

CHAPTER IV

***SOCIETY AND EDUCATION IN
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This chapter deals with the discontinuity of indigenous form and content of socialization. This is attributed to a series of socio-cultural changes that followed the colonization of Kenya by the British. Due to these changes, the school class emerged as the central agency of socialization. The school teachers not only gave formalized instructions based on prescribed curriculum, but also infused modern skills and attitudes among their pupils. The impact of this education led to resentment from the leaders of native Kenyans because it served mainly the British interests. It is in this context, that this chapter also attempts to show how native elites initiated an independent school system. This resulted into a synthesis of traditional as well as modern value systems upon which new hopes and nationalistic aspirations in post-colonial Kenya originated.

The Historical Context

For a deeper understanding of the Kenyan education system, it needs to be examined in a historical perspective so as to be able to grasp its evolution along with change in native society. As discussed in the previous chapter, the goal of the pre-colonial education was to socialize the members of a tribe on the basis of ascribed criteria. This was done while equipping individuals with certain skills, values, and attitudes necessary for social integration and environmental adaptation.

However, the above kind of informal education consistently remained static due to conservative socializers who were isolated from the rest of the world by both the physical and social barriers that hindered the spread of education along with other alien cultural values in the pre-colonial era. That is why, not only Kenya, but the whole Africa is widely known in history as a 'dark continent' (Obori, 1987:2). Nevertheless, the contact with the western world and subsequent socio-cultural enlightenment, especially in the sphere of education, was introduced to Kenya at the coastal region by the Portuguese in 1498 (Vere-Hodge and Collister, 1956:2).

Inspite of the Portuguese settlement, Western education could never spread until the arrival of British missionary explorers, namely John Krapf and Johan Rebmann of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.) in 1844 and 1846 respectively (Anderson, 1970:10-11). They translated the Bible into Kiswahili and opened the first mission station and a school at Rabai near Mombasa in 1846 (Bogonko, 1992:18, Otiende et al., 1992:41).

During the early efforts of C.M.S., mainly the freed slaves benefited from Western education. Local Leaders and a majority of the ordinary people preferred their children to undergo traditional ascription-oriented socialization rather than sending them to Mission Schools. They appeared to perceive the effects of modern Western education to be disruptive to the balanced indigenous economy, since it did not give immediate returns.

Moreover, the attacks from the Maasai warriors as well as the presence of slave-trade hindered the spread of modern education initiated by the C.M.S. until the advent of British colonialism.

Colonization And Its Impact on Kenyan Society.

Colonization is a process whereby a sovereign state occupies another country for social, economic or

political reasons. Therefore, by declaring Kenya as their colony in 1920, the British introduced a series of socio-cultural changes. Historians have indicated that the so-called contact with the Western people was revolutionary. It disrupted the traditional culture and every institution upon which pre-colonial Kenya was based. For instance, African religion was quite incompatible with the Christian religion. Barter-trade along with subsistence African economy was too different from the monetarised and commercial Western economy (Sillery, 1961:133).

In addition, due to the ignorance of the African land tenure and pattern of settlement, the British settlers severely disrupted the then existing social setup in Kenya. For instance, by fencing and laying boundaries around the land the settlers grabbed, they stopped collective grazing and shifting cultivation. As a result, famine, livestock - diseases, widespread landlessness, and discontentment among the affected native tribes emerged. (Frazier, 1955:85, Moi, 1986:5).

The impact of the above racial contracts brought with it, the establishment of sedentary patterns of settlement. Gradually, a complex society came into existence as the natives integrated with the British immigrants. Moreover, with the advent of colonial

administrators, the spread of modern education was encouraged. This step ultimately inspired the indigenous people with the ideas such as liberty and nationality (Maunnier, 1947:52). In the case of Kenya, missionaries preceded colonialism. Both of them ignited the flames of native independence not only in cultural, religious, and economic aspects but also raised the political demand for an autonomous nation - state. However, in order to understand these developments, it is necessary to give a brief account of different stages of educational evolution during this phase.

The Missionaries and the Emergence of Formal Education (1844-1911)

As stated in chapter-II, formal education in Kenya owes its origin, in way, to Arabic and Islamic contracts prior to the spread of Christianity and the emergence of British colonialism (Otiende, 1990:147). Islam and Christianity are, by and large, the main missionary oriented religions in Kenya. However, the Arab colonialists and Islamic agents were for many centuries confined to the coastal part of Kenya. Ironically even for a thousand years the Islamic faith, which considered literacy as a means of socialization, never influenced Kenya beyond the coast for two reasons. First, they feared the Maasai warriors. And secondly, the conversion of natives into Islam would have stopped slavery because

fellow-Muslims could not be enslaved. Therefore, the source of slaves, that is the hinterlands of Kenya, was not influenced by Islamic formal schooling (Coupland, 1938:4).

However, the African and Islamic systems of education were more or less similar in content. They were based on a continuous process of social cohesion and kinship identity, with no emphasis on certificates. In spite of the literacy element, Islamic school - class did not prepare individuals adequately for the task of modern society. Therefore, Muslims could not benefit from paid occupations and power that determined stratification as well as social mobility in colonial Kenya (Bogonko, 1992:15-17). This is attributed to the fact that Islam in Kenya lacked both the influence and expansion which characterized Christianity. Table 4.1 gives a glimpse of other socio-cultural factors distinguishing Islamic and Christian value systems.

Table 4.1: Socio-cultural Orientations of Muslim and Christian Missionaries.

Islam	Christianity
1.It sanctioned polygyny.	1.It insisted on monogamy.
2.It emphasised on memory learning.	2.It inculcated skills on writing and reading.
3.It encouraged intermarriages and universal brotherhood.	3.It brought about individual choice and values that encouraged communal disintegration.
4.It propagated ritual obligation and frequent prayers that led to fatalism, reduced personal initiatives and responsibility.	4.It involved commitment, group acceptance, and individual actions that were religiously capable of replacing ancient ascription oriented and other native values.
5.It was spread by African missionaries who had some appeal to the existing traditions.	5.It was spread by Europeans who challenged the existing traditions.

Compiled and adapted from Carpenter G. "The role of Christianity and Islam in contemporary Africa" in Africa To-day (Ed.) Haines C. G. Baltimore 1955, p 91-117.

Table 4.1 shows that traditional native values continued to exist where Islam dominated. Whereas, in Christian spheres, Western culture either challenged or totally replaced the indigenous values of the Kenyan society.

However, for the rest of the 19th Century, the activities of the C.M.S. were confined to Mombasa only. But, as an alternative way, it sent many Africans to Nasik near Mumbai in India; to be trained as teachers to serve at the Frere C.M.S. school near Mombasa in 1864. After the abolition of slavery by the British parliament in 1873, the Frere town was made a settlement for freed slaves. Thus, the C.M.S. school provided rehabilitational care to the inmates and also trained them as missionaries acquainted with basic industrial as well as agricultural knowledge (Bogonko, 1992:18).

The campaign against slave-trade brought along the Imperial British East Africa Company (I.B. E.A.Co.) and missionaries of different denomination to the Kenyan coast (Otiende, 1990:148). As a result, both the Arabs and Portuguese came under the control of I.B.E.A.Co. from 1888 to 1895. However, in 1895, Kenya was taken over by the British government as a protectorate. During this era, railway lines were laid from the port of Mombasa to Kisumu at the shores of Lake Victoria (1895-1901). This

communication task was aimed at economic exploitation and effective administration of the Kenya -Uganda hinterlands by the British (Vere-Hodge and Colister, 1956:4).

The Railway and Missionary Societies (1846-1910)

With the completion of the Kenya-Uganda railway in 1901, a new era began. Missionaries, government officials, traders, and settlers started to move inland towards the agriculturally potential Highlands. By 1904, much of the Highlands had been set aside for European settlement. Two things should be remembered in this context; first, this part of the Highlands was only a small fraction of the whole area of Kenya. Secondly, it was a densely populated area.

When the British settlers arrived, most of the land appeared uninhabited. The Eastern High lands was the first region to be alienated (or grabbed) by the settlers. The Kikuyu at that time had moved to the fringes (Outer-parts) of the region due to shifting cultivation famine, and diseases. Therefore, according to the Kikuyu land tenure, they were to return to the land they had previously occupied, for that was their ancestral land. Hence, if the settlers had come a few years earlier or later, they would have found the Kikuyu in possession of some of the land that appeared to be empty. Be that as it

may, the fact is that much of the land seemed, to the early settlers, to be deserted and thus free for economic development. However, in the Western Highlands around Eldoret and Kericho, several native resistance efforts were put-up. Among them, the Nandi rebellion of 1905 was notable. (Vere-Hodge and Collister, 1956:4).

In the course of British occupation of Kenya, missionaries spread their activities rapidly due to the establishment of road and railway networks. The rush for the conversion of native Kenyans resulted into sectarian competition between the Catholics and Protestants. This took place in densely populated areas. The pattern of denominational settlement and the spread of missionary societies are indicated in table 4.2.

Table 4.2: The Missionary Chronology, Settlement and Denomination in Kenya (1846-1910)

Missionary society	Date of arrival	Place	Denomination
Church Missionary Society (CMS-Britain)	1846	Rabai	Protestant
C.M.S.	1864	Freretown	Protestant
Holy Ghost Fathers Mission (HGF, Britain)	1895	Bura	Catholic
The German Neukirchen Mission (G.N.M.-Germany)	1895	North of Mombasa	Protestant
The church of Scotland mission (C.S.M.-Britain)	1898	Kibwezi	Protestant
C.M.S.- Britain	1901	Kikuyu	Protestant
Gospel missionary Society (G.S.M.-America)	1902	Kiambu	Protestant
Consolata Catholic Mission (CCM- Italy)	1903	Limuru	Catholic
H.G.F.-Britain C.C.M.-Italy and	1903	Limuru	Catholic
H.G.F.- Britain Seventh day Adventist	1906	Mangu	Catholic
(S.D.A.- America)	1908	Kamagambo	Protestant
C.M.S.-Britain African Inland Mission	1908	Tumutumu	Protestant
(A.I.M.- America)	1908	Machakos, Kiambu and Kijabe	Protestant
The Mill Hill Mission (M.H.M.-Britain)	1909	Yala and Maseno	Catholic
The Friends Africa Mission- also known as Quakers (F.A.M.-Britain)	1910	Kaimosi	Protestant

Compiled and adapted from Bogonko S.N. A History of Modern Education in Kenya (1895-1991), Evans Brothers (Kenya) ltd. 1992, pp.18-19.

Table 4.2 shows that due to the breakdown of social and physical barriers with the completion of the Kenya-Uganda railway in 1901, the missionaries penetrated into the mainland of Kenya. They setup mission stations which at the same time served as boarding schools. From these stations, the out-schools or village-schools were also established to admit pupils to the main mission schools. As a result of this process, the missionaries ended up dividing the country into denominational spheres of influence (Bogonko, 1992:12).

However, schools set up by the missionaries in some areas gave simple technical and agricultural training along with compulsory religious instructions. Nevertheless, an unintended consequence of these efforts to convert natives into Christianity was the creation of an inequality based on educational achievement (Anderson, 1970 :15).

The Impact of Missionaries on Native Society (1846-1911)

An Assessment of the missionaries in East Africa, and particularly in Kenya, shows that their approach to native society was highly strategic. The missionaries introduced modern housing system whereby literacy and Christian family life could not be interrupted. The concept of hard-work through trade or new methods of

agriculture was encouraged to develop individual ambitions. At the same time, educational achievement, paid service, market economy and tax obligation were also taught. Oliver (1952:213-214) in his own words elaborates the above aspects as follows :

If the African Christian was to abandon his place on the old economic prosperity and social prestige by practicing monogamy, he must be compensated by learning a trade, or a new method of agriculture which would open new ambitions...

If he was to read a Bible, his house must have windows to admit light and air. Therefore, its shape must be square and not conical... If his children were to be educated, he must do without their services on the farm, and try to earn to pay their fees...

If his children were to sleep at home and live a Christian family life, he must have a house with two rooms.. In order to pay tax and church tithe, he must have ready money and yet he was not to leave his family to work on a railway or a plantation. he must produce not only for himself, but also for the market.

The above strategies clearly demonstrate how the native social system which strongly relied on extended family kinship ties, subsistence economy, barter-trade, indigenous religion, and collective responsibility was disrupted by the missionaries. At the same time the advent of Western education established far-reaching effects on the native system of socialization (Turner, 1955:147-150). Therefore, in the case of Kenya where the missionaries experienced denominational differences on

the one hand and the settlers' demand of farm labour by force on the other, the protectorate government had to gradually intervene especially in the educational sector.

The Protectorate Government and Education (1911-1920)

The government gradually entered the educational sector which until 1911 was controlled by the missionaries.

It appointed Professor Frazer from Bombay to lead an educational commission. The commission inquired into racial segregation, an industrially biased curriculum, and the inadequate financing. Department of education was set up in 1911 and its first director was Thomas Orr (Otiende, 1990:149).

However, some of the Frazer commission recommendations could not be implemented due to the first world war (1914-1918). Although the missionaries were somehow checked by the department of education by financially subsidising some approved schools, they continued to provide education to the native people. Nevertheless, Kenya owes agricultural and administrative development to the pioneer settlers. Greatest of them all was one settler-leader known as Lord Delamare. He and his friends had for years been engaged in a ceaseless struggle with soil conservation, pest control, and some times with

tiresome government officials. In spite of all these troubles, the settlers answered the call to arms at the outbreak of the first world war in 1914.

It was in the course of the war that the settlers formed a strong lobby group which Lord Delamare represented in the legislative council. Delamare believed in an exclusively European land ownership on the Kenyan Highlands. He resisted firmly the idea that Asians should be allowed to own land. However, Delamare was convinced that European colonization gave better chances of moral and material advancement to the Africans. Therefore, he expected that in years to come the British were to handover the power to the natives of Kenya. (Vere-Hodge and Collister, 1956:123).

Due to the commendable influence acquired by the settlers at the end of the war, the government had to obtain their views before implementing the Frazer commission's recommendations. The settlers' views concerning the provision of education to the natives are shown in table 4.3

Table 4.3 : Settler View of the Provision, Content And
Form of Education to be Given to Native
Kenyans (1918).

Sr.No.	Views	Number of mentions
1.	To be considered only after provision for European education.	10 mentions
2.	Industrial education or trade	6 mentions
3.	Agricultural apprenticeships	4 mentions
4.	To be taught to work	3 mentions
5.	The Three Rs(Reading, Writing & Arithmetic)	2 mentions
6.	Morality - honesty	1 mention
7.	Cleanliness	1 mention
8.	Religious education	1 mention
9.	Educate to develop the country	1 mention

(Number of settlers interviewed = 18)

Source : Sifuna "European Settlers as a Factor Influencing Government Policy and Practice in African Education in Kenya 1900-1962 " Kenya Historical Review Vol.4 No.1. 1976, P.63- 83.

Given that the settlers were highly influential, as far as government policy was concerned, it is not surprising to find that they first fought for their own provision in education. Secondly, they asked for industrial or trade-oriented education to be given to the natives. Thirdly, they preferred also that the type of

education to be given to the natives was to be essentially in the form of agricultural apprenticeships. Fourthly, some settlers demanded that the natives should be taught how to work. Finally, some of them recommended literacy education, that is reading, writing and arithmetic.

In general, the settlers emphasised the provision of an education system for the natives that could meet the contractual demand of farm labour. Therefore, due to the settlers' influence, education gradually became closely related to exploitative economy and racial stratification towards the emergence of a colonial government in 1920.

The Crown Colony And Education (1920-1963)

When the protectorate was declared as a Crown colony in 1920, a new administration was set up. This was aimed at controlling the settler activities as far as land and labour problems were concerned. In the course of the administration, the colonial government began to improve the welfare and the education of native people. This was in response to the 1922 public protests concerning land shortage, forced labour, conversion into Christianity and inadequate provision of education. These grievances were clearly evident among members of the Kikuyu tribe who were also the most affected section of the native society (Ndungu, 1969:130-149, Leaky, 1936:148-166).

Therefore, in 1923, both the government and the missionary bodies agreed to co-operate in the welfare of the native people, especially in the area of education. (Sifuna, 1976:76). In addition to the above step, a commission funded by the Phelps-stokes fund of New York, attempted to apply the theories of Negro education development in Kenya. As a result, the Jeanes school was opened at Kabete near Nairobi in 1924 (Otiende et al., 1992:96).

The students admitted to the Jeanes school were mainly the trained teachers. This was due to the fact that they were to be trained as supervisors of rural schools and their teachers. Thus, the training of supervisors lasted for ten years, after which the school continued as a model-school for community development education (Otiende et al., 1992:46). All these issues arising out of educational concern, initiated the expansion and construction of new schools across the country.

In order to give a systematic view of a typical colonial school the case of Alliance High School is presented below.

**The Functions of Colonial School - Class:
The Case of Alliance High School (1931)**

Alliance High School, derived its name from missionary bodies who came together in order to establish a universal system of Western Education. It was in 1926 that this dream came into reality and the first ideal class room by modern standard was established at Kikuyu region in central Kenya.

The school admitted its students from across the country. Therefore, it offered open chances to individuals who aspired to move out of ascriptive backgrounds to an achievement, provided a sound foundation for vocational studies such as commerce, agriculture, and teaching. A thorough grounding in the instrumental subjects like English, mathematics, science and art was also provided. Thus, throughout the colony the school emerged as an institution that conferred the highest educational achievement through its training (Anderson, 1970:22-23, Thurnwald, 1935:261).

According to Anderson (1970:22-23) a student at this school found it impossible to acquire occupational skills or make a career - choice without attending classes and getting guidance from a teacher for at least two years. Clearly, modern socialization is not only structured and prolonged, but also carried out by professionally trained individuals.

In order to understand this new form of socialization, it is necessary to elaborate upon Talcott Parsons's views on school-class as a social system.

According to Parsons, the modern school-class socializes a student into modern roles. These roles are distinguished in terms of "pattern-variables." These are the categories for the description of value-orientations which, of course, are in various forms integral to personality system, cultural system and social system (Parsons and Shils, 1951:78-79). Pattern-variables therefore are pairs of alternatives relating to aspects of role playing listed in table 4.4

Table 4.4: The pattern - Variables

1. Affectivity - Affective neutrality
2. Diffuseness - Specificity
3. Ascription - Achievement
4. Particularism - Universalism
5. Collectivity - Self *

Source: Parsons T. and Shils E., Towards a General Theory of Action (ed) Oxford University Press 1951:77.

Note: The order of pattern - variables has been slightly altered for the sake of convenience in addressing the actor's dilemma and choices as well as the direction of socialization.

* This pattern-variable was later dropped by Parsons in "Pattern Variables Revisited"(1960).

The list of pattern - variables presented in table 4.4 indicates that when a school class is viewed as a central institute of socialization in a modern society it offers the ideal contents of orientations. The school-class provides a setting whereby professional teachers are able to teach individuals to accept and play roles defined in terms of right-hand alternatives (affective neutrality, specificity, achievement and universalism, self) rather than the left-hand ones (affectivity, diffuseness, ascription, and particularism, collectivity). It enables an individual to gradually extend family obligations to that of the secondary organization is society. It also helps individuals to move successfully from traditional background into a modern setting (Halsely, 1970:394-395).

The concept of pattern-variables tried to capture variable modes of orientations in (i) personality system, (i.e. decisions/choices of actors), (ii) cultural system (i.e. value-orientations of culture), and (iii) social system (i.e. normative orientations of status-roles in social systems).

The pattern variables were phrased in polar dichotomies which would allow for a categorization of decisions of actors, value-orientations of culture and normative demands on status-roles. In the following discussion, Parsons's original conceptualization and

definitions of the five dichotomous choices are elaborated upon as listed in table 4.4.

1. Affectivity versus Affective - Neutrality.

This choice reflects the gratification - discipline dilemma prevalent in a class-room and addresses the question: how much emotion or affect is appropriate between a teacher and a student. Should it be great like that of a parent (affectivity) or little (affective-neutrality) as the teaching ethics demand ?

2. Diffuseness versus Specificity.

This is related to the scope of interest in objects and addresses the question : should the obligation of the teachers be broad and extensive (diffuseness) like that of parents or narrow and specific (specificity) like that of modern professionals ?

3. Ascription versus Achievement

This pair is pertaining to the choice between quality or performance of an individual and addresses the question: whether a teacher should evaluate students according to their ascriptive qualities (ascription) like parents or in terms of performance (achievement) as professionals?

4. Particularism Versus Universalism

This dichotomy is related to the choice between types of value-orientations and addresses to the question : should all students be judged or evaluated differently according to their social background (particularism) like parent or should they apply same objective standard of evaluation to all students irrespective of their background (universalism) like professionals ?

5. Collectivity versus Self

This pair refers to the dilemma between the collective interests versus private or personal interests and addresses the question : should group or collective interests (collectivity) have primary concern just as in family or the personal interests (self) as expected in modern individualistic society ?

The above expectations of a school - class are shaped by the functional needs of the modern society. According to Parsons (1960) all societies have four main functional requirements. These are :

1. Pattern maintenance i.e. the preservation and passing on of social norms, values, rights and obligations .
2. Internal integration, i.e. the provision of the means by which one part of social life is linked to another

or by which one sector of the social system (e.g. family life) is related to another.

3. Goal attainment, i.e. the provision of the means whereby both individual and collective aims and needs can be realized.
4. Adaptation, i.e. a capacity for an individual to make a controlled response to changes in the physical and socio-cultural setting, without threatening the overall integration of society.

From the foregoing elaborations, it is clear that two important processes, as far as the process of socialization is concerned, are evident. The first is the process of institutionalization, that is, the way in which individual behaviour becomes systematically regularized and standardized. The second is the process of social control, that is, the way in which social expectations surrounding different roles are enforced. Social control, in turn, implies two mechanisms: (a) internalization of norms by individuals, and (b) enforcement of norms through external sanctions.

In the light of the above perspective, the Alliance High school, as a central agency of colonial socialization, functioned quite impressively. It prepared

its students for various roles required by modern Kenyan society as indicated in table 4.5

Table 4.5: Occupations Taken by Alliance School Leavers
(1931)

Employer	Occupation	Number of Students	Grand Total per occupation
Mission Schools	Teaching	6	8
Government Schools	Teaching	1	
Agricultural Deptt.	Teaching	1	
Medical Dispensary	Clerical	2	8
Shell Company, Nairobi	Clerical	1	
King, s African Rifles	Clerical	1	
Church of Scotland Mission	Clerical	1	
Public Works Department	Clerical	1	3
Railways	Station Master	1	
Reformatory, Kabete	Store Keeping	1	
Education Department	Time Keeper	1	2
Placement of two students not known	--	--	

Source: Thurnwald R. Black and White in East Africa, George Routledge and Sons Ltd., London, 1935 P.270.

As can be judged from table 4.5, the results of Alliance High School are quite impressive. An equal number of teachers (8) as that of the clerks were

produced by the school. Three students joined the administrative sectors. Two students either failed or the school lost their contact. What is also evident is that the school prepared white-collar personnel. Therefore, the school-leavers got employed in urban areas, far away from their homes. The unintended consequence of this phenomenon was the weakening of kinship ties and the resultant of socio-cultural alienation.

In spite of the above mentioned dys-functional consequences, which gradually led to native social disintegration, the school's function in colonial Kenya was significant. It shaped its students into modern individuals and strong Christians acquainted with public roles necessary for the newly emerging Kenya under colonial rule (Anderson, 1970:22-23). Thus, the nature and type of education imparted during this period changed, both in form and content. With reference to the form, the earlier type of informal socialization (of pre-colonial Kenya) was replaced by a formalized system of education in which the school-class emerged as a central institution of socialization. In terms of content, it became more universal, specific, achievement-oriented, affectively neutral, and self-oriented. This is essence of modernization.

Modernization Among Native Kenya During Colonial Era

A modern individual is a person who is not only able to take a rational attitude informing opinions, but is also psychologically prepared to undertake innovations and has capacity to hold on different views while still at a position in a given setting (Lerner, 1958:45-51). Therefore, Lerner (1967:386) defines modernization as a current term for an old process - the process of social change whereby the less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies.

In the case of Kenya, Wilson (1961:104-112) found, that in Mombasa, which is one of earliest multi-cultural municipality, social stratification was based on race, tribe, religion, and occupation. In the hinterlands of Kenya however, the response to European contact varied according to a tribe's culture and geographical location.

For instance, those tribes who lived in conducive areas and in a neighborhood to good mission-schools responded to new opportunities. This is typically true in the case of the Kikuyu who started their own schools and churches. This was to safeguard the homogeneity of their culture while at the same time aiming at spiritual, economic as well as intellectual upliftment. On the other hand, the Pokot, and the Maasai who lead a nomadic life in a harsh environment, remained indifferent and

defiant to European influence. (Schneider, 1959:160-161, Herskovits, 1962:4, Moi, 1986:5, and Hallet, 1989:592-593).

Lystard (1955:88-89) observes that European and African contact was characterised by conditions such as : greater division of labour based on contractual obligations, class differential based on school qualification rather than by birth, increased impersonality in relationships based on familiarity than customary obligation, increased dependence on codified law for the control of behaviour rather than custom or public sanctions.

Reviewing the history of education in Kenya, Otiende (1990:88-89) corroborates the above views convincingly. He argues that colonialism appears to have brought about social differentiation based on race. This process evolved a stratification system supported by educational achievement and, in particular cases, based on wealth. For example, the Europeans received purely academic education preparing them for management, administration, large- scale farming and entrepreneurship. The Asians received both academic and commercial education preparing them for middle level positions such as accountants, retailers and technicians. The Africans received an education that inculcated Christian values, simple

technology and related skills required by ordinary colonial subjects, especially for the European farmers.

The foregoing views establish the fact that modernization among native Kenyans during the colonial era is largely attributed to Western education. It is evident that an educational system offering the proficiency in a European language became an essential key to new technology and bureaucracy. School certificate became indispensable for any occupational mobility in commerce, industry, and administration. It is in this context of formal education that the role of school teachers became inseparable from the process of modernization.

The Emergence of Trained Teachers And Education Since-1846.

The precise nature of the evolution of formal education and teacher-training in Kenya is rather complex. It is associated with the peculiar characteristics and objectives of the authorities that claimed to control it. For instance, from 1846 to 1910, the missionaries monopolized the educational sector. However, in 1911, the protectorate government established the education department. Moreover, it began to subsidize some approved mission schools. Therefore, by 1913 it had also established the first secular technical school with

a teacher-training section at Maseno in Western Kenya (Carnoy, 1972:9).

During this early phase of formal education, there were no teacher-training colleges. Only in-service training by Christian missionaries existed within some schools in the entire education system. This pupil-teacher system began by inviting some of the best students to stay on so as to learn the art of teaching. However, formal training did not start before 1925 (Otiende et al., 1992:42-43).

Formal teacher-training started at Alliance High School at Kikuyu in 1926. However, by 1939 there were about twenty-six other institutions in the country. The professional quality of the teachers graduating from the various institutions in the 1930's was low. This is attributed to poor performance in the teacher's certificate along with school certificate examinations respectively. Teacher-training colleges did not exist as separate institutions but were affiliated to primary and secondary schools as revealed in table 4.6

Table 4.6 : Those Who Passed Examinations In All The Sub-
Systems of The Colonial Education (1940-1950).

School Examinations	1940	1945	1950
Kenya African Preliminary Examination	625	1,107	2,560
African Secondary School Examination	88	127	275
School Certificate Examination	11	16	66
T2 Teachers	10	14	55
T3 Teachers	70	88	444
T4 Teachers	164	351	449

Source: Colonial Reports, Kenya, 1950, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1951, page 41-42.

Note T1 as the highest teacher grade were trained at Makerere University, Uganda, whereas, T2, T3, and T4 teacher grades were trained at particular schools as well as in autonomous colleges at a later phase of colonial era.

However, in 1936 professional teacher-training colleges emerged replacing the school training centers. This step considerably improved the tutor's ability to inculcate better skills to the teachers. (Otiende et al., 1992:49) Thus, from 1940 onwards professionalization of the art of teaching began along with the establishment of more autonomous training centers as can be seen in table 4.7.

Table 4.7 : Teacher-Training Centres In 1949.

Teacher	Grade	Government	Mission	Total
T2		1	-	1
T3		5	8	13
T4		3	18	21

Source: Colonial Reports, Kenya, 1949, His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1950, p.51.

Apart from the above development of the teaching profession, the pioneer native teachers observed a rigid code of conduct and worked in unfavourable terms of service. Most of the schools were still under missionary control and, therefore, restricted any native values that did not conform to Christianity. Salary differential was not based on qualification but on race. Even housing schemes reflected racial discrimination. Moreover, staff-welfare department also was not existing. All these conditions and terms of service left native teachers both demoralized and insecure in their profession.

As a consequence, Kenya African Teachers Union (KATU) was formed in 1934 by James Gichuru and Eliud Mathu. KATU fought for the rights of teachers in both racial and professional aspects. However, it could not operate actively due to lack of funds and proper coordination. In spite of all these difficulties, the union started to

take shape when it joined hands with the various national independence movements. In 1952, the state of emergency was declared and all political parties, excluding trade-unions, were banned. Therefore, trade-unions continued the cause of freedom struggle. It was in this context, that KATU was transformed in 1957 into the Kenya National Union of Teachers (Adongo, 1982:10-11). In short, during the independence movement, the professionally trained teachers not only gave out but also infused modern skills, values, and attitudes among their pupils who formed a cadre of native leaders.

Native Leaders And The Independent School System (1934-1952)

The thought of establishing schools outside missionary or colonial control has a long history, and it owes its origin to separatists. These were native individuals who discontinued their relations with missionary authorities due to value-based conflicts. The earliest of these was Mr. John Owalo who severed relations with the Maseno mission in 1907. He founded a religious splinter sect known as the Nomiya Luo mission alongwith its affiliated schools in Nyanza province. Also in Nyanza, Chief Odera Akango of Gem Location, inspired by Owalo's success, built his school in 1914. But unlike Owalo, he forced his people to let their children attend the schools at a low

fee. This was not only to encourage them, but also to provide an ample chance for all. Because, this was an education that offered achievement-oriented status and unlimited upward social social mobility (Ndungu, 1969:133, Otiende, 1990:148-149, and Bogonko, 1992:24-25).

Another significant development took place amongst the Kikuyu in central province. It began when the Church of Scotland mission decided to stop the propagation of traditional values and practices, especially that of female circumcision in 1929. This discontinuation of the core content of native rite in the process of socialization became a turning point in the history of education in Kenya. The ban on traditional practices tested the loyalty of the congregation on the foreign orientations given by the mission on the one hand and the native orientations revived by the emerging nationalists on the other (Ndungu, 1969:132-135). Out of this conflict on values, two independent educational associations came into existence in Central province. These were the Kikuyu Karinga (Pure) Education Association (K.K.E.) founded by Mr. Hezekiah Gachuhi at Gituamba in 1931, and the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (K.I.S.A.) founded by Mr. Arthur Gatungu in South Kiambu in 1934 (Ndungu, 1969:132-135).

The growth and development of independent schools in Kenya is a weak area of study. The colonialists neither recognised nor recorded its existence until 1935 (Corfield, 1960:172). Moreover, existing data rarely separates the statistical figures concerning independent schools. For instance, it is reported that upto 1935, 34 independent schools with a total enrollment of 2,518 pupils existed. By 1936, it increased to 44 with a total enrollment of 3,984 pupils. Thus it can not be ascertained as to which school association was progressing or not.

However, what is certain in its early development is that the independent schools lacked a source from which to obtain qualified teachers. At the same time rapid development could not be achieved due to lack of funds and organizational skills (Ndungu, 1967:147). Nevertheless, the independent school movement reached a turning point when Mr. Peter Koinange founded the Kenya Teachers Training College at Gitunguri in 1939. His first objective was to ensure the production of a limited number of teachers required to meet the need of the expanding system of independent schools. Secondly, he emphasised on an education system which was not only African in its orientations, but also independent of Government and free from missionary influence (Corfield, 1960:182-183). The college drew its inspiration and

policy formulation from the Kikuyu Central Association (K.C.A.) It also recruited its teacher-trainees from the independent schools scattered all over the country.

A look at table 4.8, showing the origin of the teacher-trainees at Githunguri college, throws some light on the extent of the spread and impact of independent schools in colonial Kenya.

Table 4.8: The Origin of Teacher-Trainees at Githunguri College (1947)

Origin by District	Number	Origin by province
Forth Hall (Muranga)	137	
Nyeri	119	Central province
Kiambu	100	
Embu	48	
Nakuru	63	Rift Valley
North Kavirondo	57	
South and Central Kavirondo	38	Nyanza province

Compiled and adapted from: Corfield F.D. Historical Survey of the Origin and growth of Mau Mau, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1960, p.183.

Table 4.8 clearly shows that by 1947 the independent schools had extensively spread. It was established in Kenya's populous and important provinces, such as, Central province, Rift Valley, and Nyanza. Thus, the role

of independent schools and the teachers' training in the evolution as well as the synthesis of native values cannot be ignored. This is so because eminent native leaders and elites like Peter Koinange, Dedan Mugo and Jomo Kenyatta were involved.

Jomo Kenyatta: His Background

A complete view of the sociology and history of education in Kenya cannot be grasped without a comprehensive knowledge of Mr. Jomo Kenyatta (1893-1978) as a teacher, anthropologist and a statesman; since Kenya owes its philosophy of self-help which is popularly known as Harambee to him.

Kenyatta's social background is not very clear. It is said that as a young boy, he found his way to the Church of Scotland Missionary compound (Delf, 1961:34-35). There in the mission, it came to be known that he was an orphan and his name was Kamau son of Ngengi. His health at the mission is described to have been pathetic, due to sickness. However, Kamau was employed as a kitchen - help by a Scottish missionary.

As a rehabilitated youth, certainly from malnutrition Kamau earned a nick name as "John China - Man" from his employer. It is pointed out by his biographers that the nick-name was not given due to his slant eyes but because

of the fact that Kamau had great imaginations and he could spin yarns like an old China-man.

Under the Scottish Guardian, China-man attended the mission-school which offered both formal and vocational training. But, he opted to join the carpentry class. Within a few years, Kamau John China-man was duly baptized and assumed the Christian name of Johnstone Kamau.

Johnstone Kamau was considered by his teachers as an outstanding pupil, though he didn't achieve a very high grade. At least, Johnstone attended the schooling he aspired for. But, it is said that the alien Scottish socialization with high discipline deterred Johnstone's emotional and imaginative nature. As a result, he ran away to Nairobi city.

In the city, Johnstone was employed as a clerk in about 1921-22. As the political consciousness gathered momentum among the Kikuyu in 1922, Johnstone Kamau made an entry in the public limelight the moment he joined Young Kikuyu Association (Y.K.A.) Therefore, as a sign of his radical outlook and commitment Johnstone Kamau dropped all his names and adopted that of "Jomo Kenyatta" meaning Kenya's burning or flaming spear.

It is interesting to note that at the height of Kikuyu and church of Scotland cultural conflict in 1929, Jomo Kenyatta left for Britain to present Kikuyu grievances concerning : shortage of land, restriction on the planting of cash crops such as coffee, differential wages based on race, and segregative housing schemes (Corfield, 1960:22-25, Cf 266, and Huxley, 1960:262-263) Kenyatta returned to Kenya after visiting Moscow in 1930. But, he went back to Britain and stayed there until 1946.

Jomo Kenyatta and Education (1946-1962)

The significance of independent schools movement that finally synthesized traditional and modern skills as well as attitudes suitable for national aspiration emerged clearly with the arrival of Kenyatta from Britain in September 1946. His appearance at the political scene, is said to have been new and had a powerful influence upon the entire Kenyan society.

Kenyatta joined hands with leading educators like Peter Koinange and Dedan Mugo at the Kenya Teachers Training College (K.T.T.C.) Githanguri. As a result, within a short time the college strengthened its ties with the Kikuyu Central Association (K.C.A.) (Corfield, 1960:267) However, when Mr.Koinange, who by then was the principal, left for Britain to appeal for the elevation of K.T.T.C. into a university, Kenyatta acted in his

absence as the principal. During his tenure, Kenyatta's influence in the college began with an intensive fund-raising for building and development projects. He made several tours to collect cash money from the Kikuyu according to their age-sets. This is the essence of "Harambee" which means pulling together to accomplish the goal of self-help.

During the harambee fund - raising drives across the Kikuyu region, Kenyatta not only explained the need for independent schools but also revived the indigenous collective action that reiterates self-help. As a trained anthropologist and able politician, Kenyatta, used the opportunity to elaborate concepts of social psychology like nationalism, cultural heritage, and patriotism (Linton, 1949:21-36, Gerth, and Mills, 1954:197-178). These proved to be effective issues of freedom struggle. As a result, the teachers' college became a centre for the making of a nation as it also trained politicians (Leakey, 1952:92).

As for the independent (i.e. Harambee) schools, their numerical strength is not clear. However it is ascertained that at the time of Kenyatta's arrival, there were about 300 schools with a total enrollment of about 6,000 pupils. (Delf, 1961:137). If that was the case, then it is likely that Kenyatta's effort of mass

mobilization and fund raising is a significant contribution to Kenya's educational evolution.

Apart from the common lectures that Kenyatta delivered during working days at Gitunguri, on Sundays he expected his students to attend lectures on the expulsion of the British from Kenya (Corfield, 1960:187-190). Thus, the college, including the independent schools, played a crucial role in producing both patriotic and nationalistic individuals who were ready to rebel against the British.

The colonial school inspectors reported that the independent schools were very low in comparison to the standard set by the government. Moreover, their politically chaotic setting was not the type expected to inculcate loyal leadership into its pupils. On the basis of these reasons the independent schools were finally closed in 1952-53 education year (Corfield, 1960:190).

Given the bias inherent in the colonial view, it is erroneous to rush into conclusion. An independent viewpoint maintains that it is praise-worthy to say that the Kikuyu educational associations financed and helped to establish a number of schools. This enabled the would-be illiterates to learn, read, and write (Leakey, 1952:91). Thus, the important feature about Jomo

Kenyatta and his colleagues at Githunguri is that they not only continued some of the traditional contents of socialization, but also incorporated new concepts toward nationalist orientation. Moreover, Kenyatta used tactfully the school buildings and their management to launch the demand for an African nation-state.

The above activity was spread across Kenya by an extreme violent nationalism in the name of "Mau Mau", which in Swahili language means "Mwafrika Apate Uhuru Mzungu Aende Ulaya". That is, the African to get independence and the Briton to go to Britain. Mau Mau directed its offensive tactics against the settler's lives and property. At the same time, through its propaganda, it highlighted the need for self-governance, restitution of lost lands, reasonable pay, and rejection of imposed religion. However, it was effectively crushed by the declaration of state of emergency which lasted for over seven years (1952-1960). Thus, on 14th October, 1952, the college and the independent schools were closed. By 20th October 1952, Kenyatta was detained and all political parties related to Mau Mau activities were banned by the colonial government. In the absence of Kenyatta, native leaders like Tom Mboya and Odinga Odinga, who were not considered radicals, continued the freedom struggle (Mboya, 1963:63-68, Odinga, 1967:37).

However, by all standards, it can be asserted that at the end of colonialism in 1963, the base on which the contemporary education system in Kenya is laid, was founded. But it required a radical reform to suit new hopes and national aspirations.

Summary

In this chapter it is argued that with the coloniaziation of Kenya by the British, a series of socio-cultural changes followed.

As a result, the nature and type of education imparted during this period also changed, both in form and content. With reference to the form the earlier type of informal socialization (of pre-colonial Kenya) was replaced by a formalized system of education, in which the school class emerged as a central institution of socialization. In terms of content, it became more and more universal, specific, achievement-oriented, affectively neutral, and self-oriented.

It is also observed that due to the process of modernization, the system of social stratification also started to change with the increasing emphasis on achievement and formal education. Thus education became an important means of social mobility in the emerging achievement-oriented form of stratification.

Further, it is noted that a new role of professionally trained socializing agents such as school teachers emerged. They not only gave out but also infused modern skills, values and attitudes among their pupils.

However, since colonial education was based on the interests of the British empire, a resentment developed among the leaders of native Kenyans (who ironically, at the same time, were inspired by the same system of education). Thus, as a result, the native elites initiated an independent school movement that finally synthesized traditional and modern skills, values as well as attitudes suitable for national aspirations. The next chapter examines the impact of these aspirations on national development and growth such as expansion of schools as well as the professionalization of school teachers.