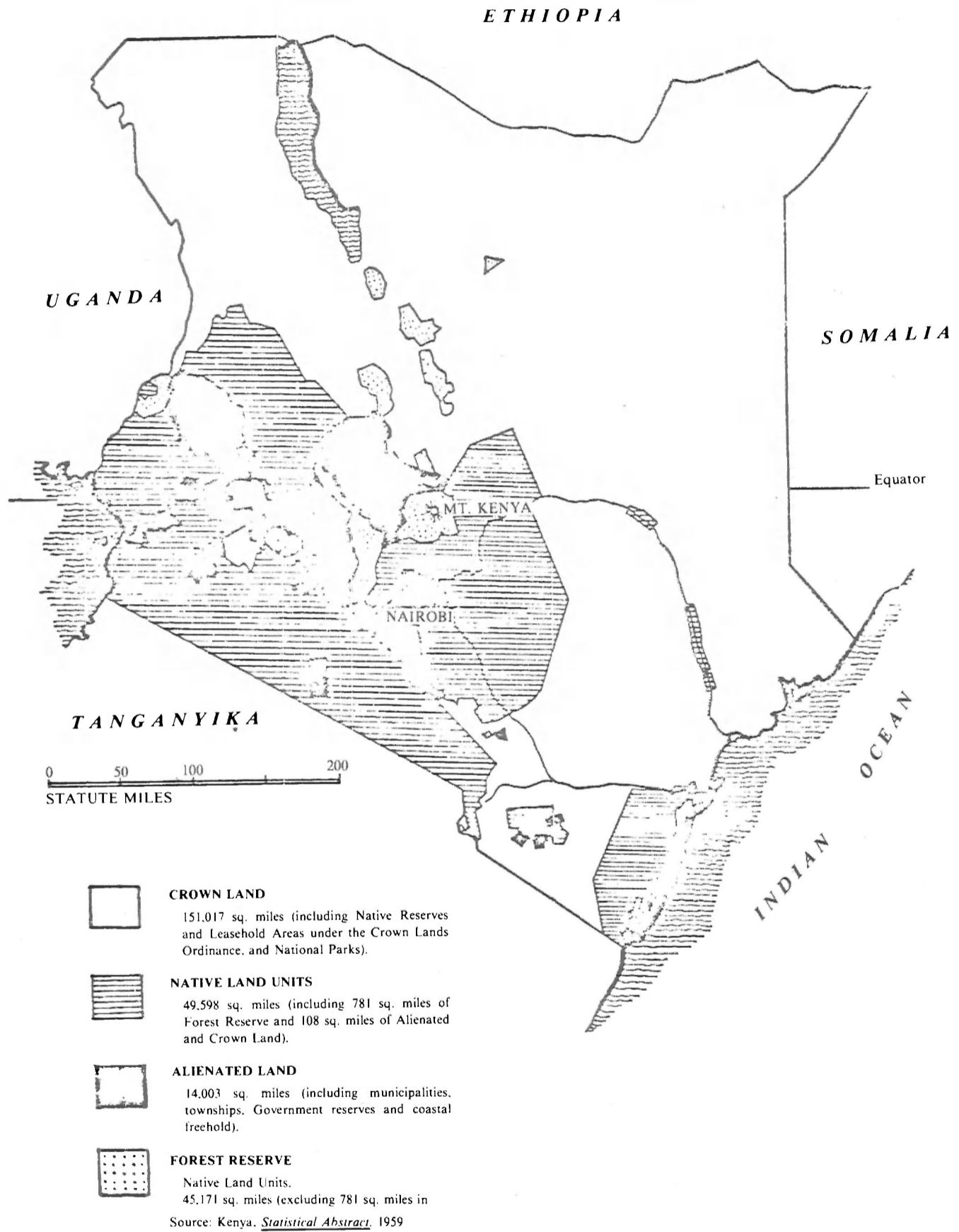
The legacy of the racial differentiation of school opportunities is at present to be found mainly in the large urban centers, where the former European schools have become integrated to cater for the children of the national bourgeoisie, and the former Asian schools to cater for the children of the petit-bourgeoisie. The colonial African schools have become schools for the working class and urban poor. In the countryside, the schools are not all that well differentiated, but each district -- particularly the rich ones -- has three or four schools which cater to the children of rich peasants, rural merchants and bureaucrats. We shall say more about this aspect of educational inequality later on.

b) Regional differentiation is another outcome of uneven capitalist development in Kenya in the period between 1900 and 1952. In this process, three broad economic and political regions emerged which were nevertheless integrated into the colonial economy. The dominant mode of production in the colonial social formation was the capitalist mode of production based on large scale farming, estates and urban commercial sector. This formed the core region of the colony. In the periphery of the central region was a predominantly pastoral economy region. The separation of one region from the other must be understood mainly functionally, although there tended to be physical demarcation, also. The boundaries between the dominant center were legally and physically delineated from the other regions which were, as a whole, termed African reserves (see the map giving land classification in colonial Kenya on the page 20a)

The center region comprised the towns of Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu and Eldoret, and white settled areas in Nakuru, Uasin Gishu, Trans Nzoia, Kericho, Aberdares (Nyandarua), Laikipia, parts of Kiambu, and other smaller sections of rural Kenya. The dominant economic activities here were large scale and estate agriculture and commercial enterprises. The racial division of labor was reproduced here par excellence. Schooling opportunities were provided for



Figure 2 **LAND CLASSIFICATION IN COLONIAL KENYA, 1952**



Europeans and Asians by the colonial state. Schools for Africans in this region were very limited, as they were expected to obtain their education in the reserves. The Africans living in this region were either migrant wage laborers or squatters. Until the late fifties, Africans were not expected to be permanent urban residents, thereby justifying lack of schooling opportunities in the urban areas. This region was the major target of reforms in the 1950s and 1960s, as we shall see later on.

The second region comprised the area which is inhabited by Kikuyu (Kiambu, Muranga and Nyeri), Luhya (Bungoma and Kakamega), Luo (Kisumu, North and South Nyanza), Gusii, Embu, Meru and Kamba (Masaku and Kitui). These areas were affected a great deal by land alienation and formed an important labor recruitment reservoir.<sup>28</sup> The Masai lost more land than any other ethnic group, but they resisted all attempts to incorporate them into the labor market.<sup>29</sup> Through taxation, participation in the labor market and in the production of commodities for domestic markets, this region essentially subsidized the settler enclave.<sup>30</sup>

The history of development of formal education in this region is one of the most fascinating aspects of colonial education in Kenya. It is a history full of remarkable initiatives in the establishment of education by both Africans and Christian missionary groups, and marks a period of bitter conflicts between Africans on one hand, and missionaries and colonial establishment on the other, on questions of pace of educational advancement for the indigenous

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28. Clayton, Anthony and Savage, Donald C., Government and Labor in Kenya 1895-1963, Frank Cass, London, 1974, chapters 2-4, pp.20-163; and Stichter, Sharon B., 'The Formation of Working Class in Kenya', Mimeo.

29. Aaronovitch, op.cit., p.25.

30. Zwanenberg, Roger van, The Agricultural History of Kenya, East African Publishing House, 1972. Manners, Robert A., 'Land Use, Labor, and the Growth of Market Economy in Kipsigis Country' in Markets in Africa (eds.) Bohannan, Paul and Dalton, George, North-Western University Press, 1962, pp.493-519.

people and the separation of schooling from religious indoctrination. It is also a period of innovations and experiments by African dominated majority. While the history of educational provision, innovations is interesting, our task, therefore, is first to look at the educational activities of Christian missionaries in the years before and after the First World War, and secondly to analyze the African reaction and initiatives in the development of education in the colonial era. The interaction and conflict between Christian missions and the Africans in the field of education was the major driving force in the establishment of schooling opportunities in this region.

Before 1900 the Christian missionaries confined their evangelism and educational activities along the coast of Kenya, but with the building of the railway, the movement inland was swift, enthusiastic and widespread. By 1914 most of the missionary agencies had settled inland and established 32 schools and mission stations. The war slowed down their activities (five schools were established during the war), but in the period from 1920-1927 another 20 schools were opened. The period from 1900-1924 marks the zenith of the missions (to use historian Roland Oliver's expression) work in education in Kenya. In this period, they established the foundation of African education in the territory with minimal support from colonial state. Thereafter, missionary education work lacked funds and personnel to keep up with the increasing demand and the challenge from the newly educated Africans who wanted more secular education.

The main missionary settlements before the war were in the districts of Kiambu, Murang'a, Nyeri and Kirinyaga of present Central Province, Masaku and Embu districts of Eastern Province; Kakamega and Bungoma of Western Province; and Gusii, Central and South Nyanza districts of Nyanza Province. There were very few settlements in the Rift Valley Province and some parts of Coast Province.<sup>31</sup>

31. Osogo, J.N.B. "Educational Developments in Kenya 1911-1924 (with particular reference to African Education), in Hadith 3, East African Publishing House, 1970.

After the War, missionary settlements were expanded mainly in the geographical locations they had established as their spheres of influence. Expansion into new areas was very limited. Thus by 1927 the spatial distribution of missionary schools had taken roots. In this year, mission schools enrolled about 60,000 children in central and village schools. More than half of these students were in the present Western and Nyanza Provinces, and another significant proportion was in areas in Central Province, and Embu and Meru districts of Eastern Province. The areas in Rift Valley and Coast Provinces, and districts of Kitui and Machakos had the lowest number of students in mission schools.<sup>32</sup> The main ethnic groups that experienced this large scale penetration by the missionaries were Luo, Luhya, Kikuyu, Embu, Meru and Kamba.

Other ethnic groups were targets of missionary influence, but the impact was nowhere else sustained as in Central and Western Kenya. The missionaries therefore concentrated their efforts around these areas where the British settlers had started farming activities and where the administration officials had established law and order. The 1924 Phelps-Stokes Commission -- in its report on Education in East Africa -- expressed the classical attitude prevailing in the colony among the foreign dominating minority towards the people living in the periphery of this region when it said, 'from an educational point of view, the nomadic tribes of the Northern Frontier District are of little significance for the near future. The country is under military rule and no provision is needed for native reservations.'<sup>33</sup>

To minimize the regional imbalance in the development of schools created by missionary activities, the colonial government established what were termed government schools in some of the areas where missionary influence was limited. However, the policies followed in the thirties and forties by both the colonial government and the missions reinforced this pattern of distribution, rather than altering it. This continued with

32. Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1927. See also Phelps-Stokes, Education in East Africa, pp.114-115.

33. Education in East Africa, p.103.

no real fundamental change up to the sixties, when some aspects started to change, as we shall show later on.

The success of missionary groups in education must be seen in the context of African response and initiatives. The rate of development of education in any area in Kenya depended to a large extent on the attitude and co-operation of the local people. Below, we intend to explore briefly the response and initiatives of Africans in the field of education and show how it affected the emergence of regional disparities in education.

The African response to European cultural invasion in the form of Christianity and Western education has been interpreted as having occurred in two ways. First there were those who wholeheartedly accepted Christianity and Western education when it was offered to them. Secondly, there were those who rejected the Western education that the missionaries offered, and thereby remained educationally backward.<sup>34</sup> We are going to argue that this generalization is misleading and to some extent simplistic, especially where the Kenyan situation is concerned. The first ethnic groups to embrace Western education enthusiastically were Kikuyu and Luo, but this did not occur until they had resisted it for a while. The initial resistance and suspicion was usually led by the local leaders who saw this encroachment as another attempt to undermine their power and destroy their culture. However, this did not last long. As we are told, thereafter the Luo in Nyanza province showed 'spontaneous educational enthusiasm' which resulted in 'spontaneous bush schools.....springing up in all areas'. The Kikuyu also responded enthusiastically later on.<sup>35</sup> While the first resistance occurred before the turn of the century, this spirit never died, for in the 1920s these two ethnic communities were again becoming suspicious of the missionary intentions. The source of the conflict at this time was the apparent unwillingness of the missionaries to separate education from religious indoctrination and also their failure to expand educational opportunities to meet the African demand.

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34. Ranger, Terence 'Education in East and Central Africa, 1900-1939', Past and Present, no 32, 1965, pp.57-85.

35. Ibid, p.61, where he refers to Lonsdale's PhD thesis 'A Political History of Nyanza 1883-1939', Cambridge University, 1964.

The second case of those who are said to have resisted the 'modernizing' influences of the West from the first contact is more complicated than we have been led to believe. First, some of the ethnic groups that are said to have resisted change had only marginal contact with the missionaries and the government. They remained outside the sphere of influence of the settlers, missionaries and the colonial government. In other words, the colonists did not see the need of spreading education to them. Since these groups occupied low-potential land, the settlers did not aspire to their land, and since these people were widely scattered, the missionaries did not see it necessary to occupy their attention with them. While Kikuyu and Luo labor was needed in the White Highlands and in the lower ranks of the Civil Service the labor of the tribes outside the immediate neighborhood of the white settlements was not needed. In Nyanza and Central Kenya, the Africans -- as we have seen -- were coerced to work on the farms, and taxed so that the settlers could benefit from a cheap labor pool. This process must have opened the eyes of Africans to the needs for education to fight the injustices that prevailed in society, and as a means of earning a better wage (and status) that the jobs in the Civil Service provided. It is in this light that we have to assess the reaction of various ethnic groups to Western education.

In some parts of the country the people had nothing to respond to, as they remained closed in the so-called native reserves. In other areas, the opportunities were provided, but the Western education did not confer status and economic benefits that could attract wide attention. This latter case applies to the Masai of Kenya.<sup>36</sup> Their attitude to education during the colonial period has been misunderstood as outright resistance to social change. In fact, the Masai were among the first Kenyans to go to the mission schools which were established in the interior. But because of some factors which are closely related to the colonialists treatment of the Masai, they remained relatively backward in the field of education despite their headstart. We shall not go into this question in the detail that it deserves, but it should be sufficient to say that the colonial situation was largely responsible for the relative

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36. King, Kenneth, The Kenya Masai and the Protest Phenomenon, 1900-1960, Journal of African History, XII, I (1971), pp. 117-137.

backwardness of the Masai. They lost most of their rich grazing pastures in the Rift Valley to European settlers and were moved into a semi-arid reservation. Once in their reserve, they were not allowed to participate in the colonial economy by selling their livestock, as this was contrary to the interests of settlers who controlled the livestock market. This specific colonial situation as related to the Masai tended to be justified on the basis of a myth of their being arrogant and resistant to social change.

Another factor that relates to African response to Western education is the internal dynamics of the societies concerned. Some societies like Kikuyu and Luo were able to adjust easily to the new status that the western education conferred on its recipients. This new status became something to be sought, thereby creating the educational demand that emerged in the 1920s. In some other societies, the adjustment was not dramatic and the initial pace for educational development was slower, although the response was positive. This was particularly so among the Kalenjin (Nandi, Kipsigis and Tugen) of the Rift Valley province and the Kamba of the Eastern province. These initial differences were mainly marked in the 1920s and only slightly so in the 1930s.<sup>37</sup> However, the local institutions which emerged in this period and were influenced by the prevailing attitudes to education did form the basis for future development of education. For our purpose, the most important of these institutions were African 'independent' schools and the Local Native Councils (LNCs).

We have already referred to the conflict between the missionaries and the Africans on the issue of expansion of educational opportunities and the emphasis placed on religious indoctrination. This conflict stemmed from the realization of the economic and political benefits which accrued to those who had acquired education. The socio-economic status of those who had moved into relatively better paid jobs in the civil service and the private enterprises spurred more Africans -- particularly Kikuyus, Luhyas and Luos -- to demand more education, with the content oriented to literary skills rather than industrial as the missionaries and the government required. Thus the control of education in the 1920s became a crucial political issue, as land expropriation had become and continued to be.

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37. Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Department of Education, Annual Report, 1936.

The outcome of this confrontation in Nyanza and Central Kenya was the emergence of independent churches and schools. While in Nyanza the emphasis was more on the independence of churches from the control of the missions, with schools taking only a secondary role, in Central Kenya the struggle was clearly for control of the schools. This struggle started in the early 1920s and culminated into a movement for cultural nationalism in the early 1930s.

Among the Kikuyus this movement meant the establishment of schools which were outside the control of the missionaries. Before the emergence of this movement the colonial government had been urged to start government schools for Africans, but had failed to do so because of its commitment to European interests and its strong faith in the necessity of Christian education for the Africans. So among the Kikuyu, the revolt against missions culminated into formation of two independent school associations and churches. The associations were the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (KISA), which was active in Nyeri and Murang'a districts, and the Kikuyu Karinga Educational Association (KKEA), which was active in South Kiambu, Rift Valley province among squatters and some parts of Nyanza.<sup>38</sup>

In terms of schools and number of students educated through the efforts of this movement, the contribution to the Kenyan education system is relatively small. In 1937 there were 54 schools of this kind with a total enrollment of about 7,200.<sup>39</sup> When these schools were closed in 1953 by the colonial government because of their close association with the nationalist movement, there were about 400 schools with an enrollment of well over 62,000 pupils. The stringent control exercised by the colonial government in expansion of these schools accounts to a large extent for their limited intake. However, their contribution to African morale and nationalism is immeasurable. They created confidence among Africans of their ability to organize and manage schools, something that became an important factor in the establishment of self-help schools in post-colonial Kenya.<sup>40</sup>

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38. Rosberg, Carl and Nottingham, John, The Myth of Mau Mau : Nationalism in Kenya, East African Publishing House, 1966, chap IV, pp.105-135.

39. Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Native Affairs Department, Annual Report, 1937, p. 74.

40. Anderson, John, Self-Help and Independency: The Political Implications of a Continuing Tradition in African Education in Kenya . African Affairs, vol 70, no 28, January 1971, pp.9-22.



In an attempt to reduce the influence of these schools, the missions and the colonial government paid slightly more attention to demands of education in Central Kenya in the thirties and forties than they had in the twenties. Thus the African initiatives and the subsequent reaction to them benefited some areas more than others. This intensified a phenomenon that was part and parcel of developing African education in colonial Kenya and which did not receive much attention at that time, namely the competition between Africans themselves for the limited schooling opportunities. Professor Ranger observed this phenomenon elsewhere in colonial Africa when, in 1965, he concluded that:

Africans (were) competing for education not only against other races, but also against each other. Many of the efforts....were directed rather at the relative advantage of the group undertaking them than at the overall advancement of African educational opportunity.<sup>41</sup>

We should therefore bear in mind this competition when evaluating the contribution of the next channel of African initiative in education.

The other channel of African initiative occurred when the colonial government decided to establish local government authorities for African reserves. Local Native Councils (LNCs) were first established in 1925 with limited powers to regulate the development of education, health services, agriculture and livestock, and roads in their districts. They also had power to levy taxes for general or specific purposes. The political and economic aims of establishing these councils were to generate funds needed for the development of African reserves, thereby removing the responsibility and the burden from the colonial state, and secondly, they were intended to go far towards counteracting any mischievous tendencies which might develop in native political societies...<sup>42</sup>

The Africans, however, seized this opportunity to tax themselves to finance primary education and to some extent aided the development of secondary education. The policy of entrusting local authorities with the responsibility of financing and developing primary education had two

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41. Ranger, op.cit.

42. Kenya, Native Affairs Department, Annual Report, 1924, pp. 20-21.

potential dangers in terms of the emergence of educational inequalities. The relatively rich districts could raise more money through taxation and thereby pay for more schools and teachers, while the poor areas had to struggle to maintain the few schools they had, much less to expand. The rich districts of western Kenya -- Kakamega, Bungoma, Kisumu, South Nyanza and Gusii -- and those of central Kenya -- Kiambu, Nyeri, Murang'a, Embu and Meru -- consistently taxed their people during the whole colonial era to maintain and expand their educational opportunities. Other districts (Nandi, Kipsigis, Machakos and Taita) also followed this pattern, but their ability to raise funds for education was limited. On the other hand, districts such as Baringo, Samburu, Elegeyo, Kilifi, Kwale, Narok, Kajiado, West Pokot and those in North-Eastern provinces had real problems in getting their educational programs off the ground due to very limited financial resources. It seems, therefore, that the more a district was closely integrated into the colonial economy, the higher was the demand for education and the more it devoted its resources for the development of education. This is a pattern observable in colonial as well as post-colonial Kenya.

Secondly, the local authorities channeled their education funds through the existing missionary, government and independent schools. Although some Local Native Authorities attempted to break from mission control in the 1930s, the colonial government strongly discouraged the move, as it was perceived that it would weaken missionary influence in education. This meant, however, that the areas where there was strong pressure for education and an organizational base existed benefited more from LNC funds, than those areas without missionary or local organizational structure. This was a serious problem in a district like Baringo, where missionary activities were minimal and local organizations were <sup>not</sup> ~~non-existent~~ <sup>not</sup> ~~non-existent~~. In contrast, the LNC in Kiambu had all these advantages. Another aspect of this policy is that it led to the widening of inequalities between regions within each district. The impact of the policy was clear to Africans, as well as to the colonial administration. Thus the Committee on African Education, established in 1948 to study and recommend the future development of African education, noted this concern when it commented:

We were able to assure witness that it is the government's policy to encourage and assist the general orderly development of African education throughout the whole Colony. But it is clear that the present demand for education is uneven between

one area and another owing to the varying economic and social needs, and to the varying degrees of social consciousness in respect of education. <sup>43</sup>

The policy of entrusting local authorities with the responsibility for financing and promoting primary education continued into the 1950s, when African District Councils (ADC) were established to replace LNCs and into the 1960s when they were named County Councils. Through the District Education Boards (DEBs) -- which were established in 1934 but ineffective until 1951 -- the SDCs assumed financial control and the responsibility of the development of primary education. The DEBs were intended to harmonize the development of primary education within each district but had nothing to do with disparities between the districts. Thus the ADCs continued to vote for educational funds which they deemed necessary for their respective districts with minimal interference from the center. In fact, the colonial government encouraged the unequalizing impact of this policy when, in 1952, its educational grants to ADCs were double what each council allocated for education. So the councils which allocated more money from their budgets to education received more in educational grants from the central government. The impact of this policy on existing regional inequalities was clear and, as Cowan has observed, the 'matching system had within it potentially serious long-term consequences in that it tended to reinforce the already evident differences between the rates of development of richer and poorer areas of the country'. <sup>44</sup>

In the 1960s many local authorities suffered financial crises because their revenue sources could not provide all the money that was needed for expansion and maintenance of primary education. This, among other reasons, prompted the central government to take over from the county councils the responsibility for providing primary education, health services and roads in 1969.

We have seen how African response to Western education and the struggles with the missionaries led to a number of initiatives in the development of education. In some areas, these initiatives culminated into formation of independent schools which started a tradition of self-help in education which has been exploited in the post-colonial period to expand educational facilities. Other initiatives in education were channeled through local authorities, which were able to support elementary education

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43. African Education in Kenya, Report of a committee appointed to inquire into the scope, content and methods of African Education, its Administration and Finance. Also called Beecher Report. 1949, p.30, para 135.

44. Cowan, op.cit., p.8.

through local taxation. The consequences of this arrangement for financing primary education were becoming obvious in the early 1960s, but not until 1969, when the central government took over this responsibility, did a policy intended to rectify the more serious outcomes start to emerge.

The third region comprised most of the pastoral people of Kenya and the settled agricultural people of the Coast Province. The pastoral economy districts in this region are Kajiando, Narok, Elgeyo-Marakwet, Baringo, West Pokot, Samburu and Turkana in Rift Valley Province; Isiolo and Marsabit in Eastern Province; and Garissa, Mandera and Wajir in North-Eastern Province. The districts at the Coast are Kwale, Kilifi, Lamu and Tana River. These areas as a whole formed the backyard of the colonial economy. Apart from the Masai people from Narok and Kajiado districts who experienced enormous land expropriation, the rest had minimal impact from this measure. They also participated in the colonial labor market in a limited manner. Large-scale attempts to recruit Giriama people of Kilifi district into European farms and Mombasa labor markets failed as a result of gallant resistance of the men and women in the communities.<sup>45</sup>

The pastoral people could have participated in the colonial economy through participation in the livestock market which existed in the colony. However, like the agricultural communities we discussed above, they were not allowed to participate in the colonial economy, as this would have meant competition for European ranchers and livestock breeders. The colonial state maintained this situation by demarcating reserves for pastoralists, putting their areas under permanent quarantine regulations and strictly restricting the movement of the people and livestock in these districts. Africans from the other districts were not allowed to enter into these districts unless they had permission and a pass from the colonial administration. Apart from the years 1939 to 1945, when war efforts against Italians promoted trade in cattle in some of these districts, in the rest of the colonial period these areas remained isolated and neglected.<sup>46</sup> In post-colonial Kenya, the districts in Eastern and North-Eastern Provinces received some attention in economic and social development as a result of a war between Kenya and

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45. Clayton and Savage, Government and Labor in Kenya, p. 66.

46. Turton, E.R., The Changing Focus of Somali Economic, Political and Educational Aspirations in Kenya: 1930-48, Mimeo.

Somalia on the question of sovereignty over this area.

The colonial policy towards pastoral people in matters such as taxation, education, local authorities and the overall development was shaped not only by the settler ranching interests, but also by the existence of a strong distaste of pastoral mode of life by the colonial officials. A colonial Governor summed up this attitude in the early 1930s when he said:

I deprecate in the strongest possible way the suggestion that pernicious pastoral proclivities should be encouraged by the grant of any right for grazing purposes.

My policy is to discourage these proclivities by every legitimate means, not only because they **are** productive of nomadic tendencies, but because they inculcate in the minds of people a distaste for any settled industry.<sup>47</sup>

We have seen that this is the attitude which was adopted by the Phelps-Stokes Education Commission of 1924 towards the people living in the periphery of the center of colonial economy. The establishment of missionary stations was also confined to the sedentary agricultural communities of Central and Western Kenya.

Although local authorities were established in all of these districts, they were nevertheless the poorest in the colony. Their contribution to the development of education was limited not only due to lack of resources, but sometimes due to lack of actual demand for Western-type education.

As we pointed out, Coast Province was the first area in Kenya to come into contact with Western education through the early nineteenth century missionary efforts, but the Muslim culture proved resistant to Western education, which was perceived as part and parcel of Western cultural intrusion. So, with the building of the Kenya Uganda railway, the missionaries and the colonial administration shifted their interests to the hinterland, leaving the Coast relatively poor in educational provision. A number of government schools were established in Kilifi and Kwale districts, but the momentum for education was never as high as that found in Central or Western Kenya. The local authorities established here were also relatively poor to engage in any meaningful

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47. Governor Belfield(1912-19) as quoted in Zwanenberg, R.M.A. van, with Anne King, An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda, 1800-1970, Macmillan Press, 1975.

educational efforts.

On the whole, this peripheral region has remained educationally backward. As we shall see later on, some efforts are underway to channel more funds into these areas to stimulate interest and provide appropriate educational facilities for the pastoral and coast people.

c) The Native Affairs Department report of 1935 noted the third and perhaps least studied aspect of social differentiation in colonial Kenya when it observed:

There is growing up a class of natives who by trading or intelligent farming are becoming quite wealthy, but also a new individuality is springing up, both amongst this class and the younger generation generally. They are no longer willing to be regarded as the tax earning unit of the family and take no steps to help their parents or older relations to pay their dues.<sup>48</sup>

Class differentiation referred to here cut right across regional or ethnic differences in colonial Kenya. In post-colonial Kenya, class differences transcends racial, ethnic and regional differences.

The 1935 report observed quite correctly that petty-trading and commodity production were creating class differentiation in the African countryside. But to limit this observation to trading and commodity production is to miss the essence of capitalist penetration in Kenya, for the process of creating a capitalist economy also creates the owners of capital and a laboring class. In our case, the owners of capital were Europeans and Asians, and the Africans were predominantly the laboring class. But to view the Africans as undifferentiated and monolithic mass of people is to hide from the realities of historical development. Our attention here will therefore be devoted to pointing out some evidence which will challenge the monolithic view of Africans and also show how this effected differential access to education.

One school of thought in African history which was dominant in the 1960s viewed the pre- and post-colonial African communities as classless societies. Most of the African studies by both Western and African scholars tended to emphasize cleavages between tribes or educated

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48. Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Native Affairs Dept. Annual Report, 1935, p. 11.

and uneducated Africans.<sup>49</sup> The writings of Julius K. Nyerere in the 1960s stand out clearly as the most sophisticated representation of this school of thought.<sup>50</sup> In Kenya, the classic statement on this is to be found in African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya (1965), where it says:

The sharp class divisions that once existed in Europe have no place in African Socialism and no parallel in African society. No class problem arose in the traditional African society and none exists today among Africans. The class problem in Africa, therefore, is largely one of prevention.<sup>51</sup>

This view neglects one of the most significant forces in the transformation and differentiation of African societies, namely Western capitalism. In Kenya the expropriation of land created conditions for emergence of squatters and landless Africans, while the process of creation of a labor force sowed the seeds for the emergence of a fully fledged working class. Commodity production, which was limited in the early period of colonialism but accelerated by reforms of the 1950s and 1960s, led to the differentiation of the peasantry and the emergence of a landless class.<sup>52</sup>

The development of education and state institutions such as Local Native Councils, African District Councils, and Native Tribunals helped the process of differentiation among Africans. The educated Africans, chiefs and court elders used their positions, power and the state institutions open to them to accumulate land, acquire capital and educate their children.<sup>53</sup> In this way they attempted to maintain their privileged positions and to reproduce their class positions in the next generation. The success of this class in doing exactly this

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49. Mutiso, G.C.M., Kenya: Politics, Policy and Society, East African Literature Bureau, Nairobi, 1975, p 75.

50. Nyerere, Julius K., Ujamaa: The Basis of African Socialism, London O.U.P., 1968.

51. Kenya, African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya, Nairobi Government Printer, 1965.

52. Sorrenson, M.P.K., Land Reform in the Kikuyu Country, Oxford University Press, Nairobi 1967, for description of the process of differentiation in the early period of colonialism - 1930s and 1940s, (pp.40-45) and Mukaru Nga'nga' Differentiation of the Peasantry and the Development of Capitalism in the Central Province of Kenya: 1880s-1970s, Nairobi Institute of African Studies, Paper no 84, September 1977.

53. Evidence of the process of accumulation by this clan in the 1930s and 1940s is widespread in the whole of Kenya. See, for instance, Robert A. Manners Land Use, Labor and Growth of Market Economy in Kipsigis County, and Robert A. Levine Wealth and Power in Gusiland in Bohannan and Dalton, (eds.) Markets in Africa, pp. 493-536; Forbes, Munro, Colonial Rule and the Kamba: Social Change in the Kenya Highlands, 1889-1939, Oxford Studies in African Affairs, London 1975; and Margaret Jean Hay, Economic Change in Luoland: Kowe 1890-1945, PhD thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1972 (?).

is quite clear in a district like Kiambu where the children of African members of the colonial petit-bourgeoisie are now part of the ruling class in Kenya.<sup>54</sup>

Differential access to education by this class in colonial Kenya is not well documented, but it did exist, nevertheless. This is particularly evident in allocation of bursaries by LNCs and ADCs, and the award of scholarships by the colonial government. Evidence is also accumulating on how some members of LNCs and ADCs used these institutions to award bursaries to their sons to attend institutions of higher education in and outside the colony.<sup>55</sup> In 1933 one colonial report observed:

In the more advanced areas the Local Native Authorities are inclined to press for the development of more advanced education for the few rather than for the provision of wider educational opportunities for the present population of the reserves.<sup>56</sup>

Archdeacon Owen, who worked tirelessly to promote the welfare of Africans (Luo and Luhya in particular) within the structures of colonial capitalism, attacked the process where the poor were being taxed for education, but whereby the benefits accrued to a few who afford to pay school fees. It is in this context that we should assess the access to the limited educational opportunities available in the colonial period. The existence of a large segment of poor Africans who could not afford to pay for Western education, even when they needed it and schooling opportunities were available in their localities, must not be denied. In 1940 Archdeacon Owen wrote about how access to education in Nyanza was manipulated by those in school committees to maintain preferential treatment to their class:

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54. Sorrenson, M.P.K., Land Reform in the Kikuyu Country, pp.40-41; and Minutes of Kiambu Local Native Council, 1926-1936 (Kiambu District Office).

55. Sorrenson, *ibid*, p.46, where he writes: 'Compared with their predecessors, these men were well educated and they welcomed the opportunity to provide a good education for their sons. They also acquired land but they sought prestige in a European fashion, particularly by becoming progressive farmers. They formed the nexus of a small Kikuyu gentry.' p.42. Also Minutes of Kiambu LNC 1926-1936 give the record of those who received bursaries to study at Alliance High School and abroad. For entry to Alliance High School, see J. Stephen Smith, The History of Alliance High School, Heinemann Books, Nairobi 1973.

56. Kenya, Native Affairs Department, Annual Report, 1933, p.55.



In fact and in practice such a committee is the first line of defence against the masses of a circle priveledge to exploit the rates and taxes of the masses. The Committees become Committees of Priveledge, to secure for their friends... and those of their circle who cannot pay fees a share in the state facilities, which are **strictly** limited. One of the really distressing features of the introduction in African tribal life of the provision of facilities from public taxation is the keenness of the leading Christians to secure for themselves and their circle as large a share of the benefits as they can...They insist on widening ever more and more the economic gap which separates them from their unprivileged countrymen...They attempt, successfully, to extort the very highest price for their services which can be screwed out of the community...This is bound to create class antagonism, in fact has already begun to do so, and will commit future generations of Africans to a struggle against priveledge classes as happened in England.

The political and economic reforms which were carried out in the period between 1954 and 1969 were essentially to allow this African class to flower and have a stake in the capitalist pie. The integration of the educational system in this period meant the integration of this class into the educational system that previously catered to the ruling class in the colonial period -- the European educational system.

To sum up, this section has dealt with the early period in the development of colonial Kenya. This period witnessed the foundation of capitalist mode of production based mainly on white settler enclave and supplemented by limited participation of Africans in commodity production. The second aspect of this development was creation of a capitalist labor market. The self-sufficient pre-colonial economy was battered by force or through manipulation to create need for cash income and foreign goods which could be satisfied through participation in the labor market. All these measures had a tremendous impact on the transformation of the African countryside.

These changes led to racial, regional and class differentiation in colonial Kenya which was reflected in the structure, organization, financing and ideology of the educational system. The inequalities that were evident in the social, economic and political spheres of the colony were also manifested in the organization of education.

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57. Ranger, op.cit., quotation from Owen's Memorandum.

2.4. Reforms and the Transition Towards Post-Colonial Economy

Colonialism hardly ever exploits the whole of a country. It contents itself with bringing to light the natural resources, which it extracts, and exports to meet the needs of the mother country's industries, thereby allowing certain sectors of the colony to become relatively rich. But the rest of the colony follows its path of underdevelopment and poverty, or at all events sinks into it more deeply.

Immediately after independence, nationals who live in the more prosperous regions realize their good luck... The districts which are rich... come to the forefront, and dominate the empty panorama which the rest of the nation presents.

Franz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, 1961

The second phase in the development of Kenyan economy starts in the early 1950s, when reforms aimed at mitigating the worst of conflicts which were inherent in the way capitalism had developed were initiated by the colonial administration. Before 1950, the Africans had attempted to resolve these conflicts through non-violent political organizations, but they found their way blocked by settler interests. The Mau Mau insurrection of 1952-1957 was therefore a clear attempt to break this impasse through armed struggle - - after three decades of frustrating non-violent tactics. The reforms were therefore a reaction to the political violence that emerged in the 1950s and also an attempt to resolve some of the obvious sources of conflict between the European bourgeoisie and the African peasantry.

The reforms which were initiated by the colonial administration and carried through by the post-colonial government involved political institutions, the labor market, the commercial sector and the most important one, agrarian change. Reforms start around 1954 and continue for about 15 years, and thereby mark the transition from colonial to post-colonial Kenya. The declared aim and the outcome of this process is to encourage the flowering of an African capitalist class with interests in land, commerce and political stability. The incorporation of the nascent African capitalist class which since colonization was in the periphery of the colonial economy was the hallmark of policies rigorously pursued in the period between 1954 and 1969.

The British Colonial Secretary of State, Oliver Lyttelton, expressed the changed colonial policy in Nairobi in 1952, when he stated that the '...rule by a small minority was over, and...political advance when it took

place must embrace all the races in the country.<sup>58</sup> The political process of incorporating Africans into the structures of colonial power started in 1954 when the first African was appointed to the Council of Ministers. Thereafter, the political changes were fast and far-reaching. In 1957 and 1958 the first elected African members of the colonial legislative council emerged, to be followed by constitutional conferences which recognized the necessity of transferring power to the Africans. The formula for handing over political power to Africans in 1963 was worked out in 1962 constitutional conferences and marked the triumph of the process of incorporating Africans into the state apparatuses.

The political independence brought into power a strong central government fully committed to the maintenance of the economic structures inherited from the colonial period, thereby ensuring the continuity of capitalist development in Kenya. To see this policy through the post-colonial government had, on one hand, to reassure investors of its commitment to capitalist mode of development and on the other to deal with radical nationalists who advocated fundamental changes in land and economic policies. By 1970 serious challenge from radical nationalists was contained and domestic and international capital was reassured and encouraged. The surge of foreign investments in the late sixties and in the seventies was a triumph of this policy.

The improvement of working conditions of the African force in the urban centers was the second facet of the reform program. The programs followed in this period showed a continued concern for the creation of a stable and reliable labor force for the commercial and industrial sector, which was becoming increasingly important. Housing schemes, schooling opportunities and social security programs for the working class were established in the main urban centers in this period. The establishment of a trade union movement which could represent worker's grievances to the employers was one of the major accomplishments of these reforms. The reforms in this area were therefore concentrated on the welfare of the wage earners, measures that have created a relatively stable labor force.

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58. Clayton and Savage, Government and Labor in Kenya, 1895-1963, quoted in p.349.

Another facet of the transition to post-colonial capitalism was the Africanization (the process of Africans taking over) of business and commerce. This has been carried through regulation and control of the former dominant group in this sector -- Asians. Through institutional and financial support of African commercial class, the Asians are eked out of the lucrative trade. The alliance of domestic and international capital in the penetration of commercial and manufacturing sector is another phenomenon that is now common in this field. The Africanization of personnel in the international enterprises is part and parcel of incorporating the indigenous capitalist class into the post-colonial peripheral capitalism. The role of post-colonial state in supporting and initiating these policies has been critical for their success. This role is not unlike the role played by the colonial state in the establishment of the settler economy.

The agrarian reform carried out in the period between 1954 and the early 1970s was the cornerstone of the transition from the colonial to post-colonial economy. It involved changes in land tenure in the former African land units and the Africanization of the former White Highlands.

The crucial factor in land reform in the former African reserves has been land consolidation and registration. This has closely been followed by increased attention given to commodity production, provision of credit and technical services. Land consolidation was a reform which the nascent rural capitalist class in districts like Kiambu, Murang'a, Nyeri and Kakamega had clamored for in the thirties and forties, but which was not instituted by the colonial state because of fear of political repercussions from a landless class which could emerge if such a measure was carried through.<sup>59</sup> The declaration of emergency in Central Kenya because of the Mau Mau revolt and the detention of most of the leaders in Kikuyu land, provided the colonial administration with a golden opportunity to carry out land consolidation. In Central Province districts of Kiambu, Murang'a Nyeri and Kirinyaga, land consolidation was started in 1956 at the height of the Mau Mau emergency and completed in most areas by the time of independence. In Meru and Embu districts, which were also affected by the emergency measures of 1952 to 1959, land consolidation and registration started in 1960 and was completed by 1965.

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59. Sorrenson, Land Reform in Kikuyu Country. See also Native Affairs Department Annual Report, 1934, p. 3 and Report on Native Affairs, 1939-1945, p.5. This was noticeable in Kiambu, Nyeri, Machakos and Nyanza.

In areas which were less affected by the emergency regulations, land consolidation and registration started at a later period and has taken longer to complete. In Baringo and Nandi districts the reforms started in 1959 and have continued into the early 1970s. In some districts in the Rift Valley Province -- Elgeyo-Marakwet, Kajiado and Kipsigis -- land consolidation and registration was started after independence and some areas is still going on. The Western Province -- Kakamega and Bungoma districts -- reforms started in 1963 and were almost completed in the early 1970s. The districts in Nyanza Province -- Kisumu, Siaya, South Nyanza and Kisii -- had a late start in 1965 and the process is far from being completed.

The important point to note is that the process of land consolidation and registration and the subsequent agrarian changes -- commodity production and provision of credit and technical services -- started in different areas at different times. This has obviously affected economic development in the countryside differently. For instance, districts in Central Province and Embu and Meru in Eastern Province, where land consolidation was carried out first, have shown remarkable success in production of commodities such as coffee, tea, pyrethrum and milk. This success has been translated into economic and social advancement, and has considerable influence on the development of education.

Land reform has been an important measure in attracting and channeling domestic and international capital into commodity production in the former African reserves, and has therefore integrated these areas all the more into the capitalist economy at the national and international levels. Thus the boundaries that divided the former White Highlands and the African reserves have progressively been dismantled as land consolidation and commodity production measures have been implemented throughout most of rural Kenya.

These measures had some consequences to differentiation in the countryside. First, they continued the process of regional differentiation which we observed in the earlier period of Kenyan development. They accentuated regional differences between the high potential agricultural districts of Central Kenya and Western Province, and the peripheral districts in pastoral areas and Coast Province. Furthermore, the developments that have occurred as a result of land reforms of the 1950s and 1960s have accentuated differentiation between

districts in Central and Nyanza Provinces -- areas that in the previous period were the main labor supplying reserves. The differences between districts in these two areas are now observable in the way education has developed in the last 15 years (see Tables 3 and 4).

Secondly, land consolidation, differential access to credit and technical services had a tremendous impact on the differentiation of the peasantry. The colonial administration's objective in Central Kenya, as shown in Swynnerton's A Plan to Intensify the Development of African Agriculture, was to accelerate rural differentiation and specifically to produce a class of African capitalist farmers who would acquire more land and thereby replace poor peasants. This would create a landed class with interests in maintaining the status quo in the countryside and a landless class which could sell its labor power to the rich and energetic farmers.<sup>60</sup> Although differentiation and land accumulation did not occur as anticipated, class differentiation was accelerated in Central Kenya as a result of land consolidation, differential access to credit and commodity production.<sup>61</sup> This process is also observable in other areas of Kenya where land consolidation has been implemented.

Although it is difficult to quantify the size of the different segments of the peasantry which have emerged as a result of land consolidation and the penetration of capital in commodity production, we can generally say that four broad classes are emerging among the peasantry in the high potential former African land units. First, there is a small fraction of rich peasantry who own more than the average land (this differs from one district to another and also depends on the potential of land), and whose farming activities are capitalistic -- producing for the market and employing wage labor. This class is involved in tea, coffee, pyrethrum, sugar and milk production in various areas of rural Kenya. They form a relatively small proportion of the peasantry, however. The second category is more numerous and forms an important segment of rural population. They are involved in commodity production through loans from domestic and international sources, and utilize mainly household labor.

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60. Swynnerton, R.J.M., A Plan to Intensify the Development of African Agriculture, Nairobi, 1953, p.10.

61. See Leys, Colin, Underdevelopment in Kenya, pp 63-117, for a detailed discussion on changes experienced in the agricultural sector.

Occasionally they utilize seasonal labor, but household labor is the most important. Recent innovations in tea and milk production have benefited this category of the peasantry. The household production carried out here is tightly controlled by agricultural and marketing agencies, which reduces these producers to the status of semi-proletariat. The outside control is such that the household producers have no real control over their labor process, quality of what is produced, marketing and prices given for their commodities.

The landless class is at the bottom of rural stratification and between them and the middle peasants are poor peasants who are mainly involved in subsistence agriculture and augment their income through selling their labor power to the rich and middle peasants. The landless provide most of the rural labor. These two classes are on the increase as a result of population growth and as the land frontier which was able to ease this problem substantially in the early sixties is no longer in existence.

The implications of this differentiation in the countryside is outlined in the section dealing with allocation of financial resources to primary education and in Table 7.

The land frontier that eased land hunger in Central and Western Kenya came from the former White Highlands, where about two million acres out of a total of 7.5 million acres were transferred to Africans by 1970. It is estimated that the land transfer which was started by the colonial state in 1960 and continued by the post-colonial state had by 1970 settled about half a million people in the Highlands.<sup>62</sup> Since this measure was intended to ward off political violence in the 1960s and safeguard the capitalist agriculture in the Highlands, rather than transfer the land to African peasants, it occupied only a small segment of the former European land. About 5.5 million acres were therefore left untouched for transfer to African farmers, with the rest being left to their previous owners -- individuals, estate and plantation companies.

The essence of land reform in the Highlands was to transfer limited land to a segment of the peasantry, thereby creating a middle peasantry like the one that land reforms in former African reserves had created, and to transfer large-scale farms to rich and powerful Africans to create a solid

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62. Leys, *ibid*, p.63.

landed bourgeoisie. The middle peasantry was created through settlement schemes which provided land (between five and fifteen acres) to peasant households. In addition, credit and technical services were provided to these smallholders. The large-scale farms were sold to Africans using capital from domestic and international sources. Credit facilities and technical services were also provided to this class of farmers, so that they could continue farming on the scale Europeans did in the colonial period.<sup>63</sup>

The immediate reason for allowing land settlement for Africans was to diffuse African agitation for land redistribution -- particularly the land in the Highlands. This threatened the settlers and colonial state with the possibility of land expropriation by the former freedom fighters. A corollary to this was the need to stabilize European farming which was on the decline in the early sixties. So the immediate reasons for land settlements were cosmetic gestures rather than transformation of the colonial agricultural economy.

Long term implications of these measures were the integration of the former African land units with the White Highlands. Land settlements formed an important bridge in this process. New rural districts which were previously part of the settler enclave were formed. These are Nyandarua in Central Province; Uasin Gishu, Transzoia, Laikipia and Nakuru in the Rift Valley Province. In addition, small sections of former White Highlands were integrated with Kiambu, Murang'a, and Nyeri districts in Central Province; with Nandi, Kipsigis and Baringo districts in Rift Valley Province; and Taita district in Coast Province. As we have pointed out, the reforms in the former labor supplying areas and in the White Highlands paved the way for the integration of these areas to form a national center. This national center embraces the urban centers, the rural districts in the former White Highlands and some of the districts which were closely integrated with the settler enclave in the previous period.

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63. Leys, *ibid*, pp.73-98 and 103-114.



The second long term implication of the changes in the Highlands was the creation of an African landed class with strong political and economic interests in maintaining the existing structure of the economy. The international and domestic capital which has been channeled into this area has also created an indebted class of middle peasants who have a vested interest in maintaining the present political and economic structures. Some of the wage laborers and former squatters who worked on these farms have managed to become middle peasants, but others have continued to be wage laborers to the new settlers.

The class structure emerging in the former White Highlands is related to the structure of schooling that is emerging in these areas. First, the primary education is expanding very rapidly in some of these areas to cater for the new settlers and to rectify the lack of opportunities during the colonial period. Secondly, the former European primary schools in these areas have become the schools for the large scale farmers, while a few government assisted private schools have emerged to supplement opportunities available in the high-cost schools. The discussion in the following section deals with this question in a more detailed fashion.

To sum up, the reforms and the transition to post-colonial economy paved the way for socio-economic integration of the former African land units with the White Highlands to form the post-colonial national center. The areas which were in the colonial periphery remained in the same backyard of the post-colonial economy, although they are now more closely integrated into the system. The nascent capitalist class of the earlier colonial period has come into the forefront to dominate the panorama of post-colonial society. The building and strengthening of this class has been the cornerstone of the development policy pursued in Kenya since 1953.

Gary Wasserman in 1973 captured the essence of transition to post-colonial Kenya when he asserted that:

There was to be no disjunction between the colonial heritage and the responsibilities of independence. The nationalists accepted the European presence, the economy of capitalist agriculture as the mainstay of the country, and transference of the Highlands on the terms and with the finances of the colonizers. In this sense, the parallel process of the socialization of the nationalists is as important as that of the transition. The nationalists came to accept their role as guardians of the colonial society. They see their role as one of developing the existing social and economic structure. The most alteration they foresee is that of integrating part of the African populace into the structure and of preventing the rest from overturning it.<sup>64</sup> (emphasis added)

64. Garry Wasserman, 'The Independence Bargain: Kenya, Europeans and the Land Issue 1960-1962', Journal of Commonwealth Political Studies, vol XI, no 2, 1973.

Thus the fifties and sixties marks the period when the racial character of the society is dismantled, and the Africans increasingly participated in the state apparatuses, commerce, growing of cash crops and owning land in the former White Highlands. In other words, the racial division of labor which was strongly emphasized in the early colonial period ceased to be important as the post-colonial economy took shape in the 1960s.

In the field of education, two achievements are notable in this period. First, the racial character of the education system was abolished and Africans were integrated into the former European and Asian schools. The three racial systems of education in colonial Kenya were integrated into one Ministry of Education under the central government. The state in this way assumed full control of the development of education for the three racial groups, thereby minimizing the dominant role of Christian missions in African education.

Secondly, this period witnessed tremendous expansion in enrollments at all levels of the educational system. This expansion was particularly observable at the secondary school level and in the universities. For instance, between 1958 and 1967 the secondary enrollment increased at the annual rate of 17 per cent as compared to 6 per cent at primary school level. This expansion had two major consequences on the issues that came to preoccupy the thinking of educational planners, politicians, and the population at large. There was the issue of increased output of the school system and the attendant problem of unemployment among school leavers, experienced first among primary leavers in the 1960s and then among secondary school leavers in the 1970s.<sup>65</sup> The second predominant issue revolved around the distribution of educational resources and opportunities between regions and social groups. The issues of inequality in education in this period fits closely with the increasing concern for income distribution and spatial spread of development in the countryside.<sup>66</sup>

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65. See Kinyanjui, Kabiru and Shepard, Donald, 'Unemployment Among Secondary School Leavers in Kenya', East African Journal, vol 9, no 8, August 1972; and Sheffield, James B. (ed.) Education, Employment and Rural Development, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1967.

66. See Kenya, National Assembly Official Reports, vol 20-vol 31, covering the period between 1970 and 1973; and ILO, Employment, Incomes and Equality, Geneva, 1972, chap 14, pp.233-252 and pp.511-528.

3.1 REGIONAL INEQUALITIES IN PROVISION OF PRIMARY EDUCATION, 1968-73

In proportion as the capacities of some are sterilized or stunted by their social environment, while those of others are favored or pampered by it, equality of opportunity becomes a graceful, but attenuated, figment. It recedes from the world of reality to that of perorations.

R.H. Tawney, Equality, 1952

Educational Attainment

Educational attainment here means the average number of years of formal schooling completed by an individual aged 15 and over in 1969, the year when the last national population census was carried out. In 1973 this population was aged 19 and over and most likely had slightly increased its average years of schooling. Educational attainment is used here as indicator of the extent of past participation of the population in the education system.

Table 3 gives the regional distribution of average years of formal schooling completed in 1969 in the rural districts and the main urban centers. The average number of formal years of schooling for the population aged 15 and over in 1969 was 2.1 years. This cohort made about 52 per cent of the total population of Kenya. Before further discussion on regional distribution of educational attainment, it is necessary to point out one major reservation on the data we are using.

The main problem with the 1969 data is that respondents who did not state their education level were grouped together with those who responded that they did not have any formal education. This means that a large proportion (64 per cent) of the age group under consideration was grouped as not having any education. Thus our data refers to 36 per cent of the 52 per cent of the population aged 15 and over in 1969. It is difficult to spell out the distortions this kind of data may have, but it is something worth bearing in mind. Our assumption here is that the grouping of the population which did not state its educational attainment was distributed evenly in the countryside and in the urban areas.

Figure 3 shows the Lorenz curve of the distribution of number of years of schooling in the population aged 15 and over in 1969. As already pointed out, the data on number of years of schooling was given

Table 3: The distribution of years of schooling of population aged 15 and over in 1969

	Average years of schooling	Ratio of advantage		Average years of schooling	Ratio of advantage
Central			Rift Valley		
Kiambu	3.5	1.67	Baringo	0.6	0.29
Kirinyaga	2.0	0.95	Nakuru	2.4	1.14
Murang'a	2.6	1.23	Kipsigis	1.0	0.90
Nyandarua	2.7	1.29	Laikipia	2.2	1.05
Nyeri	3.2	1.52	Narok	1.0	0.48
			Olkejuado	1.3	0.62
			Samburu	1.4	0.67
			Elgeyo-Marakwet	0.3	0.14
Coast			Nandi	1.5	0.71
Kilifi	1.3	0.62	Transzoia	2.5	1.19
Kwale	0.7	0.33	Uasin Gishu	2.2	1.05
Lamu	0.4	0.19	West Pokot	0.7	0.33
Taita-Taveta	2.1	1.00	Turkana	0.8	0.38
Tana River	0.5	0.23			
Eastern			Nyanza		
Embu	2.2	1.05	Gusii	2.0	0.95
Isiolo	1.0	0.48	Kisumu	1.9	0.90
Kitui	1.1	0.52	Siaya	1.5	0.71
Marsabit	0.5	0.23	S. Nyanza	1.7	0.81
Masaku	1.9	0.90			
Meru	1.7	0.81	Western		
N. Eastern			Bungoma	2.9	1.38
Garissa	0.2	0.09	Busia	1.7	0.81
Mandera	0.1	0.05	Kakamega	2.4	1.14
Wajir	0.3	0.14	Urban Centers		
			Mombasa	3.9	1.62
			Nairobi	5.3	2.52
			Nakuru	2.8	1.33
			Kisumu	3.3	1.57
Source: Kenya, <u>Population Census, 1969, vol III.</u>			Kenya	2.1	1

Table.4. The proportion of school-age population in school in rural districts and urban centers

	Proportion school-age children 6-12 in school	Ratio of advantage		Proportion school-age children 6-12 in school	Ratio of advantage
Central			Rift Valley		
Kiambu	117	1.60	Baringo	58	0.79
Kirinyaga	90	1.23	Nakuru	67	0.92
Murang'a	119	1.63	Kipsigis	48	0.66
Nyandarua	109	1.49	Laikipia	100	1.37
Nyeri	120	1.64	Narok	32	0.44
Coast			Olkejuado	58	0.79
			Samburu	20	0.27
			Elgeyo-Marakwet	50	0.68
Kilifi	42	0.58	Nandi	63	0.86
Kwale	44	0.60	Transzoia	69	0.95
Lamu	52	0.68	Uasin Gishu	54	0.73
Taita-Taveta	85	1.16	West Pokot	35	0.48
Tana River	36	0.49	Turkana	11	0.15
Eastern			Nyanza		
Embu	93	1.27	Gusii	67	0.92
Isiolo	50	0.68	Kisumu	52	0.71
Kitui	76	1.04	Siaya	69	0.95
Marsabit	33	0.45	S. Nyanza	42	0.58
Masaku	104	1.42			
Meru	78	1.07	Western		
N. Eastern			Bungoma	76	1.04
			Busia	65	0.89
Garissa	15	0.21	Kakamega	82	1.12
Mandera	11	0.15			
Wajir	11	0.15	Urban Centers		
			Mombasa	67	0.92
			Nairobi	86	1.18
			Nakuru	68	0.93
			Kisumu	55	0.75

Sources: Kenya, Ministry of Education, Annual Report, 1973; and Kenya Statistical Digest X (3), Sept. 1972.

Kenya 73 1.00

Table 5. Grouping of Districts on the basis of their ratio of advantage in Education attainment and primary school-age participation rates

		<u>Educational Attainment</u>		
		High (1.00 and Over)	Medium (0.75-0.99)	Low (less than 0.75)
Participation in the primary educational system	High (1.00 and over)	Taita-Taveta Laikipia Bungoma Kakamega Nairobi Nyeri Kiambu Murang'a Nyandarua Embu	Masaku  Kirinyaga Masaku Meru	Kitui
	Medium (0.75 to 0.99)	Nakuru (town) Transzoia Mombasa Kisumu (town ) Nakuru (rural)	Gusii Busia	Baringo Kajiado Nandi Siaya
	Low (less than 0.75)	Uasin Gishu	Kipsigis Kisumu S. Nyanza	Tana River West Pokot Kilifi Turkana Kwale Narok Keiyo- Marakwet Isiolo Lamu Marsabit Samburu Garissa Mandera Wajir

Sources: Tables 3 and 4

a) Cumulative percentage of school-age children in school, 1973

b) Cumulative proportion of average number of years of schooling completed by ages 15 and over in 1969

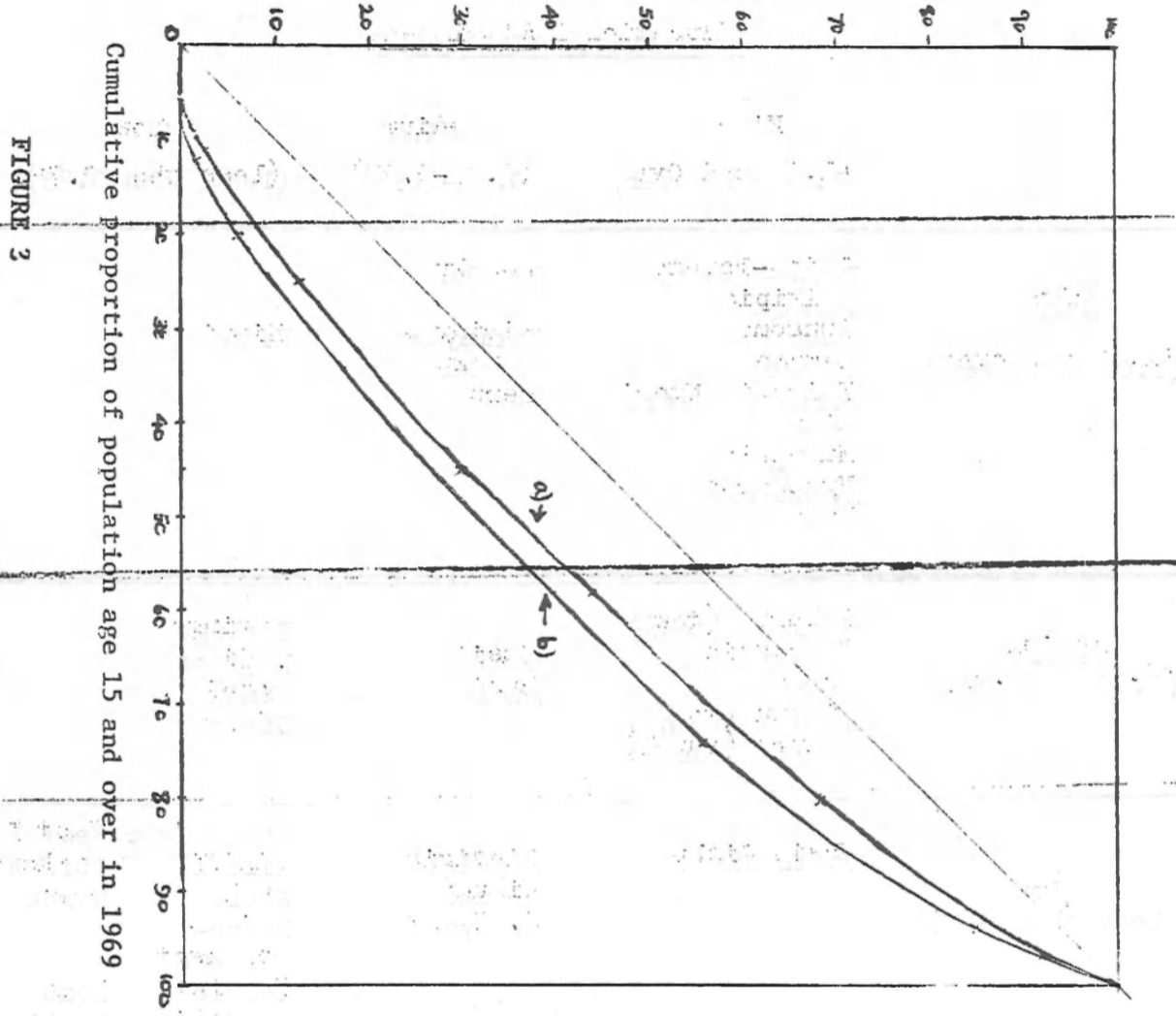


FIGURE 2

Cumulative proportion of population age 15 and over in 1969

only for 36 per cent of the population under discussion. The data plotted on the graph shows fairly even distribution of educational attainment of the population, showing very low inequality in the overall distribution. The Gini coefficient of inequality of this distribution is 0.264. Despite this observation, we have chosen to use less complicated statistics, namely the ratio of advantage to show regional inequalities. This statistic is also used for the data on spatial distribution of the proportion of school age population actually enrolled in primary schools (Table 4). Tables 3 and 4 are used to work out Table 5, which attempts to classify all districts in terms of whether they had a high, medium or low ratio of advantage in the population's educational attainment and the proportion of school age population attending school.

Before further discussion on regional inequalities in the distribution of average years of schooling and the enrollment ratios of school-age children to those attending primary schools, we shall first discuss the quality and some reservations regarding data on Table 4.

The figures in Table 4 are worked on the basis of an estimated school age population of 6 to 12. There are some obvious dangers of using the 6-12 age as the primary school-age population in Kenya. First, in some rural districts and the urban centers some parents send their children to primary schools when they are five and not six, as is officially required. In some other rural districts the opposite seems to be true: parents enroll their children in class one when they are well above the age of seven. In March 1971, for instance, 19 per cent of all primary school enrollment was aged 13 and over and two per cent was aged five. We have no figures for 1973.<sup>67</sup> Secondly, there is a widespread problem of repeating in the country which complicates the matter further. Repeating is found in the whole of primary school system but reaches serious proportions in classes five to seven where pupils have to repeat to improve their chances of qualifying for low-cost government maintained secondary schools. In 1973 the Ministry of Education showed repeaters to be 5.2 per cent of the total primary school enrollment. However, this is a conservative estimate of repeaters in the system. A more realistic figure

67. Data on the distribution of rural smallholder school population in six provinces showed the following pattern:

Age cohort	Not in school	Primary schools	Secondary schools	Other
1. 5 years and less	97.8	1.8	0.0	0.4
2. 6-12 years	39.3	60.4	0.1	0.3
3. 13-16 years	23.5	74.2	2.2	0.1
4. 17 + years	92.3	5.9	1.6	0.2

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, Integrated Rural Survey 1974-75: Basic Report, Nairobi, March 1977, p.28. This data shows that the primary school age population is between 5 and 17 but predominantly 6 to 16 years of age cohort.



would be about 8 per cent for the whole country, with the more developed areas tending towards higher rates of repeaters. The third point relates to the assumptions made in the projections of 6-12 age population. These are made under assumptions that there is no change in age specific fertility rates from 1969 and that rural to rural migration does not alter significantly this age group. These assumptions can be questioned, but it is not our intention to do so here.

Considering these factors, we can say that the validity of the enrollment ratio using the projected 6-12 age group figures is limited. It is highly probable, therefore, that the enrollment proportions given in Table 4 are too high and maybe less close to the real situation. This does not, however, alter the fact that there are regional disparities in the participation of school-age population in the school system. Our assumption is that these factors affect the country evenly, leaving regional patterns almost unaltered. It is on this assumption that we worked out the Lorenz curve given on Figure 3 and the Gini coefficient of the distribution of the proportion of school-age children in school. The Gini coefficient of inequality of this distribution was calculated to be 0.225.

From the Lorenz curves on Figure 3 and the Gini coefficients of inequality of education attainment and school participation-- respectively Gini ratio of 0.264 and 0.225--show low level regional inequality in distribution. However, these observations have to be understood in the context of the reservations expressed on the data used in this analysis. Furthermore, we must point out that the unit of analysis (district or urban center) used in this analysis tend to hide differences between regions and among social classes within each region. Some of these differences within one urban center will be discussed later on. The analysis carried here, however, does raise two important research questions. First, the reliability of official data on education from census or from annual reports of the Ministry of Education. It is possible that the element of error in these data is very high. Secondly, analysis of this kind should pay more attention to differences between social classes in the distribution of education attainment, school participation and other aspects of utilization of educational opportunities and resources. This calls for less reliance on official data, but more micro-level educational research embracing smaller areas than districts and highlighting class differentiation in access to education.

Despite the reservations expressed and the outcome of the analysis done using the Lorenz curve and Gini coefficient, we intend to proceed with our analysis of inequality in distribution of education, this time using the ratio of advantage. This is defined as the ratio of amount of the value A possessed by a district over the average amount of the value held by one district in the population. This can be obtained by dividing the value (proportion of years of schooling or proportion of school enrollment) held by each district with its share of the total population. The ratios so obtained for our two variables are given in Tables 3 and 4.

An analysis of these data show that the districts fall into two broad categories on any of the variables. First, on the educational attainment there are 27 districts which have ratios below equal share point. On the proportion enrolled in schools, this category has 29 districts. The second category of districts are those on equal share point or above. On the variable educational attainment, there are 16 districts, while on the educational participation variable there are 14 districts.

A closer look at the districts in category one on the two variables shows that there are a few districts which are closer to equal share point than others. We have therefore categorized the districts with a ratio between 0.75 and 0.99 into a separate category. The districts in this medium range category can be seen on Table 5. The results of this analysis are given in the three by three table. We intend to use these categories not only to discuss inequalities revealed by the variables we have so far dealt with, but also other factors relevant to our study.

Our attention now turns to regional distribution of educational attainment. We refer to Tables 3 and 5. From Table 5 we can see that there are 16 districts which had one and above ratio of advantage in educational attainment. These districts can be divided into three categories. First, there are urban centers of Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu and Nakuru which are among the areas with the highest average years of schooling completed by population aged 15 and over in 1969. The ratio of advantage for these towns ranges from 1.3 to 2.5, which is among the highest in the country. The four towns with eight per cent of the total national population are the main political, commercial and industrial centers. They have the highest concentration of educated manpower, hence they have the highest ratios of advantage in educational attainment.

In 1973, for instance, Nairobi and Mombasa had 35 per cent of the total national labor force.

Since the establishment of colonial rule in Kenya, the towns have mainly attracted the educated Africans from the countryside to take up the employment opportunities they provide. Since the reforms which started in the 1950s, the Africans started to settle permanently in the towns, something which was discouraged in the previous period. The non-African population is also concentrated in these towns. Prior to 1954, Europeans and Asians were the only groups provided with social amenities (housing, education, etc.) in the towns.

Secondly, there are 12 rural districts which had more than their equal share in educational attainment. These can be grouped into two -- the former African reserve districts and the former White Highlands districts. The former African reserve districts are Kiambu, Murang'a, Nyeri, Embu, Taita-Taveta, Bungoma and Kakamega. These are some of the districts that experienced land expropriation in the early days of colonization and provided most of the labor force that was utilized in the development of the enclave. In the 1950s and the 1960s, the population became extensively involved in commodity production -- coffee, tea, milk, sugar cane and maize. Land consolidation and registration started in the first four districts in 1956 and in the last two in 1963. Land reform has been crucial for the extension of credit and agricultural technical services to smallholder commodity producers.

As we have already shown, these were among the districts in the colonial period which positively and enthusiastically welcomed western education, and through the local authorities taxed themselves heavily to build an extensive primary school system. Hence, the participation of the population into the educational system has been relatively higher than in other rural areas. Migrations from these districts in the last 15 years into other rural districts and urban centers in search of better opportunities have been relatively higher than in other districts.

The districts in the former White Highlands were created as a result of land reforms which we described in the previous section. These are Nyandarua, Laikipia, Nakuru, Uasin Gichu and TransNzoia. The population in these districts is composed of former squatters and laborers, and the new settlers. The new settlers have come mainly from the districts with long established traditions of involvement in education and money economy.

These are districts in Central and Western provinces. A large proportion of the Africans who bought farms in these areas are on the average better educated. They most likely are members of the class of Africans who we noticed had a privileged access to educational facilities in the colonial period.

In contrast, there are 14 districts with less than 0.75 ratio of advantage in educational attainment. These are the agricultural districts of Coastal province and the pastoral areas of North-Eastern, Eastern and Rift Valley provinces. We have already outlined the reasons behind the resistance of Coastal people to missionary evangelistic efforts and the experience of the pastoral people with the colonial state and the capitalist ranching interests. The confinement of pastoral people to closed areas led to economic stagnation and hence little educational development.

The other districts which have low average educational attainment are Baringo, Kajiado, Kitui, Nandi and Siaya. The first three districts are in semi-arid and arid parts of the country and have in the past been mainly involved in pastoral economy. Baringo and Kajiado were closed districts until the 1970s, and there were major intra-district disparities in the distribution of educational opportunities between the agricultural areas and the predominantly pastoral areas. Kitui, Nandi and Siaya districts had taken interest in education by the early 1930s, but in the recent past they have somewhat declined. It is possible that most of the educated people have moved out of these districts to other rural or urban areas. This certainly seems to be the case with semi-arid Kitui where out-migration to Coast province has been noticeable. In other words, some of these districts have been unable to retain their educated population, which has consequently moved to other areas.

There are eight districts whose ratios of advantage in educational attainment range between 0.75 and 0.99. These districts are Kipsigis, Kisumu (rural), South Nyanza, Gusii, Busia, Masaku, Meru and Kirinyaga. The first three districts were closely integrated into the settlers enclave. Kipsigis district had some of its best land alienated and converted into tea plantations. The Kipsigis people resisted recruitment into the labor market existing in the plantations, but were instead involved in growing maize that went to feed the labor force in the tea plantations.<sup>68</sup> Luos from Kisumu and South Nyanza districts supplied a large proportion of the colonial labor force.

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68. Robert A. Manners, 'Land Use, Labor and Growth of Market Economy in Kipsigis Country' in Bohannan and Dalton (eds.) Markets in Africa, pp. 493-513.

Districts of Gusii, Busia, Masaku, Meru and Kirinyaga, which at present have high rates of participation of school-age population in primary schools, were not physically close to the white enclave, but they were nevertheless well penetrated by missionary groups. Gusii and Meru were the first African districts in Kenya to be allowed to grow coffee in the 1930s, and until the early 1960s accounted for most of the peasant coffee production. Masaku district was fully involved in the colonial economy by 1925 and the development of education through missionary groups and Local Native Councils was thereafter much sought. It seems likely that the educated population in this district, like that of Kitui district, has migrated to other areas.

### 3.2 Inequalities in School-Age Population in Primary Education

We have already indicated our reservations regarding the data on school-age children participation rates in the education system. Despite the weaknesses of our data, we shall proceed to discuss regional inequalities in the rates of school-age population participation in primary schools.

Districts with more than equal share of the ratio of advantage in the proportion of school-age children attending are Kitui, Masaku, Embu and Meru in Eastern province; Kiambu, Murang'a, Nyeri, Nyandarua and Kirinyaga in Central province; Bungoma and Kakamega in Western province; and Taita-Taveta on the Coast. Laikipia district in Rift Valley and Nairobi are also in this category. Historical interest of the people in these districts in educational advancement has already been outlined. In the post-colonial period, this interest has continued and past advantages have been consolidated into further development in education at all levels. These are economically and politically powerful districts in the country and have utilized their positions to maintain leadership in education.

In 1973, 18 districts had the lowest rates of school-age children participation in the educational system. These were the 14 districts we noticed were in the low category on the average educational attainment for the population. The other four districts are Kipsigis, Kisumu (rural), South Nyanza and Uasin Gishu. The first three districts seem to have declined in educational advancement when compared to the progress they were making in the early period of colonization and in the era of LNCs. This decline may be due to lack of major changes in the economic

fortunes of the peasantry. Land consolidation and registration has been slow in Nyanza and capital for commodity production has not made major inroads as has happened in Central province in the last 20 years. Uasin Gishu is one of the new districts where enthusiasm for education is high. The fact that this district is in this category is difficult to explain. This might be a case where the data we have is very unreliable.

11 districts fall into the 0.75 to 0.99 range of ratio of advantage in the participation of school-age population. In other words, they have medium rates of school-age children participation in the primary school system. The districts in this category can be divided into three categories. First, the urban centers of Mombasa, Nakuru and Kisumu -- one would expect rates of participation in the educational system in Kenya to be higher in urban areas than is noticeable in these towns. This may stem from the tendency to view the population in urban areas as monolithic. It is possible that rate of participation is very high among the fractions of petit-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie in these towns, and very low among the urban poor and unemployed. The rising urban squatter settlements in these towns point to this possibility.

The second group of districts in the medium rates of participation category are Siaya, Gusii, Busia and Nandi. In the colonial period these districts showed a great deal of interest in education, but this seems now to be slowing down. It is also possible that these figures hide some intra-district and class inequalities in participation rates. The process of slowing down in educational development in these districts is also indicated by average annual growth rate in enrollment in the period between 1968 and 1973, this being below the national average of nine per cent.

The districts of Baringo, Kajiado, Nakuru (rural) and TransNzoia form the third group in this category. In the colonial period they were relatively backward in education, but in the last 15 years education has developed steadily. The momentum for educational growth has mainly come from the population which has migrated into these districts from Central and Western provinces. In the period between 1968 and 1973, these districts had average annual growth rates in primary school enrollment of between 9 and 15 per cent. In other words, these districts were among the areas with the highest annual growth rates in primary education.

### 3.3 Regional Inequalities in Rates of Growth in Primary Education

In the period between 1968 and 1973, the average annual growth rate for primary school enrollment in Kenya was about 9 per cent. However, the average annual growth rates for the districts showed enormous differences. For instance, Marsabit district had the highest annual growth rate, being 27.2 per cent, while Kisumu (rural) had 2.6 per cent, the lowest in the country. To indicate how the average annual growth rates are related to educational attainment and rates of participation in primary education, our discussions will be carried within the framework of the categories worked out in Table 5.

Our discussion starts with the category of districts which are in ratio of advantage in educational attainment and also in rates of educational participation. There are 10 districts in this category and apart from three-- Kakamega (23.2), Laikipia (14.4) and Nyandarua (11.8) -- with annual growth rates above the national average, the rest of the districts were about two per cent below the national average.

Kakamega district has consistently been a high growth rate area in primary education development. Laikipia and Nyandarua are new districts which most likely are trying to catch up with the rest of the country in educational development. This is also to be observed in the other relatively new districts of Nakuru (rural), TransNzoia and Uasin Gishu.

In the category of districts with low educational attainment and low participation rates, we find that apart from two districts -- Kwale and Lamu -- which had less than the national average in growth rates, the other 12 districts had more than 11 per cent in average growth rate in 1968-73. These districts in the past were in the periphery of educational development. From these growth rates it seems to us that there is a marked interest in participation in the educational system. The fact that the government started programs of free education here in the period under consideration and has been allocating boarding funds for schools in these districts (Table 6) may explain the high growth rates.

Two districts which are not in the above category, but with almost the same historical background, are Baringo and Kajiado. These districts

are also in high growth rates group of districts, having respectively 14.2 and 14.7 per cent annual growth rates.

On the whole, two patterns in annual growth rates in the period between 1968 and 1973 are evident. First, there are 20 districts with average annual growth rates which were over 11 per cent, or at least two per cent above the national average. These districts can be grouped into two -- the six new districts which were carved out of the former White Highlands and the rest being in the pastoral areas and Coast province. These areas are relatively backward in educational development, but the high growth rates seem to indicate a serious attempt to break from past backwardness.

#### 3.4 Inequalities Between Sexes in Provision of Education

With minor variations, the regional pattern we have observed on educational attainment, rates of participation in primary education and average annual growth rates is also applicable when data is disaggregated for male and female. Hence educational attainment and the proportion of enrollment of females was highest in the districts where the educational level of total population was highest, and lowest in the districts with less educational opportunities. In the period between 1968 and 1973 the average annual growth rate in enrollment in boys was about seven per cent, but girls' enrollment had a higher growth rate, being double that of boys. Most of this high growth in enrollment was, however, experienced in the educationally advanced districts of Central and Western provinces.

In 1969 the average number of years of formal schooling completed by members of the population 15 and over in Kenya was 2.1 years. The average for men was three years, which was double that of women. As we have pointed out, these differences were larger in the educationally backward districts. Another aspect of inequalities between the sexes is found in the educational system. In 1973, the girls made up only 43 per cent of total primary school enrollment. In the educationally advanced districts, this proportion was close to 50 per cent, while in the districts in the pastoral areas and Coast province it was below 32 per cent. This again shows that in the educationally backward districts, female education is really behind. Although the average annual growth rates in enrollment for girls has been higher than that for boys, the chances of girls catching up in the near future are very slim. Girls drop out of the primary and secondary school system at higher rates than boys, which means that the proportion of girls becomes



less and less the higher you go in the educational system. For instance, in secondary schools girls make up only a third of the total enrollment.

### 3.5 Distribution of Primary School Teachers

The qualifications of the teaching force in an educational system is sometimes taken as an important index of the quality of education provided. While it is not our intention here to question this, teachers qualifications in this paper will not be taken as the sole index of the quality of primary education in a particular district. It is nevertheless an important variable. Hence the interest shown in the distribution of qualified teachers in an educational system.

In 1972 there were 42,000 professionally qualified teachers or 77 per cent of the total teaching force in primary schools. The distribution of these teachers between rural districts and urban centers shows that 14 districts had slightly more than their equal share of professionally qualified teachers. 12 districts had equal share of qualified teachers and 17 districts had less than their share. On the whole, regional distribution of qualified teachers is equitable.

However, the distribution shows that the urban areas are clearly favored over the rural districts. The urban centers of Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru and Kisumu had over 94 per cent of their teaching force professionally qualified. The rural districts had an average of about 75 per cent of their teachers qualified. A further advantage of urban centers in 1972 was that about 65 per cent of the urban teaching force had secondary education or more. Except for 10 rural districts -- Kiambu, Kirinyaga, Nyeri, Embu, Kisumu, Siaya, TransNzoia, Bungoma, Busia and Kakamega -- where the qualified teachers made more than 80 per cent of the teaching force, the other rural districts had between 20 to 45 per cent unqualified primary school teachers. The bulk of the qualified teachers in these districts were, however, those who had less than secondary education before entering the teaching profession.

While the rural areas have been losing qualified teachers, urban centers such as Nairobi have been gaining them, not only because the better facilities in the city attract qualified African teachers, but also because the large European and Asian communities provide a reservoir of much-needed staff. The Nairobi Education Department has also been recruiting specialist teachers for some subjects from overseas countries.

The significance of these facts in terms of the quality of education provided in urban and rural areas is tremendous, especially when it is realized that the number of pupils who pass the Certificate of Primary Education (CPE) examination mainly depends on the caliber of the teaching staff in school. Somerset, in his analysis of the inefficiency of certain items in CPE examination, suggests that a major reason for this inefficiency may be attributed to the rural school teachers lack of skills and knowledge.<sup>69</sup> This seems to underline the fact that the most important factor in a teacher's effectiveness in training pupils for this exam is not mere professional qualification, but a host of other factors, one of the most important being the initial level of education attained before entry into the teaching profession.

Our discussion here underlines once again the need to analyze the distribution and allocation of teachers by the existing types of schools. Data of this kind is non-existent for rural schools, but is emerging in some urban centers. The data on different types of schools in the urban centers will be discussed later on in this paper.

#### 4. SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION AND PROVISION OF EDUCATION

##### 4.1 Allocation of Financial Resources

Another equally important aspect of resource allocation is the distribution of available funds for education among the different districts, urban centers and social groups. To explore the whole question of whether the burden of educating the country's youth is distributed equitably and according to ability to pay, it is important to look at more than the public expenditure on education. These are obvious limitations to a discussion of this kind because private expenditure on education is not usually documented systematically and is therefore difficult to estimate. We shall, however, look at some preliminary data from the rural areas.

Until the passing of the Local Government (Transfer of Functions) Act of 1969, the county and municipal councils had substantial responsibilities for the financing and development of primary education. These responsibilities were shifted to central government because the policy of local authorities financing education had caused many problems, one of which was the inability of many county councils to carry out a balanced and smooth development of elementary education. Although the county councils lost their responsibilities for education, health and roads, the major urban centers -- Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru and Kisumu --

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69. H.C.A. Somerset, 'Who goes to secondary school? Relevance, Reliability and Equity in secondary school selection', in Court, D. and Ghai, D. Education, Society and Development in Kenya, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1974, pp.149-184.

retained these responsibilities and above all retained the authority to collect Graduated Personal Tax which, until 1974, was a major source of funds for providing these services. With the introduction of a Sales Tax in 1973, the Graduated Personal Tax was abolished all over the country, and the municipalities lost a major source of educational funds. Whether the promised grants to municipalities will reach a level which will enable them to continue their present educational policies and expenditures is a question that cannot be answered at the moment. We shall here primarily analyze what is and has been happening to the expenditures on primary education.

Rural primary education is controlled by the District Education Boards (DEBs) which were established in June 1971, among other things to administer education funds and to prepare plans for promotion and development of elementary education in their respective areas. The municipalities continued to be responsible for financing and promoting education in urban centers, but their independence in this area has been limited by lack of funds and by the fact that the Teachers Service Commission (TSC), established in 1967, is the employer of almost all teachers who fall under the jurisdiction of educational authorities in the municipalities.

Central Government has direct responsibility for rural primary education through its central administration and supervision, and through employing a few teachers who teach in four rural high-cost primary schools and those who are seconded to the municipal authorities of Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru and Kisumu. The rural high-cost primary schools are remnants of the European schools in the former White Highlands. At the present time, they serve predominantly the children of farmers, traders and rural bureaucrats. Central control of elementary education is further enhanced by the Kenya Schools Equipment Scheme which supplies school equipment. This scheme could potentially equalize the expenditures on school equipment all over the country. The funds allocated to this scheme, to the District Education Boards and to the Teachers Service Commission make up the major public expenditures on rural primary education. Further public funds are spent on primary education by the municipalities. Our attention now will turn to how public expenditure by these bodies is distributed in the rural areas and urban centers.

Teachers' salaries account for most of the expenditure on primary education. In 1973, this was estimated to be over 70 per cent of the total educational budget. This item has in **recent years increased** significantly, primarily because of the implementation of the recommendations made by the Ndegwa Commission in 1971 and the subsequent Teachers Service Remuneration Committee's salary recommendations.<sup>70</sup> Further increases of this vote have come about because there are more teachers with higher qualifications and because of the inevitable annual salary increments. The regional distribution of funds for teachers' salaries depends on the distribution of teachers and their qualifications and length of service. Thus it follows that the urban areas and the rural districts which have more highly qualified and longer service teachers also receive more funds in teachers' salaries. Analysis of the regional distribution of allocation of teachers' salaries in 39 rural districts and qualified teachers in 1972 showed a high correlation ( $r = 0.925$ ). The mean expenditure per pupil per district was shillings 202.25 with a standard deviation of 83.77. This indicates that there is very low variation between districts in allocation of funds for teachers' salaries. As we pointed out earlier, qualified teachers are relatively evenly distributed between the rural districts.

On paper, each child in primary school is allocated between 15 and 20 shillings per annum for school equipment, to be supplied through the Kenya School Equipment Scheme. Data is not available to determine whether this allocation is carried out as stipulated. Even assuming that the allocation of school equipment follows closely the number of children in each rural district, there are still observable differences in expenditure between urban and rural communities. The example of Nairobi will illustrate these differences. In 1971, the Kenya School Equipment Scheme (KSES) provided 15 shillings for school equipment for every child in the country attending primary school, but the Nairobi City Council Scheme provided 13 shillings per pupil in addition, mainly to buy class library books, teachers' reference books, other books not provided by KSES and craft and needlework materials. In this way some urban centers provide their own equipment beyond what is provided by the national scheme, and some schools -- especially high-

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70. Kenya, Report of the Commission of Inquiry (Public Service Structure and Remuneration Commission), 1970-1971, D.N. Ndegwa Chairman, Nairobi, Kenya, 1971.

cost schools -- can provide even further equipment for their pupils. Most of these schools are in urban areas and are patronized by the children of the national bourgeoisie.

Under a vote termed 'miscellaneous - other charges', the District Education Boards are allocated funds for travelling, organizing in-service training, office expenditure and other expenses. Funds for primary boarding schools, mostly found in the educationally backward districts of the country, also come under this vote. In the financial year 1971/72, Central Government spent about shillings 3.7 million, or 59.6 per cent of the total allocation to the District Education Boards under this vote, for maintaining these boarding schools. In financial year 1973/74, the allocation was shillings 4.3 million and was allocated to 22 districts in Coast, Eastern, North-Eastern and Rift Valley provinces. These districts are given in Table 6.

It is necessary at this stage to note that 14 of the 22 districts are in the category of rural districts with low educational attainment and low participation of school-age children. Three other districts are in low educational attainment and medium enrollment districts category. In short, most of the 22 districts are educationally backward and are in the periphery of the national center.

Among these 22 districts, 10 also have the highest expenditures (between 5 and 31 shillings) per pupil a year on travelling, in-service training and office expenses. Another four of these districts have second highest expenditures per pupil per year (3-5 shillings) under this vote. The other districts spend between one and three shillings for the same purposes. The dispersion of the population and the size of these districts are major factors accounting for the high expenditure on travelling, in-service training, and office expenses.

Government is spending a substantial sum of public funds to provide primary boarding schools and for expenses incurred in training and office maintenance in the districts in the national periphery.

**Table 6** Allocation of funds for rural boarding schools 1971-1974

Province	District	Amount allocated 1971-72 Shs	Per Cent of total boarding allocation	Allocation in 1973-74	Per Cent of total boarding allocation
Coast	Kilifi	71,050	2.0	100,940	2.3
	Kwale	37,730	1.0	80,850	1.8
	Lamu	--	---	24,500	0.6
	Tana River	140,630	3.8	112,700	2.6
	Taita-Taveta	9,800	0.3	13,720	0.3
Eastern	Embu	70,070	2.0	88,200	2.0
	Isiolo	166,600	4.5	166,600	3.8
	Marsabit	225,890	6.1	240,100	5.5
N. Eastern	Garissa	24,500	0.1	49,000	1.1
	Wajir	87,220	2.3	115,640	2.6
	Mandera	44,100	1.1	68,600	1.6
Rift Valley	Baringo	145,530	3.9	226,380	5.2
	Nakuru	511,550	14.0	525,000	12.0
	Kipsigis	67,620	2.0	91,630	2.1
	Nandi	184,730	5.0	89,670	2.0
	Uasin Gishu	71,540	2.0	104,860	2.4
	West Pokot	460,600	12.0	579,670	13.2
	Narok	225,890	6.1	347,900	7.9
	Kajiado	441,000	12.0	490,000	11.2
	Turkana	367,000	10.0	472,850	10.8
	Keiyo-Marakwet	5,850	0.2	---	---
Samburu	343,000	9.2	396,900	9.0	
Total boarding allocation		3,701,900 shs.100.0		4,385,710 shs.100.0	

Source: Ministry of Education, Nairobi

Some of the educationally backward districts also benefitted from free primary education before it was instituted on a national basis in 1974. These policies seem to stem from two factors. First, the recognition that the people in these districts received less attention in educational development in the colonial period and must therefore receive increased attention if they are to catch up with the rest of the county. Secondly, a recognition of the poverty of the people in these districts, which means that if they are left on their own to develop their primary education as other rural communities are required to do, they could not possibly break from their relative backwardness. The provision of boarding school facilities is an attempt to deal with the problem of provision of education among the pastoral communities. In recent years these areas have also been penetrated by people from the developed districts, who have settled on some of the high potential lands in these districts. By 1971 the regulations which hindered the movement of people to and from these areas were removed.

In looking at the allocation of funds for boarding facilities, we must also keep in mind that the children from these peripheral districts may not be the only beneficiaries. Children from more advanced districts are likely to have more than 10 per cent of the places in these schools. The movement of children from the more developed districts to these educationally backward districts is a common phenomenon, so that public funds expended on education in a particular district may not just benefit the children of that district. Theoretically there may be nothing wrong with school children moving from one district to another, especially since national integration is one of the educational goals, but problems occur when this mobility is in one direction only and when it tends to deprive communities of educational opportunities within their own districts.

A consideration of the distribution of expenditures on education by individuals is an important complement to the discussion of the distribution of public expenditure. Before primary school education was made free, poor peasants had to spend about shs 60 a year per pupil out of an average annual income of only £60. The burden still remains, although the expenditure is no longer termed school fees. In addition to the school fees, for classes five and six -- which both rural and urban parents are required to pay -- the peasantry is further required to pay for the building of staff houses, classrooms, maintenance of the school buildings and the cost of other facilities which are needed in primary schools. The parents in the urban areas are not required to pay for the initial building of staff

houses and classrooms. The rural communities meet these expenses with little help from outside, so that a school-building committee exists for every rural primary school. Although this kind of self-help activity is widespread in the country and is making a major contribution to education, it does not receive a great deal of publicity.

It is not surprising that some rural families do not send all their children to school, even when facilities are available. Sometimes parents are also forced to withdraw their children from school due to lack of fees. When a family has to make a decision on who is to be educated, girls are the first to be left out and they are the first to be withdrawn from school when funds are short. Education in rural communities also occasionally suffers from natural disasters such as droughts or crop failures. Urban communities are linked to rural communities by ties of family and land ownership, and urban residents provide funds for the education of relatives in the rural areas, but urban communities are less affected by these vagaries of nature. The arid and semi-arid parts of Coast, Eastern, North-Eastern and Rift Valley provinces are often effected in this way, and the low enrollment figures in these areas may be partially attributed to rural poverty which is made worse by occasional droughts. Before 1974, Government policy was to remit school fees in such cases, and as of January 1, 1974 primary education (classes one to four) was made free everywhere in Kenya. In 1973, 10 districts with a total enrollment of about 32,000 pupils already enjoyed free primary education: Tana River and Lamu in Coast province; Isiolo and Marsabit in Eastern Province; Garissa, Mandera and Wajir in North-Eastern province; and Samburu, West Pokot and Turkana in Rift Valley province.

Leaving the differences between districts aside for the moment, it is important to point out that there were enormous differences within each district in the way the educational burden is shared between rich peasants on the one hand and poorer peasants and rural laborers on the other. Recent research on rural development in Nyeri, Migori, Vihiga, Meru and Mbere is providing insights into what happens at the individual household level.<sup>71</sup> The inequalities among rural households can be attributed to inequalities in land ownership, utilization of credit for commodity production and uneven adoption of agricultural innovations. Peasants who have successfully adopted agricultural innovations have been able to raise their incomes substantially and therefore found it easier to pay for their childrens' education, but the poor peasants and laborers usually find it difficult to pay school fees. To illustrate what happened in some of these

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71. See, for example, Cowen M. 'Differentiation in a Kenya Location', paper No 16, E. Africa Universities Social Science Council, Annual Conference, Nairobi, December 1972. Ascroft, J.R., et al, 'Accelerating the Flow of New Ideas to Rural People: A Proposal for a Pilot Extension Training Project in Nyeri', IDS Discussion Paper no 133. Mukaru Nga'nga', 'Differentiation of Peasantry and the Development of Capitalism in Central Province of Kenya: 1880s-1970s. IAS Paper no 84; and Hunt Diana, 'Income Distribution in Meru Households', IDS Occasional Paper no 20, 1974.



Table 7. The expenditure on education by two rural communities in the Nyeri district of central province\*

	GAIKUYU (mean size holding 6.5 acres)		GATEI (mean size holding 3.8 acres)		TOTAL	
	middle peasants	laborers	middle peasants	laborers	middle peasants	laborers
Average total expenditure per household	N=11 2976.0	N=20 1214.8	N=10 1603.9	N=23 1708.5	N=21 2322.6	N=43 1478.9
Standard deviation	1813.5	528.0	616.9	756.8	---	---
Average total expenditure on education	758.0	158.5	409.8	237.1	592.2	200.6
Standard deviation	606.8	159.6	416.2	358.1	---	---
% of the total expenditure spent on education	25.5	13.0	25.6	12.9	25.5	13.6

\*The whole sample was as follows: 15 middle peasants' and 28 laborers' households from Gaikuyu and 20 peasants' and 39 laborers' households from Gatei. This table shows only the households which had children attending school.

rural communities before 1974, we shall look at the educational expenditures of farmers' and farm laborers' households in two villages, Gatei and Gaikuyu, in the Nyeri district of Central province. Agriculturally, these two rural villages are similar, but Gatei is more fertile and suitable for growing food crops while Gaikuyu is less fertile but suitable for growing tea. Furthermore, in Gaikuyu land holdings average 6.5 acres, while in Gatei -- which is more densely populated -- landholdings average about 3.8 acres. The data in Table 7 come from samples of those peasants and laborers in the two villages who had children in school.

The results given in Table 7 are preliminary and are based on too small a sample of middle peasants and laborers households to warrant firm conclusions or generalizations, but they do point out a trend which perhaps exists elsewhere in the country -- the farmers were spending more money on education than the laborers. In this particular sample, the educational expenditure of middle peasants was 25 per cent of their total annual expenditures, while the laborers' households were spending about 13 per cent of their total annual expenditures on education. The laborers were spending about 34.5 per cent of what the peasants were spending on education. A possible explanation of this difference between the middle peasants' and laborers' households may be that the farmers were giving their children more than just elementary education, while the laborers' incomes were such that they could not easily afford secondary education. The present level of information can only lead to speculation, but it is important to note that the total annual expenditure per middle peasant's household is about 1.5 times that of the average laborer's household.

#### 4.2 Class Differentiation of Schools

There are three classes of people  
Few who make things happen  
Scores who watch things happen  
Milliards who have no idea of **what is happening**

Wall posters in Government Offices,  
Nairobi, 1976

Leaving the differences between districts and urban centers for the moment, it is important to emphasize that there are enormous differences within each rural district or urban area in the way educational burden and opportunities are shared. Intra-district differences in distribution of education take two main dimensions. First, there are differences between regions within each district. An example of these kinds of differences are to be found in a district like Baringo where regional disparities are well defined between Eastern, Kabarnet, and Eldama Ravine

divisions. These regional differences also take ethnic characteristics in a district such as this, which is inhabited by four ethnic groups. In a district such as Kiambu, which is inhabited by one ethnic group, regional differences do not assume ethnic dimension.

The second dimension of inter-district or urban center differences are those between social groups. The differences between the rich peasants on the one hand and poor peasants and laborers on the other in the countryside has already been outlined. This process is observable in both backward districts such as Baringo and in relatively developed districts such as Kiambu. As pointed out, inequalities among rural households can be traced to inequalities in access to land, credit facilities and cash crop production. This was set in motion in the early colonial period and accelerated by changes which occurred in the period from 1954 to 1969. Our attention here will, however, be focused on class differentiation in the urban areas and its relation to primary education.

An urban household budget survey carried out in 1968-69 covering about 192,000 households showed gross inequalities in the way urban income is distributed between social groups. The table below gives a summary of this information.

Table 8. Urban household income distribution 1969-69

Monthly income in shs.	Percentage of households	Percentage share of total urban income	The predominant segments of social groups
0-499	47.5	15.8	unskilled and skilled workers
500-999	23.4	18.8	skilled and clerical staff, primary school teachers
1000-1999	9.9	14.3	technicians, semi-professionals, supervisory staff, middle, level executive officers, senior clerical staff, secondary school teachers
2000 & over	9.3	17.8	managers, professionals, senior state bureaucrats
Total	100.0 (191,800)	100.0	

Source: ILO Report, p. 75. Note: This data omitted most households of urban poor and non-Africans (European and Asians). If these were included, it is most likely inequalities would be a higher magnitude than shown in the table.

The most important points to note are that 47.5 per cent of households had incomes between shs. 0-499 had 15.8 per cent of the total income, while households earning income above shs. 2,000 made only 9.9 per cent of households, but their share of total income was 33.3 per cent or a third of the total income. Without going into discussion on income inequality in urban Kenya, it is necessary to underline the fact that the distribution of income is highly skewed in favor of the national bourgeoisie -- those with monthly incomes of more than 2,000 shillings per month. The bulk of the urban population (the working class -- 70 per cent) earned about a third of the total income. From these data it is quite clear that class differentiation in the urban centers is more pronounced than in the countryside. The concentration of the national bourgeoisie, fractions of the petit-bourgeoisie and the working class in the urban centers make differences in income, education and life-styles much more obvious. Below we shall attempt to show how this income differentiation is reproduced in the educational sector at the level of primary education.

In Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru and Kisumu, the primary schools maintained through public funds are grouped into three categories -- A, B and C. There are also assisted schools which receive partial support from public funds. We shall call these schools category D. In addition, there are private schools which cater to citizens and non-citizens, but these do not receive public funds. Our attention here will be focused on the three categories receiving public funds and on the assisted schools.

The A schools were the former colonial primary schools for Africans. Today these schools are still predominantly African in their intake, but their students are from urban poor and working class backgrounds. The B schools were the Asian schools in the past which after independence started enrolling children from middle level income groups (income between shs 1000-1999 per month). In 1972, the enrollment in B schools in Nairobi showed that 24 per cent of the children were Asian Kenyans and 53 per cent were Africans. The other 23 per cent were non-Kenyan citizens. In colonial period, C schools catered to the ruling class, the Europeans. Today these schools still carry out this function, but without the racial characteristics of the colonial past. While in the past the most important criterion for admission into this category of schools was racial, today the overriding factor is the income of the parents. In 1972 C schools in Nairobi enrolled 69 per cent Africans, 14 per cent Kenyan Europeans and Asians, and 18 per cent non-citizens - mostly Europeans and Asians. In the assisted schools, Africans were a third, Kenyan Asians and Europeans another third and non-citizens formed the other third of enrollment. This category of schools has emerged in the post-colonial period.

In the private schools 56 per cent of the enrollment were children of non-citizens, 25 per cent Kenyan Asians and Europeans, and 19 per cent were Kenyans of African origin.

We have outlined the racial composition of these schools to emphasize the class nature of racial integration which started in the early sixties. The pattern of integration into former Asian and European schools follows closely the pattern which is observable in the commercial and large scale agriculture, namely that of integrating a small segment of Africans into the former colonial institutions and thereby maintaining the structure intact. The reforms initiated in the early fifties and carried through in the early sixties were exactly intended to do this. In essence, this transformed the racial structure of the colonial society into a class-structured post-colonial society. The present structure of the primary schools in urban Kenya clearly reflect this pattern.

The crucial fact to note about the class structure of the primary schools outlined above is that this corresponds to the distribution of the better qualified teachers, facilities available and the performance of these schools in CPE which determines access to secondary education. Below we shall discuss the fees pattern of the four school categories, distribution of teachers and performance in CPE. The data used comes from Nairobi for the years 1971 and 1972. However, it must be emphasized that the pattern observable in Nairobi is applicable to all the main urban centers in Kenya. There might be minor variations in the other towns, but the general picture and structure is nevertheless the same.

The table below shows the pattern of school fees in 1971 and the amount of subsidy given to each pupil in each category of school. From these data, we can see that pupils attending C schools get 3.6 times what pupils in A schools are allocated from public funds. The pupils attending category B schools get 1.5 times what pupils in A schools are allocated from public funds. **Table 10 shows how teachers are distributed in these schools.**

**Table 9 Annual school fees in Nairobi schools, 1971**

Category of schools	No. of schools	Average annual school fees per pupil* (shs)	Economic fees per pupil (shs)	Amount of public subsidy per pupil (shs)
A	57	60	222	162
B	12	180	522	242
C	7	580	1164	584
D	15	100	---	---

Sources: Temple, F.T., Politics, Planning and Housing Policy in Nairobi; MIT PhD thesis, 1973, p. 114 quoting memorandum from City Education Officer, 1971; and City of Nairobi, Dept of Education Annual Report, 1971.

\*Since 1974, classes one to four in A schools are free and in B, C and D there is a rebate of shs 60 for the four classes.

**Table 10 The distribution of primary school teachers in Nairobi, 1972**

Teacher Qualification	Category of schools				
	A	B	C	D	
Graduate	0.1	1.2	32.3	9.1	3.4 (72)
Secondary teacher 1	4.1	14.4	26.0	8.4	7.6 (159)
Primary teacher 1	18.8	46.8	35.4	49.6	28.5 (593)
Primary teacher 2	28.0	19.6	3.1	10.5	22.8 (474)
Primary teacher 3	44.2	16.5	1.6	8.4	32.4 (674)
Other	4.8	1.5	1.6	14.0	5.3 (111)
	100.0 (1343)	100.0 (327)	100.0 (127)	100.0 (286)	100.0 (2083)

Source: City of Nairobi, Department of Education Annual Report, 1972.

Although we said that we do not take teacher qualifications in an educational system as equivalent to the quality of education, we cannot ignore the fact that their predominance in C and B schools in Nairobi improves the quality of these schools tremendously. When the performance of these schools in CPE is taken into consideration, the importance of this concentration cannot be minimized. In 1972, 32.3 per cent of teachers in C schools were graduates, as compared to 9.1 per cent in D schools and 1.2 per cent in B schools. The proportion in A schools was negligible. This pattern was also observable in the distribution of secondary school grade one teachers. The

pattern is reversed, however, when we come to the less educated teachers -- primary teachers of grades two and three. The pattern of inequality in distribution of teachers by qualifications is clearly in favor of C schools, followed by B, D and A schools, in that order.

Teachers, parents, pupils and the rest of society tend to judge the quality of primary education at each school by how well the pupils perform on the Certificate of Primary Education examination, and by how many are given places in Government-maintained secondary schools. This examination has a strong influence on the curriculum and the attitudes of teachers and pupils at the primary school level. Parents, especially the well-to-do, are going to great pains to provide their children with a headstart in English at home, in pre-schools<sup>72</sup> and at high-cost primary so that they can do well in CPE, which is essentially a test of English.<sup>73</sup>

Below we give data on the average performances of the four categories of schools in English and the total score in CPE examinations, 1971. Looking at the mean scores in CPE, we find that the differences between the schools are significant at 95 per cent level of confidence. Differences in total scores in CPE between A schools and B, C and D schools are respectively 8.9, 22.4 and 18.0 points. Even without carrying out further statistical analyses and tests, the differences in performance in CPE examinations between the four categories of schools are obvious and certainly significant. As we shall observe later on, these differences are critical in the competition for the limited places in Government-maintained secondary schools.

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72. For a detailed discussion on the structure of pre-schools and their relation to access to primary schools in Nairobi, see Gakuru O.N., 'Pre-primary Education and Access to Educational Opportunities in Nairobi', mimeo, Institute for Development Studies (IDS), Nairobi.

73. Somerset, H.C.A., 'An Item Analysis of 1974 Certificate of Primary Education', IDS mimeo. I am thankful to Tony Somerset for allowing me to see this paper.

**Table 11. Performance in certificate of primary education - Nairobi schools**

Category of schools	Mean score in English (%)	s.d.	Mean score in CPE (%)	s.d.	N
A	54.10	5.95	46.71	4.86	4005
B	63.10	4.59	55.63	3.53	1080
C	76.52	3.73	63.64	4.09	329
D	72.07	7.88	57.42	6.35	1027
All schools	59.35	9.51	51.25	7.80	6441

Source: Nairobi City, Department of Education, Annual Report, 1971.

Differences in performance in other subjects such as Mathematics and General Paper (the name given to a paper which in CPE has questions on History, Geography and General Science) are also significant, although not as high as in the English Language paper. These differences can be understood in the context of a number of factors, the first being the socio-economic background of pupils -- the school fees paid in each category of school being an important indicator of the class background of the parents. Further, recent research has shown that each category of primary school is connected informally to a network of pre-schools where recruitment for class one is done. Gakuru's research on the structure of pre-school education in Nairobi has shown that high cost primary schools are informally connected to high cost pre-schools where recruitment for class one intake is done, a pattern that is followed in the other categories of schools. Any attempt to break from low cost pre-schools to high cost primary schools is strongly resisted by informal mechanisms. Since high cost primary schools are few and many parents would like to send their children to these schools, the informal mechanisms of restricting entry are stronger here than elsewhere. The prevailing situation was dramatized recently in a newspaper article which gave an exchange between a working class parent and a principal of a high cost primary school in Nairobi. The conversation is reproduced here and quoted at length to show how the informal mechanisms are working to maintain the class structure of schooling in urban Kenya.



Principal (bespectacled white man): 'Morning, morning Sir! What can I do for you?'

Masharubu: 'Well, as you can see, I have these two boys and I am looking for a good school for them. I like the looks of your school very much.'

Principal: 'Thank you, but where did they go to nursery school?'

Masharubu: 'At Ofafa' (working class residential area in Nairobi).

Principal: 'Oh dear, dear...I'm afraid they would not have the standards we require in this school, Sir! Besides, we have our nominated schools from which we pick our children in order to protect our standards. I'm afraid it's quite out of the question for your boys to be accepted here. Besides, I think fees would be too much for you.'

Masharubu: 'How much is it?'

Principal: 'One hundred and seventy five pounds per term. This is three thousand, five hundred shillings per term (\$427.00). Obviously, you can't afford that.'

Masharubu: 'Obviously, this school is meant for special people!'

Principal: 'I wouldn't put it that way. We have our standards and our fees. That is all there is to it. If you can afford, you may bring your boys after four years. That is how heavily booked we are!'

Masharubu: 'I see. That is very encouraging, indeed!'

Principal: 'I'm sorry, Sir! There is nothing I can do for you. Good day and good luck.' 74

The second factor which seems to account for the performance is the educational background and professional qualification of teachers in the different categories of schools. The distribution of qualified teachers in Nairobi has shown the differences between the four categories of schools in urban Kenya. In addition, in urban centers -- and Nairobi in particular -- the pupils attending C and B schools have a richer curriculum coupled with close supervision by the staff of the municipalities. In Nairobi some children who have trouble with English are given remedial course. On the whole, the medium - and high-cost primary schools have better educational facilities than the low-cost schools. We have already shown that the amount of public subsidy given to children attending B and C categories of schools is much higher than that allocated for children in A schools.

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74. Watene, Kenneth, 'Masharubu's World', Sunday Nation, July 11 1976.

But on the whole, what is important in explaining the differences between the different categories of schools is the total impact of the family background of the children, pre-school education obtained, training in English and type of teaching and exposure in the primary schools. All of these add up to the differences that are obtained in the CPE performances. The family background inevitably prepares the child for the type of pre-school education to be obtained and this in turn prepares the child for entry into a particular primary school. The primary school in turn prepares the child for entry into secondary schools and the best way to do so is by getting high grades in CPE. The C category of schools, as evident from the above table, are doing the best in this respect. We shall say more later on when we discuss the allocation of secondary school opportunities between different schools and regions in the country.

Meanwhile, our attention will focus briefly on the differences between rural schools and urban schools in performances on CPE English Language in 1974. We have already pointed out that rural schools are not as clearly differentiated as the urban schools. Nevertheless, in most of the rich rural districts of Kenya, there are two or three private or assisted schools which provide education for children of the rich in the countryside. This is in addition to the four high-cost primary schools in the countryside which are supported by public funds and were previously part of the European education system. Hence, most of the rural schools fall into the category of schools which in urban areas are designated as A schools. Table 12 illustrates the similarities in performance between most rural schools and urban A schools.

Table 12. CPE performance in English in 1974 for rural and urban schools

Category of schools	Mean English Mark		Standard deviation	N
	Ran out of 70	%		
Rural A	35.64	50.91	9.68	9388
Urban A (Nairobi)	37.15	53.07	10.77	1000
Urban B (Nairobi)	57.53	82.19	7.87	528

Source: H.C.A. Somerset, An Item Analysis of 1974, Certificate of Primary Education, IDS mimeo.

Table 12 shows that performance of rural and urban A schools in CPE

English in 1974 is not significantly different. This also applies to other subjects like Mathematics, History and Geography. Although urban A schools have better school buildings and equipment, and better supervision, the composition of school population and the teachers allocated to them are not significantly different from those in rural low-cost primary schools. Our discussion on the regional distribution of teachers and between categories of schools in Nairobi bears this out. This seems to point out that the socio economic background of pupils in a particular school is apt to be more important in the performance of pupils than the quality of buildings and equipment and the qualifications of teachers. The evidence to support this contention is lacking in Kenyan context, but in other countries evidence seems to point in this direction.

The differences between C schools and A schools (rural and urban) are nevertheless enormous and statistically significant.

To sum up, we have indicated that the structure of schools in Kenya and urban centers in particular is closely related to income structure -- which is essentially a class structure. We have also shown how different categories of schools are allocated public funds, teachers, and how these schools perform in CPE. In the next section we shall show how differences in performance are reflected in differential access to secondary education.

#### 4.3 The Distribution of School Leavers' Opportunities for Secondary Education

In this section we shall deal with the distribution of secondary school opportunities for primary school leavers. Our analysis will first focus on the regional distribution for rural provinces and urban centers and then focus on the distribution between the different types of schools in urban Kenya. The provinces and urban centers will be used as units of analysis because opportunities for secondary education in government-maintained schools are allocated more or less on provincial considerations rather than on district bases.

Secondary schools can be categorized according to their recruitment of Form 1 intake. There are some which recruit nationally and these are called national schools. In 1973, these schools provided about five per cent of the total Form 1 places available in government-fully-aided secondary schools. Government-aided secondary schools are on the whole

Table 13. The distribution of secondary school Form I opportunities in 1973

	No. of CPE candidates 1972	Percentage of available Form I places in aided schoos 1973	1972 Std. VII leavers competing for unaided schools	Percentage of leavers gaining places in uaided schools	Total index of opportunity for secondary schools
		%		%	
<u>Provinces</u>					
Central	39,500	15.6	33,400	23.8	35.6
Coast	6,500	15.5	5,500	13.6	17.0
Eastern	36,900	9.9	33,200	16.3	24.6
North-Eastern	400	33.3	200	16.0	44.0
Nyanza	34,400	8.9	31,400	13.1	20.8
Rift Valley	31,400	9.5	28,400	11.9	20.3
Western	28,300	13.8	24,400	16.3	27.9
<b>Total Rural</b>	<b>177,400</b>	<b>11.8</b>	<b>156,500</b>	<b>16.4</b>	<b>26.2</b>
<u>Urban Centers</u>					
Nairobi	7,600	40.6	4,500	100.7	100.4
Mombasa	3,500	30.1	2,500	68.8	78.2
Nakuru	700	46.6	500	100.0	100.0
Kisumu	1,000	42.3	400	126.8	115.5
<b>Total Urban</b>	<b>12,800</b>	<b>38.3</b>	<b>7,900</b>	<b>92.0</b>	<b>95.1</b>
<b>TOTAL COUNTRY</b>	<b>190,000</b>	<b>13.6</b>	<b>164,400</b>	<b>20.0</b>	<b>30.0</b>

Source: Kenya, Ministry of Education, Annual Reports, 1972 and 1973.

From this table it is clear that there exist enormous differences between rural and urban areas in the provision of Form I places in aided and unaided secondary schools.

best in terms of facilities and teachers provided and they charge the lowest fees. The second category of schools are called provincial schools and form the majority of government maintained secondary schools in Kenya. They recruit their Form 1 intake from the provinces where they are allocated. These, together with the national catchment schools, provided Form 1 opportunities for about 14 per cent of the 190,000 CPE candidates competing in 1972 for these much coveted opportunities.

Another 20 per cent were absorbed in self-help (Harambee) secondary schools and private commercial secondary schools. These two types of schools make up the broad category of schools called unaided secondary schools. The Harambee secondary schools are community supported schools and have a very limited local catchment area, in most cases the districts or divisions where they are located. The profit-oriented private secondary schools are mainly in the urban centers. For the purpose of our discussion here we shall categorize secondary schools broadly into central government-aided schools and the mainly self-help, unaided schools. We shall look at the distribution of secondary school opportunities in 1973.

Table 13 shows, first, the distribution of Form 1 places in government-aided secondary schools, and then the distribution of opportunities in unaided secondary schools for the primary school leavers who did not gain admission into the aided secondary schools. But the real distribution of Form 1 opportunities is not well reflected in the table. To begin with, the secondary school opportunities provided by the national catchment schools -- which are mainly situated in the urban centers -- are not excluded when computing regional distribution. This stems from lack of data on provincial origin of the students who were admitted into the national schools. Secondly, the opportunities available in the unaided schools in the urban areas are not exclusively for urban primary school leavers. The unaided secondary schools in the municipalities are mainly privately owned and, since making profit is the reason behind their existence, they recruit from all over the country, ability to pay being the only criterion for admission. Thus the primary school leavers who cannot find secondary school opportunities in aided or unaided schools in their districts migrate into urban areas in search of educational opportunities. These are some of the primary school leavers who fill the places available in the unaided commercial schools in urban areas. The extent of this rural

urban areas. The extent of this rural-urban migration of school leavers is, however, not known and this is equally true of the extent of province to province migration in search of opportunities in Harambee secondary schools. This makes it difficult for us to show the provincial distribution of secondary school opportunities with the precision it deserves.

Nevertheless, we can observe that North-Eastern province, with the lowest number of CPE candidates (400), had secondary school opportunities for 44 per cent of them. This, however, should be seen in the context of very low participation of the school age population in primary education in this province. Central province had opportunities for 36 per cent of its primary school leavers. This is perhaps very close to the proportion of school leavers in this province who entered secondary schools. The proximity of this province to Nairobi and Nakuru makes it more likely for its primary school leavers to avail themselves of the opportunities available in these two urban centers. And as we have noted earlier, districts in this province had the highest rates of participation in primary education, something that is reciprocated by a well developed secondary school system.

Western province, with secondary school opportunities for 28 per cent of its primary leavers, reflects perhaps a slightly lower proportion of school leavers who actually get into secondary schools. This province has a highly developed primary school system and it is most probable that its school leavers benefited from secondary school opportunities in the neighboring provinces, particularly Rift Valley province. Some of the opportunities in the Coast provinces are likely to have gone to pupils from upcountry provinces, particularly Eastern province.

Regardless of who finally benefits from opportunities in particular provinces, it is quite clear that the urban areas have more secondary school opportunities than the rural provinces. This applies to aided and unaided secondary schools. The rural areas had opportunities for 26 per cent of their 1972 primary school output while urban areas had places for 95 per cent of the primary school output. Although these opportunities were also shared by rural children, the urban children had slightly better opportunities for secondary education, particularly those who had the ability to pay the high fees requested in the private secondary schools. Urban areas also had more government-maintained Form 1 places (catering to 14 per cent of its school leavers)

than provincial schools (12 per cent).

We shall now proceed to discuss the distribution of the opportunities available in government-maintained secondary schools among school leavers from different types of urban schools, namely A, B, C and D categories of schools. Again, we shall use data from Nairobi schools to illustrate the way secondary school opportunities are shared between different types of schools, which in essence shows the differential allocation for the existing social classes.

**Table 14 The distribution of secondary school opportunities by type of primary school attended in Nairobi, 1972.**

Category of schools	Proportion of total enrollment	No. sitting CPE in 1972	Proportion admitted in aided schools 1973 %
A	75.5	4,595	21.8
B	11.2	963	43.2
C	4.1	317	89.2
D	9.1	978	56.0
All schools	99.9 (61,000)*	6,853	32.8

Source: Nairobi City Council, Education Department, Annual Report, 1972.  
 \*These figures do not agree with those given in the national statistical returns from which computations on Table 13 were worked out. National returns are carried out in the middle of the year, while Nairobi Education Department report is compiled at the end of the calendar year. In our view, the latter reflects a more accurate picture at the end of the year.

Table 14 shows that 89 per cent of pupils who attended C schools gained admission into government-maintained secondary schools. This should be compared with 56 per cent for D schools, 43 per cent for B schools, and 22 per cent for A schools. This table should be read together with Table 11, which gives performance in each category of schools in Nairobi. Pupils in A schools have relatively poor performance in CPE and their chances for secondary education are indeed very limited. In contrast, pupils attending C schools have very high chances of entering into government-maintained secondary schools.

As we have already pointed out, the school structure we have in urban centers in Kenya reflects to a large extent the class structure of urban communities. Although there is no research at the moment on socio-economic background of student bodies in each category of schools, the formal and informal mechanisms of entry into each category of schools tend to limit the student body in each type of schools to a particular class or segment of a class. Thus the chances of admission into secondary schools, as we have seen above, reflect chances for different social classes' access to secondary education. However, this needs further research which will demonstrate this point more precisely than we can do with the data we have here.

5 CONCLUSION

The purpose of this paper has been first, to outline the historical and socio-economic background to the emergence of regional and class inequalities in provision of primary education in Kenya. Secondly, the paper has analyzed the existing regional and class inequalities in education, focusing mainly on the period between 1968 and 1973. In essence, the paper has attempted to show the relationship between the development of capitalism in Kenya and the unequal development of education between racial communities, regions and among social classes.

We started with the hypothesis that the structure and organization of the educational system broadly corresponds to the socio-economic structure of the society. Our study has demonstrated how the development of capitalism based on settlers' agriculture affected the spatial development of the country, which in turn influenced the pattern of educational development. The racial division of labor in the colonial economy was reproduced in the educational sector by existence of three racial education systems. The uneven development of the African reserves' which resulted from their relationship with the dominant settler agricultural and commercial enclave, and consummated through land expropriation, labor supply, taxation and commodity production, was also reflected in the way African education developed. Within the African areas, social differentiation was also emerging and finding expression in differential access to land and education. The role of the colonial state in mediating between the racial groups, regions and social classes was critical in the emergence of unequal development in the country.

It is clear that the educational system, the social pattern of the country and the economic development are inter-related. Further research is needed to show how the educational system has influenced the economic development of the country.



In the late fifties and early sixties, the racial pattern of the economy was dismantled and the former African land units were further incorporated into the capitalist economy which had in the past revolved around the settler enclave. The nascent African capitalist class was integrated with the European and Asian capitalist classes through ownership of large farms in the White Highlands; participation in the commercial sector and through control of post-colonial state apparatuses. In the educational sector, the African children were admitted into the former European and Asian schools, thereby altering the racial composition of schools without fundamental change to the structure of the educational system. We have shown this structure has persisted, and has come to reflect class structure of the post-colonial urban Kenya. Further, the emerging social differentiation in the countryside is finding manifestation in the educational system, through different rates of participation and in emergence of different types of schools for different segments of the peasantry. The process of social differentiation of schools is now observable all over the country, at both pre-school and primary school levels.

On the whole, our analysis has shown that the inequalities in provision of education in colonial and post-colonial Kenya have reflected broadly the social division of labor in the economic sector. The second question that needs further analysis is the actual role of various actors in the colonial and post-colonial society in the development and allocation of educational resources and opportunities. We have shown that the main actors in the colonial period were settlers, missionaries, Africans and the colonial state. In the post-colonial period the state remains the dominant factor, mediating between different social groups. Given that these actors were not independent of the structure of the economy with its attendant influence on education, the exact role of the state settlers, missionaries and African initiatives in the emergence of unequal provision of education needs attention. Although our study has not singled out each actor for analysis, it has nevertheless attempted to answer this question. The question, however, demands more attention than we can pretend to accomplish in a paper like this. The interaction and impact of actions, policies and conflicts of these actors had an important part in the emergence of regional and class differentiation in access to educational resources and opportunities. The limitations exercised through the existing economic forces and relations must nevertheless be borne in mind.

Despite the gaps and weaknesses of our data, we have managed to show the existing regional and class inequalities in provision of primary education. The weakness of some of the data makes it difficult for us to come out with firm conclusions on regional inequalities in schooling opportunities. Our analysis, nevertheless, does show enormous differences between the low educational attainment and enrollment districts of pastoral areas and coastal districts on one hand, and the educationally advanced urban areas and rural districts of Western and Central Kenya on the other. Between these two regions fall the rural districts which have medium accomplishment on either educational attainment or rates of children participating in schools. This situation, as we have seen, is changing as a result of changes taking place in the countryside and urban centers. On the whole, regional inequalities in education are manifested between the districts which form the national center and those forming the national periphery. The demarcation line between these two regions, however, is not all that clear cut, as our analysis has shown.

The need to go beyond inter-district differences in provision of education, and focus on intra-district differences is indicated in the paper, but not fully explored. While intra-district differences have been mentioned in passing, inter-district class inequalities have been discussed. The case of class inequalities in provision of education in urban Kenya has been demonstrated, using data from Nairobi schools. In terms of further work, the case of Nairobi demonstrates the usefulness of focusing on intra-district differences in provision of education. This attention need not only concentrate on class differences, but can also focus on regional differences within each district or urban center

This paper has shown the existing pattern of regional and class inequalities in primary education. The extent of these inequalities may be debated and so may the instruments and methodology of measuring them, but their existence is unquestionable. The dynamic forces behind their emergence can be traced to the nature of capitalist development in colonial and post-colonial Kenya. The extent of the influence of each of the main forces -- settlers, missionaries, Africans and the state -- may be debatable, but their total impact is unmistakable.

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