AN HISTORICAL REVIEW OF HIGHER EDUCATION
IN KENYA SINCE 1975, WITH AN EMPHASIS
ON CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

DISSERTATION

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By

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This study focuses on the history of higher education in Kenya since 1975, with an emphasis on curriculum development. The main purposes of the study were (1) to describe the historical events of higher education in Kenya since 1975, and (2) to analyze the present system of higher education in the country. The study attempted to answer questions related to higher education in Kenya. The questions investigated were (1) how had the characteristics of higher education curriculum changed since 1975?; (2) in what ways had the purposes of higher education in Kenya changed since 1975?; (3) to what extent have these purposes been achieved? why or why not?; and (4) which events since 1975 had a major impact on higher education in Kenya?

The major analysis of the study is historical and gives an explanation of the history of the development of higher education in the colonial days in Kenya, briefly discussing the period 1953-75. The analysis of Kenyan institutions of higher education covers the development of
Kenyan higher education since 1975. The discussion consists of basic facts of Kenyan higher education.

Data from primary and secondary sources were analyzed and studied. Documents were chronologically and topically reviewed. Chapter I of the study is the introduction. The history of higher education is in Chapter II. Chapter III discusses the impact of Western education in Kenya. Chapter IV deals with development, politics, and Kenyan higher education. Chapter V contains the summary, a discussion, and conclusions based on the facts presented in Chapters I through IV. Since 1975, higher education in Kenya has emphasized vocational and technical education, African culture, natural sciences, and rural development.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Most developing countries experience political and socio-economic changes, and many scholars argue that education has played an important role in bringing about these changes (17, pp. 500-566; 39, pp. 51-60). Education is important in nation building as Wa Thiong'o, the Kenyan novelist, stresses in his works (86, pp. 78-81). This study is an historical review of higher education in Kenya since 1975, with an emphasis on curriculum development, to show how higher education has affected such changes. The Kenyan educational system is discussed, with the one central theme of analyzing higher education there.

Kenya, one of the East African countries, is bisected by the equator into two nearly equal parts. The northernmost and southernmost points of the country are about equidistant and are about four degrees north and about four degrees south of the equator. The total area of 224,970 square miles includes 5,200 square miles of water, consisting largely of Lake Turkana which covers 2,473 square miles and a portion of Lake Victoria which covers 1,461 miles (69, pp. 1-5).
Kenya shares borders with five other countries. To the east and north are Somalia and Ethiopia, to the northwest lies the Sudan, to the west is Uganda, and to the south is Tanzania. Kenya is divided into seven provinces and the District of Nairobi which is considered an extra province (69, p. 2). The population of Kenya in 1979 was 16 million Africans, 85,000 Whites, 165,000 Asians and 50,000 Arabs (69, p. 2).

Kenya possessed a more developed industrial sector than most black countries at independence and, in addition, had established markets for its manufactured goods. There are both private and government schools and while education is non-compulsory, it is free in government schools at the primary level. High school and college education are government-aided through grants, free tuition and fees and room and board, as well as loans for those who cannot afford to pay for their education (56, pp. 35-36).

**Purposes of the Study**

This study was an historical review of higher education in Kenya since 1975, with an emphasis on curriculum development. The purposes of the study were:

1. To describe the historical events of higher education in Kenya since 1975.

2. To analyze the present system of higher education in the country.
3. To formulate generalizations about Kenyan higher education institutions.

Questions Investigated

1. How had the characteristics of the higher education curriculum changed since 1975?
2. In what ways had the purposes of higher education in Kenya changed since 1975?
3. To what extent have these purposes been achieved? Why or why not?
4. Which events since 1975 had a major impact on higher education in Kenya?

Background

This study dealt with an historical review of higher education in Kenya since 1975, with an emphasis on curriculum development. The relevant literature had references to the Kenyan system of education and the problems facing the system. The various types of post-secondary education in Kenya were explained.

The early Europeans in Kenya shared the basic assumption that Western culture was superior to that of the indigenous Kenyans. They viewed their education as a "civilizing mission" which was, in effect, the inculcation of Western values. To a certain degree this was effective, for the Western educated African rejected his own culture
and emulated the European, for he felt the future lay in assimilating Western cultural values. It was not long, however, before there was a realization that "Westernization" did not necessarily solve his problems (85, pp. 150-159). Dominated by a colonial power which humiliated the educated African and destroyed traditional values, the modern African, who looked for a way to express himself, found it in the African movement for independence. Efforts by the colonial government to expand educational opportunities in the years preceding independence had coincided with an enormous and unparalleled public demand for education. In the election campaigns, the promises of universal free primary education, an expanded secondary school education, and more opportunities for higher education were included in the manifestos of all political parties. Of the East African countries (Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania), Kenya is reported by Maliyamkono as having the most advanced system of education and schools (56, pp. 155-261; 85, pp. xx-xxiv).

Most of the studies were confined to the period after Kenyan independence. There was also a mention of the educational system in pre-independence days in some books. The educational changes following independence and political and socio-economic changes and their effect on education were widely studied by scholars of Kenyan and
African educational systems. According to Mazrui, for example, social, political and economic factors have played an important role in shaping the educational system in Kenya (57, pp. 233-282).

Mazrui feels that the link between religion and education is strong. This is true in Kenya (57, p. 237). The government and the people emphasize education for full participation in all activities—political, social, economic and religious. Parents, relatives, elders, and peer groups are all eager to see young Kenyans get an education. The educated class has a special place in society and is admired by most people (57, pp. 185-232).

Wa Thiong'o and Mazrui are in conflict in their views of higher education in Kenya. Thiong'o has stated that higher education in Kenya is misleading as it tends to alienate the African from his culture (64, pp. 34-40; 67, pp. 4-16; 94, pp. 1-48).

Odinga insists that the purpose of Western education "was not to train for independence, but for subservience" (77, p. 63). Mboya, on the other hand, believed that education was badly needed so that the Africans can be self-sufficient and self-reliant. He advocated Western-oriented education and succeeded in arranging for many Africans to come to the United States for further studies (28, pp. 119-120; 58, pp. 163-208; 59, pp. 137-163).
Education is the key to achievement in other sectors, especially those that are regarded as capable of stimulating economic growth (56, pp. 2-3). Ashby argues that Africans accept all the Western education they can get. He says they prefer it unaltered and that this is because the least altered form of higher education the Africans can get leads to a prestigious post. But he feels that this type of education uprooted indigenous values. He argued that many people in Africa and in the West lament and resent this as it has done more harm than good. Science and technology are areas not very badly affected by this brainwashing. This logic is not always true (8, pp. ix-xiii; 79, pp. 198-200). A good education should develop the individual and make him fit for his society. Higher education should not sacrifice individual development for cultural or technological advancement (75, pp. 1-20).

The British system was instrumental in bringing social change in Kenya. The emergence of new political leaders, the improvement of skills necessary to national development and the establishment of urban centers of Western civilization can be partially attributed to the introduction of a Western system of education. The African leaders have also noted the rapid social disintegration of the African society. There has been a breakdown of family life; a disintegration of the tribal community; an increased
delinquency and crime rate; a refusal to return to the land; an increased divorce rate; and a rise in unemployment—all elements foreign to the African. A new social life appeared, influenced by the values of the Western world with emphasis on money and position. The new society is found in the urban areas where there are opportunities for a wage and skilled occupation. Positions are now achieved rather than being ascribed.

When Kenya became an independent nation in 1963, eighteen nations and a host of international agencies rushed there to assist her. Within fifteen years, the development reports projected that major sectors of the modern Kenyan economy would be managed and staffed locally. Although it was generally agreed that self-help at the local level could contribute to national development, education has been emphasized all along (70, pp. 35-70; 75, p. 68; 76, pp. 91-171; 94, pp. 71-99; 101, pp. 5-12).

Cameron analyzes the impact of Western education on Kenyans, evaluates teacher education and looks into Kenyan educational institutions to conclude that the government of Kenya is determined to educate its people and that Africans are not about to abandon their culture for that of the West. Africans are going to be educated but they will still retain their culture. African education must also encourage African culture through proverbs, songs, beliefs,
tribal love and impressions of the impact of the West on home-life and so on (16, pp. 16-32).

Stabler concludes that education in Kenya will have to broaden its academic base to contribute significantly to rural development. Court argues that the objectives of achieving self-sufficiency were achieved in Kenya in the first ten years of independence (87, pp. 20-35).

During the 1960s, the system of higher education in Kenya expanded vastly. The university imported and adopted a definite structure. The university should not be controlled by the government. A higher education institution has to be independent of government control and detach itself from status quo matters if it is to prosper. Kenyan institutions are moving in that direction (87, pp. 2-21).

Education and Kenyanization can strengthen the economy and significantly improve the standard of living conditions of local people. Imported manpower, however, was viewed as crucial in technology and in the arts. The Kenya Development Plan for the period 1970-74 cited Kenyanization of the economy as an immediate goal. Shortages of local manpower were noted in various fields including engineering, architecture, health care delivery, and the arts (47, p. 121; 98, pp. 5-8). It was necessary to expand higher education in order to meet these goals.
At independence Kenya had one university college graduating about 40 students a year, with a total enrollment of 375 Kenyan students. A few additional students graduated annually from Makerere College in Uganda and from Dar-es-Salaam College in Tanzania. Some of the graduates from Nairobi University College were from Uganda and Tanzania (8, pp. 264-266). By 1984 the country had 3 major public universities, more than 20 smaller public colleges, several private colleges and 3 private universities (98, pp. 5-8). In 1981 the University of Nairobi had 914 graduate students. In the 1979-80 academic year, 2,044 students graduated from both the University of Nairobi and Kenyatta University. Moi University had 200 students in 1984, the year it was established (105, pp. 5-7). The three national universities had a total enrollment of 11,000 students in 1985. A total of 1,870 students graduated from the University of Nairobi in 1985. Of those graduating, 103 students were in agriculture; 105 in architecture, design and development; 176 in engineering; 76 in veterinary medicine; 97 in medicine; 302 in science; and 168 in commerce (43, pp. 147-186).

Between 1963 and 1973 secondary school enrollment increased from 30,000 to 175,000. Several hundred Harambee secondary schools had been built by 1973. These self-help schools (built by the people with government aid)
constituted 45 percent of all secondary schools in Kenya in 1973 (43, pp. 147-186).

In 1963 Kenya had few doctors and lawyers. There were few engineers, and most of them were foreigners. There were two major hospitals and several clinics and dispensaries. By 1981 there were 542 public physicians, 22 dentists, 30 pharmacists, and 347 public nurses. There were also few economists in Kenya in 1963, but by the 1970s Kenya had a national economic association. By 1973 many hospitals had been built. Nairobi now has 10 major hospitals. Many hospitals have been built in the rural areas and in cities and towns. In 1977 there were 1,600 doctors and dentists or 10 doctors for every 100,000 people. There were many Africans in professional fields in the 1970s, compared to the few that existed in 1963.

The population of Kenya was 9 million in 1963. In 1985, this was 20 million. The city of Nairobi has 1.5 million people now. By the 1970s, Kenya was practicing family planning (10, pp. 26, 181-189; 23, p. A14; 43, pp. viii, 136, 154-155). The country experienced some drought but soon recovered and was self-sufficient in food production, and was exporting foodstuffs.

Kenya has experienced enormous economic growth and development since independence. There has been considerable political development and stability, except
for an attempted coup in 1982, and some repression of
dissidents. Kenya has emphasized economic development as
well as political institutionalization and participation
(except the fact that the government has a one-party
system, political opposition is not allowed and political
dissidents are detained without trial) (89, pp. ix-xiii,
51-100; 104, pp. 2-14).

In the rapid economic expansion that Kenya has experi-
enced since independence, general education has been the
most spectacular of the growth industries (10, p. 177; 45,
p. 10; 105, pp. 5-7). For example, in 1963, there were
only 892 primary schools in Kenya; in 1978 there were
9,237. In 1964 there were 22 secondary schools, whereas
there were 1,560 in 1978. There are 17 major teacher
training colleges, over 20 technical, science and
agricultural colleges, many private colleges and 2 major
polytechnics. Only 3 small technical colleges existed in
1963, and there were no technical universities. Moi
University was built for this purpose in 1984, and Kenyatta
University (formerly for teacher education) became a full
separate university in 1985.

Kenya spent 12 percent of her gross domestic product
(GDP) on education in 1976. It is stated that Kenya
devotes a larger proportion of its total spending to
education than most other governments. It is reported that
in 1977 only three out of a total of seventy-three countries studied had a larger share of government spending on education than Kenya. Between 1964 and 1969, the annual expenditure on education in Kenya was surpassed only by agricultural expenditure. But since 1970 educational expenditure has been larger than on any other sector. For instance, in 1964-65, expenditure on agriculture was 19.1 percent of the total expenditure; education was 10 percent, but in 1976-1977, expenditure on education was 20 percent, and 10.2 percent on agriculture (35, pp. 138-139; 45, pp. 9-10; 49, pp. 203, 265-268). This was not the case in the colonial days (43, pp. 20, 110-117, 147-186).

As early as 1952, Moehlman could argue that "in the past Great Britain did seek to superimpose European government and education upon the natives" (66, p. 18). Chambers stated that:

The territory of Kenya is unique in that it has a compact European settler community of some 21,000 people, occupying an elevated region of good climate and fertility. . . . Notable examples of native initiative are two local associations—the Kikuyu Independent School Association and the Karing'a School Association—which together maintain sixty schools with some seven thousand pupils (66, p. 247).

Chambers stated that the European element (less than 1 percent of a population of five million) exercised a large degree of political control, and that there was racial segregation and economic discrimination against the natives. The emphasis on education was largely on the
training of farm labor, industrial workers, artisans, and clerks who could provide services needed by the European-controlled economy (66, pp. 426-427).

In an effort to expand higher education and the other levels of education the African government that succeeded the colonialists in 1963 had to spend a lot of money for building additional schools, training more teachers and other professionals, as well as changing the curriculum to fit the African needs and environment. The formerly segregated European, Asian and Arab schools were open to all after independence (35, pp. 4-5).

Before Kenya attained independence, higher education was on a rapid decline which had been getting deeper each year since 1952. After the colonial government had declared a state of emergency in the country due to the Mau Mau guerrilla warfare, it became difficult for the government to allocate any money for education (35, pp. 7-9). The bottom line in the whole political activity was that the colonial government could not foot the war bill and had to force many young people into the military. Hundreds of thousands of young Africans were killed in the Mau Mau war. Others were languishing in prisons, and many more were in the forests fighting. The few who had left the country for further studies were scared to return home and so many stayed away (52, pp. 20-31).
Education was needed to boost the political and economic development of the newly independent nation. Education has not always proven able to solve the problems of a developing country. Sometimes higher education brings frustrations and unrealized goals. This is when education becomes the breaking point for a young nation (40, pp. 47-49). Economically Kenya has achieved a considerable amount of growth and development. The country has been seriously involved in providing education to the young Kenyans. By 1981 Kenya was spending 33 percent of her gross national product on education (49, p. 289).

Early modernization of the society also tends to produce changes in the excluded social force, such as increasing literacy, urbanization, and education, which lead to increased political consciousness and mobilization. Economic and social change also tend to diversify the social and political elite, to introduce potentially disruptive antagonisms within the single party (state)--which Kenya is--and the constituency social force, and eventually to produce new, more complex lines of cleavage cutting across the previously dominated bifurcation. Huntington also argues that the political leadership of an exclusionary system can react to challenges in one or a combination of three ways as follows:

(a) It can attempt to slow down social and economic change and to channel it in ways that will
minimize conflict within the existing elite and hamper the development of political consciousness by the excluded social force;

(b) The political leaders can result to repression to contain elite disunity and mass dissatisfaction on the part of the excluded social force; and

(c) The political leadership of an exclusionary one-party system accepts both modernization and its political consequences (elite disunity and excluded social force mobilization) and attempts to adapt their political systems to these developments. In this case, the leadership may downgrade the importance of the existing bifurcation and appeal to the previously excluded social force for support in its struggle with the other segments of the political elite (41, pp. 18-19).

Social and economic modernization, in the long run, undermines the conditions that permit the existence of an exclusionary one-party system. These conditions which permit an exclusionary system to survive are (a) a sympathetic or indifferent international environment that does not challenge the legitimacy of the system; (b) a significant difference in political consciousness and political mobilization between the constituency and the excluded social force; and (c) a relatively high degree of unity within the political elite of the constituency social force (41, pp. 17-18).

According to Wa Thiong'o, Kenya has most of the factors that can cause political instability and social turmoil any time (94, pp. 102-106). One very important role higher education can play in Kenya is to bring democracy. The educated Kenyans are now asking for that.
Most of them want freedom of speech, freedom to assemble and freedom of the press. They want to be able to run for any political office in the country, including that of the president. This does not happen in Kenya, and anyone speaking about these rights can be detained indefinitely and without trial. The Kenyan elite is concerned about this (95, pp. 3-5; 99, p. 4). The consequences of challenging the government are costly. When George Githii, the Cambridge-educated former editor of the East African Standard newspaper, spoke against the repression of political dissidents, he was soon fired from his post and detained (102, pp. 4-14; 103, pp. 4-5).

Among those who have written elegant formulations of democracy are Schumpeter, Dahl, and Downs (20, pp. 2-50; 21, pp. 1-160; 25, pp. 25-79; 84, pp. 237-298). Almond, Chodorow, and Pearce argue that "in the Third World the place of democracy in the overall strategy of progress is still not fully understood" (3, p. 13).

Parsons says:

It thus seems highly significant that movements dominated by Marxian ideology, especially more radical communist ones, have not achieved political power in any of the highly industrialized societies. Their great successes have been in the underdeveloped world (6, p. 296).

This argument coincides with the current developments in the developing areas. Kenya has her share of the problem in that the present underground guerrilla movement
there, Mwakenya, is a Marxist organization trying to overthrow the government. This movement is supposedly composed of lawyers, professors, students and other intellectuals (1, p. 37).

Parsons examines contemporary ideological conflict in advanced industrial societies, particularly as it bears on the organization and functions of higher education. He finds in the New Left attack on the university an analogy with the radical Marxian critique of capitalism (6, p. 7).

The social and political problems associated with general development have been experienced in Kenya recently. Students have been rioting, the Kenyan divorce rate is going up, urban unrest, and unemployment have become a way of life, and political dissidents remain in prison indefinitely. These are the facts explained by Almond, Huntington and others as the aftermath of political and economic development. The government of Kenya faces a dilemma in that the very development the nation needs seems to threaten the system (2, pp. 8372-8373; 104, pp. 2-17).

Many Kenyan intellectuals are staying abroad after completing their studies, and others have left the country. This brain drain is a great loss. Brain drain is an expression of British origin commonly used to describe one of the most sensitive areas in the transfer of technology (53, pp. 91-100). This is a problem to many developing
nations. To reduce this problem, the United States, England and some European countries have formed an organization that works with the United Nations to assist Kenyans and students from other countries in Africa to go back home after they complete their studies. This organization, called the Return of Talent, is an intergovernmental committee for assisting developing nations (44, p. 5). The developing countries are short of skilled manpower, and cannot afford to lose their highly educated people. Professional, technical, and managerial personnel are needed in Kenya to implement her objectives. There have to be opportunities for the Wananchi (the common people) in Kenya. This is what economic growth and development as well as political development can bring.

Kohli, Loftian, Altfeld, and Mardon say that "for many students of politics, inequalities within countries are best understood as a function of the overall level of economic development" (51, p. 284). Some of the inequality problems arise from (a) a past dominated by colonial powers, (b) low-income economies, (c) political authorities pursuing capitalist development of one form or another, and (d) the fact that the countries are latecomers in a world already dominated by industrially advanced and politically and militarily powerful states (51, p. 285). Kenya is one of the countries with such inequalities (51, p. 287).
Economists argue that growth alone is not enough. In writing on Kenya attention has been focused particularly on inequality. There is also widespread poverty in many areas of the country. These facts are disturbing considering the virtues of a high rate of economic growth. Kenya has been growing at an annual rate of 6 percent, but private consumption, mainly for Western-style consumer goods, has been 5.3 percent per annum (35, pp. 100-101; 49, p. 86; 55, p. 267). The population growth rate has been 3.5 percent—the second highest in the world (49, p. 100). The 1983 gross domestic product (GDP) was U.S. $6.5 billion. Government revenue for 1983-84 was U.S. $1.25 billion. The external outstanding public debt for 1983 was U.S. $2.5 billion. The literacy rate in 1980 was 60 percent for males and 34.8 percent for females (14, p. 714).

There are marked inequalities among the social, racial, and economic groups. Although there are women prominent in the professions and in public and commercial life, Kenya remains a male-controlled society, and women are treated unfairly. In wage employment and modern sector self-employment, women find few opportunities (25, pp. 186-188; 49, p. 5).

The Kenyan economy needs skilled labor to combat the various problems it faces. The extent to which higher education in many modernizing countries is not calculated
to produce graduates with the skills relevant to the needs of the country creates the paradoxical but common situation of a country in which skilled labor is a scarce resource, and yet in which highly educated persons are in super-abundant supply (37, p. 177). Kenya must avoid this situation by creating more job opportunities and providing the right education.

As a political source, education encourages persons to gain access to the political process and to demand benefits from it. Finally education enables individuals to improve their welfare. Education also gives people more confidence in their ability to influence their environment, more resources and information for action and more exposure to information (4, p. 301; 5, pp. 5-24). As is universally known, the school system is clearly one of the most systematically powerful influences in political socialization (4, pp. 92, 118).

Education is important in political socialization. Education achieved in a foreign country may affect one's future way of seeing things. A truly remarkable example of adaptation, as Mosca says, to necessary contacts without any abandonment of the special traditions and sentiments which form the core of the national soul, must exist in the mind of anyone educated in a foreign culture (68, p. 462). If a foreign education brainwashes the individual, it then
becomes questionable. The Kenyan government passed an act in 1985 which was intended to discourage Kenyans from going abroad for higher education. The government has set up a commission to work on the establishment of a large private university (14, p. 230).

Kenya has had to send students abroad because the country cannot locally educate all the high school graduates who qualify to go to college (100, pp. 8-9). According to Putnam, in many countries educational institutions play the key role in shifting and channeling aspirants to the national elite (78, pp. 51-205). Other institutions, such as the armed forces, business and industry, may also be significant channels of political recruitment.

The cost per student in Kenya increases as the level of education increases. Costs in higher education levels are high because most students in higher levels live in dormitories. This is true in the public (national) universities. The cost of an average higher education student is approximately 100 times that of an average primary school student. This factor shows why the government carefully tailors the provision of higher education in Kenya. A share of higher education in the Ministry of Education recurrent budget for the 1974-78 Plan was projected at 25 percent (46, p. 10). The Ministry felt
it was necessary to hold down higher education expenditure and reduce the proportion allocated to higher education. In the 1973-74 school year, the university enrollment exceeded the plan target for 1975-76. There was an increase of 33.3 percent in the educational budget in the 1974-75 school year (46, pp. 1-10). The budget was affected by the expansion of the Harambee Movement which built many secondary schools and the introduction of free primary education. Fifty percent of the budget for 1974-75 went to primary school education whereas the other 50 percent went to both secondary and university education (48, pp. 1-3).

Many African universities have responded, to a certain extent, to the various conferences on education. Kenya is no exception. The role of higher education to bring about national development was justified by the fact that most university acts in Africa (e.g., the 1970 University of Nairobi Act) designated the presidents of the states as the chancellors of the national universities. Universities in Africa have developed programs to address national development programs (42, pp. 197-210). The University of Nairobi has, for example, developed integrated interdisciplinary courses of African studies and adult studies (98, pp. 5-11). If the Kenyan government gives such a high priority to education, it then became necessary to study the history
of higher education in Kenya so as to see what African education and the African politicians are doing to promote future development through education. Education has been cited by many scholars as a major incentive for both political and economic development. It is higher education that provides the human pool from which most intellectuals and the elite who run the country are drawn. University education has also become ever more common among administration and economic elites. The significance of higher education in providing developmental guidance to the masses is questionable (4, pp. 5-15; 39, pp. 68-69, 80-83; 78, pp. 5, 205).

Social factors that are affected by higher education and vice versa include both positive and negative developments. The fact that many highly educated Africans abandon their culture and family ties is negative (94, pp. 42-48). Education should emphasize the safeguarding and development of the culture of the people it serves. Education is important in nation-building. Kenya has many economic and political factors that make education essential. The future of Kenya is largely conditioned upon accelerated agricultural development and mineral exploitation. The survival of these resources depends on the competence of those who will receive the essential education and training. The Kenyan distributive and
service facilities need educated people. Most developing countries need highly educated personnel to run the countries if they are to attain any form of development (18, pp. 300-305).

Moi in his commencement speech at the University of Nairobi said:

The challenge to be faced in the immediate future is one making optimal use of what we have. In the face of rapid social and technological changes our universities must become more flexible and adaptive to labor market conditions as well as the pattern of our national development (105, p. 6).

There is a problem regarding the political role of the educated elite in Kenya. The government realizes the importance of education in economic development, but does not recognize full political participation by the educated. Dahl says:

Moreover, of the various kinds of equality that might exist in a good society, political equality is surely one of the most crucial, not only as a means of self-protection but also as a necessary condition for many other important values, including one of the most fundamental of all human freedoms, the freedom to determine, in cooperation with others, the laws and rules that one must obey (21, p. 5).

Many scholars have argued against the oppression of citizens by their government. This has been an ongoing battle for a long time (27, pp. 29-30, 58-86, 224-232; 61, pp. 52-84, 396-414; 62, pp. 145-180, 567-590; 65, pp. 3-4; 72, pp. 5-72, 120-145; 73, pp. 25-82, 109-111; 74, pp. 25-82). While economic progress is an important component of
national development, population growth, social equity and political participation as well as participation in education are also important objectives of development. Development is a multidimensional process involving the reorganization and reorientation of the entire social system (54, pp. 4-13, 67-79).

Economic development is not independent of political and educational development. Educational development and political and economic changes generally occur simultaneously in most countries. Also when individual variables are considered in assessing development, their social, political, and economic aspects will be interrelated (49, pp. 265-289). These variables will appear as part of an interdependent universe of aspects. National development must represent the entire gamut of change by which an entire social system moves toward an improved material and spiritual condition of life. These facts make it necessary to study educational development alongside all the other types of development (81, pp. 3-23; 93, pp. 5-46).

A study done by Hall concluded that there was in Kenya a strong association between the educational, economic, and political subsystems of a developing nation (33, pp. 39-144). Meier points out that education is considered both a consumer good (because of the benefits it gives to the
educated) and a capital good (because of the increased earnings to the educated person). The gains of education accrue internally to the educated and externally to the society. Investment in education is therefore a personal as well as a national concern. Investment in human resources by education should be included in economic planning (60, pp. 607-611). The nature of educational priorities is obviously of vital importance. Unless the right kind of education is provided, setting overall targets has little meaning. Educated people who are unable to find suitable jobs not only fail to add to the national product but become a source of political instability. The social gap is caused by the difference between the traditional way of life and the new lifestyles acquired by the educated (40, pp. 47-59).

Another problem found in Kenya and in other developing countries is the limitation on the absorption of the educated because of their high price. The country has jobs and needs the educated people, but it cannot afford to absorb a large number of them. Many of them find jobs with foreign corporations where they can earn more. The educated person committed to national development has to settle for low wages (60, pp. 623-627; 85, pp. 289-292). There is also a problem with organization in Kenya. This organizational power failure involves government,
commercial and industrial organizations as well as educational institutions which do not deliver the goods. These institutions need discipline and innovative ideas. In Kenya there is still a problem with educated people acting as an elite that does not have to work hard, but makes a living by using corruption and nepotism when possible (35, p. ix, 35, 195; 95, pp. 4-11). Planning should emphasize hard work, seriousness, honesty, commitment, and patriotism by all, including those in leadership (91, pp. 1-7). Educational planning models emphasize these factors (60, pp. 624-627).

Meier argues that:

"It has to be recognized that the wrong kind of education unaccompanied by the required complementary actions can check or reverse the process of development (60, p. 625).

History demonstrates that where a country's government is reasonably stable and its political leaders give development a high priority, the country generally develops fairly well. Conversely, in the absence of political stability and firm and continuing government support, development plans, no matter how well advised, have little chance of being carried out successfully (50, pp. 624-627, 724).

Bognar argues that "the educational and science policy is a decisive factor in liquidating backwardness" (12, pp. 147, 297-347). Kenya has recently been exploring the role
of education in the development of the economy. There is a
definite assumption that the development of education is
one of the main prerequisites in economic growth. The
lower levels of education provide the foundations whereas
the higher levels produce the required experts and
intellectuals. In a major speech in 1964, Kenyatta spoke
of the government plan to invest in education as a means to
encourage economic development (26, p. 1).

Many scholars and experts believe advancement in
education is the best solution to the African problem. Two
economists who tend to see a direct correlation between
expenditure on educational and national development are
Harbison and Myers, who feel that the development of human
resources may be a more realistic indicator of economic
development than any other single measure. They say:

If one of the major goals of nearly all societies
today is rapid economic growth, then the progress of
human resource development must be designed to provide
the knowledge, the skills and the incentives required
by a productive economy (34, p. 14).

In Kenya, the government supports the viewpoint of
most developing nations in the African continent, that
human development is important in economic development.
This is the most agreed-upon ideology among economists even
though there have been some disagreements on the topic.
One economist who warns there should be some caution in
quick development of educational facilities in Africa is
John Vaizey. He feels it is pointless to build schools on the assumption that they will produce economic growth, and explains that jobs must be created first (80, pp. 340-341). Kenya needs to create jobs (28, pp. 36-38).

Writing on the impact of modernity, Deutsch, Dominguez and Hecllo state that:

Whatever the heritage of a country from its traditional past and whatever the extent to which elements—or even major patterns—from its past have survived intact, sooner or later every society and culture in today’s world is likely to be challenged and changed by the impact of modernization (24, p. 349).

The authors also argue that in many cases, money, modern commerce, banking, transport, and industry all tend to be concentrated in a few foreign or foreign dominated economic centers (24, p. 352). The authors go on to state:

In the past native chieftains could be deposed more or less freely by the members of the tribe whenever they became sufficiently unpopular. But they now become virtually irremovable, thanks to the backing of the seemingly invincible machine guns, cannons and airplanes of the foreign power (24, p. 352).

As seen by the events taking place in most developing countries, higher education can bring political and economic liberation. Higher education increases people's general awareness and widens their view of world events.

It is argued that:

1. Within a society levels of political participation tend to vary with socio-economic status. Those who have more education and income and are in high-status occupations usually are more participant than
those who are poor, uneducated, and in low-status occupations.

2. Socio-economic development also promotes political participation because it leads to a multiplication of organizations and associations and the involvement of larger numbers of people in such groups (32, pp. 34-35).

It is further argued in this work that the increased participation of individuals in organized groups is, by and large, a function of economic development. There are two distinct modes in which economic development increases organizational involvement. These are: one via socio-economic participation and more directly via group consciousness. In most countries people with higher education, income, and occupational status tend to be more involved in organizations than people less well endowed with those attributes (32, p. 35).

Traditional explanations of the role education plays in economic and political situations may not have direct applicability to the developing countries. Balogh and Streeten point out that knowledge is separated from technology in the developing world (11, pp. 396-423; 71, pp. 25-37). Economic production may not increase if there are no machines and facilities to supplement improved knowledge. Even if improved knowledge was a necessary precondition for economic growth, it might yield increases only when coupled with machines or combined with national policies (11, p. 35). Schultz argues that in recent years,
increasing attention has been paid to formal educational institutions. These are strong agents of change in human affairs. The Western countries are aware of this fact. They are aware that the continued growth of their highly industrialized economies depends on the capacity of schools and universities to recruit talented people in important skills and encourage innovation (83, pp. 1-17). The funds devoted to education finance are investment, with rich economic returns, rather than as a consumption item (81, pp. xiii-xvii, 89-110). Kenya realizes this. There are indications that Kenya will continue to expand higher education. Todaro argues that education will continue to be used as a tool for promoting development. It will enhance rural development, manpower improvement and social and political development (49, pp. 269-278). Improved knowledge through higher education may not be as effective in Kenya, unless technological preconditions are fulfilled. Economic production may not increase if higher levels of knowledge cannot be utilized with improved technology and physical facilities. The Western philosophy of increased knowledge through higher education may not be as effective in Kenya unless the incorporation of knowledge with technology is accomplished.

Another problem that Kenya needs to overcome is that of the apathy the educated seem to have regarding manual
labor. In examining the role of higher education in political and economic development in Kenya one has to consider the different social structures and value systems. There is a strong tradition among the educated to view their education as a badge that relieves them from any involvement in manual work. This problem is to blame for some of the unemployment in Kenya. Political instability among the college students as well as among college dropouts is common. In economic terms, productivity of an economy is related to social structures inherent in that particular system. Different social structures and value systems render traditional development theories in Kenya and Africa as a whole impossible. The pressure of educational expansion in Kenya, buttressed by the argument that such expansion is a necessary condition for the attainment of stability and economic growth, may nonetheless create conditions which render the attainment of these ends difficult if not impossible. Sometimes Western theories of development are not applicable to developing nations (11, pp. 396-423; 17, pp. 541-565; 85, pp. 289-295).

Curle found there were high correlations between development and investment in education as a percentage of GNP. This was the same finding reported by Myers and Harbison. Other factors such as the number of physicians,
engineers, scientists and teachers are also important (19, pp. 226-245). Development is a continuous process as Rostow points out. The central stage of "take-off," according to Rostow, involves the change from a stagnant economy to one that is self-sustained. This "take-off" period involves building resources and skills. This is why higher education plays an important role in economic development. This switch regarding resource allocation involves moving from an agrarian economy to an industrial one (82, pp. 25-48). At this stage, the system experiences political development, and political participation increases. This was reported by Almond and Verba. Dahl also reported the same findings. At this stage of development an individual's social status, education, and organizational membership strongly affect the likelihood of his engaging in various types of political activities (7, pp. 180-322; 22, pp. 282-301).

What has happened in Kenya is that education has increased significantly at all levels. At the same time there has been a relatively slow speed in economic development and productivity. High school graduates do not have adequate jobs. College graduates are underpaid as the economy cannot afford to pay high wages. When this happens, the country in question faces various problems. Horowitz states:
On the other hand, where work possibilities far outstrip educational levels of achievers, the bottleneck thus created leads to a frustration which can be solved only by a revolutionary overhauling of the social structure (36, p. 467).

Ghai, Godfrey and Lisk argue that plans for massive educational reforms are best realized in societies capable of mobilizing and integrating vast sectors of the masses. A high productive capacity without a corresponding broad program of education leaves the society without the skilled personnel to conduct its affairs. Bad education or miseducation that occurs in many developing countries teaches the educated to abhor industrial work. These authors argue that educated classes in many Third World nations with a long traditional independence combined with fixed class and status composition have an expressed belief that leisure is superior to work and that abstract ideas are more important than technical ability. The Kenyan government is fighting this problem by emphasizing technical and agricultural courses at the universities (28, pp. 36-38; 105, pp. 6-7).

Significance

This study was concerned with a review of higher education in Kenya since 1975, with an emphasis on curriculum development. The study focused on Kenyan national policies, to show the relationship between them and higher education. The emphasis was to show how the
Kenyan higher education curriculum was coordinated with the Kenyan national goal to use higher education for development. Government policies and programs in Kenya and higher education planning must be congruent, if optimal development is to be a reality. This study showed the integration of national and higher education features since 1975, when major curriculum changes were made.

Since Kenya is characterized by social, cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity, in particular, the three major Kenyan groups—the Africans, the Asians, and the Europeans—have characteristic forms of social organization that distinguish them from each other. The historical acquisition of the country by the British did significantly increase the Kenyan cultural diversity and help maintain the identity of each of these groups (8, pp. xix-xxiv; 38, p. 48; 97, pp. 5-7).

Kenya gained independence in 1963 and embarked on the task of providing more education to her people. Within a month of independence, a commission was set up to survey the existing educational resources and advise the new government in the formulation and implementation of policy (8, pp. xii-xxiv).

Much has been said about the effect of British influence on the education of Kenyans. A need has arisen for studies in this area so that education can be conducted
with awareness as to what impact this foreign culture would have on the educated. Such studies might assist scholars of Kenyan education in their efforts to train and educate Kenyans as well as study her educational system in an effort to see what could be improved. The studies might assist educators too in their endeavor to lead Kenya, and to examine the purposes, goals, and limitations of higher education in Kenya.

This study attempted to bring into focus the critical factors that had contributed to the present trend of higher education in Kenya. The study looked at the relationships between higher education curriculum and other factors such as African traditions, Kenyan politics, and governmental activities. It was considered possible that the relationship between these variables and higher education curriculum might assist the policy makers and the Kenyan society, academicians and the students to understand the factors from the knowledge of values of another or a combination of factors. One major point of significance of this study was to analyze the nature of the relationship between higher education curriculum and the various factors studied. The study differed from most other studies done on the Kenyan higher education system in that it also included many economic and political factors that had not been studied deeply. This study is significant because it
deals with factors that many scholars failed to see or emphasize due to the fact that such factors were not available. Such factors include the political activities of university professors in Kenya. It becomes necessary to study history as an ongoing process. The past is studied so that it can be related to the present in order to know what to expect in the future. Many changes had taken place in Kenya since 1975. It was necessary to review the events that occurred in this changing society, and try to find out what caused them. An effort was made to relate these changes to higher education.

This review used educational, political and economic factors to study, analyze and assess the impact on the Kenyans, of the various characteristics of higher education curriculum in Kenya. In a developing country like Kenya, there is a great need to investigate the complex process of educational, political and economic development. The interrelationships between higher education curriculum and the other factors studied might enable the reader to see the relationship between higher education curriculum and these political and socio-economic variables. The study attempted to explain how the dynamic forces of educational curriculum change have expressed themselves in a pattern of variation in levels of modernization in Kenya and how these patterns may be interpreted with respect to their
historical evolution and contemporary consequences. Government expenditures were also used to show how the nation had contributed to this growth in education. This study was important because it showed how the various processes associated with growth made the system what it is today. Some of the events that have taken place in Kenyan higher education recently can be equated to the events of the 1960s in the United States. Almond says that problems of higher education have implications for both public and private higher education. The future of higher education in Kenya is likely to be affected by the events that have taken place there. That is why it is important to keep studying the events that occur (6, pp. 1-8; 88, pp. ii, 3; 90, pp. 1-6). Curriculum development is one such factor.

Definitions of Terms

Terms used in this study are defined as follows:

Assisted Schools—Schools that receive grants from the government (50, p. 85).

Degree--An honor bestowed by an educational institution for meeting its requirements through the satisfactory completion of a program of study or other verified educational accomplishment.

Educational Credential--A certificate diploma or degree document (associate, baccalaureate, or graduate) certifying satisfactory completion of a program of study or
other verified educational accomplishment (63, pp.xvi-xvii).

**Harambee**—The motto on the national coat of arms which means "Let us pull together." **Harambee Schools**—self-help schools (58, p. 11).

**Higher Education**—The part of post-secondary education that leads toward a degree (63, p. xvii).

**K.C.E.**—Kenya Certificate of Education. A national examination taken after the completion of the Fourth Form (ordinary) or twelve years of education. This is parallel to the U.S.A. system (50, p. 78).

**Post-secondary Education**—The array of educational opportunities available to post high school age adults, including educational programs of post-secondary education institutions and extra-institutional learning experience (63, p. xvii).

**Public Education**—Used to cover all educational activities carried out by the Ministry of Education, the voluntary agencies, and the private agencies for the purpose of insuring the operation and expansion of all levels of education.

**Public School**—An institution or school which is assisted out of funds provided by the Ministry of Education for the purpose of providing public education.
Senior College—A higher educational institution that offers baccalaureate and/or master's programs.

Sixth Form—A two-year university preparatory course, designed for those who are academically oriented. This is equivalent to the junior college in the United States.

Kenyan high school consists of Forms I-IV (ninth to twelfth grade). The Fifth and Sixth Forms (already abolished) constituted higher school (43, pp. 154-156).

Technical Schools, Colleges, Polytechnics and Village Polytechnics—Schools set up to train primary school and high school leavers to follow certain trades (50, pp. 21-30).

Unaided or Unassisted Schools—Schools that are privately operated without any government aid (50, p. 38).

Data Collection Techniques and Methodology

This historical study used data collected from the following:

1. Reports from the Ministry of Education in Kenya,
2. Discussion Papers from the Institute for Development Studies at the University of Nairobi,
3. Materials from staff seminars at the University of Nairobi,
4. University catalogs,
5. Kenya Government Budget Reports,
6. Annual Reports of the Ministry of Education,
7. Professional journals in higher education,
8. Selected books on education in Kenya,
9. Dissertations and theses on this topic, and

An historical research has to have validity rather than depend on assumptions. Internal criticism is the evaluation of the information contained in the source. External criticism is the evaluation of the nature of the source (13, pp. 815-818). The facts of history are facts of meaning rather than facts of objective actuality (31, p. 8). The historical research in education involves the discovery of data through a search of historical sources. Other educational researches involve making observations and administering tests in order to describe present events and present performance (13, p. 801). All historical researches involve the following steps: (a) defining the problem or questions to be investigated; (b) searching for sources of historical facts; (c) summarizing and evaluating the historical sources; and (d) presenting the pertinent facts within an interpretive framework (13, p. 803).

According to Gottschalk, the historical method consists of (a) the collection of probable sources of information; (b) the examination of those sources for genuineness; and (c) the analysis of the sources proved
genuine for their predictable particulars. This refers to both internal and external criticism (31, p. 10). Any value judgment regarding the significance, the influence, the greatness of a factor or event must look at the other side of the coin—that is, the alternative—what if that event never occurred? (13, p. 803). An important and intriguing aspect of the problem of historical influence is that of reaction against an antecedent event (31, pp. 58-62). Order in historical research must include reading in a systematic way and noting, comparing, verifying, indexing, grouping, and organizing (9, p. 58).

Good and Scates point out that historical composition is a synthetic and constructive process that involves the mechanical problem of documentation, the logical problem of selection and arrangement of topics and subtopics, and the philosophic problem of interpretation (30, p. 242). Good and Scates go on to state that, historical writing and interpretation include a variety of special problems. Only when a perplexing question has been identified and correctly stated does profitable study of history begin (30, p. 243).

These authors stress the importance of inductive reasoning as the procedure open to the historian. They also point out the problem of historians with tendencies to evaluate events and personages distant in time or space
according to the standards of one's own time and culture. The literary aspects of historical writing include mastery of materials, the working outline, the principle of progression, emphasis on major elements, and the art of narration and dramatization. Inductive reasoning is used in making penetrating inductive inferences from known facts that offer only a partial explanation. In turn, the superimposing of the general explanatory (according to Good and Scates) concept upon the facts or the testing of the working hypothesis represents a deductive process. As a rule, multiple causation is the explanation of any important historical event. It is stated that few histories of distinction lack a thesis or principle of synthesis (30, p. 243).

Materials collected in a research can be from primary or secondary sources. Primary sources are interviews or written and printed materials such as reports, correspondence, memoranda, budget reports, catalogs, legal records, self-reports, handbooks and newspapers. Secondary sources can also include testimonies of anyone not an eyewitness (31, p. 53). Good and Scates say secondary sources include such materials as histories of education, bibliographies, encyclopedias, and sections of books on school administration. These authors say, "The classification of a source as primary or secondary depends
in part on the problem and purpose; in one instance it may be primary or secondary" (30, p. 184).

According to Woodward:

The historian must keep open the channels for disagreement and reinterpretation, but his professional training, if not his common sense, will also remind him that revisionism has natural limits—limits imposed by the evidence. He will resist attempts to read into evidence interpretations that are insupportable, to rewrite the history of a people in order to favor an ascendant group (as in Stalin's Russia) (106, p. 24).

The historian must never concede that the past is alterable to conform with present convenience, with the party line, with mass prejudice, or with the ambitions of powerful popular leaders (106, p. 38).

Validity and reliability are important in research. After materials have been collected they will be examined for external validity. This is necessary to establish reliability and reveal any deceit or error in such materials. Internal validity involves an analysis of credible details including author, date, and primary or secondary source (31, pp. 28-35). Finally, synthesis is necessary. This involves selecting, arranging, emphasizing or minimizing details and placing them in some sort of causal sequence. Gottschalk points out that in general whatever arrangement other than the chronological is used, it is good practice to adopt the chronological form within each sub-division. That is, after all, the way history happens (31, p. 51).
Original copies were used where possible to establish authenticity. Internal criticism is also important to insure there is no false information. Different documents were used as part of internal criticism. Information collected thus was interpreted. Causal inferences were applied to some information. Therefore, it was possible to use a currently accepted causal pattern to explain a similar pattern in the past. To ascertain validity, by using internal criticism, materials were reviewed to make sure they were not biased, contradictory or emotional. External criticism was used to show that materials were not forged, copied wrongly, deleted or altered, and were written by competent authors. Information found in newspapers, government documents or books was compared with that found in other sources dealing with the same topic. Appeals by government supporters, critics or opponents were checked against that found in other sources.

Economic planning, historical trends and the difficulties as well as opportunities faced by the government of Kenya were discussed. The role of the government in promoting higher education was analyzed. The part played by developed countries in assisting Kenya to educate her people, as well as the impact of sending college students abroad for further studies were examined and analyzed in an
effort to show how such programs helped in providing higher education to Kenyans.

The study utilized primary and secondary materials. Data related to the topic were collected from the University of Nairobi, Kenyatta University, the Kenya Embassy to the U.S.A., the Ministry of Education in Kenya, and the Institute for Development Studies in Nairobi. This study was designed to review the history of higher education in Kenya since 1975, with an emphasis on curriculum development. Data were collected, evidence was synthesized in order to establish the facts pertaining to the study, and conclusions were made concerning the past and present. Finally, recommendations were made regarding the Kenyan higher education system. The appendix has figures which contain names of some of the places mentioned in this study.

The Weekly Review, The Kenya Education Review, The Daily Nation and The East African Standard, and other Kenyan newspapers were studied in an effort to get evidence for the research.

This study analyzed documents on Kenyan higher education. The analysis was used to answer the questions set forth in the study. The procedures of analysis were useful in determining if the objectives of the study were met.
The analysis involved the use of documents preserved and serving as evidence of the type of curriculum used in Kenya. This study was thus based on the documents read. This factual presentation served as evidence of the arguments in the study. An example of this type of analysis is a study of the Africanization of the curriculum in Kenya done by Urch in 1967. He argued that African education during the colonial period was conducted in rural areas. The curriculum was unrelated to the social and civic facts of urban life. It was, however, well known that the students of the schools would normally migrate to the towns where they could find jobs so as to use their Western-styled education (92, pp. 1-145).

Hall also did a study of education and national development in Kenya in which he concluded that although secondary and post-secondary education had increased, the primary-secondary bottleneck remained one of the greatest problems facing Kenyan educational development. He went on to add that the most important determinant of the level of national development was secondary school enrollment. He also found that a relation did not exist between political stability indicators and other indices of national development (33, pp. 55-128).

The relevant literature of higher education in Kenya was pursued in order to determine the historical precedents
which had led to the existing system of higher education in Kenya. The curriculum in the Kenyan higher education was studied in an effort to analyze it. A modified approach to the development of the curriculum which could cope with the needs of the Kenyan society was suggested. The study was tested against the criteria set forth by scholars of higher education in similar countries (in Africa), and in the United States of America. Figure 1 and Figure 2 in the appendix show names of some of the Kenyan places mentioned in the study (10, p. 12; 15, p. 1).

Summary

The chapter briefly introduced Kenya, indicating the conditions of education existing when Kenya was under the British. The changes that the system of education underwent after independence in 1963 were discussed. Curriculum development after independence, and especially after 1975, was discussed. Relevant literature was briefly cited to show how other factors affected the development of higher education curriculum in Kenya.

The chapter contained various research technicalities that accompany most researches. The statement of the problem, the presentation of questions investigated, the statement of the purposes of the study, the methodology, and the background and the significance of the study were included.
Chapter II deals with a review of the history of the development of Kenyan higher education. Chapter III discusses the impact of Western education in Kenya. The chapter deals with multi-disciplinary factors related to Kenyan higher education. Kenyan institutions of higher education are also analyzed and discussed, and so are curricula. Chapter IV relates economic development, Kenyan politics, political socialization, and manpower training to Kenyan higher education. Chapter V concludes the study, giving a brief summary of it and a discussion on general Kenyan higher education and curricula.
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CHAPTER II

A HISTORY OF KENYAN HIGHER EDUCATION

This review of Kenyan higher education consists of three parts. The first part discusses Kenyan higher education as it existed during the British rule. It identifies the background of higher education in Kenya during that time, the methods, problems, finance, and the weaknesses of the system. The second part concerns the period 1963-75. This part identifies planning, finance, problems, structure and organization of the system and the various activities and characteristics of the institutions, the Kenyan government and the Kenyan society regarding higher education. The third part, which is the main part in this paper, covers the period since 1975. This part is discussed in the same manner as the second part, but the analysis here is deeper and stresses the main purposes of this study. The period from 1975 to 1978 was filled with problems as the Kenyan political system was weakened by activities of opposition political leaders. Kenyatta was aging and getting weak and almost senile. The strongest and most popular political dissident in Kenya, J. M. Kariuki, was mysteriously assassinated. The Kenyan parliament was in chaos. Many politicians were detained.
The university students at Nairobi and Kenyatta protested constantly causing the government to close the universities indefinitely. Kenya and the other East African countries dismantled the East African Community (an economic cooperation among the three East African countries) in 1977 (53, pp. 3-8). Kenya experienced many economic problems, and Kenyatta died in 1978. Following the inauguration of Moi as president in 1978, Kenya started recovering slowly (13, pp. 89-106).

Education in Kenya during the colonial period was based on the British system. The British culture was transmitted onto the educated Africans. Those Africans who worked for the government, as well as the rest of them directly or indirectly, could easily copy one or another form of Western culture. Political socialization as well as modern socioeconomic factors were part of the Westernization that the African experienced as a result of colonization, Christianity, and educational experience that the British brought to Kenya. Various activities carried on by the colonial government and later by the African government accounted for the changes and experiences that the educational system in Kenya underwent (12, pp. 147-185; 13, pp. 89-106; 52, pp. 86-93; 53, pp. 3-8).
Commissions, Reports and Movements

The Colonial as well as the African government in Kenya carried on commissions, reports, and movements which affected higher education in Kenya. These activities were important in shaping the Kenyan educational system. Of the pre-independence committees included a 1923 permanent advisory committee on native education in tropical Africa, established by the British Colonial Office in response to the missionary pressure. A commission was established for that purpose (2, pp. 197-199).

Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies

This committee met for the first time in 1924. It set down in a memorandum the principles on which British educational policies in Africa should be based. The Committee acknowledged the need for an expansion of facilities for higher education on a controlled basis. That was when a proposal for Makerere College in Uganda was made (2, p. 198). The college was started as an institution for training teachers to prepare them for admission to British universities. The college was graduating only about forty students a year for the whole of East Africa in the 1920s (11, pp. 200-206; 39, pp. 32-34).

The development of higher education in East Africa during the colonial era was organized and financed by the
British Colonial Office. Because of this reason, the major decisions affecting higher education in this area were made in England. Until after the creation of the University of East Africa in 1963, Makerere College was attached to the University of London, and all the diplomas and degrees were issued by the University of London. It was not until after 1949 that the University of London admitted Makerere College to the degree granting status. The college became a University College in 1950 and graduated the first thirteen students with bachelor’s degrees that year (37, p. 45; 39, pp. 32-34). In 1963, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the new African governments called for the creation of the new University of East Africa, with two more constituent colleges; one in Kenya and the other in Tanzania. The University of East Africa remained under British influence (47, pp. 4-6).

The various educational activities that took place in Kenya before independence were not conducted by the Colonial Office alone. One of the earliest commissions sent to Kenya to study conditions there and report on them was the Phelps-Stokes Commission.

The Phelps-Stokes Report

The Phelps-Stokes Fund was provided for in the will of Caroline Phelps-Stokes in 1911. The fund supported Negro
education in the southern states of the United States of America in encouraging inter-racial cooperation. The fund also supported the education of Africans. A report by the Phelps-Stokes Commission stated that the commission sought to teach the Kenyan masses and encourage cooperation between the colonial government and the missions (10, pp. 12-33; 25, pp. 90-97).

The Phelps-Stokes Report created an interest in African education. The British government now realized the need to assume a more responsible role in African education. The Phelps-Stokes Commission of 1923 had gained currency with the leader of the European settlers in Kenya, Delamere. The Phelps-Stokes Fund, with the Carnegie Foundation, established the Jeanes School in Kenya in 1925 to train the Africans in trades, health, crafts, mathematics, business, and agriculture (10, p. xvi; 27, pp. 44-47). Africans were already busy with their own educational activities as can be seen from the establishment of the Kikuyu Independent Schools, as discussed below.

The Kikuyu Independent Schools

The people of Kenya were not aware of the intentions of the first European settlers who came to Kenya. As time passed, the Africans came to realize that some of the foreigners were not interested in the welfare of the
Africans. While the missionaries had assisted the Africans, the settlers were interested in getting land from the Africans (28, pp. 20-28; 48, pp. 3-50). As far as education was concerned the European settlers did not want to extend much of it to the Africans. The Kikuyus of Kenya decided to do it for themselves. In 1925 the first Kikuyu Independent Schools were started by Ndirangu at Githunguri. One other African school movement at the time was called Karing'a. These schools were built with money collected from the local populace. The colonial government was opposed to this movement and tried to suppress it. The Kikuyu Independent Association established schools in Nyeri and Murang'a districts, while the Kikuyu Karing'a Education Association was active in South Kiambu, the Rift Valley, and some parts of Nyanza Province (21, pp. 15-93; 28, pp. 5-25).

These schools taught writing, reading, and speaking English and Kiswahili; writing and reading Kikuyu; natural and social sciences, some business courses, fine arts, physical education, mathematics, agriculture, and health. The ages of the students ranged from seven to fifty years. The schools numbered 400 at the time. The total student enrollment was 62,000 (11, pp. 5-6). These schools formed the educational foundation for many future Kenyan leaders such as the late J. M. Kariuki, Wa Thiong'o and others (14,
These schools consisted of both elementary and grade school levels, and enrolled both female and male students (28, pp. 20-75).

The independent school movement was not affiliated with the religious missions, but was run by the Kikuyu Independent School Association. This movement was very inspiring to the Africans. The people of Kenya had already started demanding a university of their own. They felt education was one way they could acquire knowledge to confront the British. They saw in education a weapon they could use to equip themselves for fighting colonialism and other problems.

Early African Publications

The early African publications were on Kenyan politics and African education. For example, Kikuyu freedom fighters published their works in Kenya (underground) and in England through the assistance of Jomo Kenyatta when he was in exile. These publications such as the Muigwithania (a Kikuyu term for mediator), Baraza (a popular Swahili paper edited by Francis Khamisi of Mombasa—the word means a public meeting or a meeting place) and others functioned under the auspices of the Kenya African Union and the Kikuyu Central Association. Harry Thuku in Kenya and Koinange in the U.S.A. worked with these organizations to publicize what was happening in Kenya. Other scholarly
writings discussing the early Kenyan educational and political development came from the Luo Union, led by Odinga, and the New Akamba Union, led by Mulu Mutisya and Paul Ngei (12, pp. 147-186; 21, pp. 2-115; 28, pp. 20-38; 40, pp. 25-120). These organizations also sent many Kenyan students abroad for further studies.

Kenya Teachers College, a former independent school, sent students to South Africa to study for college degrees. There were no colleges or high schools in Kenya to absorb the graduates of the independent schools. Out of 7,000 students in these schools in 1946, only 200 could find institutions beyond their level of grade school. Only 12 of the 200 students were admitted to Makerere College. Kenya had only one African high school, the Alliance High School, at the time (6, pp. 300-306; 28, pp. 24-47).

Modern Western education was accepted by the African, who was also willing to work with the foreigners in bringing better ways of living for all in Kenya. The Kenyan people had gained a zealous momentum which continued even after independence. The Harambee Movement, which will be discussed later, is a carry-over of this inspiration. The educated Africans were demanding educational facilities as it was indicated in the Currie Report.
The Currie Report

In 1933, a growing body of educated Africans, British university leaders, and colonial educational officials argued that Makerere College in Uganda, then a technical secondary school, should be transformed into a true university by adopting the degree examinations of British universities. Many opposed the idea suggesting, instead, that the college should concentrate on higher vocational and professional studies. The aim of these people was to make sure that those students who qualified to study for university degrees went to Britain (2, pp. 192-194; 6, pp. 300-304; 49, pp. 11-13).

To end this conflict, the Colonial Secretary appointed a commission chaired by James Currie to study the problem and make the necessary recommendations. This body came to be known as the Currie Commission and the report as the Currie Report.

The Currie Report called for an immediate public program for a university. Political considerations weighed heavily in this decision. There was a serious demand for higher education in East Africa at the time. It did not please the British that all educationally aspiring Africans should attend universities in England.

This report recommended that selected colleges in Africa were to be temporarily depended on English
universities for granting degrees. This was agreed upon, and the commission made the necessary arrangements to make sure the plan succeeded. There was, however, opposition to this plan from the colonial governors of East Africa. This caused the Secretary of Colonies to appoint another commission called the De La Warr Commission in 1936 to study the development of higher education for the Africans (2, pp. 194-195).

The De La Warr Report

The demands for the elevation of Makerere to university status continued in spite of the failure of the Currie Report. This prompted the appointment of still another commission, the De La Warr Commission, appointed by the Secretary of Colonies in 1936, and which issued its first report in 1937. This report favored a university developed in an African setting. It urged the development of Makerere including enlargement of fields of study and the addition of African faculty members and administrators. This was aimed at creating a better place for training Africans for future government work in the economy (2, p. 198). The report re-emphasized the continuation of a close relationship with the University of London, and urged high entry standards. The report was supported by the Colonial Office. The colonial government added more courses in the
sciences and education, but no African studies were allowed (2, p. 198).

The college was not allowed to grant degrees, but only certificates and diplomas through 1948. Since Africans demanded a university, and there was a need to provide more African college graduates with degrees, especially in education, agriculture, and medicine, the governor of Uganda kept on working toward the goal of making Makerere a full degree granting university. The college was to be developed by Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, and Great Britain. The college was able to obtain $750,000 from Uganda, $300,000 from Tanzania, $150,000 from Kenya, and $300,000 from Britain. As a result, Uganda got places for 100 students at the college; Tanzania, 40 places; Kenya, 20 places; and Britain 40 students to be selected by the college principal from East Africa (2, pp. 195, 198-200; 3, pp. 25-73; 6, pp. 300-304). The next step in these early educational activities was the appointment of a new commission to look into the situation of higher education in East Africa.

The Higher Education Commission Report

Another phase of educational policy in Kenya, still in the area of higher education, was seen in 1937 when the Colonial Office appointed a commission to investigate the needs and possibilities for higher education in East
Africa. This commission recommended that Makerere College, which was then a trade school, should be advanced into a full college (5, pp. 50-63). In 1940 H. J. Channon from the Colonial Office started preparing for yet another report. This report was later to be named after him.

The Channon Report

The Channon Report issued in 1943 was a new landmark, departing from the idea of primarily vocational institutions and calling instead for fully comprehensive African universities with good research facilities, the dropping of the University of London external degrees, and the substitution in the African universities of their own degree programs. The Colonial Office agreed with these proposals and appointed the Asquith Commission to study university conditions in all the British colonies and make recommendations, and the Elliot Commission particularly for West Africa. Both commissions issued their reports in 1943, but to the dismay of the East Africans, no new inquiry was made for East Africa (6, pp. 304-306).

The Asquith Report

The Asquith Report was useful in the development of higher education in the British colonies. Surprisingly, the report did not discuss education in East Africa.
The Asquith Report became the foundation on which policies for all the colonial universities were based for many years. The report wished to provide for the best interests of the colonies. It, however, sought to promote African universities very much according to the accepted British pattern in terms of the academic standards, the costs, the teaching methods, the narrow range of subjects, and the facilities for top-level research. It also encouraged change in the syllabi to suit African needs and research into African languages and culture (2, pp. 198-200, 306-307; 6, pp. 300-306).

This report stressed the fact that high-quality staff was needed and that this kind of staff could be attracted only by good research facilities. The report stressed the need for very expensive, high-class, highly academic institutions. This would, however, isolate the universities from the indigenous needs and environment. Some of the experts in the commission argued for the establishment of small elitist colleges. There were critics of this approach. Some of these critics included Africans educated in the United States of America and the American observers. These critics favored African universities that were, like the American land-grant colleges, broadly inclusive of almost all fields of study and committed to practical research and close cooperation
with the communities these colleges were supposed to serve (36, p. 2).

Like the Currie and the De La Warr reports, the Asquith Report recommended that colonial universities be autonomous but attached to London universities. The Asquith report stressed the preparation of African administrators. The Colonial Office went on with the conducting of reports on African education. Many of these reports concerned the educational activities in Kenya. The Beecher Report was one such undertaking.

The Beecher Report

The colonial educational policy immediately after the war was characterized by two important documents in the history of the Kenyan educational system. The first one was the Beecher Report on African education, and the second one was a report by the East and Central African study group headed by A. L. Binns, or the Binns Report. The Beecher Report reaffirmed the basic objectives of African education. The committee stressed the importance of maintaining cooperation between the government and voluntary agencies. The report supported the Kikuyu Independent School Movement, as it was a voluntary agency. Education, according to this report, was to meet the needs of the rural society. The graduates of primary schools were to work in rural areas, a plan the Africans opposed.
The Beecher Report calculated the number of students to receive various levels of education and emphasized quality rather than quantity. The report recommended the replacement of the old 6-2-4 system of education by the 4-4-4 system. The first system involved six years of elementary education, two of intermediate (grade) education, and four years of high school. The new system was going to include four years of elementary (primary) education, four years of grade school, and four years of high school. The Africans felt the four years of primary school were too short for the students to achieve permanent literacy (50, pp. 1-18). Other aspects of the colonial system of education in Kenya were reflected in the Binns Report.

The Binns Report

The Binns Report had relevance to the evolution of the educational policy in Kenya. It advocated a tightening of the supervisory and inspectorial system. It also encouraged local initiative through the growth of governing boards for individual schools. This report also recommended the preservation of selected tribal vernaculars in order to prevent the disintegration of these tribes. The primary schools were to be used for agricultural training. Teacher training colleges were to be the principal means of improving the quality of primary and
intermediate (grade) schools. Africanization of the teacher training institutions was stressed in this report. More Africans were to be hired as instructors, and the curriculum was to be fitted to the practical realities of the African environment. Women's education, technical education, and adult education were also recommended (4, pp. 200-235).

Several committees were set up in the 1950s to study the educational situation in East Africa. Many of these were international committees which included representatives from various Western countries.

International Committees on East African Education

In addition to the other committees discussed, there was a 1955 British working party to advise the government regarding the future of higher education in East Africa. The party dealt with the criteria to be used in the admission of students to the African universities. The party visited East Africa to look into the educational conditions there.

The second working party went to East Africa in 1958 under John Lockwood. This committee recommended a federal university for East Africa. The recommendation was accepted. The United Kingdom continued to work toward the creation of an autonomous system of higher education in
East Africa (2, pp. 194-196). The Report of the Conference on Education in East Africa was part of the continued efforts by the British government to study the educational conditions in East Africa.

The Report of the Conference on Education in East Africa

An international conference was held in 1960 to determine measures by which Americans could best assist Kenya develop her higher education and other levels of education. This conference resulted in a good overview of the educational problems which the East African nations had. Leading educators from the United Kingdom (U.K.), the U.S.A., and East Africa attended the conference held at Princeton, New Jersey. The literature ensuing from this conference provided useful guidance in the planning of higher education in independent Kenya. The purpose of the conference was to formulate solutions to educational staffing in Kenya after independence. The problem of secondary school education in Kenya was discussed alongside teacher education. The Africans had already started demanding the introduction of an educational system more suited to their national needs. This conference put this matter into consideration. The Conference of African States, which followed, aimed at working on the
The Conference of African States

In 1961 the Conference of African States on the development of education in Africa was held in Ethiopia. This conference consisted of African leaders and major education officials from independent African nations. The aim of the conference was to provide guidelines for the new African nations regarding the development of educational institutions. Countries not yet independent benefited from this conference. Kenya was one such country, and she had sent delegates to the conference (2, pp. 196-198; 39, pp. 12-34). One other conference convened by African nations was the Tananarive Conference held in the Malagasy Republic.

The Tananarive Report

The first African international conference, held in Ethiopia in 1961, was attended by representatives from thirty-nine African countries and delegates from five European countries. The aim of this conference was to formulate an African educational development plan. It was stressed that the entire educational system played an important role in the African socio-economic, political, and cultural development. A follow-up of this conference
was the Tananarive Conference. The Tananarive Conference was convened in 1962. This conference was mainly on the development of higher education in Africa.

The Tananarive Conference was attended by representatives from thirty-one African countries and representatives from fourteen non-African countries. The conference was conducted under the auspices of Unesco and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (44, pp. 1-10; 45, pp. 1-122).

The conference discussed higher education in East Africa, with an emphasis on the training of manpower. Commissions were set up to deal with staffing, financing, and curriculum of higher education in Africa. The report issued by the commission stressed the need for the institutions of higher education to adapt to local needs without losing their international status. The conference concluded that in addition to teaching and conducting research, the role of the higher education community must be extended to social, cultural and economic development of Africa. The report stated that this role must also include loyalty to world academic standards; ensure the unification of Africa; encourage learning that appreciates African culture; develop human resources for manpower purposes; train man for nation building; and evolve a truly African pattern of higher learning (42, pp. 64-70; 45, pp. 1-22).
Early post-independence conferences on the Kenyan economy followed this pattern of inquiry.

**Early Post-Independence International Conferences**

In 1962 another committee was set up to advise the newly formed University of East Africa. This committee included an American, a Canadian and two Englishmen. It was chaired by an African principal of Fourah Bay College in Sierra Leone, Arthur Porter, who later became the principal of Nairobi University College (2, pp. 198-210).

Kenya formed an interim internal government in 1962. This transitional government was to enable the Africans to prepare themselves for full independence in 1963.

Another conference, which was held at the Rockefeller Foundation villa on Lake Como in October 1963, emphasized the determination of the University of East Africa to remain federated. This conference followed the guidelines laid down by the Tananarive Report. The U.K., the U.S.A., the U.N., and the World Bank continued to hold conferences to discuss Kenyan higher education (2, p. 198; 12, pp. 300-312).

Other important conferences were conducted by international organizations and the developed countries in cooperation with the Kenyan government. Developed countries as well as international organizations,
therefore, played an important role in the development of Kenyan higher education. The World Bank, for instance, was one such organization.

The World Bank Report

At the request of the Kenyan government, the World Bank undertook a survey of the economic development of Kenya in 1961. The Bank sent a mission to Kenya to study the political, economic, and educational conditions there and make the necessary recommendations. The aim of the mission was to see what the bank needed to do to assist the country. This mission issued an extensive report outlining all the necessary steps to be taken to assist Kenya. Higher education was widely discussed and analyzed in this report (12, pp. 300-312; 61, pp. 300-309).

The survey studied all aspects of the Kenyan economy including education, which was treated as one among the many sectors of the economy needing financial assistance. The report pointed out the need in high school for expatriate teachers and improvements in teacher education. Women's role in the economy and women's education and agricultural education were considered important for Kenyan development. The problem of changing from the use of vernacular languages to Kiswahili and English was also studied. The report mainly discussed past problems and accomplishments (12, pp. 300-312; 61, pp. 300-309).
After becoming independent in December, 1963, Kenya started conducting her own conferences to address the issue of higher education and other national development matters. One of the earliest conferences was between a representative of the Kenyan government, the late Tom Mboya, and John Kennedy, the American president. This conference took place in the U.S.A.

Mboya Student Flights and the Literature on Them

Kenya was going to have to expand her African manpower in both the private and public sectors. The late Tom Mboya, a member of parliament, visited the U.S.A. to discuss this matter with Kennedy. Only forty Kenyan students graduated from the University College of East Africa in 1957, and only thirty-six Kenyan students graduated from the college in 1958.

After visiting America, Mboya returned with 250 scholarships to be used in American universities. The student airlifts were financed by a grant from the Kennedy Foundation. In 1959 the first 81 Kenyan students left the country for the U.S.A. In 1960, 288 more students left. Through the student airlifts, the number of Kenyan students in the U.S.A. rose from 81 in 1956 to 1,500 in 1976. Many other students went to Europe, the U.K., Canada, and India (2, pp. 264-266; 12, pp. 153-157). The number of Kenyan
students studying abroad was estimated at 6,000 in 1981. There were 5,000 Kenyan students in the U.S.A. in 1987 (57, p. 11; 60, p. 35).

The literature written by the late Mboya emphasizes higher education. He demonstrated the importance of higher education by leaving his busy political career for a while to attend Oxford University. Among the first group of students to leave Kenya for the U.S.A. were a brother of Mboya and Pamela, the future wife of Mboya (7, pp. 100-125). Mboya wrote important books, articles, and documents on the Kenyan economy when he was the Minister of Economic Planning and Development. His literature contains emphases on the need to expand the Kenyan elite, while at the same time building all the other levels of the economy (32, pp. 3-28; 33, pp. 2-35).

After the initiative by Mboya, many Kenyan students came to the U.S.A. on their own, and others got local and international scholarships. Many Kenyan students have been able to obtain athletic scholarships. Most scholarships are from governments, corporations, and organizations. Other programs such as the African Scholarship Programs of American Universities, the U.N. grants and the Institute of International Education grants have been useful to Kenyan students (43, pp. 15-19; 46, pp. 11, 19-22). It is stated that whatever these students learned in the U.S.A. came to
have a significant effect upon the future of higher education in Kenya, as well as on her political and economic development (2, pp. 264-268). The early reports issued by the Kenyan government included the Ominde Commission Report.

The Ominde Report

The Ominde Commission was composed of Kenyan African National Union (KANU—the ruling party) members, members of the Kenyan parliament, the University of Nairobi faculty members and administrators, and the Kenya National Union of Teachers personnel. The chairman was Simon Ominde of the then University of East Africa, Nairobi. This commission, set up in 1964, sought to encourage national unity and nationhood through education. Education was to be used to serve the needs of national development, promote social equality, remove racism, tribalism, and religious divisions, as well as be adaptable to change (20, pp. 2-25; 30, pp. 96-131).

Reports on the Odinga-U.S.S.R. Student Scholarships

While Mboya was securing scholarships for Kenyan students in America, Odinga, the then Kenyan vice-president, was getting scholarships for Kenyan students, including military pilots, to study in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Odinga was also able to arrange with the
Russians to build a 200-bed hospital with Soviet doctors at Kisumu and start an irrigation project there, as well as establish the Lumumba Institute near Nairobi (12, pp. 248-249; 40, pp. 100-150). Most literature on the Russian activities in Kenya points to the political problems connected with these involvements. Assistance from the Russians was not welcome by the government of Kenyatta. Many Kenyan students, for example, boarding planes at the airport for the Soviet Union were turned away before their departure. Kenya felt taking communist aid would endanger the continuation of economic assistance from the West. There was, however, a need for the Kenyan government to treat foreign donors as friends. This was the tendency by the government of Kenya regardless of the ideology of the donor country. Kenyatta disagreed with Odinga regarding their political ideologies. The differences caused Odinga to resign as the vice-president. However, Kenyan students (including the son of Odinga) went to study in the communist states, many of them returning home with college degrees to serve the country. Kenyatta did not care where Kenyan students went for further studies as long as they were not part of political activities by Kenyan politicians. Political problems made the government turn down many Soviet scholarships. Due to political problems between Kenyatta and Odinga, for instance, the Lumumba
Institute closed down in 1965 (12, pp. 45, 248-253). It was unfortunate that political quarrels between Kenyatta and Odinga culminated in the cancellation of many forms of aid by the Russians such as the scholarships, grants for a radio broadcasting station, a textile mill, and fish and fruit processing factories. Many of the Russian aid packages were converted to loans. It is stated that Odinga continued to send students to study in the communist block countries. There were also many Kenyans who went to study there on their own. The flow of Kenyan students to the Eastern block countries has been lessened but it still continues to take place (12, pp. 248-249).

The Hunter Report

The Guy Hunter Report, sponsored by the Institute of Race Relations and Political and Economic Planning, sought to describe and study the Kenyan needs for skilled manpower. The economic demands were to be balanced with political demands of individuals for literacy through primary education. Hunter saw the Kenyan educational problems as originating from increased primary and secondary school dropouts. He concluded that Kenya would have to develop various types of institutions to provide manpower at the intermediate (grade) school level. He also suggested that technical and vocational schools should maintain standards of quality as those of academic
institutions. Hunter finally examined the projected manpower requirements of the economy and concluded that Kenya would not be able to meet the minimum requirements for economic growth until 1966. He also calculated that from 1966 to 1971 massive external aid might be necessary (this aid was later made available by the U.K., Europe, the U.S.A. and Japan) if an economic growth of 4.5 percent per annum were to be achieved (35, pp. 12-60; 54, pp. 6-12; 55, p. 11). The advice given by Hunter included substitution of experience for educational certificates in order to improve educational opportunities for adults, acceptance of shorter and simpler training for professional positions which only require a moderate level of training, and provision of entrance for a large number of individuals who formerly did not satisfy excessively stringent academic standards. However, Hunter felt quality should not be sacrificed for unnecessary standards (8, pp. i-xi, 40-58, 106-107). This report mentioned several factors that the Ominde Commission studied, reported, and recommended for action. The Harambee Movement incorporated the recommendations of these reports into the insights of the society and the guidelines laid down by Kenyatta and the Kenyan government.
Reports on the Harambee Movement

After independence, not only was the Kenyan government studying events and issuing reports, the public was concerned about the future of the country. The rapid expansion of Harambee (self-help) schools established by the Wananchi or the people, is a clear indication of the desire of the public for educational extension. Harambee is a Kiswahili word which means let's pull together. This word was adopted as the Kenyan national "motto" and is on the Kenyan coat of arms. Kenyatta used this word to mobilize the Kenyan people for self-reliance (12, p. 454). Wananchi is a Kiswahili term which literally means "children of the earth," people or citizens (12, p. 454).

The result of the Harambee Movement was to remain strong in Kenya for a long time. By 1972, it is stated, Kenya had 520 Harambee secondary schools (19, pp. 150-153; 38, pp. 30-72). The Kenyan government had taken over most of these schools in the 1970s. By the 1980s, the government had set up institutions to absorb the graduates of the Harambee schools. More institutions of higher education were, however, required to absorb all the students that qualified for higher education.

The Ominde Commission stressed the importance of self-help schools. With the Kenyatta government emphasizing this theme, there was a surge of independent schools,
especially at the secondary level. The 1960s saw a tremendous determination on the part of the Kenyan people to provide educational institutions and educational facilities for their children. There were harambee gatherings all the time, with people collecting money, donating land, and working together to promote development. This was the era of educational expansions. During this time many Kenyan students went abroad for further studies. While the Ominde Commission had pointed out the fact that the government should control the establishment and running of these schools, the Harambee Movement proved to be hard to control by the government. Government control of the activities of the movement was next to impossible. The famous Sessional Paper No. 10 discussed most of the issues found in other reports (17, pp. vi-vii; 22, pp. 1-8; 23, pp. 1-15; 41, pp. xx-xxii).

Sessional Paper No. 10


In order to move a nation forward, the institutions in it should continue to reflect a particular philosophy set forth by the government as a guide for development. The
Kenyan government had assigned the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development the responsibility to develop such a philosophy. This is how Sessional Paper No. 10 came into being (34, pp. 15-18).

This paper dealt with the whole Kenyan economy and polity. It was the blueprint on which the future of Kenya was laid out. Education was one of the many sectors of the Kenyan economy discussed in the paper, following parliamentary debates on the issues discussed.

The Kericho Conference Report

This conference of 1966, organized by the Kenyan government and the University of Nairobi, examined the interrelation of education, employment, and rural development. There was also an emphasis on higher education and the role it played in the developmental concerns (41, pp. 2-51).

The 7-6-3 System Report

This system was started by the Kenyan government in 1962. It involved the reduction of the duration in the intermediate school level by one year (from four to three years). Students would complete seven rather than eight years of schooling before going to high school. This meant that more spaces were needed in high schools, and later in the colleges to cater for the extra students that would
qualify to go to high schools following the change. That year the change was made, each intermediate school had two classes sitting for the final examination. The students completing seven years of schooling before entering high school had to have their work concentrated and accelerated so as to enable them to cover the syllabi. More teachers were needed in high schools. Kenya had to get many expatriates to teach in high schools—many of them as Peace Corps volunteers (9, pp. 119-125; 24, pp. 265-294). There was also a new examination, Kenya Junior Secondary School Examination, which was optional and could be taken by some of the high school students in their sophomore year to enable the ones passing to attend teacher training colleges or go to other careers (12, pp. 147-167). Secondary education extended for six years and was divided into a lower course of four years and an upper course of two years. Passing a junior secondary examination (taken on a voluntary basis) provided a kind of credential for those who did not want to complete high school. The students completing high school with Division I (the highest pass) or II (the passes range from Divisions I to IV) went to Form V and then onto Form VI. They then took the Higher School Certificate Examination to enter college if they passed the number of subjects required, out of a course
load of three or four majors (principals) and one minor or subsidiary (12, pp. 147-167).

Higher education at the college level was three years for a degree. Kenyan students could attend a university in Kenya, Uganda, or Tanzania. The Kenyan government went on to declare the University of Nairobi a separate university after the three East African countries decided to break up the East African Economic Community which had formerly enabled them to share most of their public services (12, pp. 154-158).

The 1970 University Act

In 1970, by mutual agreement of the three East African countries, the University of East Africa was dissolved. The Kenyan parliament enacted Act Number Sixteen to make the University of Nairobi a separate university. Under the provision of this act, Kenyatta College became a constituent college of the University of Nairobi (47, pp. 58-59).

The Ndegwa Report

In 1970 the national government authorized a major educational study. This commission, composed of university personnel, public officials, and political leaders, reviewed the Kenyan educational progress in development, viewed specific policies and practices in general public
and teacher education, and recommended philosophies and policies for higher education, emphasizing curricular changes and improvements. This report also contained philosophical ideals which were applicable to the entire educational system; for example, it stressed the preservation of indigenous culture. Kenya was still going to be sending students abroad for further studies. The report was chaired by the then Governor of the Central Bank of Kenya, D. N. Ndegwa. The Waruhiu Commission was a follow-up of the Ndegwa Commission, and stressed the same factors stressed by the Ndegwa Commission, but with some additions and modifications (57, pp. 6-8).

The Waruhiu Commission Report

The Kenyan government and prominent Kenyan leaders have asserted, in various national reports, that national development and Africanization (Kenyanization) should serve as directives for all institutions (18, pp. 5-36, 100-115; 31, pp. 80-95). The Kenyanization of economic activity is part of the long range government planning. This also involves opening up new opportunities for Africans. Education is important in this activity. The whole process of Kenyanization was emphasized as a means of training the necessary manpower to take over from expatriates occupying high-skill positions. The Waruhiu Report of 1979 stipulated this undertaking, recommending the need for the
reduction of the number of expatriates in Kenya, including college professors (18, pp. 5-115; 55, pp. 5-11). While the 1974-78 Development Plan spelled out the necessary steps to be taken in the process of localizing the economy, it emphasized higher education as the best means of achieving the goals stipulated in the plan and in the Waruhiu Report. The Waruhiu Commission blamed history for Kenyan economic and political problems (57, pp. 6-8).

The Waruhiu Commission emphasized the fact that education is an investment, as Kuznets points out. Kuznets stresses the fact that capital investment extends beyond material capital to investment in human development (29, p. 200). The Waruhiu Commission stressed the need to create jobs for Africans according to the 1979-83 Development Plan. According to this plan, Kenyan economic growth was limited largely by a shortage of labor. More than 225,000 Kenyans sought new employment every year at the time. There was a shortage of trained engineers and artisans to implement projects. The Ndegwa Commission reported that the country had a shortage of professional cadres. There were not enough doctors in hospitals, not enough engineers to build roads, and not enough economists to plan and advise on development. The Ndegwa Commission also reported that the country needed to encourage young Kenyans to pursue professional careers. There was an urgent need to
train Africans to replace expatriates. The Waruhiu Commission followed the recommendations made by the Ndegwa Commission and recommended nationalization of the economy, civil service, and the various sectors partially foreign-controlled. This commission was termed revolutionary by many. There was an uproar from the foreign business leaders regarding this commission. The Kenyan press was filled with articles and letters criticizing and supporting the report. Kenya went ahead with the plans laid down in the report. Many foreign companies were forced out of Kenya, and others started sharing businesses with Kenyans and increasing the percentages of their businesses to be owned by the Kenyans and the Kenyan government. Most educational plans put down in the report were carried out. There, however, still is a shortage of Kenyan manpower in many sectors of the economy (15, pp. 8-17; 29, p. 200). The 1974-78 Development Plan addressed some of these problems.

The 1974-78 Development Plan

This plan recognized the formal educational system as the most accessible route to individual social and economic advancement. Entrance into the more advanced areas of the economy has been very easy for those possessing the highest levels of education. The Kenyan public is, therefore, selective. This means jobs are easier to find for the
highly qualified (the highly educated), whereas the undereducated suffer higher unemployment. The 1974-78 Plan sought to create new means for individuals to acquire the skills and abilities necessary to improve their social and economic status.

For the 1974-78 development period, Kenya intended to pursue the policies that insured the fundamental rights of each Kenyan child to have access to seven years of basic education, and relate access to higher education with Kenyan economic needs. The government also required the recipients of this education to shoulder a greater portion of the costs for it. College students were supposed to start getting government educational loans that were to be paid off gradually after graduation (18, pp. 5-36, 100-115). The government also intended to relate the curriculum to social and economic needs and emphasized modes of inquiry and self-initiative, as opposed to the memorization and mere accumulation of facts prevalent in the educational system at the time. The need to improve the quality of the educational system was stressed, and so was the utilization of teachers and teacher trainees as efficiently as possible (18, pp. 5-30; 102-115). The University Grants Committees dealt with most of these problems.
The University Grants Committee Reports

The first University Grants Committee was set up in 1971. The second one was established in 1981. These committees were set up by the Kenyan government to deal with the functions of the universities. Such committees are accepted institutions in the British system of university education and create a link between the universities and governments. The committees interpret to the government and the public the rationale behind university autonomy and academic freedom. The committees advise the government regarding the needs, interests, and views of the universities. They contribute to the formulations of the broad policy, with the final decision resting with the government.

The Kenyan government established the 1981 committee to deal with Nairobi University and Kenyatta University. This committee was chaired by J. Kiano, former member of parliament, and former professor of Government at Nairobi University. While a member of parliament, Kiano had served as a cabinet minister under Kenyatta and Moi. He became a member of parliament before Kenya became independent. The members of the committee were Kenyan intellectuals, civil servants, and educational experts. The additional members were from the private sector.
The committee reviewed the existing university conditions and made the necessary recommendations. It discussed student conditions, financial and personnel problems, and made recommendations. Among the recommendations were the need for curriculum improvement, with additional degree offerings being suggested and additional time for degree work (four instead of three years) being recommended. The committee limited high school education to four years, by removing the higher school level or Form V and Form VI, the twelfth and the thirteenth years of education. The committee also recommended the establishment of the National Student Service, which made it mandatory for high school graduates who qualify to go to college to serve the country for one year before entering college. The committee also recommended a new university. Recommendations were also made for the establishment of other institutions for higher education. The planning of university education was to be coordinated with national development. All the recommendations made by the committee had been met by 1986 (16, pp. 1-10; 47, pp. 1-7; 58, pp. 5-7; 59, pp. 4-6).

The Gachathi Report

This report recommended education for national unity. Removing of social and regional inequalities in education was also recommended. The creation of an international
consciousness in education was stressed, as well as the need for giving an increased emphasis to adaptability, problem solving education, social responsibility in education, the development of the nation through education, developing human resources, self-reliance, teaching moral and ethical values, teaching business skills, and giving special attention to the handicapped students. The major emphases were on national, social, cultural, and economic values in education (56, pp. 5-10). These undertakings were later followed by the introduction of the 8-4-4 Educational System.

The 8-4-4 Educational System

In 1985 the Kenyan government implemented this educational reform program. Instead of the previous seven-year basic (primary) education, the two-year higher (secondary school) education, after four years of high school, and the three-year college degree program, the new system envisioned an eight-year primary education, a four-year high school education, and a four-year university education. Another change was to involve implementation of methods and content taught. As far as the curriculum was concerned, education was to be more practical so as to be meaningful for the students. The practical part was emphasized for those who did not go beyond primary school as well. This education was to be more useful to those
continuing education in the formal channels as well as for those joining other types of education. The curriculum was to be localized as much as possible. The students were to be developed for employment in a rural setting, while at the same time not being denied the right to be trained to have a sense of nationhood. Teacher education was also expanded to cater to the increased enrollment in the primary schools (16, pp. 5-7).

Summary

The various studies that took place in Kenya since 1975 (as well as those that took place immediately after independence in 1963) discuss the efforts made by the Kenyan government to improve higher education there. Kenya has had to put the African political, social, and economic factors into perspective when planning her educational system, especially in connection with the curricula. The reports studied showed the trends of the educational system in Kenya during the colonial period and after independence. Most literature on Kenyan higher education since 1975 dealt with the efforts of the Kenyan government to suit higher education to the African environment and the impact of Western education in Kenya.
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CHAPTER III

THE IMPACT OF WESTERN EDUCATION IN KENYA

Goals and Roles of the Institutions

The theme of education is central to the social thought and forms the basic perspectives as formulated in this study. Every perspective of education can be discussed in terms of what it does to better the society. What does this education do for the people? What does it do to the people? In the writing of this paper, the challenges of these questions were studied and explained. This work sought to expose what had been taking place in Kenya pertaining to the educational system there. The research provided guidance for readers seeking more information on Kenya. An attempt was also made to add available information to the public debate about higher education in Kenya.

Educational institutions are to be evaluated, not only by productive efficiency and the amounts of goods and services they make available, but also by their social suitability. Do these institutions permit all persons that measure of participation which benefits their membership in the said institutions?
If the university is to function in a way that respects human dignity, then it should enable persons to find self realization in their endeavors. It should also permit persons to fulfill their social and material needs. It should also enhance unity and solidarity within the family, the tribe, the nation and the society at large, or the whole community (33, pp. 3-10).

Kenya has gone through a relatively short period of history as an independent nation, but has made reasonable progress in the field of education. Impressive progress has been made in the various sectors of the economy. The nation must now take serious steps in providing guidance to the institutions in a way that secures the future.

The future of the country depends on the integrity of the young people. They must understand the nation and the aspirations of the people. They must also understand their responsibilities and be committed to the country. This is possible through education. The institutions of higher education must realize and fulfill their social requirements and obligations. The duties of research, service, and teaching are to be accomplished well. Like institutions in other parts of the world, Kenyan institutions have been providing mainly formal types of education. The schools, the training centers, and the universities in the country provide formal education
whereas informal education is acquired through parents, the society, and other social institutions (33, pp. 3-10).

Institutions of higher education in Kenya have limited abilities to provide adequate education for the youth of the nation. These limitations are caused by budget restraints. This is why the young people that are admitted to the university must realize that they are privileged to be selected. For this reason, they must not abuse the opportunity to attend college.

The institutions must provide students with skills and knowledge, which are necessary and valuable tools for learning to be true Kenyans. Such skills and knowledge would be useful to the students by helping them prepare themselves to serve the country in the future. Students should not be led to believe that borrowed concepts and ideology can be blindly applied to the economy, the society, or in their lives. The institutions must train the students to be responsible citizens in a truly African spirit (33, p. 5; 45, pp. 116-134). The Kenyan student must learn to be a true Kenyan, and the kind of education given to him has to emphasize Kenyanism.

During colonial days, education and training did not emphasize national development. Most education was to fulfill the purpose of training colonial administrators.
While the British Colonial Office trained the Africans in the British way, the Africans felt that the education should include some aspects of the African socio-economic and political way of life. A review of the educational activities during colonial days and after independence revealed the differences between the roles and goals of the institutions during the colonial days, and those of the ones after independence. A study of Kenyan universities and colleges showed many factors pointing to the characteristics of these institutions (44, p. 38-48; 47, pp. 113-138).

The Universities and Colleges

The University of Nairobi

The colonial government developed a proposal to establish a Technical and Commercial Institute in Nairobi. As the proposal expanded it included provisions for East African students to attend the institute. The Asian community in Kenya wanted to start a college of arts, science, and commerce in memory of Mahatma Gandhi. The two proposals were combined and the Royal Technical College of East Africa was set up. It admitted its first students in April 1956. In 1961 this institution became the second University College in East Africa—the first one was Makerere in Uganda. The Nairobi University College had 375
students in 1963. After Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda became independent, the college became a constituent body of the University of East Africa. In 1970 when the University of East Africa was dissolved, the University College became the University of Nairobi. By 1974 the University of Nairobi had 3,400 students (45, pp. 50-55, 59; 82, pp. 5-7).

Between the time the university was started and 1970, it had produced only 1,536 graduates. However, between 1970 and 1980 this university graduated 13,844 students (66, pp. 4-6). This was significant development. In 1981 the University of Nairobi had 5,000 full-time students. In 1982 the University of Nairobi and Kenyatta University together had 8,800 students. In 1985 the University of Nairobi alone graduated 1,870 students. Kenyan education is still Western, and these students had Western values (82, pp. 4-6).

The 1970 Act Number Sixteen divided the University of Nairobi into three components. These were top-level administrative members, the University Council, and the University Senate. The Chancellor is the president of Kenya, and the Vice-Chancellor is the president of the university. Then there are the Deputy Vice-Chancellor, the Registrar, the Planning Officer, and the principals of each constituent college. There were ten faculties. These were
as follows: Agriculture, Arts, Commerce, Education, Engineering, Law, Medicine, Science, and Veterinary Medicine. The faculties were divided into fifty departments. A faculty and a department have similar overlapping academic interests and facilitation of administration (45, p. 59). There were three institutes—Adult Studies, African Studies, and Development Studies. These institutes are for correspondence courses and research. There is also a School of Journalism. The university is also affiliated with the Kenya Institute of Administration at Kabete near Nairobi, Kenyatta National Hospital Medical School, Chiromo Medical School, the Kenya School of Law, and the Kabete Veterinary School (26, pp. 175-178; 32, pp. 3-8; 45, pp. 56-61; 67, pp. 380-401).

**Kenyatta University**

The second largest university in Kenya is situated at Kahawa. This university used to be a complex of barracks for the British colonial government military personnel. Kenyatta University College campus was handed over by the British government to the Kenyan government in 1965 for higher educational purposes. It was originally started as a junior college. In 1972 it became a constituent college of the University of Nairobi. In 1985 Kenyatta became a full university. This university has emphasized the training of teachers. The main areas taught are arts,
science, and education (34, p. 10; 35, p. 10; 38, pp. 3-9; 45, pp. 83-85; 66, pp. 1-17).

Moi University

This university opened up in 1984. The main studies there include wood pulp and paper technology, general technology, agriculture, veterinary science, forest resources and wildlife management, science; social, cultural and developmental studies, and health science. The aim is to train scientific and technological manpower. The university is expected to have 5,000 students by the year 2000.

Egerton University

This university was founded in 1946 as a small diploma college for teaching agriculture and animal science (veterinary science). The college was named after Egerton (Lord), a British colonial bachelor, and was originally for white boys only. No girls or blacks were to be admitted at the college. Egerton started admitting people of all races and creeds and both sexes after the Kenyan government took it over. Egerton College was made a constituent college of the University of Nairobi in 1986. It then became a full independent university in July 1987, after which it started preparing students for graduate work in addition to offering the other programs.
The university admitted 139 degree students in 1986 and 441 students in 1987. It had an enrollment of 2,180 in 1987. This number was comprised of 580 degree students and 1,600 diploma students. Located at Njoro, an area with some of the best farms in Kenya, the university provides facilities for practical training (34, p. 10; 84, pp. 9-10; 85, pp. 18-19).

Kenya Science Teachers College

The Swedish and the Kenyan governments established this college in 1965. The college trains secondary school teachers. It teaches biology, education, geography, industrial education, mathematics, and physics. By 1974 there were 450 students at this college. The college was completely Kenyanized in 1976. That was when the Swedish government stopped financing it. All the students at the college are now government financed (11, pp. 181-183; 35, pp. 6-7).

The Kenya Polytechnic and The Mombasa Polytechnic

Kenya has several technical institutions. The most advanced of these institutions is the Kenya Polytechnic which is in Nairobi city, and it is the largest one. The Kenya Polytechnic was established in 1961 with assistance from the United Nations Development Program. The Polytechnic had an enrollment of over 1,900 in 1968.
The Mombasa Polytechnic was established in Mombasa in 1948. The institution was formerly a technical school for Arabs and Muslim Africans. It was later taken over by the Kenyan government and open to all.

There were 3,300 students in all the technical institutions in Kenya, not including the two polytechnics, in 1968. This number was 5,000 in 1979. The Kenya Polytechnic and the Mombasa Polytechnic have been expanded by the government of Kenya since 1975.

There are also district technical institutes and village polytechnics which train students in crafts and technical skills. Village polytechnics admit grade school students. One of the post-secondary technical institutes is the Kenya Technical Teachers College (39, pp. 30-39, 71-72; 66, pp. 60-64). In addition to these institutions, Kenyans have established provincial Harambee institutes of technology.

The Institutes of Technology

A study done by Mutunga in 1974 showed that the supply of high school leavers in Kenya far exceeded the capacity of the country to absorb all of them into post-secondary education. The Kenyan people were trying to mobilize themselves through self-help activities to build schools so as to alleviate this problem. The schools built through
these self-help or Harambee efforts are the provincial Harambee technical institutes (52, pp. 6-9).

Morgan had shown the same results in 1970 (49, pp. 5-6). As a result of these findings, the government of Kenya sought to develop technical education through the Harambee institutes of technology. The institutes were located at various places in the country so as to be accessible to most people in the rural areas. The Harambee movement gained a tremendous momentum. The institutes of technology reduced the educational inequality that had existed in the country prior to their introduction. While the people of Kenya increased their efforts in the expansion of these educational facilities, the government provided more assistance and made an urgent decision to incorporate the institutes into the national planning. It is sometimes claimed that the Kenyan government devotes a larger proportion of its total spending to education than any other government (40, pp. 269-291). By 1981, for example, the government of Kenya was spending 33 percent of her national budget on education (40, p. 289). The Kenyan government has provided free education for children in grades one through eight. The country has also made arrangements with other countries for assistance. The Kenyan authorities believe that it is the rapid expansion of educational opportunities which holds the basic key to
national development. The will of the people of Kenya to work with the government in this aspect is demonstrated by the zeal of people of all ages to acquire education and better their lives. The unequal development of education in the colonial days was reversed, and many areas formerly inactive in development got seriously involved in it (41, pp. 1-10). Most of the Kenyan institutes of technology were started in the 1970s in response to the call by the Kenyan government for a more technically oriented education. By 1971 the construction of the institutions of technology had already been launched. The Kaimosi Institute opened in 1971. The Coast Institute, built in 1972, merged with the Taita Institute of Technology. The Muranga Institute had 312 students, and Kiambu enrolled 513 students in 1979. The institutes of technology were going to emphasize the same courses that Moi University was also going to teach. There were suggestions to incorporate these institutions into Moi University as constituent colleges. Such proposals failed as the institutes sought to maintain their autonomy. Many of the institutes were ethnically influenced, tending to enroll students on tribal basis. (Tribalism is an African weakness.) There was also competition among the institutes, each one trying to locally collect more money than any other. These competitions were conducted on a provincial, district, and
locational basis. The institutes of technology are listed in Table I below.

**TABLE I**  
KENYAN INSTITUTES OF TECHNOLOGY*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institute</th>
<th>Initial Target in Million Shillings$^a$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abakuria</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Embu</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gusii</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaimosi</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalenjin</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiambu (KIST)$^b$</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimathi</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kirinyaga</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meru</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muranga</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramogi (RIAT)$^c$</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rift Valley</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sang'alo</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukamba (Ukai)$^d$</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: 52, p. 79

$^a US$1 = 16 Kenyan Shillings (KShs)

$^b$ KIST = Kiambu Institute of Science and Technology

$^c$ RIAT = Ramogi Institute of Agriculture and Technology

$^d$ Ukai = Ukamba Agricultural Institute

The targets set by some of the institutes were not easy to achieve. The magnitude of the targets is related to the amount of development in the area where each institute is located. The areas with high targets were the ones first entered by missionaries and colonizers. The Coast, Ukamba, Western, Central, and Nyanza areas had the earliest mission schools and colonial trading posts. This
shows the important role played by the foreigners in enlightening indigenous people. The disparity in educational opportunities has continued even after independence and is a major concern (41, pp. 34-39).

The important role played by the institutes of technology was stressed by P. Ndegwa (the former Governor of the Central Bank of Kenya) when he wrote to KIST in 1971 and said:

Technical education is one of the areas in which this country must direct its effort in order to produce people who can be employed in the modern sector as well as giving them skills which they can utilize in gainful self-employment. The plan to establish such an institute therefore falls very neatly in our country's overall strategy for further development. . . . Needless to say, the Government will be prepared to assist at some future date if such assistance is deemed necessary and desirable (52, p. 84).

The emergence of the Harambee institutes of technology throughout the country was welcomed by the Kenyan government (59, pp. 289-378; 76, pp. 5-11). The institutes assist the economy by providing training to students, and advising the public on technological matters (18, pp. 4-15; 19, pp. 1-15, 248-256; 30, pp. 147-186). As science and technology become the mainstay of the Kenyan economy, Kenyans are definitely going to benefit from the creation of these institutes. Agriculture, commerce, and industry are going to benefit from the graduates of these institutes. The government of Kenya, through the Ministry of Education, coordinates the activities of the institutes,
and provides guidelines for the curricula for these institutes and all other educational institutions.

Other Government and Private Institutions

There are many private colleges in Kenya, most of them in the big cities and towns. Most of these are junior colleges that offer certificates and diplomas. There are some senior institutions, namely the Seventh Day Adventist Church University at Kijabe, the Kijabe African Inland Church Seminary, the Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology (established in 1983), the Moffat Bible College at Kijabe, the Kenya Highlands Bible College at Kericho, the Machakos Seminary, the Ngong, and the Roysambu Catholic Seminaries, and the Nairobi Trinity Bible College. These senior colleges award degrees to their graduates. There are also branches of international universities, for instance the American International University and Lincoln University in Nairobi. There are also many secretarial colleges, for example Kianda College, and there are correspondence colleges such as the British Tutorial College and the Rapid Results College. People pursuing further education can sit for external examinations through the University of London, Cambridge University, and others, or can enroll for correspondence courses from institutions outside the country (19, pp. 275-287).
There is an institute of mass communication, telecommunications, and meteorology in Nairobi which operates in cooperation with American satellites. There is a school of fine and performing arts and a school for information and broadcasting in Nairobi. There is the government-run management center and the privately-run Kenya Institute of Management, which is affiliated with the American Management Association and the British Institute of Management (13, pp. 119-120). Kenya has many hotel management schools, some of them run in cooperation with major international hotels such as the Hilton Hotel in Nairobi. Other colleges include the Karen College of Nutrition, the Cooperative College of Kenya; J. Kenyatta Foundation, an institution that teaches publishing, and the Utalii (Tourism) College run by the government of Kenya with aid from West Germany. Strathmore College emphasizes liberal arts, business administration, and commerce. There are seventeen major teacher education colleges. These are: Asumbi, Egoji, Eregi, Highridge, Kagumo, Kaimosi, Kamagambo, Kamwenja, Kericho, Kilimambogo, Kisii, Machakas, Meru, Mosoriot, Shanzu, Siriba, and Thogoto. Arrangements have been made with Great Britain, the U.S.A., Canada, W. Germany, and other countries for short courses that train Kenyans in a variety of careers. Kenyan institutions have also been able to get some external assistance (11, pp.
External Assistance Given to the Institutions

While the University of Nairobi and most of the other institutions have been government financed, foreign countries have also contributed funds for specific projects. Norway and Sweden, for instance, have assisted the faculties of Engineering and Science, respectively. The British government has funded the Faculty of Law. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has financed many activities in the Faculty of Education, and International Relations in the Faculty of Political Science, and so has Canada. The Carnegie Foundation has aided the Faculty of Education, while the Rockefeller Foundation has assisted the Faculty of Veterinary Medicine. The Kennedy Foundation has been involved with the Faculty of Education and others since the 1960s (30, pp. 159-186; 45, pp. 60-61; 64, pp. 2-25; 65, pp. 19-27).

The United States government has been assisting the Kenyan government through the United States Agency for International Development. This agency gave assistance to the University of Nairobi for the correspondence courses in 1964 when lessons were being conducted by mail, radio, and
later television. American corporations and those from other countries have shown interest in assisting Kenya. The Kenya Polytechnic and the Mombasa Polytechnic, for example, received assistance from the U.S.A., W. Germany, Canada, and the U.K. The Kenya Technical Teachers College was built and is being assisted by the Canadians. W. Germany was assisting Egerton College, while France and other European nations were assisting various departments at the University of Nairobi. The Kiambu Institute of Technology received aid from the W. Germans and from the Netherlands. Strathmore College was assisted by the U.K. and Italy, whereas Kaimosi College received aid from the American Quakers. The Swedish government built and financed Kenya Science Teachers College, and the Russians built the Lumumba Institute of Political Studies. Other institutions received aid from donors around the world (31, pp. 3-8). The Kenyatta College of Agriculture and Technology at Juja was built with the help of the Japanese government, and the College of Home Economics and Community Development at Machakos was built by the Israelis. The Western College was aided by Denmark (52, p. 8).

In many instances the donor government and organizations have sent their personnel as advisers, consultants, or teachers to Kenya. This has had an impact on the students, the government, and the Kenyan public. This
factor and the curricula are important when discussing the impact of Western education in Kenya (50, pp. 42-43; 51, pp. 1-5).

The Curriculum

The Kenyan school curricula during the colonial days were patterned after those of the British. There were some serious problems regarding the suitability to the Africans of some of the things taught and the manner in which they were taught. During the colonial period, Kenyan schools were organized according to racial classifications. There were separate schools for Europeans, Indians, Arabs, and Africans (19, pp. 199-214; 26, pp. 26-62; 43, pp. 173-177; 54, pp. 25-39; 77, pp. 20-21).

During the colonial time, the University of East Africa had three campuses—Makerere, Nairobi, and Dar-es-Salaam (Dar). Makerere College, in Uganda, offered courses in the arts, social sciences, medicine, agriculture, and education. The Royal Technical College in Nairobi, Kenya, offered courses in the arts, science, engineering, professional studies, veterinary science, and architecture. The University College in Dar offered courses in the arts, science, and law (12, pp. 135-137).

Following independence, the African government tried to make changes in the curricula, but the task remained hard and complicated. In 1974 O'Connor (writing about the
educational system in Kenya) said, "it is arguable that there has been little change in the structure of education" (26, pp. 116-121; 39, pp. 169-181; 55, pp. 67-85; 57, p. 6). Kenya has, however, expanded her educational system and facilities since independence. One important step taken by the government to Africanize the system was the establishment of the Institute of Education which assists teacher education by coordinating teacher education colleges with the universities. The institute also assists in the teaching of science.

Colonial education in Kenya, like in other former British colonies, had sought to teach the people mainly how to obey the British. This is the kind of education Koinange called the "Yes Sir" (Ndio Bwana) education (44, pp. 47; 53, pp. 6-10). After independence most of the education was nationalistic, but some of the educated tended to behave like the British. For a long time after independence, the educational system had changed little. A faster change was experienced in Tanzania, the neighboring country to the south, where Nyerere tried to educate the Tanzanians for self-reliance. Nyerere once said, "... the most central thing about the education we are at present providing is that it is basically elitist" (53, p. 8). Obote, the former president of Uganda, was quoted as having said that the African education system had to be
tailored to the African national needs; it had to be geared to the production of faithful and competent servants and not to the multiplication of elite and gentry (29, p. 201).

Fields argues that education should promote social equity and foster a sense of social responsibility within an educational system which provides educational opportunities for all (19, pp. 187-197; 21; pp. 1-47). Commenting on the adoption of the American system of education by the Africans, Ashby says that a period of study in Britain makes an African respect the British system. It may even make him resistant to innovations in curricula in African schools and colleges. It is not difficult to imagine how the American educational system strikes an African whose only experience of Western education has been in the English pattern. First, according to Ashby, the African finds that in America there is an absence of control by extraneous examining bodies. Such control is limited. The African has been led to believe that the only passport to higher education is a certificate given by a panel of examiners in England, as was the case in the past. The University of Cambridge and the University of London used to set and correct examinations for Kenyan high schools and colleges. Any one who could not pass in the specified subjects (whether he liked them or not) was not qualified for higher education.
The same African later discovered that fewer passes were sufficient enough to give him a place in a reputable American university. One other problem was the specialization emphasized by the British system. An African would find in an American university a variety of courses, all deemed worthy of study.

The democratization of the American educational system was unbelievable to the African (8, pp. 263-265). Ashby, however, cautions that to suggest that Africa should have to choose between an American and a British system of education is to "distort the problem and to generate futile and mischievous rivalries between advocates of two patterns" (8, p. 265). The British commitment to high quality is reflected on their small country and fewer opportunities. The American diverse economy and polity are quite suited for the liberal education. American emphasis on relevance is essential in a country where the need for skilled manpower of middle levels as well as at the highest levels must take precedence over the traditional English pattern (8, pp. 263-265). The Africans in Kenya found the U.S.A. system more relevant and suitable to their needs. The late T. Mboya saw the need to adopt the U.S. system. There was an urgent need for the Kenyan government to switch from the British pattern of education to the American one.
After independence, the Kenyan educational system started to change slowly from the British model to the American one. This was evidenced by the large number of Kenyan students who came to study in the U.S.A. and the increased number of American expatriates in Kenya (30, p. 157). Kenya has already established the American educational system. The system has four years of high school followed by four years of college. The Fifth and the Sixth Forms (which used to make high school education take six years for those aspiring higher education) introduced by the British have been removed. In the past after completing the Sixth Form students would get a college degree in three years or a diploma in two years in a specialization, and with or without a minor. The planning committee for Moi University (chaired by Colin Mackay, a Canadian expatriate who once headed a United Nations education and training program for southern African) included Peter French, an American professor (76, p. 7).

While the British system trained the Africans to be specialized elites, the American system emphasized practical training and a wider liberal arts education. It is indeed ironical that the first higher education degrees earned by African Kenyans came from the U.S.A. rather than the U.K. The first M.A. degree was earned by Mbiyu Koinange in 1937 from Columbia University. J. Kiano earned
the first Ph.D. degree in 1957 from the University of California at Berkeley (42, pp. 189-194; 54, pp. 40-88). Upon returning home, Koinange and others started a teachers college at Githunguri. Kiano joined the Faculty of Government at the Royal Technical College in Nairobi and had his own private high school, the Ralph Bunche Academy, in Nairobi. After independence, these people and many other Westernized Kenyans became politicians and headed important ministries (e.g., education, health, commerce, local government, and water development—all of which have been headed by Kiano and Koinange at different times). The impact of Western education in Kenya is magnified by both the curriculum and the large number of Kenyans educated abroad (31, pp. 14-31). The curriculum in Kenyan schools has been made more comprehensive than it used to be in the early days (76, pp. 9-11). Many scholars have argued that the content of degree courses in former British colonies was irrelevant to the needs of these nations. These nations have been trying to correct this image by introducing changes they deem necessary. The universities as well as the government now realize the vital role they should play in the development of an indigenous culture and satisfy local needs (76, pp. 9-11). The universities have recently been striving to introduce an African content through revised curricula (27, p. 258; 38, pp. 212-223).
After independence, the Kenyan government continued to review the curricula, the methods of teaching and the forms of selection of students for higher education. The government insured that the content of the educational system was relevant to social and economic needs of the country (36, pp. 1-25; 66, pp. 1-12). University staffing and financing were reviewed and coordinated with national development planning. As of 1981, the degree curriculum at the University of Nairobi and at Kenyatta University involved a variety of disciplines. Students could get bachelor's and master's degrees, and one-year or two-year diplomas and certificates in architecture, the arts, business administration (secretarial, data processing, small business administration, etc.), agriculture, anthropology, food science and technology, forestry and range management, commerce (building economics and land economics), agricultural economics, design and fine arts, botany, education, engineering, applied economics, home economics, horticulture, law, medicine, veterinary medicine, dentistry, industrial technology, pharmacy, history, natural and physical sciences, meat inspection, environmental science, laboratory technology, vocational trade, farm production, radiography, zoology, mathematics, irrigation, water and waste engineering, journalism, literature, taxonomy, physiology, statistics, and molecular
biology and microbiology. Many bachelor's degrees and most master's degrees included theses. Doctoral degrees were offered in agriculture (Doctor of Science, D.S.C. and Doctor of Philosophy, Ph.D.); architecture (Ph.D.); literature (Doctor of Literature and Ph.D.); commerce, education (Ph.D. and Ed.D.); business administration; engineering (Ph.D. and D.Sc.); law (Ph.D. and Doctor of Laws); medicine (Ph.D. and Medical Doctorate, M.D.); Science (Ph.D. and D.Sc.) and veterinary medicine (Ph.D. and D. Sc. and Doctor of Veterinary Medicine, D.V.M). Most doctoral degrees involved research and dissertations without course work (39, pp. 153-166; 66, pp. 9-13).

A committee set up in 1981 under J. Kiano recommended some additions to the existing curricula. The additions recommended were chemical engineering, banking and insurance, animal science, advanced water and irrigation engineering, housing and human settlement, foreign languages, cooperative education, Kiswahili studies, crop protection, conservation and plant research, nuclear science technology, international studies, nutrition and environmental science (66, p. 11). Other recent additions have been computer science, African medicines and divinity, and African languages and cultural heritage (4, p. 51; 70, pp. 48-65).
Since the recommendation was made additional master's degrees have been made available in library science, music, political science, modern languages, English, Kiswahili, sociology, psychology, social sciences, physical education and health science, geography, vocational and special education, continuing and adult education, physical science and geology, dentistry, electrical engineering, environmental management, nuclear science (physics), science in health and safety, mechanical engineering, nursing, biology and general physics, laws, and higher education. Doctoral degrees were added in computer science, mathematics, music education, nursing science, health science and safety, physical education and recreation, philosophy and religious studies, dentistry, surgery, optometry, and jurisprudence (Jurisprudence doctorate—J.D.). The new university (Moi) offers several doctoral degrees which include wood and paper technology; social, cultural, and development studies; wildlife management and development studies (39, pp. 156-166; 82, pp. 5-7).

Kenyan colleges offer bachelor's degrees in most of these areas done at the universities. There are also certificate and diploma programs in many fields. The institutes of technology teach technical, industrial, and commercial fields for diplomas and certificates. Some of
the courses taken at the institutes of technology include studies on arid and coastal zones, marine science and engineering, water engineering and mining. In 1981, the ministry of water development was using the Murang'a College of Technology, the Rift Valley Institute of Science and Technology, and the Western College of Arts and Applied Science to run courses for ministry personnel. Murang'a College was initially designed to teach and train technicians who would specialize in mechanical, electrical, and building and civil engineering. The Rift Valley Institute teaches agricultural science, trade, technology, commerce, and physical and natural resources. The Western College offers courses in mechanical engineering and business administration. K.I.S.T. teaches building trades and secretarial work. Sang'alo Institute, in the Western Province, offers veterinary science, agriculture technology, masonry and tourism management. Friends College at Kaimosi offers a one-year secretarial course and a three-year course in business administration. The R.I.A.T. in Nyanza offers environmental science, agricultural science, sugar and fish technology and nutrition, engineering, business and institutional management, art, design, paramedical sciences, social science, economics, demography, sociology and human geography. The Gusii (Kisii) Institute, also in Nyanza,
offers courses in civil and electrical engineering and in business administration. The Meru College, in Eastern Province, trains civil, electrical and mechanical engineers. The Coast Institute teaches agriculture, fishing and animal reproduction, trades and crafts. The Ukai, in Eastern Province, teaches soil and water engineering, meteorological studies and agricultural engineering. The Kimath Institute and the Kirinyaga Institute, both in the Central Province, teach farming technology (76, pp. 5-11).

Most of the improvement in the curricula has emphasized practical work, environmental studies, and local culture and needs. More improvement is still needed in practical and artistic courses. The geography, history, and politics of Kenya are being emphasized in the curriculum. Kenya is trying to introduce the student to the indigenous culture through education. Students are being taught to learn about the present, the past and have an insight about the future of their country. In the past most attention was given to the acquiring of certificates and degrees. Students are today being called upon to reason and use their knowledge for better service to themselves and to the society. For example, a new law requires all Kenyan high school graduates aspiring for and qualified to attend the University to serve in the National
(Student) Youth Service for a year before entering the university, so as to be exposed to practical experience. This is not a Western influence (45, pp. 79-83; 82, pp. 5-7).

At government instigation, Kenyan schools are moving away from the classical curriculum suitable for white-collar workers to a more practical curriculum tailored to the requirements of the economic market place. The 1980s should see emphasis shift to agricultural and technical education. This is in contrast to what the Americans are doing today. The Americans are starting to re-emphasize the humanities and liberal arts. Kenya is switching from the British system to the American system, but it still emphasizes practical education (13, pp. 115-118; 15, pp. 16-21). African traditions have been put into consideration when planning a new curriculum for Kenyan schools.

The Social Impact of Western Education in Kenya

The curricula in the Kenyan schools must be related to the African way of life. It was necessary to study the impact of higher education on the African traditions. Early African education was based on communal welfare, as well as family unity. Modernity brought by the colonial government tended to transform the African into a
subculture that was alien to him. Modern systems of communication and mobilization coupled with economic opportunity tended to change the structure of traditional society as the educated African began to move away from his rural tribal setting towards the newly developed urban areas. The impersonal relations brought about by a competitive economic society tended to weaken and, in some cases, destroy the traditional forms of group behavior which had formerly brought to the African his sense of security. When the family unit became isolated in town and domestic groups of kinmen were split between urban and rural communities, new problems and frustrations arose (25, p. 179; 58, p. 148).

Education in premodern Kenya began at the time of birth. This education was a combination of formal and informal means. Education was much more closely integrated into the fabric of tribal life than in modern societies. There was considerable educational activity which took place at certain times of the life of an individual, for example during the initiation of a group of youths into adulthood. After initiation young men and women went into a period of recuperation and instruction about tribal mores and traditions. Modern education and Christianity have done away with all this for the educated in Kenya (10, pp. 22-80; 14, p. 40; 17, pp. 44-61; 37, p. 96; 58, p. 53).
The early African institutions included rules and ideas for governing relationships between men and organizations, between organizations themselves, and between man and man. The "bush school," as Scanlon calls it, passed on basic knowledge about the tribal community so that a tribal identity would persist from one generation to the next. Smith, Stanley, and Shores pointed out that it was the obligation of those who were responsible for curriculum building to provide opportunities for children, young people, and adults to engage in the common task of rebuilding ideas and attitudes so as to make them valid for the people of social judgment and action (60, p. 18).

African traditions and customs are going to be of great importance as Kenya embarks on her future higher educational planning. This will happen only if higher education in Kenya is fully coordinated with African traditions to reduce the current impact of Western education. A new curriculum had to be developed to meet this requirement. Education is going to mean more to the Kenyans if it is coupled with pride, patriotism, and positive cultural identity. For this to be achieved, the nation will have to incorporate all the aspects of the Kenyan economy, society, and polity into her higher education and all the other levels of education so as to create a Kenya that the future generation can be proud of.
If this happens, the country will be definitely moving toward a truly African form of education rather than one based on purely Western values as was the case in the past. This is what the enlightened Kenyans advocate (70, pp. 34-82).

In a study involving fifty students at Emporia, Kansas and fifty Kenyan students at the University of Nairobi in Kenya, Sam Munywoki used questionnaires, multiple regression, and multivariate methods to analyze the attitudinal changes that these two groups of students underwent due to their education. Based on the results of the tests, Munywoki concluded that "it would seem to follow, then, that the more a Kenyan becomes educated in the Western sense the further he is removed from his African culture" (51, p. 5). Munywoki found that this was true of a Kenyan studying in his homeland as well as a Kenyan studying abroad. This is because the two systems of education are Western. Because of differences in environments, however, the Kenyans studying abroad seemed to change their attitudes faster than those studying in Kenya. The study further revealed that Kenyan female students changed more than male students. It was also found that the younger the students who went abroad were, the more the confusion and the greater the change they had (51, pp. 80-85). Correlation coefficients in the study
showed that the longer the students stayed abroad the more change they acquired (51, pp. 6-8, 80-85).

There is a clash between modern education and the African culture. An educated African would try to become Westernized but lack of real internal Westernized values will frustrate him. He remains torn between two worlds (47, pp. 90-112; 63, pp. 50-57). Glasser points out that there has to be motivation in education. School should not become an end in itself. Education should be a lifelong experience. Education must relate to life experience so as to arouse interest in an individual. Kenyan students need to relate their education to their lives (24, pp. 30-48). Relevance has been lacking in Kenyan higher education as Wa Thiong'o and Nyerere point out. Nyerere feels that for Western education to be meaningful in Africa, changes need to be made. Wa Thiong'o feels foreign thought dominates African education. Foreign languages and ideas should not be applied to African education as Wa Thiong'o feels this does not benefit the African. It deprives him of his pride and identity (71, p. 9). Kaplan also believes that African traditions should be incorporated into the African education (30, p. 149). The African university should strive to achieve this goal and also discourage tribalism.

The African university is an isolated ivory tower. Traditionally the curriculum has been very theoretical and academic, and sometimes insensitive to African indigenous
needs. This has isolated the university from the society around it. One African leader who has explicitly demonstrated an attempt to bring about change to the ivory tower concept is Nyerere of Tanzania. In his Arusha Declaration, "Education for Self-Reliance," Nyerere suggested that education should have the following objectives:

1. (Egalitarian)—adjust the educational system to the social goals defined in the Arusha Declaration, "Socialism and Rural Development."

2. (Economic)—Prepare pupils for life of service to the community bearing in mind that their standards of living will depend mainly on the level of productivity they attain in farming (56, p. 18).

The two objectives insured that elitist education would not be allowed. It was hoped that education would become an integral part of the entire community rather than being aloof and detached from it. Equality was to be introduced in the system (7, pp. 1-22). This plan was supposed to be equivalent to the American land-grant system which opened up college opportunities for all classes in the society (53, pp. 1-25; 56, pp. 13-28).

Educated Africans tended to acquire what the American economist, Veblen, called conspicuous consumption habits (68, pp. 85-97). The educated Africans acquire tastes for goods their country cannot afford to provide. As a result frustrations arise as these educated people find themselves unable to find satisfaction in their developing economies. Some identity crisis is developed by these Africans as
cross pressures build, and the Africans, raised in a tribal culture, find themselves speaking a foreign language, dressing like foreigners, and struggling to develop a new identity (5, pp. 532-575; 6, pp. 34-86; 46, pp. 4-5).

The Kenyan government is trying to overcome the deficiencies in the educational system by changing the curriculum. It will take several decades before the minimum aims of universal literacy and a skilled working population are achieved, let alone an Africanized system of education. Curriculum development has to consider all these needs. The attainment of a totally Africanized system of education will take even longer. The Kenyan educational system must put into consideration the African way of life. The reality of cultural life for the masses of Africans in Kenya is distinctively African. Kiteme states that:

As the educational system draws increasing numbers of these masses into its realm, it will have to find a cultural setting that is more consistent than is the European culture with the everyday life experience of these individuals. Otherwise it is likely to create a condition of cultural discontinuity and disorientation that may seriously undermine the formal educational system (43, p. 177).

According to Marvin:

For the detribalized man this is a situation of isolation. His rejection of tribalism places him outside the moral and psychological props of that society. He does not only lose its restraining and inhibiting influences, but also its comforting influences. Thus, his relations with his fellow Africans who still observe the tribal customs are, at best, uneasy. On the other hand the white adminis-
A trator who could help and make life easier has very little, if any, time for him. Psychologically and emotionally he becomes an outcast to both the tribal ways of the past and the Western ways of the present (46, p. 55).

Kenyans have to struggle to resist being totally transformed into an alien culture. The conflicts have to be fought while at the same time Western education is being adopted to meet the African needs.

While English is the language of communication, Swahili (Kiswahili) should be also emphasized as the national language in Kenya. Many African traditions such as polygamy, may be impossible today as societies advance, and economic resources become scarce. It may not be possible to cater to the needs of a fast growing population as is the case in Kenya (2, p. 44; 23, pp. 1-11; 73, pp. 4-5).

Modern education was accompanied by economic advancement, political and religious enlightenment and change, and social stratification. Africans needed some of these changes. Improved health conditions and better standards of living were readily welcomed. There had been problems with some of the aspects of the past way of life. Medical technology, education, an advanced infrastructure, better methods of transportation, better agriculture, better business practices, modern religion, reduced infant mortality rates, a higher national literacy rate, family planning methods, and the knowledge acquired by the
educated Africans are some of the things Kenyans value and
cherish very highly (1, p. 40; 22, pp. 77-78; 47, pp. 46-49; 69, pp. i-xxiii).

There are some African traditions that interfere with
the African way of life. These traditions such as
witchcraft and superstition troubled many Africans and
needed some modification. Other traditions such as
communal sharing of wealth, some forms of African worship,
African forms of entertainment, and African family units
could have been continued without interfering with the new
ways of life acquired by the educated Africans. Mbiti
vividly discusses and explains facts of African life in his

The tendency for Kenyans to embrace Western values
even when they are vaguely understood is not necessary.
The Kenyan situation has benefited the indigenous people
while at the same time doing some damage to the society.
The Kenyan people must decide what to take and must reject
what is not necessary for them. Ngugi wa Thiong'o says:

In making their choices, the Kenyan people may want to
look back to history and realize that no civilization
on earth has even thrived on blind imitation and
copying; that foreigners, no matter how well
intentioned, no matter how clever and gifted, no
matter how original, can never develop our culture and
our languages for us. It is only patriotic Kenyans
who can develop Kenya culture and languages (70, p.
48).

Western culture affected many areas of the Kenyan
society. Both the highly educated African and the
uneducated one, have copied some form of Westernization. It was natural for the Kenyan African to learn some new ways of life from the foreigners in Kenya. The new culture was a mixture of both bad and good customs and traditions. There were various types of contact between the foreigner and the native Kenyan. The church, mixed marriages, schools, and social activities contributed to the mixing of the cultures. Looking at the history of the country one can clearly see the mixing of cultures as it happened in Kenya. The first president of Kenya, Kenyatta, for example, was once married to a white English lady, and so are Joseph Murumbi, one-time the vice president of Kenya; C. Njonjo, the former attorney general (married to a white Kenyan lady); Mazrui, a prominent Kenyan Muslim political scientist (married to an English lady); H. Ng'weno, the popular editor of The Weekly Review newspaper (married to a white American lady); Mwangale, a cabinet minister (married to a white American); Habenga, a cabinet minister (married to a white Austrian); and many others, mostly educated Africans married to Westerners. J. Kiano, a former cabinet minister, was once married to a black American, and so is Mbathi, also a former cabinet minister. Both Kenyatta and Kiano divorced their foreign wives and married African ones. Kenyatta had two living wives when he died in 1978. The African was exposed to many types of Western culture and traditions, and it would have been difficult not to
copy foreign habits. It would, however, have been better to copy only what is appropriate for the Africans and leave what is not (30, pp. 45, 193, 229-230; 47, pp. viii-ix; 61, pp. 13-17; 72, pp. 3-24; 74, pp. 22-23; 81, pp. 3-9). Many Africans went as far as changing their natural looks by such acts as stretching their short hair with hot combs so as to make it resemble that of the Westerners. Others had to bleach their skin to make it white or brown. Such products as Ambi Special and Ambi Extra, skin creams, sold in Kenya, serve this purpose. This kind of negative identity is not useful to the Africans (51, pp. 47-80).

Christianity and education taught the African to abandon his whole way of life and adopt the "civilized culture" of the Westerners (43, pp. 175-178). The Islam religion was different in that many Moslem Africans mixed their own culture with the laws of the religion to create new identities. This happened mostly along the coastal towns of Kenya where the Arabs had come first (30, pp. 148-149; 47, pp. 50-55).

In an effort to illustrate the difficulties of cultural conflicts that many of the educated Kenyans experienced, the cases of Mboya, Mburu, and Otieno are cited. These incidents involved the deaths of the late Tom Mboya, Kenyan minister of economic planning and development in 1969; the late Mburu, the provincial commissioner of
Nairobi, in 1981; and Otieno, a prominent Nairobi lawyer, in 1987.

In 1969 Pamela Mboya, the American educated, Westernized wife of the late Mboya (a member of parliament and a cabinet minister who was assassinated in Nairobi) moved in with the brother of Mboya, but not all the special customary rituals were observed, and the union was not fully validated by indigenous Luo rules. According to Luo customs when a young man dies, his wife becomes wife to the younger brother of the dead man. In this case, however, what is significant is that the problem of legitimacy for the union between Pamela and the brother of her late husband arose, not out of their Catholic faith and traditions in which all three had been brought up, but mainly out of the customary rituals and procedures of Luo culture to which all three belonged. Pamela and Okuku Mboya were American educated; Tom Mboya had been educated in Western institutions in Kenya and in England. All three, however, had all along tried to retain their Luo roots (4, pp. 51-52; 9, pp. 5-103; 47, pp. 56-59). The case of Mburu involved a Western educated couple from the Kikuyu tribe, the largest Kenyan tribe, a second Kikuyu wife and a third wife from the Luhya tribe (the third largest tribe in Kenya). Mburu was a Catholic, educated in England, where his first wife, Ngami, was also educated. After their studies, the Mburus went back to Kenya. Upon
returning to Kenya, John G. Mburu married a second wife and later a third one while still married to the first one. Kenyan traditions and law accept this practice. When Mburu died in 1981, a serious conflict arose among the three wives who lived in different cities about his burial. The first wife and Helen, the third wife, insisted on Mburu being buried at his rural Kiambu home, where he was born. Mary, the second wife, wanted the body buried in Nairobi, where Mburu had lived. The Nairobi High Court had to intervene to settle the dispute. Mburu was finally buried in his rural homestead according to the Kikuyu tribal tradition (78, pp. 5-7; 79, pp. 4-8). The Oxford educated John Mburu was an example of a Westernized Kenyan torn between two forces. There are many cases like this in Kenya, where most of those involved are highly educated. The case of Otieno is one other example.

Otieno, a prominent Nairobi protestant Luo lawyer married to a Kikuyu, died in 1987. Otieno was a modern African. When S. M. Otieno died, his wife insisted that he had to be buried in the Western tradition and procedures, and in Nairobi, where the family lived. The extended family of Otieno insisted that he be buried in western Kenya where he was born. The family in western Kenya wanted Otieno buried in the traditional Luo ceremonies. This conflict prompted the judge presiding over the case to announce that, "times will come and are soon coming when
circumstances will dictate that the Luo customs with regard to burial be abandoned" (3, p. 45; 20, p. A12; 62, p. 55).

The Kenyan government has recently been involved in changing some of the tribal traditions while incorporating others into the modern political economy in Kenya. Many aspects of African life have been incorporated into the educational system and added in the constitution. Some of the factors discussed in parliament recently have been the rights of women, polygamy, and tribal burial and wedding customs and traditions (3, pp. 44-46; 78, pp. 5-7; 83, pp. 20-22; 85, pp. 43-44).

Tribal differences have caused some of the conflicts in Kenya. Religion and traditions have been going together for a long time in Africa. While the Islam religion allows polygamy, the Christian faith does not. Many Africans who want to keep their tribal roots opt for Islam. There are still many Christian Africans who want to keep their African traditions as well as their Western ones. They still believe in marrying two wives, for instance, and at the same time indulge in many Western traditions. Tribalism is seen as a permanent identity by educated Kenyans. Rural politics in Kenya is mostly tribalistic, and Kenya is seriously fighting this problem (4, pp. 51-52).

African traditions were seriously affected by higher education. The educated Africans found themselves
emulating a foreign culture. Many Africans who received this type of indoctrination and brainwashing, as Wa Thiong'o and Odinga point out, rejected their African identity. The Kenyan government has been involved in educational planning to reverse this situation. The aim has been to alter whatever can be altered. This would make education more beneficial and meaningful to the Africans. Conflicts of interest have arisen at times as this study of the development of higher education and the Kenyan political system revealed.

The African abandoned his habits and customs as he attained more education--his eating manners, his means of communication and entertainment, his dressing style, and his economic and political settings changed as he acquired a new culture. Interestingly enough, however, the Westerners have come to appreciate and adopt some of the African ways of life. It is interesting to note that the Westerners and the Japanese are now using African designs and styles for their clothes. There has recently been an increased interest by Westerners for African artifacts such as baskets and wood carvings. Westerners have also started studying and writing more about African traditions, customs, and political and economic organizations. This has come at a time when some of the Africans have also started to realize the importance attached to their culture and traditions. The Kenyan government has started getting
more deeply involved in incorporating African traditions into the educational system by emphasizing African culture in curricula (28, pp. 41-57; 51, pp. 11-80; 75, pp. 14-15; 77, pp. 9-12; 80, pp. 3-14).

Summary

Chapter III contained an analysis of the major universities and colleges in Kenya. The study further discussed external assistance given to the Kenyan institutions of higher education. The effects of Western education on the educated Kenyan was discussed, pointing out the benefits and disadvantages of the type of education the Kenyans have been exposed to.

The efforts by the Kenyan government to reverse Western education in the country was briefly discussed. An explanation of the curricula taught in the institutions was lightly incorporated into the analysis of the institutions. The activities of the Kenyan government, students, and university faculty and administrators are discussed in Chapter IV, which addresses development, politics, and Kenyan higher education.
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84. ________________________, June 26, 1887.

85. ________________________, July 24, 1887.
CHAPTER IV
DEVELOPMENT, POLITICS, AND KENYAN HIGHER EDUCATION

In order to comprehend the relationship between the Kenyan government and the Kenyan institutions of higher education, it was necessary to review three types of activities: (1) the political and social activities and needs of the students; (2) the social and political activities of the faculty members; and (3) the political, social, and educational activities of the university administrators. Other analyses dwelt on higher education and economic development in Kenya, manpower training, government expenditures on education, political socialization, and needed curricular changes.

The Activities and Needs of the Students

The choices made in Kenya between war and peace, freedom and restraint, personal greed and public dedication, material and spiritual satisfaction, will be determined by the character and quality of her education (256, p. 4). Kenyan youth must be given the right kind of education. Kenyan authorities see the students as their troubled children, and helpless children at that. The
students, on the other hand, want to be treated as adults. They want to be given a chance to participate in the running of the schools (232, pp. 11-12; 233, pp. 9-11; 245, p. 9; 256, pp. 4-6).

Kenyan students are already involved in academic, social, and political activities. Kenyan university students tend to engage in anomic political activities such as rioting, protesting, or street marches (133, pp. 373-390). Student protests in Kenya started in the 1960s and have been recurring now and then ever since, mostly generated by Kenyan political matters.

The average age for Kenyan college freshmen is eighteen years. The age was higher in the 1960s. The overall average age is twenty-five years. Many college age students who qualify do not enter college because of limited spaces in the colleges. In 1975, for example, only 1,702 students were admitted to college from a total of 5,000 who sat for college entrance examinations (20, p. 30; 120, p. 12; 121, p. 53). Women are under-represented in both university enrollment, and faculty and administrative posts. This is a serious sex inequality, considering the fact that Kenya has more women than men (20, p. 88; 159, pp. 7-23; 162, pp. 116-120).

The university requires twenty-five years of age as the appropriate entrance age, and freshmen must have not
been out of school for more than five years. Kenyan women are also under-represented in the number of Kenyan students studying abroad (159, pp. 7-23).

Kenya has been sending many students abroad. Many Kenyan students went to study on family or their own funds. Private corporations, churches, and other organizations have also sent Kenyan students abroad. In the 1980s, many Kenyan students went abroad on athletic scholarships. In 1981, there were 6,000 Kenyan students studying abroad (2, pp. 31-32; 209, pp. 24-39; 223, p. 15; 239, p. 19; 245, p. 9; 257, pp. 29-32). In 1982, of 180 students in several colleges in India only 34 were women (109, pp. 15, 53). Together the University of Nairobi and Kenyatta admitted 2,300 students in 1979. Of these, 60 percent were in science subjects, and the others were in social sciences (177, pp. 25-30).

During recent years, the Kenyan government has placed renewed emphasis on vocational education in the curriculum. Vocational education has been utilized by other developing nations as a cure for unemployment of the educated (63, pp. 1-8; 122, p. 63). This type of education has been pursued by many Kenyan students. Kenyan women who attend college tend to take up jobs in the rural areas and small towns after college. Those who attend college are the elite, and many choose to get married and become mothers. This
compensates their incomes if they happened to be underpaid.

The Kenyan curricula should teach about rural life and emphasize practical subjects, mathematics, and work ethics to the Kenyan youth. There are not many courses for females in the Kenyan curricula. The Kenyan Conference on Women in Kenyan Society noted this problem in 1975. The National Council of Women of Kenya has also complained about inequality based on sex. These women's groups have stated that curriculum planners must be concerned with options for females. Some groups have even suggested a woman's university (121, pp. 1-19; 141, pp. 42-55).

Kenya must not only concern itself with the quality of education it provides to the young, it must also do something about the quantity and equity of the education. Considering that Kenya has a high rate of population growth (approximately 4 percent per annum), and considering that the Kenyan universities can only absorb 4,000 students per year, many Kenyan students will inevitably be seeking higher education opportunities abroad. In a study done in 1975, Edwards concluded that most Kenyan African university students were studying commerce, education, and the arts, whereas most Asians were in medicine and engineering. More Africans needed to study sciences, medicine, and engineering.
Kenya would also need additional universities. Because of geographical and demographic reasons, Kisumu and Mombasa would each need a university. These areas are economically suitable for universities. With their agriculturally and commercially sound foundations, these two areas would provide badly needed facilities for higher education. The areas are also located far from the present universities, and hence would not only benefit from higher education but would also provide opportunities for those near them (68, pp. 262-266; 192, p. A15).

Eldoret, Kisumu, Karatina, and Mombasa are agriculturally the most productive areas in Kenya. The Nairobi area has experienced the most advanced industrial and commercial development in Kenya. Since two of the four Kenyan universities are in the Nairobi area, and the other two are 150-350 miles from Nairobi (Moi University is in farms and Egerton is in a farming area as well), it would seem quite reasonable to set up two agricultural universities; one at Kisumu, and the other at Mombasa, as these are agriculturally productive areas in Kenya. The Kahawa area has also experienced some advanced industrial and commercial development. Since two of the four Kenyan universities are in commercial and industrial areas, the additional universities should emphasize agriculture to enhance the curricula at Moi University. It would seem
quite appropriate to set up another university at Karatina. Mombasa and Kisumu would also be very useful for marine studies and fisheries because of their location near the Indian Ocean and Lake Nyanza, respectively. Karatina is very well served by the university facilities in Nairobi, as it is located not very far from Nairobi. Kenya should, therefore, set up agricultural universities at Mombasa, Kisumu, and a technical one at Karatina (9, pp. 48-51; 113, pp. 3-9).

A study done by Hunter in 1963 stated that most African students choose higher education that guarantees a degree. A student would go to any school guaranteeing a degree regardless of desire for that kind of work (33, pp. 29-30, 95, pp. 90-98). Two major problems in education in Africa are deculturalization and elitism (207, p. 6). Asiachi adds, "in short, the educational system of Kenya may be described as bookish, academic, and highly competitive" (20, p. 15). The competitive part implies that there are far too many aspiring students for few spaces. Emphasis is placed on examinations that weed out most of the students who might have otherwise qualified for higher education.

Bowen stated that in Africa curricula are used with very little adaptation for African culture. The study by Bowen also concluded that African students did better on
field work and demonstrations of what they were being taught. It was found that African students learn best the material which is socially oriented (relating to people or situations). African students do not like lectures alone. They prefer handouts, pictures, and illustrations in addition to lectures (33, pp. 97-98). These were characteristics found among African students studied in Kenya and Nigeria. The problems Kenyan students face, as well as their interests while studying abroad, differ somewhat from those experienced at home (197, pp. 88-101).

Sang did a study of Kenyan students in Ohio in which he concluded that the most serious problems experienced by Kenyans studying in the U.S.A. were economic. Considering this problem, it seemed advisable for the Kenyan government to plan ways and means of assisting Kenyans studying abroad (100, p. 3; 197, pp. 88-101). As early as 1970, Kenya ranked third among the countries whose students were enrolled in colleges and universities in the U.S.A.

Kenyan university enrollments are shown in Table II. Kenyan college students have always claimed that the government was not doing enough to increase college facilities. There have been continuous conflicts between the government and the students supported by some of the faculty members (241, pp. 10-13; 243, pp. 8-9; 249, p. 4; 256, p. 5). The Kenyan minister of education stated in
TABLE II
ENROLLMENTS IN KENYAN UNIVERSITIES, 1970-1982

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<td>Men</td>
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<td>3033</td>
<td>3708</td>
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<td>Women</td>
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|--------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|      |
| Part-time |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Men     | 156  |      |      |      |      | 188  | 241  |      |      |      |      |      |      | 294  |
| Women   | 28   |      |      |      |      | 29   | 45   |      |      |      |      |      |      | 55   |
| Total   | 184  |      |      |      |      | 217  | 286  |      |      |      |      |      |      | 349  |

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|--------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|      |
| Kenyatta Univ. |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Men     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | 890  | 730  | 933  | 1326 | 1232 |      |
| Women   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | 380  | 394  | 472  | 898  | 969  |      |
| Total   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      | 1270 | 1124 | 1405 | 2224 | 2201 |      |

1986 that the students had to obey the government or go home. The universities have been shut down many times as a result of the conflicts between the government and students (224, pp. 24-25). A cabinet minister once pointed out that every time there was a problem at the university, it escalated to a national crisis (47, p. 2; 231, p. 8; 233, p. 9; 234, pp. 12-13). A conflict over job grouping and pay rates for graduates of Kenyatta University, and conflicts over student loans and faculty activities at the University of Nairobi in 1986 caused the government so much concern that it declared both institutions closed indefinitely (227, p. 11; 229, pp. 10-11; 230, p. 17; 235, p. 10).

Kenyan college students have also complained about the length of time it takes for one to get a degree or diploma. Many felt it was not fair for some students to spend many years at post-secondary institutions only to graduate with a diploma or certificate rather than a degree. The years of schooling are not the best measure of return from education (25, pp. 928-944). The quality of learning also counts. Teacher quality and quantity matters are also important. This is where the question of relevant content comes in. As with the curriculum there has to be relevance concerning the teachers. They must be able to teach in the way the students would benefit most (17, pp. 108-135; 25,
The Kenyan students are exposed to a multitude of ideas in the Kenyan schools. As Wa Thiong'o points out, as the Kenyans find themselves expressing themselves in European languages and neglecting their mother tongues, more and more Africans adopt the foreign values and thinking of the former imperial rulers (266, p. 49). Many times students are confused and frustrated. Where students have rebelled against the social order, they have gone to become agents of intellectual and social ferment, as De Conde points out (61, pp. 30-75). This happens in Kenya (266, p. 49).

In 1982, Kenyan students challenged the government when it announced the intention to introduce a one-party system. The students condemned rigging of elections, corruption, and dictatorship among other things. They also accused the economy and the government of being controlled by foreigners. The university administration and faculty members supported the students. In the same year, the University of Nairobi students took part in an armed rebellion organized by elements of the Kenya Air Force, with the intent of overthrowing the government. Whether or not Kenyan students could effect any meaningful change
will depend on what other forces are at work. In many parts of the world, students have functioned as a barometer of unrest and social change (62, pp. 1-2; 59, pp. 297-312; 95, pp. 29-48; 165, pp. 1-2; 202, pp. 1-6; 217, pp. 1-35, 46-94).

The Kenyan government issued a stern press statement following the attempted coup. There was chaos at the university and in the country. After the abortive coup, the universities remained closed for several months. The government accused the students and some of the professors of working for foreign agents to cause disorder. Many professors and students were put in prison (253, pp. 1, 5).

Du Bois states that should cross-cultural education (of students) actually contribute to world peace, economic development of the home country, and a positive appreciation of the host country, these students must be considered fortunate and perhaps almost fortuitous adjuncts. This regards foreign students in the U.S.A. Concerning students studying abroad, she says that at a more serious level a student may see himself contributing to the welfare of his nation, the leadership in which he hopes to play a significant role (65, p. 49). The Kenyan government is committed to expanding educational opportunities in the country while at the same time sending students abroad for studies.
Faculty Activities

Kenyan college faculty members are classified according to their qualifications and service. College teaching is conducted by professors and graduate students. The ranks of teachers are as follows: graduate assistant, demonstrator, tutorial fellow, tutor, assistant lecturer, senior lecturer, assistant professor, associate professor, and professor. The professors qualify for their ranks by demonstrating abilities to do well in teaching, research, and community and university service or service in their discipline. Kenyan faculty members have been involved in political activities, which sometimes produced bad results for such teachers. While many college professors have become members of parliament and cabinet ministers, many have been involved in political quarrels with the government resulting in the detention of such professors (210, pp. 400-412; 233, pp. 9-11).

Activities of the Administrators

Kenyan colleges and universities are run according to government directives. The administrators cooperate with the government. Many of the appointments for top posts at the university are done by the chancellor, the president of Kenya. The administrators are classified according to the various functions they perform, ranging from the vice-chancellor down to the college bursar. College autonomy in
Kenya is limited, and the administrators can only follow government directions and make suggestions. Committees and organizations are formed to handle any problems needing immediate action.

Planning and leadership abilities are important in higher education. In a study done in 1974, Lindsay concluded that Kenyan students, faculty members, and administrators were not happy with the way the university was run. Most university students interviewed said that the university curriculum and examinations needed revision. University officials said they were not satisfied with university conditions. University administrators were more satisfied with university standards than were either the students or the faculty members. Student participation in university affairs was limited (29, pp. 1-127, 207-280; 131, pp. 1-123; 137, pp. 145-160, 165-210; 140, pp. 127-129).

Higher Education and Economic Development

Education in general, and hence higher education, is important in the shaping of an individual's political attitudes. In a study to determine the effect of education on political orientation, Almond and Verba found that among the demographic variables usually investigated—sex, place of residence, occupation, income, age, and so on—none compares with the educational variable in the extent to
which it seems to determine political attitudes (18, p. 379).

Few will question the desirability of education, and so mass literacy and free compulsory schooling are pushed with massive vigor in the new nations like Kenya. This argument is advanced by Riggs. According to La Palombara, massive education and compulsory schooling bring new populations into political participation. However, he cautions that unfortunately, assimilation cannot proceed as rapidly. Little attention is given to the need for bringing the newly mobilized people into community with the elite (134, p. 166). Discussing democracy in the new nations La Palombara states that insofar as the United States is involved in programs of assistance to the newer states, it could share in the responsibility of encouraging democratic development. When the highly educated are not fully accommodated in the political system, problems arise. Kenya should make it possible for all young people to reveal their talents. They should be given an opportunity to be creative. They must be allowed to develop their sense of social cooperation so that everyone can be an expert in the occupation he undertakes.

The concept of change is twofold—qualitative and quantitative. Change in the sense of qualitative development involves training of individuals to serve the
country. Training of professionals such as doctors, lawyers, teachers, and others is part of qualitative change. Today Kenya has a very high percentage of university professionals with doctorate degrees. The Kenyan government is also filled with others holding doctorates. There still are some expatriates in Kenya. Also many of the Kenyans possessing doctorates received their training abroad. Qualitative development of existing institutions, recruitment of skilled research personnel, and curriculum development all fit in this type of development.

Quantitative development or change involves the development of more institutions and increasing the required manpower. At the present time, Kenya needs to increase the number of universities.

The university is bound to serve both the nation and the individual. It must protect the rights of the individual and respect the nation. When the university disagrees with the government chaos results. The university is supposed to serve all potential high school graduates in order to fully utilize them. New social classes in Kenya now have access to higher education, including a large group of students whose parents can usually neither read nor write, nor afford to send their children to college (126, pp. 162, 206; 228, pp. 4-5). To
this group of students should be added Kenyan women, whose new opportunities have increased their desire for higher education. Women's social and political movements are currently progressive. Their desire to acquire a college education and obtain high-ranking professional jobs has recently increased quite significantly. Two major women organizations in Kenya, the Maendeleo ya Wanawake (Women Development) and the National Council of Women of Kenya, are actively involved in promoting women's education. Also the demographic structure of the Kenyan society should not be overlooked. With one of the world's highest rates of population growth (4 percent), the Kenyan population is very young. According to the 1980 census, 50 percent of the population was under fifteen years of age, a factor which creates enormous pressures on educational institutions and the government (126, pp. 162, 206; 228, pp. 4-5).

Kenyan higher education institutions play an important role in the economic development of Kenya. There is, however, a need to harmonize and integrate the best elements of both indigenous and Western forms of education to create a more viable system of education in Kenya.

African governments place a heavy thrust on education as an instrument for fostering national unity and identity. Kenya uses education to counteract ethnic, social,
regional, and political cleavages promoted by colonialism. In many instances, education has not effectively worked as a force for national integration as it is seen as an independent force to other socio-economic and political factors. It is also argued that the extent to which education creates employment is relatively minimal (21, pp. 1-227; 24, pp. 21-57; 27, p. 24; 34, pp. 313-323; 35, pp. 1-121; 40, pp. 9-11; 74, pp. 107-248; 77, pp. 27-63; 80, pp. 85-119; 138, pp. 38-77).

Studies have shown education to be a long-lived asset. Education contributes in society for the remainder of an individual's life and not just one year after he graduates. McClelland showed that countries which invested heavily in education have tended to develop rapidly, ten or even twenty years later (142, pp. 243-267). The results may not show immediately, but in the long haul benefits are reaped.

Liberal arts should be emphasized to add to the general knowledge of the students. Social and Kenyan African studies are also required to enable students to understand and appreciate their Kenyan culture. Kenya, as a developing country, needs technologically qualified manpower. This type of manpower is needed for advanced agriculture, industry, health, and public service. Financial and human resource shortages, coupled with limited college admission intakes, create problems to the
Kenyan government in her efforts to develop higher education. Running the universities is costly and makes it necessary for Kenya to seek outside assistance (30, pp. 46-316; 102, pp. 1-26; 118, pp. 1-45; 126, pp. 20-116). Sending students abroad as a means of overcoming the educational shortcomings is questionable as it is sometimes costly and contributes to brainwashing (102, pp. 1-26).

Economic and political factors increase the problems in the development of the Kenyan educational system. Kenya has lost a large number of educated people who, upon completion of their studies abroad, decided not to return to Kenya. Generally, there is a free flow of productive factors from country to country—these are sometimes economic arrangements which aim to assist poor countries. Kannappan says that this is not always bad for poor countries. Sometimes these countries have a surplus of trained manpower that they are not able to absorb. Poor countries need to develop their economies and create the jobs first before providing the manpower, according to Kannappan (102, pp. 1-25). Watanabe assesses the effects of brain drain from less developed to developed countries, to conclude that this problem could be stopped if the developing countries made an effort to accelerate their development (216, pp. 401-434).
In a study of the educational system in Kenya and Sri Lanka, Tembe concluded that education is affected by culture, traditions, religion, politics, patriotism, lifestyles, life cycles, geography, the economy of a country, climate, international contacts, and social organizations. He also included social agents such as the family, tribe, clan, media, caste, and military schools as factors affecting education. History, curricula, and administrative institutions weigh heavily in shaping education, as Tembe showed (206, pp. 55-170).

The European experience confirms the basic theories shared by Marx, Mosca, and Schumpeter, that fundamental socio-economic change creates strong pressure for elite transformation. When the industrial revolution occurs in a feudal society and is carried forward under capitalist or semi-capitalist economy, the consequence is the formation of three classes. The oldest is based on agriculture, the second is centered on industry, and the third arises out of the growth of technology and bureaucracy, and is headed by a highly educated professional and administrative elite (185, pp. 190-191; 189, pp. 302-322). This last class is widely discussed in this paper.

Because of the virtually universal correlation between education, social status, and political power, most people have either low education and low status or high education
and high status. Kenya has this form of social stratification. The semi-capitalist economy provides the opportunity for this stratification. This fact does not, however, rule out the existence of some individuals who, because of family ties or access to political and economic opportunities, managed to amass wealth in spite of their low education (140, pp. 39-50; 189, pp. 302-322).

Higher education has been found to have a very high correlation to active citizenship. More education adds to active citizenship. More education adds to the political participation of an individual. Almond and Verba concluded that education determined political attitudes. Nie and Verba also concluded that education has a strong relation with both campaign activity and communal activities, but a weak relation with voting (82, pp. 34-35).

In most countries people with higher education, income and occupational status tend to be more involved in organizations than people with less education and/or low status. Education also plays an important role in other political activities, such as party affiliation (82, pp. 34-35).

One of the most striking features of elite transformation in contemporary Western societies, according to Putnam, is the increasing importance of educational credentials. For example, in the House of Commons, in
England, university graduates have comprised a steadily growing fraction of each party's delegation since the end of World War I. University education has also become even more common among administrative and economic elites throughout the West. Studies of business leaders in the U.S.A., the U.K., France, Sweden, and W. Germany have shown that a college degree, particularly in a technical field, has become increasingly crucial throughout this century (185, pp. 203-205).

Kenya is no exception from this trend. The Kenyan parliament, for instance, has attracted a large number of highly educated individuals, ranging from lawyers to physicians and professors (220, pp. 4-9; 227, pp. 4-10).

The Kenyan economy is characterized by a commitment to the education of the youth. This fact can be supported by the heavy government portion of the national budget committed to education (168, pp. 9-23). The Kenyan government has always strived to provide education to those who can benefit from it. Aid has been arranged with developed countries in order to provide needed educational services in Kenya. Many Kenyans go abroad for needed education and training. This proves that the Kenyan government realizes the importance of education in development (90, pp. 3-16).
According to many scholars who have studied African conditions, the criteria for research in education must not be carried out according to Western publications, but should be coordinated with development planning. The university should not be a mere ivory tower as it has an important responsibility to the people of Kenya and any other country concerned. The university should be extended to the people through extension courses and community services, and adult education (111, pp. 6-10). The university should not be controlled by businesses either. The integrity of the university is important. The structure of governance must protect the ability of higher education to carry on with integrity the essential functions of teaching, research, and service to the community (32, p. 309; 38, p. 87). The government should also be open and able to accept and use suggestions, research, and findings from the university.

While it is evident that the educated cannot stay away from politics in Kenya, Moi, the Kenyan president, feels threatened by the people with higher education. Most of the outspoken political dissidents and critics of the Kenyan government are people with college degrees. Moi says he has no trouble with the common man, but that the highly educated Kenyans have been busy using foreign ideologies to try to overthrow his government. The
educated, on the other hand, accuse the government of limiting freedom of speech and of being dictatorial (6, p. 40; 8, p. 51).

Lewis argues against any reference to differences in the way disciplines are learned. He feels disciplines like economics should be taught the same way to all and that poor countries do not really differ in behavior from the richer countries as far as understanding their functions is concerned (139, pp. 2-3). He also says that government behavior is important in development. For example, government expenditures is important. To assess any economic events in the developing economies one must also assess the reaction of the government regarding economic events. Governments in poor countries are closely intertwined with the modern sector (139, pp. 3-4). This works less efficiently there than in the developed economies. The government is constantly being asked to rectify market errors or inequalities. The economist in the developing countries is forced to become his own political scientist (21, pp. 1-132; 45, p. 1; 46, p. 2; 136, pp. 99-121; 139, pp. 1-10).

Huntington says that not only does social and economic modernization produce political instability, but the degree of instability is related to the rate of modernization. When there is an influx of people into urban areas, there
is likely going to be mass movements. The developing countries or areas with high rates of per capita income, literacy, and education, tend to have extremism. He says:

Thus, within countries, it is the areas which are modernizing rather than those which remain traditional that are the centers of violence and extremism (97, p. 47).

The rapid expansion of education, Huntington argues, has a visible impact on political development in a number of countries. Huntington's theory is as follows:

1. Social Mobilization = Social Economic Development Frustration
2. Social Frustration = Political Mobility Opportunities Participation
3. Political Participation = Political Institutional-Instability

(79, p. 55).

Huntington says that modernization affects economic inequality and thus political instability in two ways, namely (a) wealth and income are normally more unevenly distributed in poor countries than in economically developed ones; and (b) in the long run, economic development produces a more equitable distribution of income than existed in the traditional society. He also says that economic development increases economic inequality at the same time that social mobilization decreases the legitimacy of that inequality. Both aspects combine to produce political instability (97, p. 59).
Corruption (called Magendo in Kenya), he argues, is, of course, one measure of the absence of effective political institutionalization. Corruption is most prevalent in states which lack effective political parties and in societies where the interests of the individual, the family, the clique, or the clan predominate. This corruption tends to weaken or to perpetuate the weakness of the government bureaucracy. This is true in Kenya (104, pp. 55-87, 109-175). Violence becomes inevitable if the government becomes weak, and people do not recognize its legitimacy.

Speaking of violence in political systems, Huntington argues that violence and instability are a part of rapid social change and the rapid mobilization of new groups into politics, coupled with the slow development of political institutions. If the rates of social mobilization and expansion of political participation are high and the rates of political organization and institutionalization are low (97, p. 4), the result is political instability and disorder. Huntington says that the primary problem of politics is the lag in the development of political institutions behind social and economic change. It used to be believed that political stability would be the natural and inevitable result of the achievement, first, of economic development and then of social reform. This has
been proven wrong. Economic development (the elimination of poverty, disease, and illiteracy) is not necessary for political development and political stability (97, p. 6).

Huntington continues to say that urban middle-class intelligentsia and student opposition is the sort which reforms will not moderate. This opposition does not stem from material insufficiency. It is an opposition which stems from psychological insecurity, personal alienation and guilt, and an overriding need for a secure sense of identity. Huntington says that student opposition to the government, for example, represents the extreme middle-class syndrome of opposition because it is so constant (97, pp. 369, 371). This is the kind of problem the Kenyan government has faced for a while (127, pp. 46-63; 218, pp. 1-67).

According to Huntington, modernization involves change in all areas of human thought and activity (97, p. 32). At the psychological level, modernization involves a fundamental shift in values, attitudes, and expectations. Modern man becomes mobile, as Lerner puts it (135, p. 438). This modern man leaves his family, tribe, and clan to become a member of a larger class or nation. At this intellectual level this man expands his knowledge about his environment. This knowledge is diffused throughout the society through increased literacy, mass communications,
Modernization, economic development, and inequality cause instability in a society. Huntington says that the higher the level of education of the unemployed, alienated, or otherwise dissatisfied person, the more extreme the destabilizing behavior which results. He cautions that free education should not be provided before the acquisition of development in industry, trade, and commerce (97, pp. 45-49). Kenya is involved in providing free education and developing industry and commerce, all at the same time (199, pp. 289-412).

Bognar argues that in analyzing the relationship between economic growth and education, one would find that the following interactions prevail:

(a) the rate and success of economic growth will determine the order of magnitude of the material resources that can be assigned to education;
(b) the needs elicited by economic growth determine the demand for highly qualified people and the nature of their qualification;
(c) educational development has an impact not only on the quantitative and qualitative composition of the national labor-power, but also on its age, the time and the periodicity of its mass penetration into the labor market;
(d) the appearance of highly qualified labor in production and in the economy gives a new impetus to economic growth;
(e) the economic growth accelerated by the presence of new qualified labor creates new needs and, at the same time, ensures new resources for meeting them (30, pp. 298-299).

Coleman states:

Western education has been the most revolutionary of all influences operative in Sub-Saharan Africa since the imposition of European rule. It has been the
instrument of the creation of a class indispensable for imperial rule, but one which invariably has taken the leadership in challenging and displacing that rule (15, p. 278).

Coleman goes on to say that the crucial variables are the quantity and the character of education at the three levels (primary, secondary, and higher) and the goals of the educational system as officially conceived. He says in the British East Africa (Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania), educational opportunities had been more limited, except in Uganda (15, pp. 209-281). He further says, "in the eyes of the missionaries an educated African was ipso facto superior because he was in most instances a Christian African" (15, p. 283). He also asserts that throughout Africa the Western-educated class was referred to officially as the "progressive or civilized elements" (15, p. 283).

Almond and Powell state that thousands and tens of thousands of young men of Asia, Africa, and Latin America have come to or are now in attendance at Western seats of learning, or are being educated in Asian, African, and Latin American universities which provide educations similar to those given in European and American institutions. They are told in effect through their educational experience that democracy and welfare have the highest priority in politics and public policy. But when they return to their native lands, they find in most cases
that their societies lack the structural framework of the state and the cultural properties of nation, that there is in effect no viable political system to democratize (15, pp. 326-327; 16, pp. 327-332). This education, according to these authors, almost guarantees demoralization and disillusionment. It does not teach political theory and political history well. The kind of education the students received is not suitable for their systems as they are. Therefore, the students will find frustrations in their systems and try to change them, or will choose to live elsewhere.

Developments such as those connected with the introduction of Western legal usages and others connected with the imposition of colonial regimes on traditional African societies often had devastating effects on traditional moral ideas and thinking (167, pp. 153-170). African nations copied many Western traditions, some of them unsuitable to the Africans (80, pp. 295-312; 167, pp. 153-170). The developing countries have, however, benefited from their contact with the West. The United States has, for example, assisted many developing nations. In addition to attending other United States institutions, for example, many Kenyan students benefited by attending the American land-grant universities. These institutions have developed qualified staff, scientific knowledge, and
research competence in agricultural and technological fields, which are all-important to developing nations like Kenya. These institutions also conduct short-term, intensive training programs, and a large proportion of their manpower and financial resources is devoted to adult education. Kenya has benefited greatly from such educational arrangements with the United States, while at the same time making similar educational arrangements with England and European nations. Kenya has built institutions for technology using ideas learned from Westerners (14, pp. 66-68; 36, pp. 3-6, 116), especially the U.S.A.

Past literature on higher education dwelt on separate global educational issues as they came. There is a need today to study the interrelationships of various factors as they affect higher education. Current literature is increasingly addressing the multifaceted nature of higher education (83, pp. 1-40, 254-323; 144, pp. 3-88; 146, pp. 30-36; 148, pp. 2-53, 98-135).

Colleges and universities have evolved from the efforts of man to control himself and his environment. Historians and educationists have often characterized the antecedents of present higher educational institutions as aristocratic. The ivory-tower image of the campus has, however, disappeared among the academics. While higher education in most societies exists to perpetuate the
established order or status quo, it must also allow for changes that come with the passing of time (86, pp. 7, 19, 22, 133-197; 99, pp. 1-116).

Dervis and Page argue that it is possible to distinguish two basic conceptual positions on industrial policy in the newly industrializing economies, namely (a) the laissez-faire position which is based on the belief that decentralized markets should be relied on exclusively to allocate resources to various industrial subsectors and firms, and that the central authorities should not attempt to favor particular subsectors or firms; and (b) the interventionist position which, on the contrary, holds that government should play an active role and, in one way or another, promote a particular industrial structure and/or influence the development path of industry. The authors argue that planning must involve bureaucratic decision-making for industrial development to be achieved. Both positions work fine at different times (62, pp. 436-451). Kenya is an interventionist, and the system uses national resources to provide services while at the same time encouraging private businesses (75, pp. 16-77, 100-112; 117, pp. 15-91). This is why Kenyan higher education is both privately and publicly organized.

As Kenya undergoes the changes associated with history, her political, economic, and social as well as
educational conditions will be affected by the changes taking place. Higher education will play an important role in these changes. This means that while higher education in Kenya will be affected by many factors associated with modernization, it will itself affect the said modernization.

The Kenyan development plan for 1966-70 stated that "education is more than simply preparation for the university or training for clerical jobs." Workers and farmers needed education as well, as the plan further stipulated (114, pp. 11-115). Many argue that education is a prerequisite for genuine developmental change. Others feel that development itself brings increased educational levels. Most scholars of development, politics, and education take the position that the educational function is part and parcel of social, political, and economic development. Kenya has put education at the top as a priority in planning (53, pp. 661-690; 73, pp. 55-56; 98, pp. 7-12; 172, pp. 16-157). Education has been used to provide the needed manpower for the young nation, for political socialization and as part of an overall development strategy. Kenya has employed many techniques in her developmental activities. The country has a mixed economy and encourages both private and government
businesses. The Kenyan economy is watched by the government (114, pp. 11-115).

Where there is a high level of educational development, or at the same time there is relative stagnation in the economic and productive centers, there is a lack of fulfillment in career expectations. This creates a revolutionary climate. Kenya must try to avoid this situation by creating jobs for the manpower trained. This is one of the priorities in the Kenyan development plans. The Kenyan government is close to achieving this goal (9, pp. 50-51; 91, pp. 469-472).

Plans for massive educational reform are best realized in societies capable of mobilizing and integrating vast sectors of the masses. A very high productive capacity without a corresponding broad program of education leaves the society without the skilled personnel for the conduct of national affairs. Therefore, the production and education spheres must be meshed together (80, pp. 295-312; 107, pp. 441-467; 157, pp. 32-78). Education must not be seen as a means of guaranteeing leisure. The interaction and cooperation between the economy and the educational system are also stressed by Rostow, Hoselitz, and Newman (49, pp. 1, 17-25, 27-29; 92, pp. 28-41; 193, pp. 25-48). The educational system has to be incorporated into the economy and the industry. This cooperation brings better
results and enhances the advancement of the society (49, pp. 17-25, 27-29; 157, pp. 32-78; 176, pp. 2-15, 21-79, 90-93).

Thus, educational policy should become an integral part of the concept of economic growth. This is why it is necessary to study the questions of the national educational policy as a factor influencing economic growth (10, pp. 48-49; 30, p. 298; 57, pp. 355-384; 191, pp. 35-62; 195, pp. 539-561).

The Kenyan economy is one of the strongest in Africa. Kenya is a strong supporter of Western ideals and ideology. While the government intends to eventually Africanize the economy, it encourages and supports private investment by Western corporations (36, pp. 1-115).

Higher Education for Manpower Training

Africanization of the Kenyan manpower was to be achieved through the expansion of higher education and manpower recruitment. Many Kenyans favored a rapid process of replacing expatriates working in Kenya. In 1967, for example, only 26 percent of the faculty members at the University of Nairobi were Africans. During 1973-74 over 50 percent of the faculty members were Kenyan Africans (210, pp. 1-12; 215, pp. 1-15).

Ng'weno, the editor of The Weekly Review stated that:
The question is often asked, what are our institutions of higher learning doing? Why can't they produce all the manpower the country needs? The university and all the other institutions for training high level manpower are trying their best, and in some instances government projections have been overtaken by the output of trainees from these institutions. Kenya has already reached that strange state of affairs where university graduates roam the streets looking for jobs without much hope (169, pp. 5-11).

This statement, made in 1977, by an editor of a major paper in the country, summarized the nature of the educational and economic levels Kenya had reached. Ng'weno went on to add that Kenya was producing educated manpower fast, but a good many of the young men and women coming out of the Kenyan universities had little to commend them for practical employment. According to the 1974-78 development plan, by the end of 1978 there was to be forty or more economists and statisticians and mathematicians in Kenya than there were jobs in their specialties. Because of lack of advanced technology, graduates of some departments at the University of Nairobi, for example architecture, compare poorly with graduates from abroad (169, p. 9).

The government and the university have to make a more conscious effort to relate higher education to the practical requirements of the job market. Expatriates have been filling some of the jobs where there are no qualified Africans. In 1977 expatriates in employment represented 0.2 percent of the Kenyan work force (116, pp. 405-410; 169, pp. 9, 11).
Kenya has, however, experienced a drop in the number of expatriate workers. In 1986 there were 10,000 of them in Kenya, while there were 18,000 ten years earlier. Unfavorable economic conditions accounted for some of the reduction of the number of expatriates (11, p. 41).

The shortage of Kenyan manpower, coupled with lack of funds to develop the country, necessitated the existence of foreign manpower. Higher education was one answer to this problem. This education could be obtained either within the country or abroad (10, pp. 48-49; 11, p. 41).

Training students abroad has its own weaknesses in that this new intelligentsia will not be adequately acquainted with the conditions at home and will lose contact with domestic problems. The best way to train a national intelligentsia is to make sure that this intelligentsia is:

(a) loyal to the whole people of the country;
(b) governed by moral obligation to the country and the people;
(c) able to display relative unity in their attitudes to the major questions of national and social development; and
(d) able to undertake to live in more difficult conditions of life when the country is undergoing development (30, p. 307).

The educational and science policy of a country is a decisive factor in liquidating backwardness (30, p. 147). The distribution of students according to their fields of specialization must be guided by the government if students...
tend to overlook certain areas of study. Most Kenyan students in the past had emphasized jurisprudence, social sciences, and humanities. The educational plans should be drafted for a long period. They have to be based on long-term concepts. This would bring better results and more benefits (26, pp. 101-114; 99, pp. 1-116; 184, pp. 22-61; 262, pp. 3-25).

Since it was hoped that the use of an African foundation in planning higher education after independence would ensure gradual and orderly change, with the cooperation of the Kenyan people a policy of Africanization of the Kenyan manpower through the use of indigenous institutions was adopted. The Kenyan government under Kenyatta, and later Moi, allowed the African institutions to retain some degree of Africanism (199, pp. 289-409; 230, p. 17; 254, pp. 13-14).

With independence, it became clear that some type of cooperation was necessary between the Western oriented political leaders and tribal elders and chiefs who still commanded the loyalty and respect of large segments of the Kenyan population. Respect for the African way of life remained and still is strong among many of the highly educated Kenyans, regardless of their careers or job classifications (178, pp. 7-8; 260, pp. 14-20). In this way, the divergence of traditional lives, methods of
government, and modern social lives that divided the people of Kenya would be reduced. However, all educational and political activities in present day Kenya are conducted through modern institutional settings (260, pp. 14-20).

Among some of the educated Kenyans, in place of the desire to maintain the relation of their kingroups grew a stronger desire to maintain the relation of their Western world of economic wealth and better rewards. By the 1960s Kenya had explored the role of higher education in the development of the Kenyan economy, and there was a definite assumption that the development of all levels of education was one of the main prerequisites to economic growth. The Kenyan educational system was to be developed in the Western pattern (153, pp. 23-82; 178, pp. 7-8; 260, pp. 14-20).

Higher education must not be geared toward the production of an unwanted African bourgeoisie. Higher education has produced both revolutionary and conservative Africans. Many highly educated Africans are part of the African bourgeoisie which Nkrumah and Fanon attacked so vigorously. This is the same bourgeoisie Wa Thiong'o is attacking today (37, pp. 1-15; 60, pp. 1-35, 52-101; 74, pp. 1-65; 172, pp. 389-512; 189, pp. 302-322; 213, pp. 21-130).

Fanon said:
The national bourgeoisie of underdeveloped countries must not be opposed because it threatens to slow down the total, harmonious development of the nation. It must simply be stoutly opposed because, literally, it is good for nothing (189, p. 322).

In countries like Kenya, where the costs of education are high, the demand for education is greatly in excess of supply, and unemployment among school leavers an established and sad fact of life, few people will dispute the urgency of utilizing limited educational resources for equipping youths with relevant skills which will ensure them paid productive and satisfying work. Prewitt says that education is only one element in the total complex of socio-economic policies and cannot solve these problems singly. Educational reform will only be successful if it is part of an overall strategy for socio-economic development consistent with national goals and aspirations of the people (9, pp. 48-49; 56, pp. 216-273; 93, pp. 359-376; 94, pp. 336-356; 113, pp. 3-6, 9, 10; 149, pp. 60-74; 182, pp. 9-17; 184, p. 331; 222, pp. 3-8; 224, pp. 5-9; 270, pp. 3-203). Equality for all is also important in Kenya and in the world.

The Kenyan government has been training women for high posts in the civil service. Many women have joined the private sector as part of highly skilled Kenyan manpower. By 1986, for example, ten Kenyan women had served in the Kenyan parliament. Among the most important positions
headed by Kenyan women in 1986 included the United Nations Secretariat in Kenya, the Kisumu Cotton Mills, the Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, the Kenya Industrial Estates, the Kenya Institute of Education, the Pests Products Control Board, the Kenya Reinsurance Corporation, the Bomas of Kenya, and the Kenya Literature Bureau, among others. Most of these women are former college professors, and all are highly educated (7, p. 45). This is significant because women play an important role in Kenyan society (228, pp. 4-5; 238, pp. 8-11).

Both Kenya and Tanzania have nearly achieved the objective of universal primary education (31, p. 1016; 75, pp. 16-77), while university enrollments remain at less than 1 percent of the relevant age group. The returns to cognitive achievements are not cognitively lower for manual than for nonmanual work (31, p. 1028). But the direct returns to years of education, on the other hand, could reflect credentialism, screening or human capital acquired at school or at home (31, p. 1029). Literate and numerate workers are more productive. As economic development proceeds, the growth of educational labor may outstrip the growth of the economy. This may make the returns to cognitive achievements decline (31, p. 1029).

Education in Kenya is viewed as a major vehicle for development. In 1965 the Kenya government stated in its
Sessional Paper Number Ten as one of the major aims of education, that:

At Kenya's stage of development, education is much more economic than a social service. It is our principal means for relieving the shortage of domestic manpower and equalizing economic opportunities among all citizens (123, p. 39).

The formerly academic curriculum has been altered to emphasize vocational and technical education so as to supply the needed manpower (7, p. 45; 115, p. 105; 117, pp. 15-91). Kenya has committed herself to full allocation of resources for education as shown by government expenditures on education (71, p. 1912; 72, p. 704; 126, pp. 265-278). Tables III and IV contain this information.

Government Expenditures for Higher Education

Todaro states that education absorbs the greatest share of recurrent government expenditures in less-developed countries. In Kenya this figure is the highest in the world (as a percentage of the national budget). He continues to say, "we must therefore examine its fundamental economic basis in a country like Kenya and also its social and institutional ramifications" (126, p. 259). Todaro says that education in Kenya carries the greatest psychological burden of development aspirations. He suggests that to make education more relevant for Kenyan development, the programs must modify economic and social
**TABLE III**

RECURRENT AND DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURES ON SELECTED GOVERNMENT SERVICES
(K = millions)*

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<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>28.5</td>
<td>37.5</td>
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<td>9.2</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>47.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>63.8</td>
<td>80.8</td>
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<td>Defense</td>
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<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>42.9</td>
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<td>Debt Service</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>23.7</td>
<td>36.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>All Services</td>
<td>70.5</td>
<td>84.9</td>
<td>105.0</td>
<td>156.8</td>
<td>301.6</td>
<td>409.8</td>
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*One K = 1.25 U.S. Dollars (K stands for Kenyan Pound)

TABLE IV

KENYAN EXPENDITURES
(K L millions)*

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<tr>
<td>General Public Services</td>
<td>16.05</td>
<td>19.09</td>
<td>22.97</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td>81.5</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td>190.9</td>
<td>176.2</td>
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<td>71.83</td>
<td>137.0</td>
<td>104.6</td>
<td>122.6</td>
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<td>Other Social Services</td>
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<td>20.35</td>
<td>23.92</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>13.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>10.88</td>
<td>13.01</td>
<td>14.89</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>51.9</td>
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<td>Roads</td>
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<td>9.7</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>13.2</td>
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<td>Agriculture, Forestry</td>
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<td>Game</td>
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<td>Fisheries</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Economic Services</td>
<td>44.12</td>
<td>67.45</td>
<td>98.89</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Defense</td>
<td>14.26</td>
<td>46.05</td>
<td>55.54</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>99.2</td>
<td>74.9</td>
<td>89.8</td>
<td>89.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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<td>46.05</td>
<td>56.0</td>
<td>71.6</td>
<td>78.5</td>
<td>83.1</td>
<td>106.2</td>
<td>153.1</td>
</tr>
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*One K L = 1.25 U.S. Dollars

signals and incentives outside the educational system. Any educational program in Kenya must also modify the internal effectiveness and equity of all educational systems by making appropriate changes in course content, especially for rural areas. Choices must also be made regarding structures of public versus private financing; methods of selection and procedures for occupational certification by educational level; and regarding the balance between practical and academic training, especially in college (75, pp. 5-37, 89-102; 126, p. 277; 128, pp. 33-81, 210; 131, pp. 14-177, 211-252, 637-716; 160, pp. 5-17, 22-51; 207, pp. 16-127). Liberal arts should also be encouraged while at the same time aiding those studying special areas. All private institutions must be accredited by the government. Private financing must be continued in public institutions when needed for assisting students and for research.

There are worries about the scale of expenditure on education in Kenya, and its effects. There are fears that demand for education might force the government recurrent budget completely out of control. Expenditure on education appears to absorb a disproportionate share of Kenyan national resources. The Kenyan people have chosen to provide for a large part of public consumption to take the form of educational services (87, p. 140). Educational
expenditure has not yet gotten out of hand. Private institutions were not included in these figures. Charitable organizations that finance education in Kenya are not in this analysis (87, p. 139). Table III shows recurrent and development expenditure in Kenya. Recurrent expenditure includes consumption of goods and services, interest payments, and transfers. Development expenditure is equivalent to gross capital formation (87, p. 138). Table IV contains more recent Kenyan expenditures.

Education has traditionally taken a large slice of government expenditure in Kenya, as Table IV indicates. During the 1979-83 development plan, education had been allocated by far the highest expenditure. This was 17 percent of the total expenditure (36, p. 116; 117, pp. 1-99). Very often, African governments have a tendency to want to feel that the university belongs to them. African universities are financed almost solely by African governments. This is, perhaps, why the governments feel they have a finger in the pie. The late Mboya, a member of parliament and a cabinet minister, felt that as the developing Kenyan nation seeks to meet the challenge of modernization, as rapidly as possible, the government must devise a means for attaining this objective (158, pp. 1-85).

Kenyan government expenditures on higher education planning, administration, and development have been rising
faster than those on any other economic variable (126, pp. 265-291). Educational financing determines who it is that has to be educated and in what fashion (28, pp. 40-48).

Kenyan higher education expenditures were constrained by other factors in the 1970s. The factors were as follows: (1) a reduced rate of economic growth; (2) government policies that affected higher education; (3) increased enrollments at other levels of education; (4) inflation, especially after the 1975 increases in energy costs due to an international oil crisis; (5) the break-up of the East African Community which had formerly provided some of the Kenyan public services; and (6) the declining prices of Kenyan exports of coffee and tea (9, pp. 48-49).

Kenya has, however, been able to overcome most of the problems associated with these factors. During the 1980s there has been an expansion of higher education in the country. The quality of education has been improved through a better qualified teaching force. The Kenyan government, for example, enrolled 600 students in the external degree program in 1986. In the 1980s Kenya has also experienced an increased rate of economic growth. The country has also enjoyed favorable prices for her tea and coffee exports, and there has been a decline in the price of oil imports (9, pp. 48-49; 113, pp. 3-6, 9, 10; 222, pp. 3-8; 224, pp. 5-9). Recently, Kenya has been planning her
educational system based on (1) public demand; (2) the need of the economy for skilled manpower; and (3) the existence of a built-in momentum of the educational system itself, such that once it is established it has to be maintained. Two factors that predominate in this planning are public demand and the built-in momentum (3, pp. 57-77; 267, p. 4).

Governments everywhere constitute complex institutions with diversified roles. Governments are the major institutions whose influence affects all citizens. They, therefore, must have a major role to play in the other institutions (36, pp. 3-6, 116; 205, pp. 1, 12, 13). The Kenyan government has been the primary source of funding for higher education in the country (4, pp. 120-123; 5, pp. 215-219; 93, pp. 359-376; 95, pp. 29-48). Kenyan government expenditures for the years 1973 to 1982 are shown in Table IV. The figures indicate that education has always taken a large proportion of the Kenyan budget. The educational expenditure has been increasing steadily every year except for the years 1978/79 (when Moi took over as the president of Kenya after Kenyatta died) and in 1980/81 (due to hard economic conditions in the world).

While Kenya had reduced aid coming from the socialist and communist countries, she continued to receive aid from Western countries. The United States, Canada, West Germany, and the United Kingdom provided most of the aid.
Kenya was, for example, given forty-one million dollars by the U.S.A. in 1978 as a grant for upgrading Egerton College to a full university. The money was used for faculty and curriculum development. Egerton University has become the major computer studies center in Kenya, in addition to teaching other sciences. At the same time the U.S.A. assisted Egerton, the Kenyan government had earmarked twenty-one million dollars for the Egerton expansion project (48, p. 14; 113, p. 9; 244, p. 50).

Kenya has placed an emphasis on the creation of technical curricula and institutions teaching such curricula. A strategy has been developed to establish more institutions of higher education and upgrade some of the existing ones. This has been costly but necessary. The extension courses and in-service training are useful to the society. Arrangements have been made with foreign governments and corporations to assist Kenya in her efforts to upgrade her higher education. Some of the private institutions in Kenya are, however, costly to attend. Kenya also needs more qualified nationals as academic staff. That will, perhaps, lessen some of the current costs of education at foreign institutions such as the United States International University in Nairobi, as Kubai (a Kenyan member of parliament) explained (203, p. 3).

Private institutions of higher education in Kenya should
also provide grants and loans to Kenyan students. This would reduce the burdens experienced by Kenyan students attending these institutions. Higher education plays an important role in the lives of Kenyan youths. Government expenditure on higher education serves a useful purpose in the Kenyan society, as education is part of the political socialization of the Kenyan people.

Higher Education and Political Socialization

In the 1974-78 Development Plan, it was emphasized that education in the future would reflect national rather than sectarian interests. Future educational decisions would clearly reflect political as well as economic constraints. This plan recognized the formal educational system as the most accessible route to individual and economic advancement. Access to higher education was to be related with Kenyan economic needs. Recipients of higher education were also required to shoulder a portion of its cost (116, pp. 405-410; 190, pp. 197-226).

The Kenyan government believes there can be no justifiable difference of interests between the government and the economy. The ruling party, the Kenya African National Union, and the system of government are as much political as economic. This is what Riggs called Nice Functionalism. It implied a conflict-free notion of change
(190, pp. 197-226). Kenyan leaders, therefore, find it comforting to believe they can rely upon schools to inculcate suitable political knowledge and attitudes. Within the broad spectrum of political development, political socialization is but one factor. A still more limited part is formal education. In Kenya, education does foster political socialization. Higher education plays an important role in this aspect as do all other levels of education. Education does also contribute to political development. Koff found Kenyan and Tanzanian students in broad agreement that education promotes political awareness and increases participation. A leading task force for the Kenyan schools is to teach children how to be good citizens. This is comforting to politicians who fear that highly educated Kenyans want to unseat them (41, pp. 169-189; 53, pp. 661-690; 132, pp. 13-51; 194, pp. 689-711).

Education in Kenya serves as a stratifier in society. Social stratification is promoted by many agents, such as class, income, family, religion, and education. Educational institutions are stratified and individuals can sometimes be classified according to the highest institutions from which they were graduated. In traditional Kenya, society was highly vertical. In contemporary Kenya, social stratification is accomplished through education most of the time. The groups with the
highest education are the ones with the highest income. The Kenyan universities control what goes on in the lower levels of education. The lobbyists for higher education are the highly educated, and they make the required decisions (with governmental approval, of course). Higher education, on the other hand, is a key element in improving attitudes toward social matters such as family planning and birth control (85, pp. 30-44; 126, pp. 129-188; 180, pp. 1-36). The Kenyan educational system is centralized in its administrative structure, as Figure 3 in the appendix shows (119, p. 38). The Kenyan curriculum is also centralized. Planning and content are not flexible (115, pp. 20-36; 119, pp. 30-38; 201, pp. 10-16; 236, p. 10).

The Kenyan formal educational system, organized by the British, has been changed slightly to meet African needs, but it still needs more changes. Despite attempts to gear education toward specific needs of the Kenyans, foreign influence still remains strong, especially regarding administration and curricula. Educational systems must be planned to suit those they are meant for. To perfect any educational system, the society, the polity, and the economy of the community in question has to be put into consideration. Serious thoughts have to be involved in curricular planning. The curricula need to be reviewed regularly. They need careful development. Teachers,

The Kenyan Education Commission of 1964 stated that:

1. Education is a function of the nation; it must foster a sense of nationhood and promote national unity.
2. Education must serve the needs of the people and of the country without discrimination.
3. Our public schools are an instrument of the secular state, in which no religion is privileged; but schools must respect the religious convictions of all people.
4. The nation's schools must respect all Kenyan cultural traditions that find expression in both social institutions and social relationships.
5. An excessively competitive spirit in our schools is incompatible with our traditional beliefs; it must be restrained. Every young person who comes from school must be made to realize that he has a valuable part to play in the national life.
6. Education must be regarded and must be used as an instrument for the conscious change of attitudes and relationships, preparing children for the attitudinal changes required by modern methods of productive organization.
7. A most urgent objective of education is to subserve the needs of the national development.
8. Education must promote social equality and remove divisions of race, religion, and tribe.
9. Any outcome of our education at all levels must be adaptability to change (118, p. 2).
The Kenyan goal was to achieve the objectives outlined in the commission and train the needed manpower. The Kenyan education priority is to produce individuals for various positions in the public and private sectors of the state. To achieve this objective the government requires schools to provide the specific skills as outlined in the government plans. Manpower education fosters the basic skills, knowledge, values, and attitudes that facilitate the adjustment of an individual to participate in nation building. Here manpower training provides both the general economic purpose of providing needed skills, and that of enhancing political socialization. A highly educated person attains self-actualization and becomes enlightened. He acquires the sense of citizenship lacking among most of the uneducated. Nationhood is a sense of shared common citizenship in which shared political values exist. This is a measure of common purpose and a respect for political institutions and political authority. Political socialization refers to this process of fostering common citizenship. This process enables a person to internalize the norms and values of a political system (17, pp. 3-51, 79-107; 19, pp. 70-96; 81, pp. 93-153; 138, pp. 2-36, 41-80; 186, pp. 1-56, 61-80). The Kenyan curricula needed to be changed to meet these and other requirements, as outlined in this paper.
Needed Curricular Changes

Greenstein, Polsby, Hess, Easton, and Coleman have stressed the major importance of political socialization for nations. Political socialization can be promoted through curricula. Kenya tried to incorporate political socialization in her school curricula. Curriculum development in Kenya is comprehensive, meaning that it cooperates with Kenyan economic planning. In order to ensure that all relevant links and influences are involved in Kenyan curriculum planning and development, parents, the government, teachers, religious groups, business and industry are all considered and consulted in curriculum planning (73, pp. 55-66; 84, pp. 231-251; 147, pp. 429-445; 227, p. 11; 229, pp. 10-11; 231, p. 8; 234, pp. 12-18).

The government of Kenya plays a major role in higher education in the country. It finances and runs the institutions of higher education, except the private ones. The government plans almost everything, from pay rate to the curricula and student examinations. There have been arguments about changing Kenyan higher education to meet national needs.

The argument for changing the content of the Kenyan higher education curricula is supported by many of the highly educated Kenyans. There are, however, some Africans who still believe in keeping the colonial curriculum. The
argument for curriculum change is supported by the Kenyan government. Part of the political disagreement over curriculum issues arises from the misconception among some educated Kenyans that the government cannot succeed in implementing the necessary goals. Other problems arise from high expenditures for the changes. Costs for the changes should not be feared, and an experiment should be encouraged. One part of the curriculum controversy can be clarified by making people aware of the fact that what is learned in schools should relate to the African environment. The government does sometimes fear introducing sudden changes that might alienate some of the Kenyan elites. Kenyan decision-makers are sometimes unable to decide on what is to be changed and what is to remain intact. An example of this kind of confusion can be drawn from an incident involving a member of parliament who once insisted that all debates in parliament should be contacted in English, in spite of the fact that the government had already stated that Swahili (the national language) could be used by any members who chose to do so (40, pp. 1-15; 87, pp. 1-6, 50-65; 141, pp. 1-23; 220, pp. 7-11; 225, pp. 8-12; 234, pp. 5-7).

The African curriculum has emphasized passing examinations. This and the contents of the curriculum have to be changed. Education must emphasize rural development.
Kenya has recently introduced regional rural development to counteract the plans of the past which gave more attention to the urban areas (55, pp. 241-254; 110, pp. 7-9; 111, pp. 1-8; 174, pp. 44-75; 241, pp. 4-6; 254, pp. 15-20).

Narrow specializations had reduced the number of badly needed personnel in areas like mathematics and science at the time the government was encouraging the expansion of manpower in these areas. Most of a group of students in Form IV, Form VI, and the university interviewed in 1975 indicated they would prefer studying the social sciences and working in offices after graduation (76, pp. 1-15). Some of the students indicated they would go for further studies, and the others said they would take up government jobs. To reduce elitism, higher education in Kenya needs to be reorganized to encourage a free interaction process between faculty and government, and governments and administrators, as well as between the students and each of these other parties. Such dialogue is encouraging as it reduces conflicts. Student, faculty, and administrator accountability should be encouraged as this would ensure better preparation of responsible future manpower. African universities tend to be imperialistic and controlled by governments as Adams points out (1, pp. 23-28). Faculty members are fighting this problem in an effort to make the universities centers of learned communities, able to act

As Du Bois once put it:

There is properly no higher training. Longer training a man may have, but no higher—the highest and the best training is that which enables a man to earn a living (66, p. 11). . . . Are we to assume that we will simply adopt the ideals of white Americans and become white in action if not completely in color? We could take on the culture of white Americans doing as they do and thinking as they think (66, p. 149).

Black men must educate themselves in their own way and culture (66, pp. 1-40). In order to develop a relevant curriculum, Kenya has tried to observe and encourage cooperation of all the groups concerned with education in Kenya. Even though curriculum planning is centralized in Kenya (with the government playing a major role), curriculum planning bodies have always allowed suggestions from the various groups. There is also some continuity in the curriculum. This matter involves content and the consideration of the needs of each region in the country. The various educational commissions and committees that have been set up in the past included representatives from all the parties concerned. The government does not, however, allow enough curriculum reviewing and revisions. The national goals sometimes remain rigid and outdated. Whenever the government takes action on outdated curricula, it does so in a massive sweeping, as witnessed in the
various commissions (especially the 1964 Ominde Commission, the 1976 Gachathi Commission, and the 1981 University Grants Committee), and in the five-year government development plans (219, pp. 3-12; 225, pp. 24-25; 246, pp. 13-14).

Concreteness in the curriculum is important, and Kenya has strived hard to reach a consensus among those affected by curriculum planning. Basic needs of the Kenyan people are emphasized at the Kenyan higher education level, as well as at the other levels of education. All the various social groups in Kenya, as well as the interests of each individual are weighed carefully in the process of educational choices made by the students, the government, and the rest of the people. Students are consulted occasionally concerning their interests and abilities (and sometimes are told what they should study based on their performance in school) and are advised on what is needed and would benefit them and the society most. Maslow has stressed the need to incorporate motivation in education. The government of Kenya has shown some weakness, at times, in her curriculum planning. This weakness has been the lack of enough comprehensiveness, cooperativeness, continuity, and concreteness (all of which are necessary in curriculum planning and development) (22, pp. 12-22, 35-61; 148, pp. 1-53; 171, pp. 62-94). An education whose main
objective is fostering and maintaining the nation involves changing of behavior patterns of the learners to those that are consistent with the stated goals. Mere knowledge of facts would not constitute a change of behavior. A change of behavior must affect feelings, attitudes, and values. If the behavior is to be changed, the values, feelings, and attitudes must always be stressed (271, pp. 54-87, 107—160).

In Kenya the values of the learner must be conducive to national unity. Consequently, higher education that emphasizes transmission of mere facts does not prepare a student for the role that national educational objectives require of him. If Kenyan higher education is to facilitate the fulfillment of the Kenyan national goals, it has to go beyond exposing the students to facts alone. It must also facilitate the assimilation of the facts into the lives of the students. Thus, the education must create learning situations that would provide experiences which enable the students to relate facts learned to their lives, and consequently adjust their lives accordingly. In this respect, higher education should not merely transmit facts alone. The individual must know how to interpret what is learned to fit her environment. She must be able to translate general objectives into specific values. She must know the areas in which she needs to change. She
should be able to evaluate all the relevant facts and factors on their basics and merits, and then decide what to apply and use in her life, and what to modify or reject altogether. This process will also enable the person concerned to make the necessary adjustments so as to be comfortable with the acquired values. The Masai college graduate, for example, may wear his three-piece suit, but when he attends a traditional ceremony he has to change to the traditional moran attire if he is to please his elders (many Masais still do so), but when he gets sick, he must go to modern hospitals, but not to local witch-doctors (259, pp. 3-8, 27-36, 40-41).

If the Kenyan educational objectives are to be fulfilled, higher education in Kenya must change from the emphasis on the mere transmission of facts and emphasize the learning of how to make the right decisions. The learners must be able to transcend the gathering and accumulation of facts, to relating them to their lives and environment. The Kenyan government must emphasize decision-making processes in her educational planning and in designing learning situations in higher education and in the other educational levels.

In order that one may be able to function in any society, one must have adequate facts or knowledge about one's society. One must also be able to relate facts
learned by oneself to the society at large (the world, nature, the supernatural, or spiritual matters). With modern advanced technology (especially world communication networks), Kenya must not be left behind in the process of developing advanced technological systems. Higher education will definitely play an important role in this undertaking (52, pp. 40-48; 54, pp. 2-13; 57, pp. 355-384; 79, pp. 5-76; 145, pp. 106-160; 151, pp. 46-69; 154, pp. 20-52, 130-150; 188, pp. 35-99, 156-177; 195, pp. 539-562; 200, pp. 241-254).

Kiswahili, the Kenyan national language, needs to be introduced as the language of instruction in higher education. Books that are used need to be translated into and others written in Kiswahili. This process would take a long time to accomplish, but it should be attempted. There needs to be more free interaction between faculty members and the students. More money will be needed to carry on the needed activities.

Learning involves the exploration of facts or knowledge and their assimilation, resulting in change in behavior. In Kenya, the faulty view about the nature of knowledge has resulted in a system of education which did not produce people qualified to play the roles expected of them (69, pp. 297-312; 78, pp. 1-16, 61-129; 80, pp. 295-312; 105, pp. 1-115; 106, pp. 167-194; 108, pp. 2-40, 55-
Among the educated Kenyans involved in curricula localization, national development, social activities, and cultural awareness are several university faculty members. There are also many politicians involved in national development activities related to political socialization, curricular localization, and political and economic development, with an emphasis on African values. Phoebe Asiyo, a member of parliament and the co-founder of the Maendeleo ya Wanawake women's organization (started in 1954), is an active politician and social worker whose contribution in higher education is to be commended. Wa Thiong'o, a novelist of an international standard, has contributed in literary and political work. Dumila has also done remarkable work in literacy in the Kiswahili language. Wa Thiong'o was detained by the Kenyan government on charges of teaching about rebellion and revolution as head of the Literature and Languages Department at the University of Nairobi. He is now in exile. Kinyatti, a former professor of political science at Kenyatta University, was stripped of his professorship
and jailed by the government for teaching songs sung by the Africans during the guerrilla warfare against the British. A. Mazrui (a former professor of government at Kenyatta University and a brother to Ali Mazrui, another prominent political scientist, formerly at Nairobi and Makerere who now resides in the U.S.A.), was detained for criticizing the government and died while in detention. Wangari Mathai, the first Kenyan woman to get a doctorate degree (in 1966 at Nairobi, after getting an M.A. degree in the U.S.A.), is a university professor by profession. Mathai was also the first African Kenyan woman to head a university department (veterinary medicine at the University of Nairobi). She was once detained for publicly denouncing government restrictions on freedom of speech. She heads the National Council of Women of Kenya (founded in 1966), the University Women's Association, and the Green Belt Movement (that plants trees to improve the environment), and she quit her teaching job to work on "creating a clean environment and tree planting," while making speeches and doing professional writing on women's rights and environmental matters. Julia Ojiambo (whose husband is also a professor with a doctorate degree) is a professor at the University of Nairobi, a nutritionist, has been a member of parliament, and is also active in national, social, and political affairs. Grace Onyango,
the former mayor of Kisumu, and a former member of parliament, has been instrumental in promoting education in the past. Kenyatta, a former mayor of Nairobi and a daughter of Kenyatta (the late president of Kenya), is an active social and political innovator. Others include Edda Gachukia, an educationist at the University of Nairobi, a former member of parliament, and a former head of the National Council of Women of Kenya; and Willy Mutunga, a former law professor at the University of Nairobi and a former head of the faculty association, who was imprisoned by the government for speaking for freedom of speech and human rights (12, p. 37; 13, pp. 8372-8373; 238, pp. 8-11; 240, pp. 10-14; 258, pp. 42-44). Many of these educated Kenyans have recently been trying to change the conservative type of education Kenya used to give to the youth into an African-oriented one with more commitment to the African cause. The government does not always agree with some of these modern thinkers in Kenya (238, pp. 8-11; 240, pp. 10-14; 258, pp. 42-44).

In discussions with Kenyan students studying in the U.S.A., during the writing of this paper, it was found that many of these students did not have enough knowledge of Kenyan national educational objectives. Many did not see any need for changes in the Kenyan curricula. Others did not even feel it was necessary for Kenya to retain the
African culture. It is unrealistic to expect that when such students assumed their positions as decision-makers and policy planners, they will be able to make professional decisions that will facilitate educational, political, and socio-economic experiences relevant to the Kenyan situation. This will be difficult when such individuals do not know what educational, socio-economic, and political conditions exist in Kenya. There are, however, some Kenyan students who are extremely critical of Western education in Kenya. They feel they have been cheated. They insist that the highly educated African is detached from his environment. This is true considering the fact that while, for example, an educated Japanese behaves like a Japanese, the educated African behaves like a European.

The curriculum design that would change the nature of higher education in Kenya must enable Kenyans to play their roles of decision-making effectively. It must also facilitate relevant learning in school. To fulfill their roles, Kenyan higher education institutions must become involved in the curriculum planning process, especially in the areas of research, formulation of objectives, and curricular goals to be achieved. In terms of political matters, the role of the decision-maker is to interpret and relate knowledge to life as a whole while at the same time exploring knowledge about all matters of importance to the
society. In his role as a future decision-maker, the Kenyan student must not only be concerned with learning in school, but he must also interact with the society and involve himself with other activities outside school that might produce useful learning. Learning is a life-long process, and so the student should not be aiming at simply passing examinations or just nurturing some narrow interests and academic specializations. Learning about life while still in school shapes the future of the student and enhances his ability to make the right decisions. It also prepares him more fully and equips him with experience that will make him able to serve the society better. Learning about life while in school should involve knowing the philosophy of good life as defined by Kenyans and others interested in a peaceful and learned world. The nature of the contemporary Kenyan society must be stressed. The student must, for example, use his tribal experience to prepare himself for life and to serve the Kenyan society. However, he should not let his past tribal values prevent him from interacting with others of different tribes, religions, or cultures. Tribes and their institutions should not propagate values that are in conflict with those values identified as conducive to a united Kenya. The Kenyan government and the Kenyan institutions are currently doing a good job teaching this oneness (9, pp. 50-51; 11,
Students must be allowed to learn how to participate in activities that reflect their future roles as policymakers or good citizens. In the case of Kenya, the students can learn facts about government by participating in student government, representing and expressing their needs, problems, desires, or aspirations. By learning how to elect school officials by voting, the students will be exposed to the tenets of a popularly elected government. The importance of this practice is that the role of the student is transformed from that of the acquisition of raw facts to that of decision-making. Thus, on the basis of his experience, the student can see how learning situations will serve a determined end in the future. Therefore, instead of engaging in the mere absorption of abstract lectures about the nature and the process of the Kenyan political order, the student would know the kind of values that one should hold to be a responsible and functional member of the Kenyan polity. He would understand and appreciate his identity. This way, he would acquire
knowledge that is applicable to his life, and values that are relevant to his polity, society in general, and his personal life. Coleman says that through the process of political socialization, the individual acquires attitudes and feelings toward a political system and his role in it. This affects a person's loyalty or his competence. Feelings and attitudes flow from values held by an individual and produce a pattern of behavior (50, p. 18; 67, pp. 1-121).

It is argued that the values, obligations, expectations and skills, shaped by the experience one encounters during participation in a real life learning situation such as student government, constitute a reservoir that will subsequently be available in similar situations in life after school. The Kenyan higher education curriculum must allow students to engage in such activities. One reason Kenya cannot develop a complete higher education curriculum is that there are not adequate funds to do so. Government budgets cannot meet the required changes. This problem is also a justification for the limited research Kenyan academics can undertake. However, adequate and satisfactory research could be pursued without high costs by engaging in local explorations and experimentation to see how higher education can be incorporated into the society. Grants
from the advanced nations and international organizations are also available for research. Many Kenyan and foreign scholars have taken advantage of these funds to do research on Kenya (103, pp. 1-12, 16-31, 121-192; 161, pp. 3-15, 34-71; 179, pp. 121-221; 264, pp. ix-xiii, 52-180, 208-212).

Kenyan students must be given a chance to become involved in activities related to their learning such as faculty evaluations. These activities are not allowed in Kenya. The changing nature of the Kenyan society (particularly to the Kenyan youth) presents serious conflicts in political values and, if Kenyan higher education is to foster nationhood and national unity, it has to provide the learning experiences that enable the students to resolve the conflicts. A curriculum geared to this end requires the inclusion of students in the development of the curriculum. This fact is important as the students are also aware of the problems that have to be resolved in fostering nationhood and national unity. They will also be future planners and policy makers, and so they need to prepare themselves in the best way possible. The future of the Kenyan college curricula is not easy to predict. The Kenyan system of higher education is undergoing enormous changes. The curricula taught will determine the effects of the education the young Kenyans
get. This, in return, will determine the future of the country.

Summary

The Kenyan system of higher education has been of great importance in fostering socio-economic, political, and educational advancement. The contribution of the Kenyan government, the university faculty and administrators, as well as students, has been significant. The Kenyan government has played an important role in the shaping of Kenyan higher education. The government, for instance, finances the institutions of higher education almost single-handedly, and guides curriculum planning and development. Higher education has been an important tool in fostering political socialization in Kenya. It has contributed significantly in the creation of the needed manpower and in bringing economic and social development.

The Kenyans have tried to alter the kind of education inherited from the British colonial government to one that is sensitive to and sympathizes with the African environment. The idea that Kenyans are moving toward a self-reliant African system may seem to many as being too ambitious an argument. However, it must be known that even though any former colony that has retained ties with the former colonial power, will not very easily detach itself from the type of the system the colonial power has, as this
is a difficult undertaking which will need careful planning and a long period of time to be accomplished, some change is inevitable. However, if Kenya breaks away from Western values and does not have any other clear philosophy to follow such as Marxism, it will be difficult for her to survive peacefully. Kenya, like any other African country, cannot move back to the African way of life as it was before the foreigners came. This would result in chaos, if at all possible. Therefore, a balance has to be stricken between the two systems. The type of education suggested here, and the cooperation needed among the various parties involved, must make possible the creation of a Kenya that can accommodate both the Western (part of it) and the African way of life.

The Kenyan higher education system should put an emphasis on African nationalism and culture, while at the same time allowing individuals to enjoy Western values that are acceptable and applicable to the Kenyan environment. Kenya is a multiracial society consisting of peoples of many cultures and religions whose interests have to be considered in any socio-economic, political, and educational planning.
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CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

This historical review of higher education in Kenya consists of five chapters. Chapter I deals with the Kenyan educational, economic and political systems, explaining some important factors inherent in each of these sectors of the nation. Educational factors (with an emphasis on curriculum development since 1975) were discussed, relating them to the Kenyan economy and polity.

Chapter II of this study overviewed the historical development of higher education as observed in the literature reviewed. The development of higher education in Kenya was discussed and explained in Chapter III. This chapter discussed several multi-disciplinary factors related to higher education in Kenya. Higher education institutions were traced both extensively and intensely. The chapter analytically approached the current system of higher education, underlining the influential forces of both cultural and social forces which directly or indirectly shape Kenyan higher education. Curriculum development was also discussed. There is not an accurate method for measuring the contribution of colleges and
universities in the advancement of a nation. Chapter IV related Kenyan economic development and politics to her higher education. Modern lifestyles and social modifications in Kenya today are a byproduct of modernization, as explained in Chapter III.

Everyone from the matatu (taxi) driver to the member of parliament has been affected by Westernization. Modern educational institutions, particularly at the higher level, have succeeded in training national leaders and highly-trained professionals who have fostered Kenyan national development. The same institutions have also produced a large group of individuals who are neither fully qualified to lead nor easy to be led. Also the present social synthesis is the result of the genuine response to challenge of Kenyans who received valuable education in the West and have returned with useful techniques for advancement, as well as intellectual progress in Kenya.

The greatest phenomenon of mankind today is change which is inevitable. This change will affect all societies, developed or developing. Kenya is no exception. This is what the country is experiencing, and education magnifies it.

Kenya is moving from a colonial type of education to one that is appropriate to an independent African nation. The new type of education features a mixture of Africanism
with what has already been learned from the West. As explained in the previous chapters, the new Kenyan education is putting more emphasis on fitting what was borrowed from England to the African environment. For example, instead of reading Shakespeare solely, the new Kenyan is also reading works by Chinua Achebe and Ngugi Wa Thiong'o. Past education in Kenya emphasized preparation for entrance into competitive nationwide examinations. This education was insufficiently oriented to those aspects of Kenyan lifestyle that are characteristic of rural Kenyan life.

In Chapter IV, a discussion of the Kenyan curriculum was continued. Economic development, Kenyan politics as it affects higher education, and the activities of the Kenyan institutions of higher education were discussed. The Kenyan government is seriously attempting to Africanize the system. Poor academic preparation for college students which encouraged elitism should be done away with. In its place, the government should institute relevant education to prepare patriotic, practical and committed Kenyans who can run the country efficiently and with equity. These issues form a basis for contemplating possible alternatives for action by the Kenyan government. Lack of preparation in skills for proper employment should be dealt with by introducing the right training. If the curriculum were to
be redesigned with a focus on the needs of the students and the local rural communities, the country would be served better.

Discussion

Kenya corrected the educational problems existing at independence by expanding secondary and higher education and by sending students abroad. The government also increased and improved existing educational facilities. The curriculum was also expanded and altered to conform to Kenyan needs. The country received assistance from developed countries and allocated a large portion of her budget to education. Many commissions and committees were set up to assist and develop the national educational system. Many private institutions were also established. There has been significant improvement in Kenyan higher education since 1975, as outlined in Chapters II and III.

The key issue regarding the relationship between the government and the system of education in Kenya is that the government needs to understand the concepts and the process of development and how to get people exposed to it, and how the political system can gain the commitment of everyone to the integration of the effects and outcomes of the development into the daily activities of the Kenyan society. This chapter summarizes this study. It also gives the discussion deemed necessary. In addition, it
gives recommendations and presents the conclusions, based on the analyses and findings of the dissertation.

Recommendations for Manpower Training

Personnel has been identified as one of the most crucial problems affecting performance in the Kenyan economy as a whole. Suggestions for curriculum change cannot be implemented without competent personnel. It is, therefore, suggested that:

1. All teachers should be informed and trained in how to use their knowledge to fit the Kenyan environment, while stressing Kenyan culture.

2. Africanization of personnel is to be continued in the Kenyan institutions of higher learning and in the whole country (and in all sectors of the economy).

Recommendations for Educational Expenditures

1. The Kenyan government should increase assistance to the Kenyan Harambee institutes of technology.

2. Government assistance should be continued to all registered (accredited) public institutions, and assistance from private sources should be continued.

3. Foreign assistance should be continued, and it should include services by foreign professors or scholars. This would bring new ideas and increase knowledge exchange.
Recommendations for Governance and Administration

1. The Kenyan government should encourage cooperation between private and public institutions.

2. Local communities, the faculty, the school administrators, and the parents should participate in some of the curriculum planning activities. The government should also exercise some indirect control on the institutions, but it should not dictate everything to them.

3. The university has to have a sense of a united community. The government of Kenya should encourage this practice through policies that do not discriminate against anyone.

Specific Changes Needed in the Curriculum

Changes in the Kenyan curriculum would be expedient and necessary in alleviating the problems existing in the Kenyan higher education system. It is suggested that:

1. A Kenyan curriculum should emphasize the Kenyan way of life, respecting its traditions, customs, and culture, especially in the social sciences and humanities. Training in other fields should also emphasize Kenyan needs. Such a curriculum would address specifically the needs of the students, the society, and stress rural development. Development should always be the major goal. Emphasis in the programs in such a curriculum should be on
the teaching of modern business courses, practical subjects, mathematics, Kiswahili, and work ethics for the youth. African social and cultural activities such as music and folklore should also be revived.

2. The present examination system should be reformed. A decentralized examination system and a gradual system of evaluation by the teachers should be employed. Evaluation of the work done by students should be based on work completed to determine their competencies, rather than using an annual national examination. The students should also assist in the evaluation of their teachers.

3. The Kenyan higher education curriculum should constitute programs of rural development, emphasizing agriculture (especially by reintroducing the foods used by Africans in the past—instead of letting people believe polished rice is better than corn or millet). Such programs would also focus on the needs of adult populations in the rural areas and the needs of the urban poor.

4. Programs which promote production in agriculture, home-making, games and sports, nutrition, and commercial studies could be designed to meet the needs of adult community members.

5. The use of new techniques such as computer science could be applied in the extension of teaching methods in the rural areas where electricity is available.
6. Programs in Kenyan schools should be made flexible enough to allow the use of local materials, ideas, and the communities as this would make findings applicable to the local environment. Research techniques that are not applicable to the African society (especially in the social sciences) should be discarded and appropriate ones developed.

7. The government of Kenya should continue to seek educational exchange of ideas from sources outside the country (including those from the East).

8. The government should continue to encourage and permit students to study abroad, especially in the areas that are not available in Kenya.

9. The higher education community should involve itself in activities that increase patriotism (for instance, students could be trained in the way the Americans conduct the Reserve Officers' Training Corps on college campuses for recruiting students into the air force).

10. Part-time teachers should be sought among the public and private experts and specialists so that they can share their knowledge for development. This could include retired persons.

11. The Kenyan universities and colleges must be unified by a common value system. The Kenyan higher
education system must not entertain the existence of unnecessary differences as portrayed among the various tribes and races in the country.

The Kenyan higher education system should, therefore, emphasize rural life and employment. Special attention should be given to agricultural training; the studying of applied sciences; business fields; and industrial, technical, and clerical training. These fields are being taught presently and should be continued. Most of these areas are required in both the urban and rural areas. The Kenyan adult population should be assisted by being allowed to enroll in courses and by being taught fields such as agriculture, nutrition, health, commerce, and the social sciences by visiting instructors with either minimal or no charges. The National Student Service could be utilized to provide these services.

Kenyan colleges and universities play an essential role in the Kenyan society, which has always found a special strength in its efforts to promote education. Of all sectors of the Kenyan economy and polity, higher education has provided the best utilization of the talents of all citizens. Higher education has, for example, encouraged the employment of Kenyan women in positions of leadership. The Kenyan people recognize the unique worth of higher education, almost revere education in general and
support it, often at great sacrifice. Because of the preceding reasons, the Kenyan people should continue to provide higher education for all without discrimination. The Kenyans seem to understand the benefits and advantages of higher education. Beyond this, the Kenyan society cherishes the value of the Kenyan institutions of higher education. Government financial assistance to the Kenyan institutions carries top priority, and the public gives the needed moral and financial support to these institutions, as discussed in Chapter IV. This cooperation is substantial and vital to the survival of Kenyan institutions. The concerted effort of those concerned with the continued service provided by Kenyan institutions of higher learning shows the faith with which Kenyans want to carry their zeal for education into the future, and should be continued.

The essence of education at all levels is that an individual should be equipped in such a way that he serves his community with efficiency and commitment. Education should not merely be for enabling students to attain higher classes, but should instead prepare them to meet the serious challenges of life and to be useful to their society.

Colonial education in Kenya alienated the educated. Education was part of the domination of the Africans by a
foreign element. African methods of teaching before the colonial period emphasized society and the needs thereof. The system of education in the African society was utilitarian. Children were brought up to become useful members of the family, clan, or society. African education emphasized economic participation through job-orientation and the immediate application of what was learned to the needs of the entire community. As a result, there was a strong communal cohesion. African higher education in Kenya should teach the Kenyans how to get involved in the welfare of the society. The highly educated Kenyans should not be individualistic and selfish. No Kenyan should accumulate enormous amounts of wealth when children at Mathare and Lodwar are naked and going to bed hungry. The spirit of Harambee (giving) must be practiced, and the highly educated, because of the respect they carry among the populace, should set a good example by sharing their wealth and knowledge.

Colonial education was quite individualistic to say the least. Education should help man exploit nature for his needs and satisfaction and for the welfare and the co-existence of his society and mankind. The African pattern of education was disrupted by the missionaries and the colonizers. These foreigners transmitted an education that was inappropriate and entirely unwanted by some of the
Africans. This education made people refuse to work within the patterns of their societies. What arose out of most of this education was the destruction of the society-oriented values. Colonial education introduced a system of values which dictated that demands of the individual are to be held in greater esteem than those of the society. There was also a racial bias in this education as the various races in Kenya each received a different type of education, with the African getting the poorest one. With the attainment of independence, most of the racially segregated schools were integrated and others were closed down (most of the privately-owned ones that were not bought by the government or did not entertain the idea of racial integration closed down). Before independence, after it and up to today, the Kenyan universities and colleges were and still are shunned by most of the white and Indian communities in Kenya who instead chose to (and still do) send their children abroad for higher education. The few non-Africans who attend the universities are day students. This shows that racial prejudice was and still is a problem among most of the non-African races in Kenya.

As Chapter II showed, the content and structure of African education in the British colonies was determined by the racial debate that went on in Britain concerning "the nature of native education." As explained in Chapter III,
the natives were given the minimal training necessary to fit them to work for their white masters as simple clerks, gardeners, messengers, masons, carpenters, and catechists. This study shows that there were political and racial factors behind such an education. The Africans were to be economically and politically kept under colonial bondage. Those Africans who were taught agriculture, education, handicrafts, or business courses were not adequately trained to cope with these courses. For example, they were not able to use their knowledge as they could neither get the jobs they qualified for, nor find enough money to start their own businesses. The economy did not provide enough opportunities and facilities such as loans to assist the Africans to improve their lives. As explained in Chapters III and IV, changes were needed because the kind of education existing in Kenya during colonial times was part of the whole colonial system. This kind of education is not going to take a decade or two to reverse, but may take a century or several generations.

However, after independence, Kenya discouraged the teaching of inferior education. The young nation expanded all levels of education, sought and received assistance from the developed countries for Kenyan institutions and for building more institutions, and for young Kenyans to study abroad. The pre-independence Kenyan educational
system (and the present one does also, though to a lesser degree) tended to be individualistic and rigidly competitive. This problem is not easy to overcome as Kenya has a capitalist economy and adheres to Western values. The Kenyan economy is a mixed capitalist and socialist (with state capitalism) system. The system is said to be socialistic by constitution but in practice it is not. The Tanzanian system, on the other hand, is moving increasingly toward a purely socialist system that transmits society-oriented values in her education. This is why most socialist Kenyan dissidents live in exile in Tanzania, where they find sympathy.

Higher education in Kenya, as in other developing nations, has been geared toward satisfying the immediate needs of the society by alleviating unemployment problems. Kenya has been doing just that by emphasizing technical and practical education. Educational planning in Kenya still has to be fully incorporated into the overall national economic planning, the political system and the society. This is an expensive undertaking for a young nation like Kenya. Kenya has to seek external aid to meet her educational goals.

Conclusions

Higher education in the colonial days was in the hands of the colonial government. The University of Nairobi was
the first institution of higher education to be established in Kenya (for the Africans) as the Royal Technical College. The selection of students and financing of the college were controlled by the British government. The colonial government had established some technical and teachers colleges. The colleges were patterned after those in England. Since these institutions were based on the interests of the colonial government, they were unsuitable for Kenyan Africans.

After Kenya became independent in 1963, she sought to change higher education to fit the African environment. Commissions were set up to study the existing system of higher education. The independent nation needed money to replace foreigners running higher education and other levels of education. Higher education was seen as a tool for achieving these goals.

The University of East Africa was made up of three constituent colleges, one of which was the Nairobi University College. Kenya established her own university after the University of East Africa was scrapped in 1970 by mutual agreement among the East African countries. However, the East African community allowed for academic cooperation of the East African universities. When the community was dismantled in 1977, Kenya started running her own university independently, with her own constituent
colleges. Many colleges (institutes) of technology were built in the 1970s; Kenyatta College (for teachers) became a constituent college of the University of Nairobi and later an independent comprehensive university. All the Kenyan teachers' colleges were upgraded and consolidated into seventeen teacher education colleges. In the 1980s, Moi University was established, Egerton College became a constituent college of the University of Nairobi and later a full university, and other institutions of higher education were built.

Curriculum development, financing, governance, and accountability in the Kenyan higher education are in the hands of the Kenyan government. The president of Kenya is the chancellor of each of the universities. The president of each university is the vice-chancellor of the university. In the 1960s and the late 1970s, under the guidance of the late president (Kenyatta), the Kenyan people built Harambee (self-help) institutions at all levels of education.

In 1975 when the country was in turmoil after the mysterious assassination of a prominent dissident, J. M. Kariuki, there was chaos and a temporary halt to many activities in the country (including educational activities). Kenyatta died in 1978. When Daniel Moi became president, he needed some time to rearrange matters
in the country. After a year of transitional activities, Moi started his programs. He carried out plans started by Kenyatta and instituted new ones.

An important principle of the Kenyan higher education is to perpetuate the African tradition. The tradition of the university is to preserve academic freedom. The university recognizes no frontiers other than those of knowledge. The standards set in science and scholarship are those that receive international recognition. This is a reality that Kenya must face. The Kenyan government tends to limit the freedom of the universities. One way to ensure the separation of the university from the state is to give the university administrators and the faculty autonomy. There can be boards set to oversee the universities but academic freedom must flourish. The university ought to have complete control over its affairs and must have authority to appoint the staff, decide on the content of the courses, and examine and admit prospective students.

Localization of the university is an important factor. The university is to be used to assist in the development of the nation, and thus must conduct itself in a manner that would bring most benefits to the society it is supposed to serve. After localization is completed, the university can then forge new links with other
international universities, while at the same time keeping itself intact.

The replacement of the expatriates was an important step that the Kenyan universities had to take in an effort to Africanize (Kenyanize) themselves. There is still a need to have foreign experts in Kenya as knowledge is to be shared. Foreign scholars can assist Kenya while at the same time serving their own interests as researchers or visiting scholars. International financing is also needed as Kenya cannot shoulder all her educational expenses.

An overall strategy for promoting rural development in Kenya must put into account a large number of factors involving the allocation of national resources, as well as affecting the improvement of the welfare of the Kenyan masses. While the training of a small but adequate group of highly qualified people is only one component of a broad-based approach, it is most essential if development is to be truly self-sustaining. Talented and competent manpower is imperative for research, policy formulation, effective decision-making ability, and efficient implementation of national programs.

The future of the Kenyan higher education will need cooperation of the people of Kenya. If the Kenyan institutions display good leadership and represent a community engaged in free academic activities, they will
have joined other free world institutions of higher learning. Future research on Kenyan higher education is needed to discover any characteristics of the system that were not touched by this study, especially special education, student services, and administrative leadership. A first-hand study of Kenyan higher education is needed in order to learn more about it. As the history of Kenya is studied, more will be discovered about this nation. It is hoped that higher education in Kenya will bring an improvement in the lives of the inhabitants of that country.
APPENDIX
Fig. 1—Map of Kenya: Towns, Rivers, and Railway Line

Fig. 2—Map of Kenya: Towns, Provinces, and Districts

Fig. 3—The Ministry of Education

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