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"EDUCATE A NATION": A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF FEMALE

EDUCATION'S IMPACT ON KENYAN ECONOMICS AND POLITICS

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"EDUCATE A NATION": A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF FEMALE
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A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE
COLLEGE OF INTERNTIONAL STUDIES

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Abstract

Gender norms impact the educational system in Kenya, and influence the quantity and quality of education females receive. Additionally, this relationship formed between education and gender norms interacts with other societal structures, such as economic and political structures. Considering the connection between these structures, I analyze how changing gender norms impact educational, economic, and political structures in Kenya throughout three time-periods: pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial. I argue that shifting gender norms and educational structures in each period creates a unique relationship, as norms constrain the set of behaviors deemed appropriate for females in education to create a system of measureable educational inequalities for females in Kenya. The findings illustrate a few key issues. First, there is a distinct relationship between education and gender in each period that is categorically different than the relationship in other periods due to the shifting nature of gender norms and educational structures. Furthermore, I produce measureable results that define gender-based educational inequality in each time-period as well as measureable impacts to both the economic and political structures. Finally, I map the changes to my variables (gender, education, economics, and politics) and denote how these shifting variables have shaped the education system in Kenya today.

Introduction

"Wathomithia muiretu, ni wathomithia mbururi".[1]

The Embu saying quoted above translates roughly to "when you educate a girl, you educate a whole nation". This saying captures the spirit of this thesis, which is founded on the belief that female education is necessary, important, and even crucial for a flourishing nation. In this paper, I highlight the importance of female education, recognize the complexity of providing equitable education, and demonstrate some of the impacts of inequitable education on the society at large. I believe that education is one of the greatest gifts that anyone can receive and that providing equitable education for girls is vital, and I am not alone. Malala Yousafzai, a young activist from Pakistan and Nobel Prize laureate, also believes that female education can change the world. As she argues in a speech to the United Nations,

> none of the SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals), not a single one, can be accomplished unless we educate all girls. If you want to grow economies, improve the air we breathe, promote peace, and advance public health, we must invest in girls… when girls cannot go to school they lose the opportunity to pursue their dreams, and our world loses their potential.[2]

Access to equitable education gives girls the opportunity to pursue their dreams and change the world. Therefore, I focus on female education with the goal of shaping nations and eventually shaping the world.

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[1] Njoki Nathani Wane and Wambui Gathenya, "The Yokes of Gender and Class: The Policy Reforms and Implications for Equitable Access to Education in Kenya," *Managing Global Transitions* 1, no. 2 (2003): 169-194.

[2] Malala Yousafzai, "Financing the Future: Education 2030," (speech, New York, September 25, 2017), United Nations.

Overview

Development at its most simple form is about improving the quality of people's lives. Where development gets complex is when we begin thinking about what type of development is best, whom development is for, what development implies, and how development is best pursued. In this thesis, I analyze education in Kenya with a specific focus on girls' education by investigating the relationship between education and gender. This relationship refers to the restrictions that gender norms place on all students, and the corresponding manner in which both boys and girls internalize or fight against gender norms reflected in their education through avenues such as: hidden curriculum, teacher expectations, or future career options. This unique relationship forms the backbone of my research question: how does the relationship between education and gender interact with other societal structures, such as politics and economics overtime? I argue that overtime gender norms continuously impact the education system and through that system the economic and political structures of Kenya; however, my research indicates that gender norms had the most substantial impact on Kenya during the colonial period due to the influx of Western gender norms. The result of the fluctuation of gender norms was an increase in restrictions to access and attainment of women's education in the colonial period and the subsequent decrease of those restrictions in the post-colonial period; restrictions to achievement and accomplishment of women's education in Kenya have remained stubbornly persistent throughout each time-period. Additionally, the impact on the economic and political structures followed the same pattern of increased impact during the colonial period, and

subsequent decreased impact in the post-colonial period. These findings are summarized in the table below.

Table 1. Summary of Variables[3]

	PRE-COLONIAL	COLONIAL	POST-COLONIAL
EDUCATION AND GENDER			
Access	Unrestricted	Restricted	Unrestricted
Attainment	Unrestricted	Restricted	Almost Unrestricted
Achievement	Restricted	Restricted	Restricted
Accomplishment	Restricted	Restricted	Restricted
ECONOMICS			
Division of Labor	Yes – High	Yes – High	Yes – Medium
POLITICS			
Policies	Yes – Low	Yes – High	Yes – Medium

A few conclusions can be drawn from these findings. First, the restriction to achievement and accomplishment in education due to gender norms is persistent, which indicates that the policies addressing these areas of gender inequality in education have thus far be ineffective. Any further policy recommendations must address these areas of gender inequality through different means. Additionally, the influx of Western norms had a negative impact on education, economics, and politics. Despite this, development initiatives still draw on Western norms to improve education and other development projects. Finally, despite progress in reducing the negative impacts of gender norms in Kenya, my research indicates that gender equality is still elusive.

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[3] Table 1 is a summary table of all my variables I examine throughout the thesis. For all four measures of education and gender, I only have two summary values: unrestricted or restricted. Each value is a judgement of if gender norms restricted that measurement of education and gender. I chose to utilize only two values, as I do not want to compare if some measurements are more or less restricted. As for economics and politics, I utilize four values: no, yes – low, yes – medium, and yes – high. These values represent the impact on economics and politics by the relationship between education and gender, and quantify the magnitude of impact.

Sen argues that freedoms, such as education, are important to development for three reasons: as individual rights that carry intrinsic value, as valuable tools to achieve development goals, and as the primary final goals of development.[4] Therefore, the focus on the relationship between education and gender is important for three reasons. First, it is important to understand how gender norms restrict girls' education if we accept that education is an individual right. Next, the impact of norms on education is important if we accept that education is a primary goal of the development process. Finally, analyzing this relationship is important because if we accept that education is a useful tool for development, then we must understand how inequality in education impacts other important societal structures, such as economics and politics.

Kenya

The area of Africa that later became known as Kenya was populated as early as 2000 B.C.E. by Cushitic people from Northern Africa. The Cushitic peoples were pushed to the northern and eastern areas of Kenya when the Bantu expansion reached Kenya and settled primarily along the Kenyan coast and center of Kenya sometime around 200 C.E. The Bantu-speaking people along the coast intermingled with Arab traders and created a unique culture, the Swahili culture around 700-800 C.E. The Bantu-speaking communities in the center of Kenya formed some powerful ethnic groups, such as the Kikuyu, Embu, Meru, and Kamba.[5] Finally, hundreds of years later, the Nilotic people settled the Rift Valley area of Kenya between 1100 and 1500 C.E.

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[4] Amartya Sen, "Introduction," in *Development as Freedom*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 3-11.
[5] Charles Hornsby, *Kenya: A History Since Independence*, (London, England: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 22-3.

creating ethnic groups such as the Luo, Kalenjin, and Maasai.[6] Before colonization,

ethnic groups moved around Kenya continuously as there were no borders. However,

under colonization, British officials created external and internal borders to delimit each

ethnic group.[7] Today, the majorities of many ethnic groups are still contained within

provincial borders, as shown in figure one below. I will be referencing these ethnic

groups and their locations according to the map below throughout the paper.

Figure 1. Map of Ethnic Groups by Province
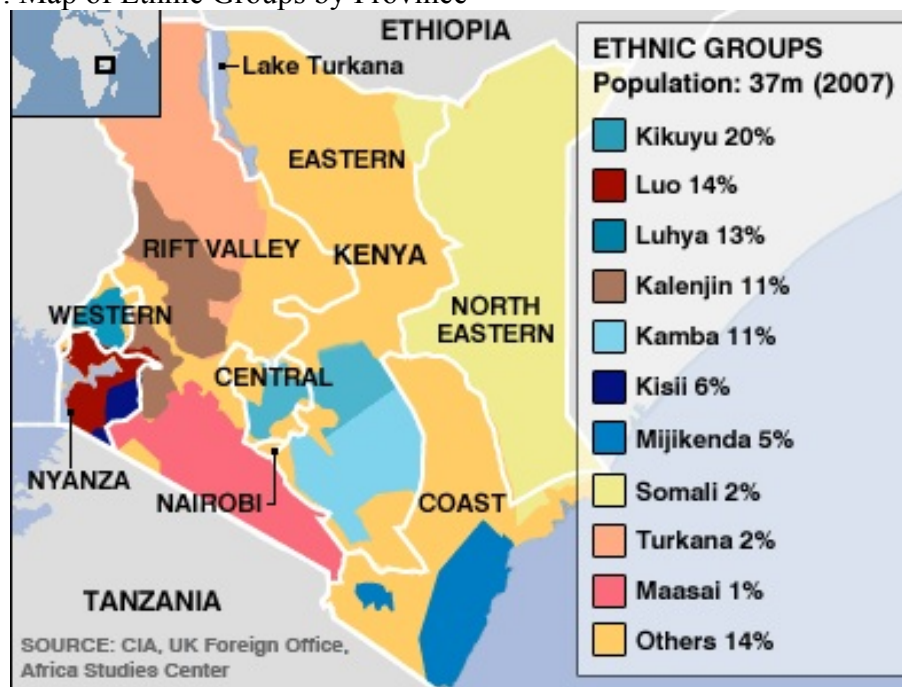
Source: CIA, UK Foreign Office, Africa Studies Center

Long before Europeans started exploring the Kenyan coast, Arab travelers have

been engaging in trade with ethnic groups in Kenya since around 700 C.E.[8] The

Portuguese were the first European explorers to reach Kenya, in the late 1400s.[9] They

took control of the coastal region from Arabs, and remained in the region until the

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[6] Ibid., 22-3.
[7] Ibid., 21
[8] Neal Sobania, *Culture and Customs of Kenya*, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2003), xvii.
[9] Ibid., xvii.

1600s when the Inam of Omam took back control of the coastal region of Kenya.[10] The first European missionary to arrive in Kenya was Dr. Johann Krapf in 1844.[11] Christian missionaries spread all over the continent throughout the 19th century and expanded European influence, culture, and ideals around Africa. However, European conquest of the continent began in earnest at the very end of the 19th century with the Berlin West Africa Conference.[12] The conference led to the "Scramble for Africa", and emboldened European powers to claim areas of Africa that they wished to "effectively occupy".[13] British occupation in Kenya began shortly after the conference in 1885, and culminated in the British declaration of Kenya as part of the British East African Protectorate in 1895.[14]

Kenya experienced a huge period of transformation under colonial rule, as different ethnic communities were combined under one formal state structure. Western economic, political, and educational institutions were introduced into Kenya, and many Kenyans adapted and resisted to the intrusion of Western structures. Kenya remained under colonial rule from 1895 until 1963, when Kenya gained independence from England. The independence period has been marked by ethnic politics, democratic and authoritarian swings, economic liberalization and development initiatives, economic

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[10] Ibid., xviii.
[11] Oliver W. Furley and Thomas Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa* (New York City, New York: NOK Publishers International Ltd, 1978), 69.
[12] Sobania, *Culture and Customs of Kenya*, xviii.
[13] The "Scramble for Africa" refers to the time-period where European colonial powers rushed to carve out areas of influence in Africa. The scramble was the result of European countries rushing to "claim" large areas of Africa in the hopes that they could utilize the areas to gain more power and influence.
[14] Ibid., 18.

booms and busts, and an imagining and reinforcement of Kenyan culture. This paper traces historical events from the pre-colonial period all the way to present day Kenya.

I focus on Kenya for a few reasons. First, Kenya is data rich, meaning that there is an ample amount of information on Kenya from multiple time periods. Access to a wealth of information is a benefit to this thesis, as I can address many of my variables with fuller details. Additionally, Kenya was a British colonial territory. Each colonial power brought different styles, culture, policies, and settlers to Africa.[15] Although Britain dominated much of East Africa, the only three parts to remain under British control for the entire colonial period were: Kenya, Uganda, and part of Somalia (Somaliland).[16] Kenya also has the most robust education system compared to other countries in East Africa, and is ranked in the medium human development category. I expect a more robust education system to have less educational inequality, which would lessen the impact of gender on education; any gender impacts on education still present are therefore persistent problems. While these reasons enhance my study on Kenya, this study can be duplicated in many countries as countries worldwide struggled with the onslaught of norm change and adaptation due to colonialism.

Theoretical Framework

The capabilities approach to development is the foundation for this thesis. The capabilities approach argues that development should be the "process of expanding the

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[15] Bob White, "Talk About School: Education and the Colonial Project in French and British Africa, (1860-1960)," *Comparative Education* 32, no. 1 (March 1996): 9-25.
[16] I decide to examine a country that remained under one colonial power for the entire colonial period because I wanted norms and societal structures to remain the same throughout the period. In future work, it would be interesting to determine if a shift in the colonial ruling power impacted the variables I analyze in this paper.

real freedoms that people enjoy".[17] These freedoms have multiple important roles within the capabilities theory. Primarily, these freedoms represent the end goal of development, such as the idea that a developed society should have a robust, fair, and quality education system. Additionally, these freedoms are also some of the more useful tools in promoting development; Sen states that "freedoms are not only the primary ends of development, they are also among its principal means".[18] Education, therefore, should also be utilized to promote development within a society. Finally, individual freedoms are important because of their intrinsic value. These three primary functions of freedoms guide the fundamental assumptions of my research; mainly that education is important, that unfreedoms in education impact other freedoms in economics and politics, and that unfreedoms in economics and politics also impact freedoms in education.

The second framework I operationalize is a constructivist perception of norms. Norms restrict the set of behaviors that are deemed appropriate for certain individuals based off their identity. Norms are pervasive to all parts of society, including the societal structures of education, economics, and politics. As norms are not static, it is important to conceptualize how norms evolve, change, and eventually deteriorate. The theoretical notion of norms is important for this paper because of the analysis on education and gender. My main claim is that gender norms influence education, which creates a unique relationship between education and gender. Throughout this paper, I demonstrate how this relationship changes over time and the impacts of that change, which is due to changing norms on gender.

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[17] Sen, "Introduction," 3-11.
[18] Ibid., 3-11.

Significance

This thesis provides a detailed look at the interaction between education, politics, and economics in Kenya throughout three different time periods. While it does not represent a holistic look at these three societal structures, the strength of this paper is that by focusing on specific links between the three structures, I am able to demonstrate different avenues through which these structures are linked. Additionally, I add to the literature on the capabilities approach as well as the impact of gender in education. I provide an in-depth historical analysis to each of these fields, which demonstrates new ways to conceptualize and study education and gender. This has real world applications because it demonstrates the historical complexities of education and gender and the insufficient response of development to this relationship. To make efficient and effective policies relating to female education, we must have a better understand of the dynamics that impact female education as well as the impacts felt by other parts of society.

Methodology

The methodology employed in this paper is historical analysis. The use of a historical analysis allows me to answer my research question: how does the relationship between education and gender interact with other societal structures, such as politics and economics, and how does that interaction change over time? Additionally, I employ historical analysis as a methodology because my data is from secondary sources rather than primary sources. Therefore, throughout this paper I operationalize this methodology by analyzing historical evidence and tracing how this data demonstrates interaction between education, gender, economics, and politics.

I chose Kenya in part because it is data rich, meaning that there is an ample amount of data for all my variables. However, the further back in time I explore, the less data I can access. Therefore, each time-period chapter will have a specific methodology based on access to data. In the pre-colonial chapter, I review historical accounts and ethnographies to piece together a foundation for this thesis. In the colonial chapter, I have more access to historical analysis and some numerical data. Finally, in the post-colonial chapter I have access to a large amount of current analysis as well as numerical data. Additionally, I create and examine a specific index, called the educational Gini, with data that I have access to from the post-colonial era. By employing historical accounts, ethnographies, historical analysis, current analysis and numerical data, I fully address how the relationship between gender and education shifts throughout time in a manner than interacts with economic and political structures in Kenya.

Chapter Outline

In chapter one, I provide a full background and literature review of the pertinent social structures under review. Additionally, I analyze the two frameworks I employ, and indicate how the assumptions and results from each framework influences my thesis. Chapters two, three, and four all follow the same general structure. First, I introduce the education system that was present during the specific time-period covered by the chapter. Next, I demonstrate the relationship between education and gender; each chapter analyzes a different relationship due to differences in the education system as well as gender norms. Additionally, each chapter concludes with a discussion of how the relationship between education and gender interacts with economics and politics.

Finally, in the conclusion I review the pertinent findings, and indicate further research

opportunities regarding education in Kenya.

Chapter 1: The Theoretical Framework

Introduction

In order to understand and quantify how gender, education, economics, and politics interacted throughout the pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial periods in Kenya, we must have a theoretical foundation that enables us to conceptualize the interactions. This chapter provides the groundwork for the rest of the thesis, by introducing the two theoretical frameworks, defining the relationship between education and gender, and providing a brief overview of relevant literature. The theoretical frameworks only provide an outline, while the way I quantify and measure variables stems primarily from the methodology section.

Frameworks

Capabilities Approach

The overarching framework is the capabilities approach in line with authors such as Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum. Sen constructs a holistic view of development in his book aptly titled *Development as Freedom*. Sen argues that development is the "process of expanding the real freedom that people enjoy" while simultaneously actively removing sources of "unfreedoms".[19] One of the freedoms that Sen defines is education, which is a social opportunity. Therefore, education is a freedom and restrictions on education or lack of education can be classified as "unfreedoms" due to the correlation between individual freedoms, such as education, and the achievement of social development. Additionally, Sen indicates that these "freedoms are not only the primary ends of development, they are also among its

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[19] Sen, "Introduction," 3-11.

principle means".[20] Applying this framework, development should promote education for three reasons. The first reason development should promote education is because it is an important goal of development. Secondly, education is an important tool within the development process. Finally, education is an individual freedom that people should enjoy simply because it is something that many people believe is important.

The capabilities approach reframes how economics measures the value of options based off the best outcome from the set of options available.[21] Instead, this approach argues that "options are freedoms, and freedom has intrinsic value".[22] The focus moves from what are the best outcomes available with a given set of options, to instead focusing on the options themselves and deciding how to expand them; essentially, this approach is about expanding freedoms through expanding options or capabilities. Nussbaum describes freedoms as "not just abilities residing inside a person but also the freedoms or opportunities created by a combination of personal abilities and the political, social, and economic environment".[23] Therefore, I argue that expanding education opportunities by decreasing educational inequalities is essential to enjoying education as a freedom that is both a goal, as well as a tool to pursue other goals such as greater economic, political, and social opportunities. The capabilities approach provides a theoretical reason for pursing this paper; I believe a detailed analysis of education is important because education is an individual freedom, a goal of development, and a tool of social development. Therefore, while I am not operationalizing the capabilities

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[20] Ibid., 3-11.
[21] Martha Nussbaum, *Creating Capabilities: The Human Development Approach*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2011), 25.
[22] Ibid., 25.
[23] Ibid., 20.

approach throughout the paper, it is necessary to understand the theory as it sets up the foundation of this paper.

Constructivist Norms

The second framework employed for this paper is constructivism, and more specifically how constructivism operationalizes norms. Norms are defined "as a standard of appropriate behavior for actors with a given identity".[24] Therefore, norms correlate highly with identity. Identity assigned to females based off their gender influences the norms associated with them as well as the behavior deemed appropriate from them. Norms not only influence appropriate behavior but also how people interact with each other, or how people come to intersubjective agreements.[25] Therefore, norms are socially determined forms of appropriate behavior for individuals based off their perceived identity.

Norms are pervasive in societal structures. In order to understand how norms are so pervasive, it is useful to examine the "norm life cycle" first proposed by Finnemore and Sikkink. The life cycle is a three stage process, including: emergence, cascade, and internalization.[26] Norm emergence indicates the proposal of new norms by norm entrepreneurs. Norm cascades, also known as norm diffusion, is the accelerated adoption of norms throughout the international community. The primary mechanism for

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[24] Kathryn Sikkink and Martha Finnemore, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 887–917.

[25] John Gerard Ruggie, "What Makes the World Hang Together? Neo-Utilitarianism and the Social Constructivist Challenge," *International Organization* 52, no. 4 (1998): 855–85.

[26] Sikkink and Finnemore, "International Norm Dynamics and Political Change," 887-917.

norm diffusion according to Finnemore and Sikkink is socialization.[27] Socialization is the pressure to observe and submit to set identities and through this process norms are internalized by individuals, which is the third and final stage of the norms life cycle.

This paper primarily utilizes norms to indicate how the female identity has a set of appropriate behaviors due to their gender identity. I posit that these specific norms influence the opportunities women have in education; often these norms generate educational inequality because they erect barriers within education, which is an unfreedom. Additionally, the process of norm change is important to this paper, as colonization interrupted many norm structures and introduced norm change that was both simultaneously accepted and rejected by different individuals and groups within Kenya.

Throughout the paper, I operationalize the constructivist norms framework. With the constructivist norms framework, I demonstrate how norm change impacts the relationship between gender and education due to a re-categorization of gender identities. Combining the framework with the methodology of historical analysis provides an overarching framework I apply to each time-period chapter. In the first chapter on the pre-colonial time-period, I create a foundation from which I can measure change to gender norms. In the next two chapters on the colonial and post-colonial time-periods, I will demonstrate how shifting gender norms leads to the re-categorization of gender identities, which in turn impacts education, economics, and politics. I will demonstrate these changes through four measures I employ to determine the relationship between education and gender; these measurements are fully introduced

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[27] Ibid., 887-917.

in the next section. I will measure access, attainment, achievement and accomplishment in education to conceptualize and quantify changes in gender norms.

Education and Gender

The main focus of my argument centers around the relationship between education and gender. My main assumption is that education for females is different than education for males, and that this inequality stems specifically because of norms relating to the female gender. I categorize this educational inequality based off gender as an unfreedom, meaning that it restricts the educational opportunities women are presented with and, therefore, their educational capabilities as well. Throughout the paper, I employ four measures to highlight the specific connection between education and gender. The four measures include: access, attainment, achievement, and accomplishment.

I utilize these measures to initiate discussion on the different impacts of gender, the different implications of measurement tools, and lastly to gather a holistic picture of female education in Kenya. These four measures have been highlighted in education policy recommendations by Odaga and Heneveld.[28] The first two markers, access and attainment, are captured using quantitative data. Access is captured through enrollment data; the assumption is that students who are not enrolled in education have some restriction to accessing education. Attainment is defined simply as the years of schooling, or the investment in education. The second two markers, achievement and accomplishment, are gathered through qualitative data. I operationalize achievement by analyzing barriers to education based off gender, and posit that these barriers deter or

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[28] Adhiambo Odaga and Ward Heneveld, "Girls and Schools in Sub-Saharan Africa: From Analysis to Action," *World Bank Publications* 298, 1995.

hamper females from gaining full achievement in education. Finally, I define

accomplishment as the possibilities females can realize once education is completed.

The four markers together represent a continuum. The first marker, access, is the easiest

in many ways both to measure and to obtain. As you progress down the continuum,

measurement and equality become harder to obtain, with achievement and

accomplishment both presenting persistent inequality

In this paper, I only focus on the relationship between gender and education.

While I acknowledge that sex and gender are separate analytical tools, creating enough

separation between the two categories is outside the ability of the information I employ

in this thesis. Sex is often employed as a biological label that differentiates between

males and females biologically. Gender, however, is a "social construction of biological

sexual differences and the attribution of particular traits, abilities, and responsibilities to

women and men, with the end result that asymmetrical power relations are built to the

disadvantage of women".[29] Therefore, sex is categorically a biological label, while

gender is a socially constructed identity that is often based on biology. Gender

inherently creates differences between individuals and is pervasive throughout society,

and is formalized in gender structures, which are "culturally constructed, historically

changing, and often an unstable system of difference".[30] These structures are

hierarchical and skewed to favor men. Unfortunately, historically sex and gender have

overlapped in manners that make separating the two terms difficult. Therefore, due to

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[29] Nelly P. Stromquist, "The Intersection of Public Policies and Gender: Understanding State Action in Education," in *The Structure and Agency of Women's Education*, ed. Mary Ann Maslak, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008), 3-30.
[30] Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Gender in History: Global Perspectives*, (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 2.

limitations in the data that I employ, I utilize the term gender and not sex in full

understanding that gender is a complex term that does not perfectly align with sex, but

does overlap with sex in almost all of the data that I employ in this thesis. Therefore, I

map the shifting nature of gender structures in Kenya through the process of

colonialism and independence and signify channels through which changes in gender

structures impacted education.

Literature

Education is a chief pillar of development. Whether the roots of development

are traced back to the internationalist era after World War II with President Truman's

Four Point Speech or to further roots of colonialism, education has always been at the

forefront of development initiatives.[31] Currently, education is championed by

organizations ranging from huge transnational giants to small non-profit grassroots

organizations. The most well-known initiative is arguably the Millennium Development

Goals, which later transformed into the Sustainable Development Goals that are part of

the United Nations program for development. These goals, along with goals put forth by

many organizations, champion education as a necessary part of development.

The way development utilizes education changes throughout time. During

colonialism, education was more clearly used as a tool to develop people; racist

ideology justified as scientific ideology viewed some humans as "more developed" than

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[31]Michael Barnett and Thomas G. Weiss, "Humanitarianism: A Brief History of the
Present," in *Humanitarianism in Question: Politics, Power, Ethics*, eds. Michael
Barnett and Thomas G. Weiss, (New York, New York: Cornell University Press, 2008),
1-48.

others.[32] Thus, during colonialism, whether one was an administrator or a missionary, education was often used as a tool to "enhance" people more so than a path to develop a nation.[33] Humanitarianism during the internationalist era after World War II took on less overtly racist tones, and championed education as a tool to develop nations and countries. However, the switch from overt racism to paternalism still denies full humanity to individuals within Kenya. I break with current uses of education in the idea of justice embedded in a human capabilities approach modeled after Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum. Education is not needed as a tool to develop people, nor is it needed to develop a society that cannot develop itself, but rather education is an opportunity that any individual should have the freedom to enjoy so that they may realize more freedoms such as political involvement, social equality, and economic opportunities.[34]

Literature concerning education as a tool of development not only covers the ideology behind why education is utilized, but also the mechanisms for how education has been utilized. Overall, there has been a shift from the focus on the short-run goals of education to a focus on the long-run goals of education. Previously, policy prioritized access to education and high attendance, or a push for quantity.[35] Once quantity rose, the issue moved on to the quality of education. Now more work reviews the quality of education, achievements in education, and accomplishments available after education

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[32] James Sweet, "The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (1997): 143-166.

[33] Ibid., 143-166.

[34] Sen, "Introduction," 3-11.

[35] Lucy Mule, "Feast of Famine for Female Education in Kenya?: A Structural Approach to Gender Equity," in *The Structure and Agency of Women's Education*, ed. Mary Ann Maslak, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008), 67-86.

has ended.[36] For example, Warrington and Kiragu denote several different theoretical

frameworks in economics that have focused on education quality, including: human

capital approaches, human rights approaches, and social justice approaches.[37]

Another trend in development literature I follow is the greater inclusion of how

other social structures such as culture impact education. The type of education has

historically been heavily influenced by culture, whether it be indigenous education in

pre-colonial Kenya or the education system imposed by colonialist that was heavily

influenced by Western culture. Academics have been looking at different avenues

through which culture still impacts education today, such as teacher behaviors and

curriculum.[38]

Gender and Education

In addition to culture, education is impacted by gender specifically. To unpack

how gender is constructed and reinforced through school, it is critical to first understand

how school is a gendered institution. Dunne, Humphreys, and Leach demonstrate the

importance of schools as sites of gender identity construction when they state, "schools

are key sites where the global and local converge and through which global and local

social relations are reproduced and transformed".[39] Construction and reproduction of

gender identities, both male and female, implies active participation in understanding

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[36] Ibid., 67-86.

[37] Molly Warrington and Susan Kiragu, "'It Makes More Sense to Educate a Boy': Girls 'Against the Odds' in Kajiado, Kenya," *International Journal of Educational Development* 32, (2012): 301-309.

[38] Stromquist, "The Intersection of Public Policies and Gender: Understanding State Action in Education," 3-30; Máiréad Dunne, "Schools and Gendered Identities," 2007, 26-29.

[39] Máiréad Dunne, Sara Humphreys and Fiona Leach, "Gender Violence in Schools in the Developing World," *Gender and Education* 18, no. 1 (2006): 75-98.

and reproducing gender values and norms by students. As Dunne, Humphreys, and Leach state, "gender identities are performed over time through individual and collective acts of accommodation and resistance, rather than given or passively accomplished".[40] Although, it is unclear how much power pupils have over resistance to gender identities; Bence-Wilkins, who performed a case study of primary education in Kenya, posits that "pupils lacked opportunities to question concepts of gender that they are confronted with in class and therefore may have been more inclined to internalize them".[41] Regardless of how must students choose resistance versus accommodation, both genders still grapple with gender identities and values in school.

I utilize three categories to demonstrate the broad range of studies on the gendered experience of education; although this is by no means a comprehensive list of all the scholarship available, it provides a good understanding of how to unpack the gendered experience of education. The work can be categorized as following: socio-cultural and social-economic factors, formal mechanisms in the education system, and informal mechanisms in the education system. The first category includes mechanisms that impact the gendered experience of school that come from outside of the education system. The second and third category are both concerned with mechanisms that impact the gendered school experience from inside the education system.

The first category, socio-economic status, is impacted by realities such as: household economic status, household social status, gendered labor demands, direct and

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[40] Ibid., 75-98.
[41] Lucy Bence-Wilkins, "Reproducing Inequalities: How Schools in Kenya Shape Gendered Power Relations Among Adolescent Pupils," in *Journal of the University of East London Undergraduate Conference*, (London: University of East London, 2011), 50-59.

indirect costs of education, norms such as early marriage, norms about women's roles as wives and mothers, employment opportunities, distance to school, gender violence, and health products.[42] Socio-economic status often impacts girls in different manners than boys, as male education is preferred; therefore, if the family cannot avoid the direct costs such as fees, uniforms, and books or the indirect costs such as loss of labor in household chores, for multiple children, often girls are held back from obtaining more education.[43] Norms also dictate gender inequality in education in Kenya through high value placed by some families on the role of women as wives and mothers. When reproductive rather than productive roles are preferred and advanced for girls and women, education becomes a tool to create suitable wives not productive laborers.[44] This disadvantages higher education through the preference for earlier marriage as well as through the idea that mothers do not need higher levels of education, which creates different opportunities costs of education for boys and girls.[45] Finally, some factors such

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[42] For example Odaga and Heneveld, "Girls and Schools in Sub-Saharan Africa: From Analysis to Action"; Sara Humphreys, Chi-Chi Undie and Máiréad Dunne, "Gender, Sexuality and Development: Key Issues in Education and Society in Sub-Saharan Africa," in *Gender, Sexuality and Development: Education and Society in Sub-Saharan Africa*, ed. Máiréad Dunne, (Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers, 2008), 7-38.

[43] Warrington and Kiragu, "'It Makes More Sense to Educate a Boy': Girls 'Against the Odds' in Kajiado, Kenya," 301-309; Fatuma Chege and Daniel Sifuna, *Girls' and Women's Education in Kenya: Gender Perspectives and Trends*, (Nairobi: UNESCO, 2006), 19; and Lizzi Milligan, "'They Are Not Serious Like the Boys': Gender Norms and Contradictions for Girls in Rural Kenya," *Gender and Education* 26, no. 5 (2014): 465-476.

[44] Naila Kabeer, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: A Critical Analysis of the Third Millennium Development Goal 1," *Gender and Development* 13, no. 1 (2005): 13-24.

[45] Warrington and Kiragu, "'It Makes More Sense to Educate a Boy': Girls 'Against the Odds' in Kajiado, Kenya," 301-309; Chege and Sifuna, *Girls' and Women's Education in Kenya: Gender Perspectives and Trends*, 40; and Milligan, "'They Are Not Serious Like the Boys': Gender Norms and Contradictions for Girls in Rural Kenya," 465-476.

as distance to school and gender violence also create gender inequality in education. If schools are too great of a distance from the household, both genders might not be able to walk the distance, but girls especially must be wary of gender violence when forced to walk long distances away from home.[46] Also, lack of access to necessary sanitary products such as pads exclude girls from going to school monthly once they reach maturity.[47] All of these realities erect barriers to education that are specifically tied to gender; the combination of any of these barriers disadvantage girls when compared to boys from fully accessing education and obtaining high achievement in education.

The second category is the formal mechanisms present in the education system. By formal mechanisms, I am referring to some of the attributes of the education structure including: curriculum, textbooks, course recommendations, and other aspects of education that gender ideology can be advanced through. Both visual and "hidden curriculum" often are male-dominated or male-oriented, and "persistently signal to the girls that they have little or no business in school".[48] The term "hidden curriculum" usually also covers some of the informal mechanisms of education, such as teacher's attitudes, teacher and student interactions, peer to peer interactions, teacher's values, and assignment of school duties.[49] Imbalanced gender ideals in curriculum and textbooks include issues such as negative gender stereotypes, reinforcing gender

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[46] Warrington and Kiragu, "'It Makes More Sense to Educate a Boy': Girls 'Against the Odds' in Kajiado, Kenya," 301-309.

[47] Ibid., 301-309.

[48] Chege and Sifuna, *Girls' and Women's Education in Kenya: Gender Perspectives and Trends*, 46.

[49] Shirley Miske and Diana VanBelle-Prouty, "Schools Are for Girls Too: Creating an Environment of Validation," *Health and Human Resources Analysis for Africa Project*, Technical paper no. 41, 1997, 1-25.

divisions such as the sexual division of labor, and gender differences based on subject.[50] Gender stereotyping promotes certain imaginings of girls as passive and timid, which is often reinforced by classroom dynamics.[51]

Gender stereotypes that are found in curriculum are also present in what courses are recommended and accessible based off gender. There are career paths that are deemed more appropriate for women due to the connection with motherhood and feminine values; for example, more 'caring' professions such as nursing or teaching are feminized due to women's connection with reproductive activities above productive activities.[52] In Kenya specifically, girls' own perceptions as well as guidance by teachers often steers girls away from science and mathematics due to gender biases.[53] As Chege and Sifuna argue, "studies have shown that teachers tend to carry the societal expectations of girls into the school, and therefore, treat boys differently from girls", which is another example of how socio-cultural expectations and formal mechanisms in education intersect with gender stereotypes.[54]

The final category of study for gender in education is the informal mechanisms of the education system. This category relates closely to norms and values, and demonstrates how they work through mechanisms in the education system such as

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[50] Kabeer, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: A Critical Analysis of the Third Millennium Development Goal 1," 13-24; Máiréad Dunne, Fiona Leach, Bagele Chilisa, Tapologo Maundeni, Richard Tabulawa, Nick Kutor, Londa Dzama Forde and Alex Asamoah, *Gendered School Experiences: The Impact on Retention and Achievement in Botswana and Ghana*, (London: Department for International Development, 2005), 50.
[51] Kabeer, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: A Critical Analysis of the Third Millennium Development Goal 1," 13-24.
[52] Ibid., 13-24.
[53] Chege and Sifuna, *Girls' and Women's Education in Kenya: Gender Perspectives and Trends*, 46.
[54] Ibid., 61.

teacher expectations and relations, the gendering of physical and verbal space in the classroom, and gender and sexual violence at school. As mentioned above, teacher expectations impact the implementation of curriculum, course recommendations, and generally the figurative space each gender has to realize their own potential in education. As Kabeer notes, generally teachers "tend to be dismissive and discouraging towards girls and to give more classroom time to boys, who are usually more demanding".[55] Teachers' expectations and values are constructed through their social environment and, therefore, are heavily influenced by their social reality, personal experience, and personal characteristics. Teachers are not monolithic and, therefore, each classroom presents a unique space where gender biases or lack thereof interact with other social constructions.

One of the more insightful themes of study of informal mechanisms in education is a critical analysis on physical and verbal space within the classroom. In an in-depth study on gendered experiences in school in Botswana and Ghana, Dunne et. al. poignantly introduce the idea of gendered space in the classroom. The authors posit that for the schools under their study, "the implicit and explicit organising principle of the school day was one of gender".[56] The authors demonstrate that physical space was often divided, and that males commanded more of the space; girls instead took up small amounts of space in groups along the periphery. The authors further their argument by examining verbal space, which was conducted similarly to physical space with boys dominating the space. The authors indicate that "by demanding attention aggressively,

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[55] Kabeer, "Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: A Critical Analysis of the Third Millennium Development Goal 1," 13-24.
[56] Dunne et. al., *Gendered School Experiences: The Impact on Retention and Achievement in Botswana and Ghana*, 47.

the boys discouraged girls from participating in lessons", which led to the "predominant response by the girls … to avoid participation or engagement in the public space of the classroom".[57] Just as gender biases in curriculum imagined girls as passive and timid, those ideas were reinforced by the use and of space in the classroom.

Lastly, gender violence constitutes a large portion of studies on the informal mechanisms that influence gender in education. Attention is focused on both gender violence outside of school as well as gender violence within school. The Commonwealth Secretariat's definition of gender-based violence (GBV) states that "GBV involves a violation of human rights that results in all forms of violence based on gender relations".[58] Dunne, Humphreys and Leach employ this definition to highlight cases of what they categorize as implicit gender violence, practices in school that promote a gender hierarchy and separation, as well as explicit gender violence, which is more sexual in nature. Under gender violence, the authors include corporal punishment, physical violence, and verbal and psychological abuse enacted by both students and teachers against both boys and girls; boys are not exempt from gender violence, rather that they received different forms of it based off their perceived maleness. Their category of explicit gender violence includes: sexual abuse, sexual harassment, sexual assault, sexual aggression, sexual coercion, and generally sexual violence.

Gender and the Economy

The last avenue of research that is important to this thesis is the relationship between gender inequality in education and economic outcomes; the assumption that

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[57] Ibid., 49.
[58] Commonwealth Secretariat quoted by Dunne, Humphreys and Leach, "Gender Violence in Schools in the Developing World," 75-98.

greater gender inequality in education causes worse economic outcomes for both the country and for individual women will be referenced in each time-period chapter. There are several reasons why researchers believe that the unique experience of female education is important for the economy. As surmised by Stephan Klasen and Francesca Lamanna, the three main avenues that female education impacts the economy are human capital, positive externalities, and international competitiveness.[59] The argument for human capital states that greater and equal education increases human capital available in a society, which increases economic growth through greater employment of workers with higher human capital. However, inequality in education, such as those based off gender, hampers human capital growth and, therefore, negatively impacts economic growth. This argument analyzes the direct impact of education on economic growth, whereas the second avenue, positive externalities, demonstrates the indirect impact of education on economy growth. Greater education of females has been proven to create multiple positive externalities that increase economic growth, including: greater education for subsequent generations as well as greater health outcomes such as reduced child mortality rates and reduced fertilities rates.[60] Finally, greater education for women increases international competitiveness by widening the pool of skilled workers. The example proposed in Klasen and Lamanna is of exponential economic growth in East Asian countries due to the women-intensive export-driven manufacturing industries.[61] The overview by Klasen and Lamanna on the impact of

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[59] Stephan Klasen and Francesca Lamanna, "The Impact of Gender Inequality in Education and Employment on Economic Growth: New Evidence for a Panel of Countries," *Feminist Economics* 15, no. 3 (2009): 91-132.
[60] Ibid., 91-132.
[61] Ibid., 91-132.

female education on the economy is brief, but provides a good basis to conceptualize how female education has both direct and indirect impacts on the economy.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I discussed the theoretical frameworks I utilize, the relationship between education and females at the heart of my argument, and the literature that contributes to this thesis. The two theories I employ in this paper – capabilities and norms – create a structure for this paper that provides certain assumptions and goals that drives the direction of my argument. I focus on education because I believe it is a critical freedom that is essential to development, both as an individual right and as a goal and tool of social development. I argue from a feminist vein that norms subordinate females to males, and that these create educational inequalities. Finally, I recognize the constructed nature of norms, and analyze the forces of change behind norms and denote how those changes impact societal structures.

Additionally, I situate this thesis within the literature on education. I believe I provide a fresh look at some of the complex issues within the literature. The next three chapters follow the same structure. Within each chapter, I reflect on the societal structures of that time-period, including: education, economics, and politics. Additionally, within each chapter I redefine the relationship between education and gender to reflect changes to the relationship, which ultimately impact the other three societal structures. I only focus on how norms impact economics and politics through education and vice versa; although I recognize that norms impact economics and politics outside of the connections I define, that is not be the focus of this thesis.

Chapter 2: The Pre-Colonial Period

Introduction

The history of Africa is a history of African people. Therefore, to understand the history of modern Kenya, we must understand how Kenyans have shaped and influenced their own history. One of the primary avenues through which people are shaped is education. Kenyan education has been influenced by multiple actors throughout history, although the scope of this thesis only focuses on the impacts on education from Kenyan influences and European influences.[62] While Europeans brought a multitude of formal education institutions to Kenya, Kenyans were partaking in formal and informal education long before Europeans came to their shores. In order to fulfill my research question and argument for this thesis, it is necessary to describe the foundation of gender norms, education, economics and politics in pre-colonial Kenya so that we can assess changes to these norms and structures in the following periods.

The first missionary school was built in 1844 in Kenya by the Church Missionary Society, which marks the introduction of the European model of schooling.[63] Although there were other formal educational institutes present before the CMS school in 1844, the schools, such as the Islamic education schools, only had a large impact on the coastal region of Kenya. Additionally, although missionary education was introduced in the pre-colonial era, mission schools were contained mostly to the Kenyan coast until colonialism and, therefore, the shift in gender

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[62] There was a large Arab influence on education in the coastal region prior to European formal education. Unfortunately, the influence of Arab education institutions largely remain out of the scope of this thesis and, therefore, while I recognize that there was Arab influence on education I do not analyze that specific influence in this paper.
[63] Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 69.

dynamics did not impact the relationship between education and gender until the colonial era. Therefore, while missionary schools were present in Kenya since 1844, I will not review the impact of missionary education until the next chapter as the relationship between education and gender did not fully shift until the colonial era.

Before I dive into the pre-colonial era in Kenya, there are two important ideas that must be highlighted. First, this chapter is primarily important because it lays a foundation for the rest of this thesis. As I indicated prior, I trace the changes to education, gender norms, economics, and politics throughout time in Kenya. Therefore, it is important to start off with a strong foundation. This chapter creates the strong foundation from where the rest of my argument grows; therefore, while this chapter can only provide broad generalizations, I believe it is necessary to start in the pre-colonial period so I can create a fuller picture of how education, gender, economics, and politics change. Additionally, I should note that based off complexities and data limitations, this chapter can only posit broad generalizations. Each ethnic community had a different education system, gender norms, and economic and political institutions. Therefore, this chapter is only able to draw broad themes about the area that will become Kenya. I highlight specific examples of differences between communities throughout the chapter, but the sections on economics and politics are confined to broad generalizations.

Education

Education is foundational to human culture. Knowledge is passed from mother to daughter, father to son, and generation to generation. Communities throughout time have cultivated and preserved knowledge for the growth and prosperity of the community and community members. Education at a base level is receiving knowledge.

Therefore, the story of people is also a story of education. In this broad sense, communities in Kenya oversaw education of their members long before Westerners introduced a more formalized education system.

First, however, it is beneficial to describe what I mean by indigenous education. As stated by Furley and Watson in the opening line of their book on historical education in East Africa, "long before the coming of Arabs and Europeans to East Africa the African peoples had developed their own systems of *education* [emphasis added]".[64] While this education is very different than formal educational institutions that covered East Africa in later years, I argue that this system of informal education is still best defined as education, in line with other scholars of historical education. Primarily, this categorization is important because it recognizes that there were many systems or institutions in place for informal education; by recognizing the formal structures that underlined informal education, I can argue that Africans engaged in a type of education, not just socialization of their family and community.[65] Socialization, however, is one of the most important aspects of indigenous education, and socialization as a part of education continues within families and communities today alongside formal education. Although indigenous education does not cleanly fit into a Western definition of education, I posit that it is important to broaden our definitions beyond Western ideals and recognize indigenous education as a type of education. In line with broadening our conceptualization of education, I argue that indigenous education is informal education and not formal education, as it inhabits a different educational structure than later

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[64] Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 3.
[65] Education is a means of socialization, but ultimately it is more than just socialization or induction into a culture because of the formal structures (such as levels of education for the Kikuyu and Meru) in place in indigenous education.

models of education inhabit. Additionally, as Bogonko indicates, there were forms of

formal education in Kenya, but overall, they were not as important as the informal

education system.[66] Indigenous education has not stopped since the pre-colonial period,

but rather continues alongside modern systems of formal education today. Although I

analyze changes to education overtime in Kenya, there is a clear distinction between

indigenous education and Western formal education introduced later. Despite

indigenous education continuing after the introduction of Western formal education, I

will only analyze the latter as it becomes the dominant system of education.

At its most basic, indigenous education in Kenya is the passing on of knowledge

from one generation to the other for the specific purpose of preparing individuals for

roles within the community. Education was the responsibility of first and foremost the

family, and then of the community at large. Unlike formalized education, each

individual was instructed to fulfill a unique role in the community and the family.

Education was considered a life-long process, with the explicit intent to create socially-

centered, responsible members of the community. Babs Fafunwa indicates that

indigenous education taught "social responsibility, political participation, work

orientation, morality and spiritual values".[67] Indigenous education focused on cultural

reproduction.

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[66] Sorobea Bogonko, *A History of Modern Education in Kenya (1895-1991),* (Nairobi: Evans Brothers Ltd, 1992), 5. Bogonko recognizes that there were types of formal education in pre-colonial Kenya, such as apprenticeship for trades or initiation ceremonies. However, he concludes that most education was informal, which is also why I focus on the informal aspects of indigenous education.
[67] Fafunwa cited by David Woolman, "Educational Reconstruction and Post-Colonial Curriculum Development: A Comparative Study of Four African Countries," *International Education Journal* 2, no. 5 (2001): 27-46.

In order to conceptualize important themes from the multitude of indigenous education systems present in Kenya in the pre-colonial era, I utilize five principles to highlight some commonality in the ethnic, indigenous education systems: preparationism, functionalism, communalism, perennialism and wholisticism.[68] Each principle was driven by community-based needs and philosophies, that resulted in a comprehensive and lasting form of education. Preparationism prioritized preparation of individuals for their specific roles within their family, community, and ethnic group. Therefore, education driven by preparationism molds individuals for a specific purpose, rather than expanding their abilities to broaden the roles they choose from later in life. Each family molded their children for roles within their own communities, based on the pre-existing physical environment, community needs, and spiritual setting.[69] Furthermore, education that prioritizes preparationism necessitates different education for males and females. Males and females had different roles in their community and, therefore, girls and boys had different educations to fulfill those roles.

Examples of preparationism can be found in Luo education. Many children learned the roles they must take up in the future through play, which was seen as a valuable form of experience. Furley and Watson provide an example from the Luo, in which girls learn future roles through play:

> On being introduce to play activities, a girl-child might begin with the grinding of the soil, which is done over a small flat area of cleared ground. Later, the grinding is done on a flattish stone, a leaf being placed to receive the supposed

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[68] Ocitti cited by Michael Adeyemi and Augustus Adeyinka, "The Principles and Content of African Traditional Education," *Education Philosophy and Theory* 35, no. 4 (2003): 425-440.
[69] Ibid., 425-440.

flour. There is an imitation of the mothers or sisters when they are grinding corn.[70]

Through work and play, children were shaped by their family and community to fulfill specific roles. A striking example of how children move through roles in their community based off their gender comes from the Kikuyu. Furley and Watson provide a chart of the different levels all boys must pass through in their education, as well as provide some of the classification names for girls.

Table 2. Kikuyu Levels of Education

Kikuyu System of Education (Boys)			
Age in Years	*Status Group*	*Kikuyu Name*	*Sign*
1-3	Infant	Rukenge	
4-5	Child	Mwana	
6-12	Boy	Kahii	Piercing the lobe of the ears
13-17	Uncircumcised (Adolescents)	Kihii	Piercing the outer edge of the ears
18-20	Newly circumcised warrior	Muume	Circumcision
	Warrior married with child	Mwanake Muthuri wa mucii	
	Elders (junior)	Kamatimu	
	Elders (senior)	Kiama kia maturanguru	

Source: Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 10

For the girls, the Kikuyu name they received for each level were: Rukenge, Mwana, Karigu, Muumo, and Muhiki.[71] Within Kenya, many ethnic groups had traits of preparationism within their education, meaning that each child had a specific role within their family and community even at a very young age. As the children grew, they continued to learn both through the roles they had as well as of the roles that they were expected to take in the future.

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[70] Ominde quoted by Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 6.

[71] Ibid., 10.

The next major principle that drove indigenous education throughout Africa is functionalism. Functionalism necessitated that indigenous education should be useful and practical. Consequently, indigenous education involved a plethora of participatory lessons ranging from community involvement, important ceremonies and initiations, to working within the family. Learning was considered a life-long process meant to create individuals that were both involved within the community as well as individuals that gave back to the community.

Kenya has multiple examples of functionalism in education. First, the depiction of the Luo girls given above, who use play to engage in participatory lessons from a young age provides a good example of functionalism because it indicates that play, a form of informal education, was a practical representation of future occupations. Additionally, many lessons in indigenous education centered on the natural environment of each specific community and how best to survive off the land where they lived. For example, Sifuna states that "education grew out of the immediate environment, real or imaginary. From the physical environment children had to learn about weather, landscape and animal and insect life."[72] These lessons were vital to life within the community, and taught young children the practical lessons for how to survive and thrive within their communities.

Similarly, another major principle that guided African indigenous education was communalism. Instead of individual competition that drives Western formal education,

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[72] Daniel Sifuna, *Development of Education in Africa: The Kenyan Experience*, (Nairobi: Initiatives Publishers, 1990), 5.

indigenous education espoused the idea of "cooperative communalism".[73] This principle

mandated that the education of each individual was ultimately the responsibility of the

community. Similarly, many participatory lessons involved community-wide activities.

Just as the principle of communalism ties closely with functionalism, the principle is

also closely related to preparationism. Individuals were molded to fulfill a specific role

within the community, which helped maintain a vibrant, functioning community.

The community was more important than the individual in many ethnic groups

in Kenya. For example, Mbiti, an anthropologist in Kenya, denoted the importance of

communalism for the Kamba, "He is not conceived as an individual but primarily as a

corporate member of the community. This community stretches out to embrace the

whole of humanity. Kinship also extends vertically to link up the living and the

departed into one community".[74] Unlike Western education, which elevates the role of

the individual, many forms of indigenous education around Kenya highlighted the

importance of the community and the role that the individual played within a

community.

The fourth principle that guided indigenous education was perennialism, which

worked to maintain the culture, traditions, and teachings of each community.

Perennialism was the main avenue for preserving and reproducing each community's

and ethnic group's culture. This does not imply stagnation, as communities throughout

Africa grew and flourished over time, but instead implies preservation above all.

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[73] Woolman, "Educational Reconstruction and Post-Colonial Curriculum Development: A Comparative Study of Four African Countries," 27-46.
[74] Mbiti quoted by Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 8.

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Indigenous education worked to enshrine culture in each member of the community, which preserved oral histories, traditions, ceremonies, and other cultural productions.

For many ethnic groups in Kenya, the main form of perennialism came through storytelling. Stories could be educational, such as the Kikuyu story of the Moon and the Sun, which told children why the moon shines at night and the sun by day.[75] The Embu had an educational story that told why moles feared the sun, to explain why moles lived underground.[76] Other stories were used to pass on heritage and enshrine culture. One such story comes from the Nandi, who told stories of how the Maasai were first repulsed by the Nandi, which helped to boost morale and pass on histories.[77] The Luo also had stories of military victories and conquests, which passed on history and heritage from generation to generation. One story states:

> Eee, the Omwa Walangal underestimated the strength of the Padhola,
> They had annihilated the people of Kiyiyi.
> The Omwa also underestimated the size of the Oruwa clan,
> Mistaking the first arrivals for the whole clan;
> But when we all arrived we defeated them and drove them away.[78]

These stories are important to indigenous education as many of the stories were both educational and also worked to preserve the histories, traditions, and culture of each ethnic group. The stories, and even dances, built up African literacy, which was present before Europeans.

Finally, the last principle that guided indigenous education is wholisticism. This principle prioritizes learning multiple skills rather than placing an emphasize on specialization. This gave individuals the ability to work multiple, related occupations to

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[75] Ibid., 19.
[76] Ibid., 19.
[77] Ibid., 19.
[78] Ogot quoted by Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 22.

fulfill their role in the community. The example Adeyemi and Adeyinka give is of a fisherman who is trained in fishing, as well as in making nets, making boats, and selling fish.[79] Instead of divvying out each specific job to multiple members of the community, each member received a holistic education suited to their own role within the community.

The five guiding principles created one overarching purpose for education: transmitting the culture of the community from one generation to another to uphold the societal structures that organized community life. This is where indigenous education differs starkly from a more formal, Western education that was introduced later in Kenya. Education under colonialism worked to subvert Africans and African culture. With indigenous education, the community can be likened to a puzzle. Each individual, or puzzle piece, was molded for a specific purpose, but also to complete the puzzle and make it whole.

Education and Gender

Under indigenous education, the relationship between education and gender was defined mostly by separation. As in each chapter, I come to this conclusion through analyzing access, attainment, achievement, and accomplishment. As explained earlier, indigenous education was different for males and females because of preparationism, functionalism, and perennialism, which led to separation in education. Preparationism necessitated that each individual be educated on a specific role in the community. Males and females had different roles both within the household and the community and, therefore, were educated on how to fulfill those roles. Similarly, functionalism required

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[79] Adeyemi and Adeyinka, "The Principles and Content of African Traditional Education," 425-440.

that individuals were taught useful and practical skills, which tied closely with the roles that there were to take on in the future. Finally, the principle of perennialism also compelled education to be gender-based. Males and females had different cultural rituals and obligations, like coming of age rituals that differed for boys and girls. Since cultural preservation was important to indigenous education, girls and boys learned different avenues and aspects of culture and how they could uphold culture in the future.

Within indigenous education, males and females had equal access to education, as education was required for individuals to be part of their community. Additionally, males and females received attainment at similar levels. For example, the Kikuyu had different levels that both males and females completed to transition into adulthood. Therefore, while males and females had different levels based off their gender, they received the same amount of education, which is how I define attainment. Achievement and accomplishment can be measured similarly to attainment; males and females received separate educations, but largely gained the same amount of attainment, achievement, and accomplishment. This is why the defining characteristic of the relationship between education and gender for indigenous education is separation; indigenous education was separate for males and females in a way that is not present in later models of education. However, gender norms also impacted indigenous education by creating forms of gender inequality in ways other than education separation. Unfortunately, since gender norms varied from community to community, it is difficult to fully measure how gender impacted indigenous education outside of educational separation.

Economic Interaction

The Economy

The relationship between education and gender shaped the economy profoundly in pre-colonial Kenya. First, it is important to explain what I am referring to when I review the economy. Each ethnic group operated in their own economy, which was often linked to other ethnic economies through trade. Before Kenya was colonized and turned into a modern state, the multiple economies within the borders of modern Kenya can be best described as a "web of subsistence economies".[80] Each ethnic group had their own specific economic structure and functionings. The Kikuyu mainly participated in agriculture and livestock.[81] The Kamba were ivory hunters and often the intermediaries between different trades.[82] Other ethnic groups had multiple sub-communities that were involved in different things, such as the Kalenjin who had groups that were farmers, such as the Kipsigis and the Nandi, as well as groups that were pastoralists, such as the Tagen and the Pokot.[83] Finally, other ethnic communities were known for their orientation towards military endeavors, such as the Maasai, who also engaged in cattle herding.[84] Therefore, while there was no dominant economy in Kenya, many economies had similar traits, such as being predominately agriculture based or pastoralists, were connected through trade and marriage, and were all subsistence economies.

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[80] John Lonsdale and Bruce Berman, "Coping with the Contradictions: The Development of the Colonial State in Kenya, 1895-1914," *Journal of African History* 20, (1979): 487-505.
[81] Hornsby, *Kenya: A History Since Independence*, 23.
[82] Ibid., 23.
[83] Ibid., 23.
[84] Ibid., 23.

Even before formal colonization, Europeans dominated trade in commodities as well as people. For example, in the 19th century the main commodity traded with Europeans that impacted East Africa was ivory. In fact, for many years that ivory trade with Europe led to a mass of profits for those involved. However, ivory is a natural resource that can be depleted. Ironically even though the trade resulted in positive economic outcomes throughout most of the 19th century, by the end of the century ivory was vastly depleted and the economy was in shambles.[85] The economic outcomes varied greatly depending on the ethnic group, community, and area of Kenya. Additionally, East Africa was heavily impacted by the slave trade, both through the Atlantic as well as the Arab slave trade. In an economic sense, this both disrupted economies as well as provided greater economic opportunities and wealth for other economies. Communities that engaged in the slave trade by providing traders with humans, gained economic opportunities and wealth. Conversely, the loss of individuals to communities resulted in negative economic outcomes. Either through commodities or people, outside forces exerted pressure on the subsistent economies within Kenya long before colonization.

While there was no single economy in Kenya in the pre-colonial period, there are a few common themes that are generalizable about the economies present in pre-colonial Kenya. First, there was a system of economies, more specifically a web of economies that were generally subsistence economies. Additionally, many economies could be classified as either pastoral economies, agriculture economies, or some

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[85] Steven Feierman, "A Century of Ironies in East Africa (c.1780-1890)," in *African History: From Earliest Times to Independence*, eds. Philip Curtin, Steven Feierman, Leonard Thompson, and Jan Vansina, (Harlow, England: Pearson Education Limited, 1995), 352-376.

mixture of those economies. Finally, many Kenyan economies were connected to other areas of the world through trade, whether it was coastal trade with Arab traders, the ivory trade with European powers, or the slave trade with both Arab and Western powers.

Economic Measure

The measurement for how education and gender impact the economy is the sexual division of labor. Differences based off gender colored education for children as young as three years old, when children begin developing ideas of their future through play.[86] These forms of education that are shaped by gender ultimately guide all knowledge of the economy as well as future economic undertakings. As Bogonko indicates, each child must learn about their own future occupation at a young age, boys for example have "to learn about the weather and climate of his habitat as all this governed the nature of economic undertakings, for instance, agriculture, hunting, gathering, pastoralism, and fishing which was the mainstay of his locality".[87] The same was true of women. The economy shaped how education differed based off gender, but gender-based education also fed back into the economy by producing men and women with distinct skills and occupational aspirations.

Taking the sexual division of labor into consideration sets a good baseline for how the relationship between education and gender interacted with the economy in Kenya before colonization. However, this measurement can only give an overarching generalization about the Kenyan economy, as it was not governed as a whole economy pre-colonialization, but rather consisted of small and vastly different economies of each

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[86] Bogonko, *A History of Modern Education in Kenya (1895-1991)*, 3.
[87] Ibid., 2.

community and ethnic groups. Despite the measurement only leading to generalizations, it is still informative. The measurements paint a picture of an economy where the relationship between education and gender directly influences the occupations of women in the workforce.

Political Interaction

Political Structure

Just as there was no overarching economic institutions in Kenya in the pre-colonial era, there was not one political structure in Kenya before colonization but rather multiple, various political institutions. For example, Robert Tignor defines the political system of the Kikuyu, Kamba, and Maasai as "politically acephalous" meaning that these communities did not have heads of their political institutions.[88] Other communities were led by chiefs or elders as the head of their political system.[89] Additionally, communities differed based off other factors, such as lineage. Some societies in Kenya were better categorized as patrilineal societies, while other were more matrilineal. Therefore, just as the economic section could only draw generalizations about the impact of the relationship between education and gender on the economy, this section is also only able to confirm generalizations because the political systems for each community in Kenya varied.

Political Measure

I examine one measurement of politics for each era to determine how education and gender impacts, or is impacted by, politics. The measurement is the role of

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[88] Robert Tignor, *Colonial Transformation of Kenya: The Kamba, Kikuyu, and Maasai from 1900-1939*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 3.
[89] Bogonko, *A History of Modern Education in Kenya (1895-1991)*, 6-10.

education in political policies. While they are no clear political laws and decrees that applied to the whole of Kenya in the pre-colonial era, we can piece together an overarching political policy from the actions of leaders. The clearest manner through which community leaders endorsed education was through the formal mechanisms of education: the ceremonies and initiation rituals. For many communities, attendance was mandatory.[90] These ceremonies commemorated the passage from childhood into adulthood and, therefore, the end of indigenous education.[91] Therefore, these ceremonies were the pinnacle of indigenous education, and were presided over and informed by the leaders of each community. These educational "policies" incorporated gender differences, but the result was largely separation.

Despite what European colonizers assumed when confronting Kenyan culture, Kenya had a political system in place based around community leaders, such as chiefs, as well as a system of laws. This system provided the foundation of political institutions in Kenya, but as time progresses through colonialization and post-colonization the political system changed. The measurement of politics was build off this foundation, and demonstrates how politics interacted with the relationship between education and gender. Educational "policies" were separate based off gender, which indicate that the relationship between education and gender influenced the political institutions in pre-colonial Kenya in a way that limited female participation and separated them from males.

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[90] Ibid., 5.
[91] Ibid., 5.

Conclusion

Although each ethnic community had their own unique societal structures, we can still piece together a picture of an overarching Kenyan society before British colonial conquest. One of the critical responsibilities of this paper is to demonstrate how changes to the relationship between education and gender influenced other societal structures, but to demonstrate change it must start with a strong foundation. This chapter laid out the foundation for the societal structures under review in this paper, and following chapters examine with more detail how changes occurred and how those changes impacted Kenyan society.

In review, the relationship between education and gender in the pre-colonial era established a system that wove distinctions based on gender into education, and then furthermore into the economy and politics. Education was a pillar of traditional Kenyan society, played a prominent role in cultural reproduction, and was a huge determinant of future economic and political roles. The relationship between education and gender laid the foundation for economic and political societal structures, as seen by the two measures: the sexual division of labor and the role of education in political policies. In summary, the relationship was primarily defined by the separation created between males and females. However, females also experienced forms of subordination. As mentioned earlier, the relationship between education and gender shifted during the introduction of missionary education in Kenya. Although missionaries were present in the pre-colonial period, the changing relationship between education and gender did not have a significant impact on other societal institutions until the colonial period.

Chapter 3: The Colonial Period

Introduction

This chapter examines the changes to societal structures during the colonial period. British rule over Kenya started in 1885 with a royal charter to the Imperial British East Africa Company, or IBEAC.[92] However, the colonial period really took off when in 1895 the British took full control of Kenya as part of the East African Protectorate.[93] As discussed in the chapter before, European influence was not new in the late 1880s, but rather solidified under colonial rule. Kenyans had been interacting with Europeans since the first Portuguese explores, through the Atlantic slave trade to the ivory trade, with missionaries and missionary education, right up to the solidification of colonial rule.

Colonialism brought massive change to Kenya. White settlers came from Europe to gain power and wealth, and took over vast amounts of land in Kenya many times by force. Demand for workers induced a large Asian population to migrate to Kenya, especially from India another part of the British Empire.[94] Additionally, Kenyans were employed for labor sometimes with force or coercion.[95] No part of Kenya was left untouched; colonialism brought drastic change to the economy, the population, the government, and to education.

Education

Missionary Education

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[92] Sobania, *Culture and Customs of Kenya*, 18.
[93] Ibid., 18.
[94] Ibid., 19.
[95] Ibid., 21.

Missionary education laid the foundation for education during the colonial period. Although mission schools were established as early as 1844, missionary education did not infiltrate the interior until Kenya was officially a colony and did not cover most of Kenya until the early 1900s. The start of the colonial period is marked by the missionaries racing against each other to build schools, or spheres of influence, in the interior of Kenya. In 1898, missionary influence started pushing inwards from the Coastal region.[96] Even with extended influence, mission schools influence remained largely within the Coastal, Central, and Nyanza provinces.[97]

The education provided by missionaries was formatted with two goals in mind: to convert people to Christianity and to bring Western ideals of "civilization" to Africa. The primary goal was conversion; the solution came in the form of literacy. Missionaries all over Africa were responsible for translating biblical texts into local languages. However, since many communities passed stories through oral histories rather than written histories, even if biblical texts were in local languages not all local people could read them. Therefore, one of the few things that was offered at missionary schools was literacy education.

Missionary schools and agendas were not monolithic. Protestant missionaries believed that everyone should have access to biblical texts and, therefore, everyone must be able to read not just some.[98] Once literacy was achieved, missionaries could utilize biblical texts to help convert people they reached out to in communities. The first missionary school in Kenya was built and run by Protestant missionary, Johann Krapf.

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[96] Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 73.
[97] Ibid., 74.
[98] Woodberry, "The Missionary Roots of Liberal Democracy," 244-274.

In contrast to the guiding principles and goals of indigenous African education, missionary schools provided education to change people's views rather than to inundate them into their own culture. An example comes from Johann Krapf himself, who stated that he decided to build a missionary school in Mombasa because "a great influence is exerted on the characters of heathens by attendance at our schools".[99]

This story ties in directly to the second guiding goal of missionary schools: the drive to "civilize" Africans. As Krapf declares, "Christianity and civilization ever go hand in hand".[100] Westerners often viewed Africans through a "paradigm of difference" that informed their belief that Africans were inherently different than themselves, civilized Westerns. This paradigm was built off racial assumptions that reduced "the sociocultural to the somatic"; it was a lens that informed Westerners that the difference in African's culture and race was inferior to their own culture and race.[101] Missionaries and explorers where often blind to the rich culture and heritage, complex social structure, and robust civil systems in place in African communities simply because they did not resemble their own culture and society.

At first, missionary schools were restricted to just basic literacy and mathematics. As Waruta denotes for missionary schools in Kenya:

> The dominant curriculum of this missionary education was reading (mainly from Western nursery rhymes to advanced European classics such as Shakespeare); writing (mainly compositions glorifying European values in contrast to the primitive African traditional values) and Arithmetic (mainly additions,

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[99] Johann Krapf, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours: During an Eighteen Years' Residence in Eastern Africa*, (Abingon: Frank Cass and Company Limited, 1860),129-130.
[100] Ibid., 135.
[101] Sweet, "The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought," 143-166.

multiplications and divisions of imaginary wealth only real in the missionary's conspicuous material possessions.[102]

While clearly very critical, Waruta does on excellent job of demonstrating that the drive behind missionary education was western and out of touch with Kenyan culture. Soon after, missionary schools added other skills and subjects, including hygiene and domestic service.[103] These additional subjects helped missionaries work towards their second goal of education, the goal to "civilize".

Although many mission organizations differed in respect to the education they offered, there were some themes common to most missionary education outside of their drive to convert people to Christianity and to introduce Western ideals of "civilization". The most common theme was agricultural education.[104] Education provided to Africans under the British colonial administration often shifted between more academic education versus more technical, industrial, and environmental education.[105] White settlers advocated for more technical driven education, while African voices grew more loud and insistent throughout the colonial period in their demand for more academic based education, especially after Africans saw the economic and political value of western education.[106] A good example of this tension came from a missionary to the Kikuyu, who warned his fellow missionaries "wanora mukuha na miena yeri niwe

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[102] Waruta, "The Educational Mission of the Church: An African Perspective," 108-131.
[103] Chege and Sifuna, *Girls' and Women's Education in Kenya: Gender Perspectives and Trends*, 28.
[104] Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 77.
[105] Ibid., 80.
[106] Ibid., 166.

urithecwo niguo (if you sharpen the sewing needle on both ends – theologically and academically – it will prick you)".[107]

Another common theme was the lack of education for the English language largely pre-1918, although eventually English language education grew due to the need for a unified language in schools and the recognition by Africans of the utility of English.[108] With the expansion of education, mission schools began to mostly focus on young children from the communities where the missions planted themselves. The two largest missionary groups were the CMS and the Roman Catholic missionaries. By 1917, the two groups had the largest amount of stations, village schools, and pupils.[109]

Beyond Missionary Education

The colonial government did not show interest in African education until the 1920s, and even then, their direct work with African education was limited. Although by the 1940s schools spread throughout Africa, the education system was overall lacking due to poor quality education, poor quality teachers, minimum higher schooling available, and heavy religious overtones. Education in the colonial era had some common themes. These themes include: differences in mission organization and schools, ethnic community differences, the importance of chiefs' cooperation to early mission schools, the balance between technical and academic schooling, and the tiered and segregated education system. The difference between churches discussed above highlights the discontinuity of education due to the lack of coherence between schools because of a disjointed education system. This began to change after 1920, when the

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[107] Waruta, "The Educational Mission of the Church: An African Perspective," 108-131.
[108] Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 71.
[109] Ibid., 91.

British administration took more direct interest in the education system. The second theme that led to an unequal education was ethnic differences. As stated earlier, education was concentrated among three provinces and was highly correlates to ethnic groups. The most notable are the Luo in the Nyanza province, the Kikuyu in the Central province, and the Swahili speaking groups and Arab groups in the Coastal region. Considerable discussion focuses on the Kikuyu, who drove educational and political change throughout the colonial period; this is discussed in more detail later.

The next theme, the importance of the cooperation of chiefs, highlights the initial response to missionary education. Early responses were often unsupportive of missionary education. Parents were reluctant to release children from the important economic activities they participated in at home.[110] Often, parents could see no linkage between missionary education and economic gains. Additionally, parents throughout the period were reluctant to send their children to missionary schools because it contradicted and belittled their culture.[111] This created a sort of "religious education" which "propelled missionaries to impose their own culture on Africans" in the mission schools.[112] This remains a hot topic throughout the colonial period, and contributed to the rise of independent schools later in the period. Originally, missionary education was aimed at more influential Africans, typically the sons of chiefs, in order to influence the future elite, ruling class. Therefore, missionary education often aimed to include chiefs' and elders' sons due to their sway within their communities, as well as due to the future political power afforded to their sons. Although throughout the colonial period

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[110] Ibid., 70.
[111] Ibid., 76.
[112] Bogonko, *A History of Modern Education in Kenya (1895-1991)*, 21.

education was expanded, those in power typically had greater access to education and utilized it to maintain power.[113]

The balance between technical and academic schooling mirrors the tension between settler demand and African demand; white settlers desired cheap labor and no political rivals to power while Africans often linked western education with greater economic and political aspirations and demanded more academic-based education to achieve these goals.[114] At the start of the colonial period, European settlers mandated that Africans received some sort of technical and industrial training so that they could be used as cheaper labor.[115] Curriculum soon shifted so that "even in primary schools the curriculum was everywhere in the country heavily industrial in which brick-making, carpentry, tailoring, agriculture and road building took precedence over literary education".[116] Literary education was primarily employed in mission schools to produce Christians. Therefore, it is not surprising that the demand for cheap labor usurped the demand for literate Kenyans. However, the rise in the demand for academic-driven education eventually overtook settler demand. Combined with the prowess of the Kikuyu educational gains and the tension between Christian values and community values, the demand for more academic schools soon created the movement for more secular, and independent schools in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Although missionary schools covered most of Kenya by 1920, the education children received in school, both technical and literary, was of very poor quality. This led to a demand for

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[113] Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 69.
[114] Ibid., 80-81.
[115] Bogonko, *A History of Modern Education in Kenya (1895-1991)*, 23.
[116] Ibid., 21.

better education by Africans, as well as a greater interest in African education by the colonial government.

Finally, the last major theme of the colonial period was a tiered, segregated education system; often referred to as a "caste" system. The educational system was structured so that each race had a separate education system. Together, the educational system was tiered, with Europeans receiving the best education, Asian immigrants receiving the second best, and Africans receiving the worst education. This system was formalized under the Fraser Report of 1909, which suggested separating students by both race and religion.[117] Separated educations helped enforce a distinction between races that the colonial government sought to create and reinforce as a strategy for maintaining power among a small number of British settlers. A telling quote comes from a Commission of Inquiry, set up to examine the education system in Kenya in 1919. The quote states: "It must never be forgotten that the European community is a handful in the midst of a large African population and that if Europeans would retain the leadership of Kenya a high standard of education must be demanded. Many parents will never be able to send their children to England or South Africa".[118] The separation of education was a social tool utilized to reinforce social standings by increasing human capabilities of select races above that of others. The colonial government funneled different amounts of funds to each school system, with Europeans receiving the most government funds and Africans receiving the least despite the fact that Africans

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[117] Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 86.
[118] Commission of Inquiry quoted by Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 154.

provided more tax revenue.[119] While the separate educational system neither went

unquestioned or unchallenged, the separate system remained in place in Kenya until

independence in 1963.

A few educational reports provided the framework for government intervention

in Africa education largely until 1940. The reports included: the Fraser Report of 1909,

the East African Protectorate Education Commission Report of 1919, and the Phelps-

Stoke Education Commission Report of 1924. These reports detailed the reality of

African education, and provided some suggestions for how to improve the education in

a way that would produce quality laborers but not educated citizens of the same caliber

as the settlers' children or even the Asian immigrants. These reports called for:

government investment in African education with grants-in-aid, government assistance

in training teachers, coordination between the government and mission schools, and

government influence in curriculum.[120] These guidelines created a system where the

colonial government did not have a large amount of direct involvement in African

education, but rather assisted mission schools that were already in place. The main

initiative was the grants-in-aid, which were given to schools based off the quality of

technical training. Secular government schools and government teacher training

remained minimum throughout the period, although these schools and teachers were of

better quality than mission schools and mission trained teachers.

Although there were schools throughout most of Kenya, the education system

lacked depth. Mission schools tended to only include three to four years of schooling at

the village level; the majority of mission schools were village schools. The first

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[119] Ibid., 166.
[120] Bogonko, *A History of Modern Education in Kenya (1895-1991)*, 40.

secondary school for Africans was only opened in 1926. Additionally, there were only

two main secondary schools available until almost 1940, and those two schools were

only junior secondary schools; if students wanted to finish their secondary education

they would have to travel outside of Kenya into Uganda.[121] Therefore, while there were

vast amounts of children enrolled in formal education institutions, they often received

only a few years of poor quality education. For example, in 1936 of the African children

enrolled in school: 96.77% were in elementary school, 3.05% were in primary school,

and only 0.18% were in some form of secondary school.[122] Although formal education

was increasing in Kenya, Kenyans recognized the inferiority of the education system

and demanded changes.

Kenyans took education into their own hands through two avenues: local native

councils (LNCs) and independent schools. Kenyans were dissatisfied with the poor

quality of education at mission schools, especially the lack of emphasis on literary

education. As demonstrated in this below quote from Sorobea Bogonko, education was

seen as both part of and necessary to emancipation:

> But subjection of only one race to industrial and religious training makes such
> education appear an act of oppression. It stifled the ability of the Africans to
> develop in all areas of human talent. This tendency made Africans take up arms
> against the prescribed education, as it did not meet the most important of their
> aspirations.[123]

Secular schools run by the government were preferred to mission schools, but there

were too few government schools to fill the need for secular education. The LNCs were

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[121] Ibid., 30.
[122] Ibid., 28.
[123] Ibid., 44.

created in 1925 as a way to manage Kenyans' requests to the government.[124] Growing

educational ambitions among many ethnic groups, especially the Kikuyu and Luo, were

not satisfied by the pace of educational expansion by the missionaries and government

and, therefore, new secular schooling became a high priority of many LNCs.[125] For

example, by 1927 a governor in Nyanza had already recognized the remarkable pace

and determination of a LNC to gain educational funding, in what he called "the most

remarkable feature of the year".[126] LNCs often worked to petition the government for

funds for new schools, and in some cases, were involved in raising funds directly from

their own communities. The first few LNCs to receive government funds started

building schools in 1929, and had pupils in the early 1930s.[127] The LNC schools started

performing better than mission schools as early as the 1940s. Although these schools

started in the early 1930s, they were not fully developed through secondary education

until the mid-1950s, almost 60 years into colonialism.

Unfortunately, not all LNCs were granted funding for government supported

schooling. However, this did not deter Kenyans from gaining secular education. Even

without the assistance of LNCs, independent schools started forming as early in the

early 1920s and came into force at the same time of the LNC funded schools, 1929.[128]

Unlike the LNC funded schools, which were not government run but still had some

government involvement, the independent schools were wholly ignored by the

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[124] Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 167.
[125] Ibid., 167.
[126] Ibid., 167.
[127] Bogonko, *A History of Modern Education in Kenya (1895-1991)*, 47.
[128] Ibid., 53.

government until the mid-1930s.[129] Therefore, independent schools experienced a rough start due to minimal funding and poor teacher training. Despite these problems pupils still flocked to independent schools, which were still seen as a better alternative to mission schools. By 1936, independent schools had become so ingrained in Kenya, that the government eventually recognized them and provided help through curriculum, oversight, and teacher training.[130] Therefore, by the 1930s the reign of the mission schools had started to end, as students flocked to government schools, LNC schools, and independent schools.

Independent schools and schools funded through the work of LNCs were important for more than just for educational reasons. Although secular education was preferred instead of non-secular education, these schools came to both embody and represent change driven by Africans. These schools became a place for Africans to express their own culture, own religion, and own nationalism. For example, independent schools became increasingly popular after the increased attacks against female circumcision for the Kikuyu in 1929. Independent schools became a sort of "educational revolt", where Kikuyu sought schools where their traditions were not attacked.[131] Additionally, these schools correlated with the rising number of African churches, that were separated from the European mission churches; both churches and schools sought to assert their own beliefs and values. Along with separate churches, these schools also were linked with African nationalism. Dr. Arthur, one of the CSM missionaries stated:

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[129] Ibid., 54.
[130] Ibid., 54.
[131] Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 174.

> Such an organisation, run by the Kikuyu themselves for their own people, is potentially a most valuable educational agency… Unfortunately the Association seems to regard their schools as political levers rather than as a medium for sound education of the people; they value most the numbers in a school, for they consider strength of numbers gives them added political power.[132]

The independent school movement was intertwined with the independence movement from the beginning. Later, these schools were shut down with the Mau Mau Uprising, which was a rebellion led by the Kikuyu and other ethnic groups such as the Meru, Kamba, Embu, and Maasai against the British colonial government. The government shut down the schools because they suspected that these schools were "training schools for subversion" as well as "centers of Mau Mau activities after hours".[133]

The early period of colonialism brought many changes to the education system in Kenya. Although missionary education started before Kenya became a colonial state, it flourished and spread under the early colonial administration. Although the dominance of missionary education was felt throughout most of the colonial period, government schools, independent schools and schools funded by LNCs began to grow due to the shortcomings of missionary education. First, the government addressed the shortcomings of missionary education through the creation of a few government schools as well as the grant-in-aid system for missionary schools. However, the small amount of government schools did not satisfy Kenyans' need for higher-quality education with a greater focus on academic education. As Bogonko states, "for Africans, literacy was the beginning and the end of education".[134] Therefore, Kenyans lobbied for their own secular schools through LNCs. LNCs that got funding built LNC run and government-

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[132] Dr. Arthur quoted by Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 176.
[133] Ibid., 176.
[134] Bogonko, *A History of Modern Education in Kenya (1895-1991)*, 43.

backed schools. LNCs who did not get government funding often turned to independent schools. By the late colonial period, there were four major types of education institutions, and the supremacy of mission schools had come to an end. For most of the colonial period, education and politics went hand in hand. As Africans gained western education through mission schools, they began to become more politically active as well as demand better education for the future generations. The desire for more schools of better quality was a major part of the battle for independence; education was a major political demand of Africans, as well as part of the Mau Mau Uprising. The changes to education institutions lead to a different relationship between education and gender than experienced in the pre-colonial era.

Education and Gender

Under the colonial government, the relationship between education and gender changed in ways that did not favor African women, as exploitation of African women increased under the British colonial government. As Chege and Sifuna indicate, "while the existence of a dominant patriarchal arrangement was true for many traditional African communities, the claim that the underlying ideology translated exclusively into the exploitation of women is inaccurate".[135] As denoted in the previous chapter, men and women had different roles, but women still wielded authority and power in certain venues, such as agriculture. British colonizers ignored existing gender structures, and cultivated a Western gender hierarchy in Kenya that utilized education to "propagate female inferiority, exploitation and oppression".[136]

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[135] Chege and Sifuna, *Girls' and Women's Education in Kenya: Gender Perspectives and Trends*, 19.
[136] Ibid., 19.

The colonial administration reinforced and built off the gender hierarchy that missionaries started implementing in the mid-1800s. As Chege and Sifuna argue, "it is worth mentioning that the Christian missionaries who pioneered African education were middle class educated men who were endowed with Victorian ideals of gender relations".[137] Missionaries created a complicated relationship between education and gender because of their somewhat conflicting approach to education of women. On one hand, missionaries believed "that a woman was inferior to a man by divine ordinance", which impacted how they interacted with women.[138] As Chege and Sifuna conclude, the missionaries indoctrinated Kenyans "about foreign divine designs that polarized, arbitrarily, the feminine and masculine genders in favor of men".[139] Ironically, missionaries were also one of the first groups of Europeans to advocated and ensure women's education.[140] As noted by Furley and Watson, the CMS school in Freretown had girls attending all the same classes as boys, so that their education would not lag behind.[141] The Western missionaries brought a hierarchical gender structure based off religious ideas of gender, which constructed women as both opposite of and less than men. Mission schools spread new ideas about gender dynamics, including gender roles, power dynamics, and gender identity.

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[137] Ibid., 26.
[138] Ibid., 25.
[139] Ibid., 19.
[140] Ibid., 26.
[141] Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 75.

Women's education in the colonial era was informed by three forms of domination: class, ethnicity, and gender.[142] These dynamics ensured that African women received the poorest quality education offered in colonial Kenya. The first dynamic to impact women's education was class. With the introduction of formal education came the introduction of school fees to sustain salaries, facilities, and other institutional needs. This restricted education for two reasons, the first being that if families could not afford the fees than children could not receive formal education. The second reason this restricted education is because some families could not afford to let a source of income, such as a child's labor, go for the whole day to take classes. Therefore, more marginalized families had greater barriers to education, which became a reinforcing mechanism as education led to greater job opportunities and begin to divide Kenyans based on wealth across generations.[143] This impacted women more than men, as men's education was valued more than women's education and, therefore, if a family could not send all their children to receive an education then they would send their boys to receive education more readily than their girls. Additionally, girls and women bore the main economic burdens for each household and, therefore, school became a trade-off for economic output; the difference between future economic productivity or current economic productivity.[144] Therefore, females faced two barriers to education due to economic decisions: the first is that female's education had less economic value than male's education, and the second is that females played an

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[142] Richard Peet and Elaine Hartwick, *Theories of Development: Contentions, Arguments, Alternatives Third Edition*, (New York City, New York: The Guilford Press, 2015), 223.

[143] Chege and Sifuna, *Girls' and Women's Education in Kenya: Gender Perspectives and Trends*, 25.

[144] Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 77.

important role in household economic productivity and many families could not afford the trade-off for school.

The second dynamic is ethnicity or race. The colonial education system was fashioned into a strict hierarchy based off race, with different educational opportunities available. European settlers received the top tier of education, with greater funding, infrastructure and personnel, the second tier consisted of Asian immigrants mainly from India, and the third tier was African education.[145] This persisted throughout the entire colonial period, for example in 1950 "the government allowed one British Pound per annum for the education of an African child, while the Asian had 8.3 Pounds and the European had 56 Pounds spent on education per child".[146] Again, this disproportionately impacted African women even more than African men due to the gender norms that influenced education on top of the racial structure.

Finally, the last dynamic to impact female education in colonial Kenya was gender. Although missionaries employed some progressive values to educate women, they still embodied Western, Victorian ideals of gender relations and provided only a limited education to African women when compared to African men, Asians, and European settlers. Even though indigenous education provided different education based off gender, missionary education often provided the same education for both boys and girls; however, missionary education employed specific gender norms in their education that impacted female education. The greatest indication of gender impacting education in profound ways was the curriculum provided to females. The education

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[145] Chege and Sifuna, *Girls' and Women's Education in Kenya: Gender Perspectives and Trends*, 26.
[146] Ibid., 26.

system revolved around instilling the Western ideal of "female domesticity" in Kenyan women.[147] Western education offered poor quality curriculum for women, including: cookery, housewifery, laundry, hygiene, and childcare. As one prominent British official conveyed, the three B's (baby, bath, and broom) was a good substitution for the three R's (reading, writing, and arithmetic) for African women.[148] A combination of poor curriculum, poor labor market training, and gender-skewed colonial policy lead to the low involvement of girls in education. Ironically, instead of noting the obvious flaws in colonial education regarding gender, colonial officials often blamed the low attendance of Kenyan girls to their "contentment with only the rudiments of literacy".[149]

In addition to gender-biased curriculum, females also had gender-biased educational outcomes. Primarily, education was extended to females at a relatively equal rate to that of males so that there would be enough educated wives for a new class of western educated men.[150] In this sense, education was based off the gender ideals that heightened the role of wives. A missionary to the Kikuyu, Dr. Philp, is quoted as saying "tragic results will follow if the education of African woman does not develop on parallel lines with that of her husband".[151] Missionaries did heavily pursue the education of woman, resulting in increasingly equal attendance and enrollment rates; however, gender norms hindered female education. The purpose of educating females, according to many missionaries, was so that they could make good wives for educated

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[147] Ibid., 22.
[148] Ibid., 27.
[149] Trignor quoted by Chege and Sifuna, *Girls' and Women's Education in Kenya: Gender Perspectives and Trends*, 27.
[150] Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 168.
[151] Dr. Philp quoted by Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 180.

men. Therefore, gender norms restricted female education to only a few outcomes, becoming good wives or entering the labor force in "feminized" occupations.

Gender norms from outside missionary education also impacted females in school. Gender impacted how parents viewed education. Parents were resistant to sending girls to school, with missionaries who they did not trust. Kikuyu parents at one point used several tactics to keep their girls at home, "including burning green wood in order to drive away seekers or teachers of girls in their huts".[152] Additionally, there was a fear that education would disrupt existing gender structures. Furley and Watson noted that some feared sending their daughters to school because of "notions which they might get of higher status".[153] Therefore, even though girls attended the same classes and had increasing equalized attendance rates, girls still faced higher barriers to education on account of their gender.

Institutionalized gender hierarchies, combined with racist intentions, resulted in inferior education for Kenyan women under the colonial government. These implicit gender hierarchies shaped by Western ideals, created a system of education that worked to subordinate African women. This relationship between gender and education in the colonial era had profound implications for colonial economics and politics. As Chege and Sifuna state, "since the colonial capitalist economy was designed around racial and gender ideologies of oppression and exploitation, the African women, more than their

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[152] Ibid., 77.
[153] Ibid., 169.

male counterparts, were systematically and deliberately sidelined in the provision of education and in all sectors of social and economic development".[154]

The relationship between education and gender is best demonstrated by the four markers: access, attainment, achievement, and accomplishment. Access and attainment can be analyzed by demonstrating female enrollment, attendance, and inequality in education. While there are few statistics for enrollment and attendance before the second half of the 20th century, Furley and Watson do provide some insight to female enrollment and attendance throughout the colonial period. Between 1935 and 1939, African enrollment in primary schools rose from 96,418 pupils to 131,353 pupils, consisting of male attendance rising from 67,074 to 88,454 and female attendance rising from 29,344 to 42,899.[155] Female attendance was roughly half of male attendance. Even by independence, girls' enrollment in primary school was still well below males' attendance. Furley and Watson note that in 1963, there were 81,326 males enrolled in primary school, and only 51,862 females.[156] Additionally, as the level of schooling increased, the gap between male and female attainment widen; females attained less years of schooling that males did. Therefore, females lagged behind males in regards to access and attainment of education throughout the colonial period.

Similarly, females lagged behind in achievement within education and accomplishment after education. The biggest hindrance to female achievement within education was the result of gender-biased curriculum and teacher attitudes. Curriculum was specifically tailored based off gender norms. Within missionary schools, "the

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[154] Chege and Sifuna, *Girls' and Women's Education in Kenya: Gender Perspectives and Trends*, 28.
[155] Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 177.
[156] Ibid., 263.

Christian missionaries, therefore, favoured the exclusion of women from work outside the home, a tendency that resulted in the development of a gendered curriculum for boys and girls respectively".[157] Additionally, government funded schools did not fare much better, as curriculum in these schools was also gendered. The main preoccupation with educating African women in colonial Kenya was so that educated men could have educated wives or so that women could take up "feminine" occupations in the formal wage sector. Therefore, African females were marginalized in education due to the curriculum imposed on them due specifically to their gender. Furthermore, accomplishment outside of education was also tailored by gender, due to the sexual division of labor.

Economic Interaction

The Economy

When British colonist took over Kenya, the economy in Kenya shifted dramatically. The Kenyan economy changed from a "web of subsistence economies" under the pre-colonial period, to one unified economy controlled by the colonial government.[158] The unified economy was starkly different from the previous economy due to the demand for massive amounts of wage labor. Previously, Kenyan economies were dominated by agriculture or pastoral herding. Instead, the Colonial Office and European settlers viewed Africans "as a resource to be exploited, not as having rights equal to those of the European settlers".[159] Therefore, the Europeans employed multiple

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[157] Chege and Sifuna, *Girls' and Women's Education in Kenya: Gender Perspectives and Trends*, 27.
[158] Lonsdale and Berman, "Coping with the Contradictions: The Development of the Colonial State in Kenya, 1895-1914," 487-505.
[159] Hornsby, *Kenya: A History Since Independence*, 29.

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tactics to induce Africans to enter into the formal wage and agriculture sector. The typical means of production based off ethnicity group was disrupted by the introduction of large-scale settler agriculture, which was the backbone of the settler community and, therefore, the Colonial Office. When the Europeans settled in Kenya, they took over a large portion of highly prosperous agriculture lands, which later came to be known as the White Highlands. Due to the large amount of agriculture land owned by many Europeans, settlers demanded workers to help with farming. Working on European farms or farming cash-crops became the dominant form of economic participation in the center of Kenya.

During the colonial period, the economy was dominated by wage labor. There are three key reasons for the switch to wage labor: demands for cheap labor from white settlers, new taxation, and colonial domination. The first reason for the increased demand in wage labor was the demand for cheap labor from white settlers on farms. As a settler economy, Kenya saw an influx of white settlers during the colonial period who enacted a policy of land alienation.[160] White settlers took highly productive agriculture land in the Kenyan Rift valley area, amounting to roughly 7% of land transferred to European farmers.[161] Land transfers increased wage labor through two avenues. Primarily, land transfer increased demand for wage labor because European farmers desired cheap labor for their farms. Secondly, land transfers increased wage labor

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[160] A settler economy refers to the economic domination of European settlers, who stole land in Kenya to settle and eventually developed a distinct identity and sovereignty over Kenya.
[161] Ewout Frankema and Marlous van Waijenburg, "Structural Impediments to African Growth? New Evidence from Real Wages in British Africa, 1880-1965," *Center for Global Economic History Working Paper Series no. 24*, 2011, 20.

because previous land owners could no longer engage in productive agriculture or herding without their land.

The second reason for the increased demand in wage labor was the colonial taxation policy. The colonial government induced Africans into wage labor and to work on European farms through different measures, such as the Hut Tax. Starting in 1901, the colonial government started levying a Hut Tax on the African population to fund the colonial government.[162] Direct taxation on Kenyans provided the largest amount of revenue to the colonial government.[163] In order to pay the Hut Tax, many male Africans turned to wage labor to increase income for their household. Females often took over household jobs previously managed by males to compensate for the loss in household labor. Therefore, taxation increased wage labor by shifting male laborers out of the house, which often lead to a greater burden of household labor on females.

The final reason for the increased demand in wage labor ties to the colonial government's legitimacy and control. As Lonsdale and Berman indicate, "the legitimacy of the colonial state was hitched to the ox-cart of African accumulation".[164] The colonial government exerted control over Kenyans through the growth and regulation of the wage labor market. Power over the wage labor market also helped boost the legitimacy of the colonial state. Therefore, the expansion of the market fed back into British colonial power over Kenya, which is why the government cultivated it.

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[162] Lonsdale and Berman, "Coping with the Contradictions: The Development of the Colonial State in Kenya, 1895-1914," 487-505.

[163] Frankema and van Waijenburg, "Structural Impediments to African Growth? New Evidence from Real Wages in British Africa, 1880-1965," 20.

[164] Lonsdale and Berman, "Coping with the Contradictions: The Development of the Colonial State in Kenya, 1895-1914," 487-505.

While the shift to a market dominated by wage labor was a key difference between the pre-colonial economy and the colonial economy, two other changes to the economy must be noted. The first change is the racial distinction in labor. Racial segregation was a tool utilized to encourage wage labor from Africans.[165] I have already touched on the differentiation between European farm owners and African labors, but a third dimension is introduced with Asian contracted labor. Similar to the education system, labor was hierarchical with white labor at the top, Asian labor in the middle, and African labor at the bottom. For example, "around 1908 a Swahili carpenter was reported to earn 8 to 16 pence per working day. An Indian carpenter would make circa 36 pence (3 shillings) and a European carpenter, depending on his skills and experience, 48 to 80 pence".[166] Therefore, while wage labor was introduced in Kenya under the colonial system, Africans were introduced to a system that relegated their labor as worth less than the non-native laborers.

The last major change to the economy was the alteration in the sexual division of labor. As noted earlier, males tended to go into wage labor while females tended to increase household labor to compensate for lost labor. This is not to say that females were excluded completely from wage labor, but rather that the interaction of gender dynamics and colonial desire for cheap labor often resulting in "female participation mostly in reproductive services at the family level and the provision of casual labour for large farms and plantations".[167] When females did participate in the labor market, there

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[165] Hornsby, *Kenya: A History Since Independence*, 30.

[166] Frankema and van Waijenburg, "Structural Impediments to African Growth? New Evidence from Real Wages in British Africa, 1880-1965," 22-23.

[167] Chege and Sifuna, *Girls' and Women's Education in Kenya: Gender Perspectives and Trends*, 24.

were only a few jobs available to women due to the feminization of particular jobs, such as nurses, schoolmistresses and secretaries.[168] Due to the lack of formal employment opportunities, women who needed to sustain themselves in larger cities often turned to prostitution.[169] Victorian gender ideals led colonizers to believe that "women's vocation as being wives, mothers, and housekeepers" was the most important aspect of womanhood.[170] Therefore, although the colonial period increased the types of jobs Africans could occupy, women generally did not gain more opportunities through wage labor but rather more opportunities through an increase in household labor due to compensation for lost labor.

Economic Measure

The changing economy impacted the sexual division of labor. As Charles Hornsby noted, "pre-colonial labour in all Kenyan communities was divided by gender, with men generally responsible for cattle-keeping, hunting, land clearance and war, and women for agriculture, cooking and child rearing".[171] Ethnic groups were involved in a multitude of economic occupations, such as the Kamba with ivory trading, the Kalenjin with both farming groups as well as pastoralists, the Maasai with nomadic cattle herding and military occupations and the Kikuyu with agriculture. The sexual division of labor was present in all Kenyan communities. However, the sexual division of labor was altered and continually reinforced under the colonial administration. The largest impact to the sexual division of labor came from the dominance of wage labor, which created a

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[168] Ibid., 24.
[169] Luise White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi*, (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago, 1990), 1.
[170] Ibid., 27.
[171] Hornsby, *Kenya: A History Since Independence*, 33.

scenario where "Africans were encouraged or forced to sell labor by taxation, low wages, direct coercion, bans on cash-crop growing and the opportunity to purchase new goods".[172] This led to roughly one-fifth of the adult, male population participation in the labor force by 1920.[173] At the time, wage labor was tied primarily to the male gender and, therefore, had consequences on both genders. Males left occupations they controlled in the past to seek wage employment, many times to pay for the hut tax. In their absence, females took on occupations typically reserved for males, and in the process women multiplied their labor while they simultaneously were excluded largely from the formal labor force.

In tandem with the impact of wage labor, the sexual division of labor was nurtured through the education system. As addressed earlier, certain occupations or fields of employment were specifically gendered throughout the education system. Some jobs were deemed as "feminine" and women, if they received any encouragement at all to enter the workforce, were directed to these occupations. However, education often highlighted the importance of women's reproductive roles rather than their productive roles. Therefore, while the reality of wage labor shifted the sexual division of labor and erected barriers to women in wage labor (the formal labor sector), the sexual division of labor was also influenced by gender norms that were implicitly and explicitly woven throughout education.

The relationship between the economy, education and gender reveals that African women were often marginalized due to their gender within education and within the economy. Gender norms in the education system resulted in inferior

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[172] Ibid., 32.
[173] Ibid., 32.

education for African women. Likewise, gender norms in society resulted in fewer employment opportunities for women both because of limited education as well as due to the assumption that women should only work in "feminine" jobs. This created a cycle, where women struggle to get education, resulting in less economic opportunities, resulting in the notion that women do not need the education required of skilled workers because they do not obtain high employment rates. Therefore, gender norms within education impacted the economy as seen with how the sexual division of labor was constructed specifically due to education.

Political Interaction

Political Structure

British influence in Kenya began as early as 1888, with the arrival of the Imperial British East Africa Company. The borders around the majority of modern day Kenya were solidified with the establishment of the British East African Protectorate in 1895. Political control was given to the Colonial Office in 1905, and by 1920 the protectorate was officially renamed the Kenya Colony. Although borders, both internal and external, shifted throughout the period, the borders were more or less set by 1920. The internal borders were administrative boundaries erected by the British to maintain order by separating ethnic groups. Ethnicity has maintained a central role in politics since the colonial period, and the internal separation began the process of intertwining ethnic and political differences.

The imposition of British rule created a political structure that was dramatically different than pre-colonial Kenya. Prior to colonization, there was no overarching, trans-ethnic political structure of the entire country. Instead, authority was often

personal and local, with chiefs or elders presiding over their local communities. These societies "were gerontocratic and relatively egalitarian, and all relations were personalised".[174] The British settlers replaced this model with a provincial administration, ruled over by provincial commissioners and district commissioners. This consolidation of power created a hierarchal structure, that gave prominence to the minority of white settlers and created only a few positions for Africans as local representatives with very little power. The state gave preference to the needs of white settlers above all other racial and ethnic groups in Kenya, which started a long trend of the state bowing to settlers' demands. Most importantly, in 1906 the Legislative Council was created "to make laws and represent white settler opinion".[175] The political structure of this period is often tied to the concept of "command and control" or delegated authority, where the European settlers largely ruled Kenya through top-down power that was mostly separate from the political structure in England. Throughout the colonial period, African political aspirations were directed at the Legislative Council, but Africans were not elected onto the council until 1957 in the buildup to independence.

White settlers began to stream into Kenya in earnest after the end of WWI with the intent of creating a white state. They flooded into the White Highlands, an area of central Kenya where settlers took over prosperous agriculture land from many ethnic groups, including the: Nandi, Kalenjin, Maasai, Kikuyu, and Kamba. The intensification of land alienation after WWI led to Kikuyu resistance, a trend lasted throughout the colonial period. In 1921, the East African Association was founded as a Kikuyu-led

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[174] Ibid., 27.
[175] Ibid., 30.

protest movement against aspects of British rule such as land alienation, the hut tax, wage cuts, restrictions on agriculture, and the lack of political representation.[176] Rising tension led to the Devonshire Declaration of 1923, where officials asserted that the interests of the African majority was paramount; however, in practice as well as in many following policies, the interests of the white settlers dominated political decisions throughout the period. Tensions continued to grow resulting in protest movements among many ethnic groups, primarily the Kikuyu and Luo. In 1924/5, the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) was formed with many of the same goals of the East African Association; however, the group also adopted the practice of "oaths of loyalty", which became a widely used practice in the Mau Mau Uprising. Protest associations seemingly payed off when the colonial government introduced the local native councils (LNCs) in 1925 as a forum for African political interests that reported to the coveted Legislative Council. Although LNCs were critical to shaping and implementing African political and economic desires, the councils provided only a mirage of real political power.

Many incidences shaped the African political movement in Kenya throughout the colonial period. Right before WWII, two major disputes centering on the Kikuyu emerged: the issue of female circumcision and the issue of squatters' rights. First, in 1929 the issue of female circumcision among the Kikuyu came to a head, when missionaries campaigning against female circumcision were met with opposition by the KCA and the general Kikuyu population. Female circumcision "became a symbol of Kikuyu dissent against colonial rules and the European churches", and the movement of

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[176] Ibid., 31.

independent schools and churches in the Kikuyu area expanded rapidly due to these breaks with Western powers.[177] Similarly, land rights became a huge issue in the struggle against the colonial state. In 1932, a Land Commission was set up to address claims on land by Africans against the government and white settlers. In 1933, the commission agreed that the report, put forth by the KCA and some other sources, over the loss of some Kikuyu land to settlers was sufficient enough to grant some more land to the Kikuyu, but they still refused reimbursement as well as legal title to squatters on settler land.[178] Additionally, after 1937, squatters were defined as laborers not tenants, which granted power to the white settlers instead of Africans. These two issues factored into the Mau Mau Uprising, and the eventual fight for independence.

The twenty years between WWII and independence is notable for the increased voices of Africans in and about politics. Notably, in 1944 the first African was appointed (not elected) to the Legislative Council; additionally, the Kenya African Union (KAU) was formed under the name of Kenya African Study Union (KASU).[179] The KAU and KCA began to merge in Kikuyu areas, with many of the members going on to be part of the Mau Mau Uprising. The Mau Mau Uprising was influenced by the lack of legitimate avenues for protest, the tension over squatters' rights and the growing numbers of landless, the clash of values through Western education institutions, and a 'liberation theology' preached in independent churches.[180] All of these tensions lead to a "convergence of interest between squatters, the Central Province poor and Nairobi

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[177] Ibid., 34.
[178] Ibid., 37.
[179] Ibid., 40.
[180] Ibid., 42.

activists".[181] The Mau Mau Uprising lasted from 1952-1955 and impacted independent

schools and churches, many independent elites and leaders, and African nationalism. As

many scholars note, the Mau Mau Uprising was instrumental in later Kenyan

independence because it shattered the illusion of settler control and the desires for a

white state. Although the government began political reforms to address some of the

roots of the tension that burst in the Mau Mau Uprising, the political tide was already

set and independence could be delayed but not stopped. The eight-year period between

the Mau Mau Uprising and Kenyan independence was characterized by rapid political

change that introduced more political rights to Africans. Eventually, Kenya gained

independence in 1963 led by the first president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta.

Political Measure

Political policies interacted with education and gender in specific ways to

produce gender inequalities in education. As discussed earlier, the key educational

reports during the colonial period were the Fraser Report of 1909, the East African

Protectorate Education Commission Report of 1919, and the Phelps-Stoke Education

Commission Report of 1924. Although schools were highly segregated since the

introduction of Western education in Kenya, the Fraser report reinforced the notion that

schools should be segregated along racial and religious lines.[182] This was significant to

Africans, because it barred them from the more prestigious schools that were dedicated

to European and Asian education. The educational caste system that was enshrined by

the Fraser report restricted political and economic aspirations of Africans for many

decades; although many Africans that played a prominent role in Kenyan independence

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[181] Ibid., 42.

[182] Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 86.

managed to move beyond these restrictions, the system still subordinated many Africans below Asians and Europeans.

The East African Protectorate Education Commission Report of 1919 similarly was politically motivated. The report called for the immediate provision of full, compulsory education for both European settlers and Asians, but just encouraged education for Africans without making it compulsory. The report reflected the political beliefs that settler and Asian students were the leaders of tomorrow; therefore, the report denoted that "if they are to exercise the right sort of leadership over the mass of the natives, it is highly essential that they should be educated".[183] Finally, the Phelps-Stoke Education Commission Report of 1924 recognized the inherent difficulties of a segregated educational system, but continued to promote education for Africans that helped maintain their individuality as well as subordination to Europeans. A quote from the report states that "the education of the Africans to maintain their individuality and to cooperate successfully with the dominant Europeans and the enterprising Asiatics is obviously difficult and yet a vital responsibility, related inextricably to the welfare of the Colony".[184] Other than these three reports, two more reports urged the Colonial Office to continue providing a segregated school system that led to increased dominance of Europeans and Asians while simultaneously subordinating Africans. The first report is the Kenya Education Department Memorandum of 1938, that continued to encourage "European and Asian education enabling them to play the dominant role in

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[183] The East African Protectorate Commission Report quoted by Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 153.
[184] The Phelps-Stoke Commission Report quoted by Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 159.

the political, economic and social life of the colony".[185] The last prominent educational report was the Beecher Report.

The Beecher Report of 1949 was the result of a committee headed by Archdeacon Beecher; the goal of the committee was to provide a comprehensive view of the status of African education. The report's main complaint centered on the disorganization of the education system, due to the "constant tendency for local enthusiasm and unofficial expansion of the primary system".[186] This "unofficial expansion" was the result of Africans that were hungry for more education that the government and missionaries could not provide, which resulted in independent schools. This report instead encouraged the continuation of partnership between the colonial government, missions, local government, and the local African communities to stem unofficial education expansion. The report also promoted to continuation of racial segregation in the educational system. Finally, the report advised the colonial government to make primary school for Africans uniform, and introduced a system of four years of primary school. In the 1950s, African educational aspirations had already been made clear through the continued prioritization of school funding and the foundation of many independent schools. Therefore, many reacted negatively to the Beecher report, which was seen as a way to curb educational growth for Africans.

Education throughout the colonial period was deeply tied to politics. The political structure under the Colonial Office had European settlers at the top of the hierarchy and Africans at the bottom, and the educational system reflected and enforced

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[185] Ibid., 241.
[186] Beecher report quoted by Furley and Watson, *A History of Education in East Africa*, 247.

that separation. Therefore, politics were highly influential for education. However, education also had a prominent influence on politics. Western education, especially missionary education, influenced prominent Kenyan independent leaders. For example, many leaders of political organizations that arose in different ethnic groups during the colonial period had a missionary education. Once independence came about, the new political elite was picked from those who had received a Western education.

The impacts of these reports for females were mainly indirect. Each report codified the racially segregated education system, which mainly impacted Africans as a whole. However, as discussed earlier, the intersection of race and gender resulted in African women receiving the worst education. Therefore, although the main educational policies often did not directly address women, the impacts from the reports led to the further subordination of African women. Furthermore, the colonial government did directly address women in additional educational reports. For example, by 1926, the colonial government recognized the poor quality of education for African females, and explained that "educated wives and mothers would contribute to the general welfare of the home and community".[187] Despite this recognition, increased education for African females was continually restricted by gender ideals that limited the curriculum provided to girls.[188] Therefore, the exclusion of African females as separate from African males in educational policies was detrimental for female education specifically because it did not address their educational marginalization as both Africans and women. Instead, the exclusion of female specific issues from educational policies resulted in an

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[187] KNA Annual Report quoted by Chege and Sifuna, *Girls' and Women's Education in Kenya: Gender Perspectives and Trends*, 27.
[188] Chege and Sifuna, *Girls' and Women's Education in Kenya: Gender Perspectives and Trends*, 27.

uninterrupted continuation of educational policies that did not fully address gaps in attendance or gender inequality in curriculum.

The interaction between politics, education and gender is complicated. The most important factor in the colonial era was the intersection specifically between race and gender due to the influx of European settlers and Asian skilled workers. Due to the three forms of domination, class, ethnicity and gender, African women faced more restrictions in education, economics, and politics. Therefore, while many of the educational policies centered on the continual subordination of Africans, women faced more subordination than men due to the interaction of race and gender.

Conclusion

Education in the colonial era provides a good representation of larger political motives and tensions present in Kenya. Primarily, the colonial era is marked by a tension between European settlers and Africans, resulting in segregated education, economic domination, and political limitation for Africans. Education was one of the main avenues that Africans used to push back on these injustices. Although quantitative measurements for education are hard to obtain for the colonial era, the limited statistics available show the inequality of education based off race and gender for Africans. Additionally, African females had more barriers to accessing school and attainment in school, as qualitative tools indicate that gender norms impacted education for African females in unique ways. These norms were influenced by the historic specificities of colonial Kenya. These limitations interacted with economic and political structures that reinforced gender norms in education as well as limited female economic and political participation after education.

Chapter 4: The Post-Colonial Period

Introduction

Kenya gained independence from British colonial rule on December 12, 1963. However, like most political movements, the march towards independence started many years prior to the victory of 1963. Many scholars trace the political movement towards Kenyan independence back to 1921, over forty years prior. After the global decline of agriculture products in 1921, English settlers fought to maintain high profits by introducing a uniform wage reduction of one-third on all Africans. As Furedi notes, "this proposed reduction had a radicalizing effect on Africans in Nairobi".[189] The wage cuts heightened protests, activists, and political movements; the most important of these was the Young Kikuyu Association formed in 1921. This association transformed into the East African Association, which was pivotal in the political response of 1921. The leader of the association, Harry Thuku, lauded the ability of the organization to utilize educated people from multiple tribes to "voice native opinion".[190] The East African Association established a trend of political motivated, ethnically based organizations that began taking root all over Kenya in the 1920s.

These various organizations, often populated by Africans equipped with Western education, began to exert political pressure on the colonial government. The increased politicization of Kenyans in the 1920s laid the foundation for political demands throughout the colonial period, which eventually cumulated in independence. The first response to the increase in political organizations was the introduction of

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[189] Frank Furedi, "The African Crowd in Nairobi: Popular Movements and Elite Politics," *Journal of African History* 14, no. 2 (1973): 275-290.
[190] Thuku quoted by Furedi, "The African Crowd in Nairobi: Popular Movements and Elite Politics," 275-290.

Local Native Councils (LNCs). The LNCs attempted to redirect political motivations back under the control of the British government. These councils had little to no real power, and were often led by locals in close alliance with the colonial government.[191] However, nationalist imaginings were not stopped by the colonial government's vie for control. At the forefront of continued political aspirations was the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) and prominent member Jomo Kenyatta. For example, in 1930 Kenyatta went to England to try to plea directly for more political access.[192] Later, he took over leadership of the KCA after it had transformed into the KAU, or the Kenya African Union.

Other than direct political movements, other events and social movements spurred on political momentum. The first is education; many leaders and members of political movements were Western educated. The second is the impact of the two world wars. Kenyans fought alongside the British in both WWI and WWII, and returned to Kenya with new understands of Europe and political rights.[193] Finally, no brief consideration of the political process of independence is complete without mentioning the Mau Mau Rebellion of 1952. While direct causal impacts from the rebellion to independence is debated, the colonial government responded through a series of concessions including: the election of Africans to the Legislative Council as well as the repeal of laws preventing Africans from living in the predominantly settler community in the central uplands, the White Highlands.[194] By 1960, at a conference in London

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[191] Sobania, *Culture and Customs of Kenya*, 25.
[192] Ibid., 25.
[193] Ibid., 26.
[194] Ibid., 26.

delegates promised self-rule for Africans, and the realization of an independent Kenya became clear.[195]

Education

Upon independence, Kenya's new leaders were left with a segregated, racist system of education; transforming the education system became one of the primary goals of the newly independent Kenya. The new leaders argued that education is necessary for development and, therefore, they fought for a better education system to promote national development. The colonial system of education was akin to a 'caste' system.[196] Funding varied drastically, access to quality education was limited based on race, and curriculum was developed "within a philosophy of education for one's station in life".[197] Leaders moved quickly to dismantle problematic aspects of the inherited education system and replace them with aspects that further the goal of a unified, developed Kenya.

Policy makers identified key goals for the education system as "universal education access, equity, funding partnerships, standardization, and improvement of curriculum" in the first major educational policy report, the Kenya Education Commission Report of 1964 also known as the Ominde Report.[198] The Ominde Report also surveyed the existing resources of the education system and linked education to economic growth and development. The first change to the education system was the unification of education, which turned education from a three-part education system to

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[195] Ibid., 26.
[196] Wane and Gathenya, "The Yokes of Gender and Class: The Policy Reforms and Implications for Equitable Access to Education in Kenya," 169-194.
[197] Ibid., 169-194.
[198] Ibid., 169-194.

one system that accommodated all races. Although some schools took longer to integrate due to fees and location, the unification of the education system had an immense impact on African's education.[199] The second problem the newly minted government worked to address was curriculum. It was not until the late 1960s that a uniform syllabus was found in all primary schools around Kenya.[200] The implementation of both the uniform education system and the uniform syllabus worked to erode the gap in quality of education received based off race. However, education impacts not just one generation, but continuous generations. For example, individuals who received higher quality education during the colonial period, often have better economic opportunities resulting in greater wealth and higher investment in their children's education.

A unified system and a new syllabus addressed the goals from the independent government of equity, standardization, and improved curriculum. Following key educational reports and structural changes worked to address funding and universal education, as well as worked to improve upon equity, standardization, and curriculum. After the Ominde Report, the following years produced four more key policy changes or reports: the changes in school fees in the early 1970s, the Gachathi Report in 1976, the Mackay Report in 1981, and the Kamunge Report in 1988. The changes to school fees occurred in 1970, 1971, and 1973 and eventually cumulated in the first presidential decree for free primary education as discussed later in the section. The changes to school fees included: elimination of school fees in the semi-arid regions of Kenya and extension of fee remission for marginal groups in 1970, elimination of fees for

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[199] Bogonko, *A History of Modern Education in Kenya (1895-1991)*, 115.
[200] Ibid., 117.

economically marginal families in 1971, and the extension of free education to multiple

districts mostly in the north and east regions of Kenya in 1973.[201]

The other three reports, Gachathi, Mackay and Kamunge, provide the

framework for all other major educational reforms in the early post-colonial period. The

Gachathi Report of 1976 recommended the extension of free primary education from

the first four years of primary school to include all levels of primary school, years one

through seven.[202] The report bridged the gap between the first free primary education

decree in 1974 and the second decree in 1978, which implemented the

recommendations from the Gachathi Report. The Mackay report of 1981 recommended

changing the educational structure from 7-4-2-3 to 8-4-4, which was enacted in 1985.[203]

Finally, the Kamunge Report of 1988 focused on perceived wastage in education. The

report examined wastage in human resources, physical infrastructure, and finances.[204]

Wastage in human resources referred to the high repetition and dropout rates, while

financial wastage referred to the cost-inefficiency of primary education after the

reintroduction of direct costs to parents after the failure of the second free primary

education decree in 1978.

As addressed by the above reports, one of the main goals of the independent

government was a universal, free education system. This goal had been a rallying point

for the independence movement during colonialism and continues to be a major

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[201] Ibid., 115.
[202] Ibid., 115.
[203] Ibid., 111. This report implemented a new structure for the education system. The new system had eight years of primary school, four years of secondary school, and four years of tertiary school.
[204] Ibid., 121.

political promise in Kenya.[205] In the late 1940s, one of the major political organizations,

KAU, began to demand universal education with no fees. Later on the brink of

independence, a UNESCO conference was held in Addis Ababa in 1961 that also

recommended free, universal education for all of Africa.[206] This greatly impacted the

relationship between gender and education; although Kenya even today does not have

full gender equality in education, these steps towards universal primary education

(UPE) began the march towards a more gender inclusive education system that we see

in Kenya today. A prominent Kenyan saying captures this idea: "Wathomithia muiretu,

ni wathomithia mbururi (When you educate a girl, you educate a whole nation)".[207]

The fight for universal, free primary education was undertaken by three

presidential decrees. The first of these was at the end of 1973. The presidential decree

required free primary education (FPE) for the first four years starting in January 1974.

The second presidential decree followed soon thereafter in 1978, that stated that the last

three years of primary education will be free by the latest in January 1980. The last of

the decrees came in 2003, which is indicative of how complex it is to turn good-

intentioned policy into realized gains. The three presidential decrees for free primary

education had a multitude of effects that both helped and hindered the education system.

Government initiatives involving education focused on secondary and tertiary

education for the first ten years of independence due to the hope of creating a workforce

capable of increasing Kenya's development, mainly economic development. However,

in December of 1973, President Kenyatta created a presidential decree that provided

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[205] Ibid., 114.
[206] Ibid., 114.
[207] Wane and Gathenya, "The Yokes of Gender and Class: The Policy Reforms and
Implications for Equitable Access to Education in Kenya," 169-194.

free education for the first four years of primary school. The decree caught both

educational planners and the general public by surprise, as Kenyatta did not consult

them before creating the initiative.[208] Schools exploded in January 1974, as educational

planners had no time to put in place a system capable of offering free primary education

to a mass of new students after the surprise decree in late December 1973. For example,

enrollment in standard one rose from less than 380,000 students to more than 950,000

students.[209] This caused the gross enrollment rate (GER) for standard one to rise from

93% to 221%.[210] Likewise, total primary enrollment for the first six years of primary

school rose from 1.8 million to 2.8 million between December of 1973 and January of

1974.[211] The boom in enrollment came from students who were previously unenrolled

as well as students who had previously dropped out of school and choose to come back

due to the lack of school fees. A graph from Somerset, figure 2, shows the drastic

increase in enrollment caused by FPE 1, and the lasting change due to the policy. As the

graph depicts, after the first year of FPE 1 enrollment rates fell back down, but

remained higher than enrollment levels prior to the decree.

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[208] Daniel Sifuna, "The Illusion of Universal Free Primary Education in Kenya,"
Wajibu, A Jounral of Social and Religious Concern 19, no. 2 (2004): 5-8.
[209] Anthony Somerset, "Universalising Primary Education in Kenya: The Elusive Goal,"
Comparative Education 45, no. 2 (2009): 233-250.
[210] Ibid., 233-250.
[211] Sifuna, "The Illusion of Universal Free Primary Education in Kenya," 5-8.

Figure 2. Enrollment rates for primary education, 1970-1977
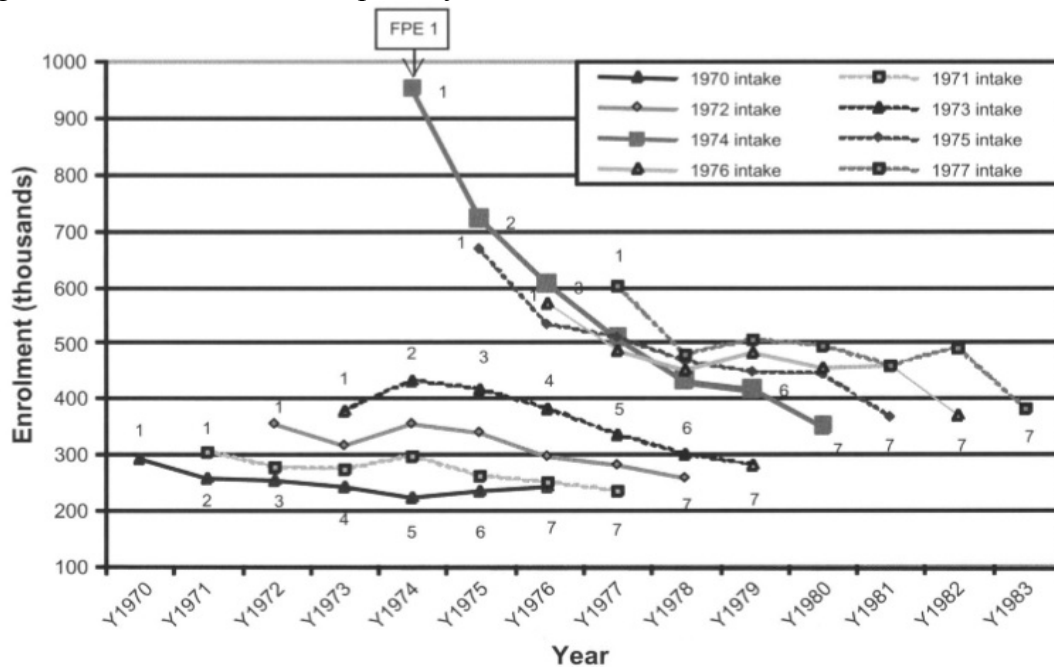
Source: Somerset, "Universalising Primary Education in Kenya: The Elusive Goal," 233-250.

Although free primary education was a major achievement, it was short-lived

and riddled with problems due to the lack of planning that preceded the decree. The

major problems were lack of infrastructure to accommodate the influx of new students,

lack of enough qualified teachers, lack of other funding sources, and the increased strain

on an already imperfect education system. First, there was a major lack of

infrastructure, mainly buildings and classrooms, to house all the income students.[212]

Due to the national increase of one million children in primary school, mainly in the

first four years, schools became swamped with students. Secondly, also due to the large

increase in students, there were not enough teachers. Many schools tried to offset this

problem by hiring more teachers, which lead to an increase in underqualified teachers;

for example, by 1975 40,000 of the 90,000 teachers were unqualified.[213] Third, many

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[212] Ibid., 5-8.
[213] Ibid., 5-8.

schools were left without suitable funding source due to the loss of funds for four out of

seven years of students, with the increased amount of students taking up resources but

not paying as they generally enrolled in the first four years. Schools attempted to gain

funding through multiple routes. One of these was deemed a "building levy", which

gathered funds from parents to build more infrastructure as well as raise revenue

sources.[214] In many places, the building levy was more costly than the original school

fees.[215] Lastly, FPE 1 increased the amount of students enrolled in school, but did

nothing to address some of the systemic problems of the Kenyan education system. For

example, dropout rates between standard one and standard five already amounted to

roughly 25-30%.[216] After FPE 1 was initiated, dropout rates rose dramatically. When

the students in standard one in 1974 reached standard five in 1978, 55% of the class had

already dropped out.[217]

The second presidential decree for free primary education, FPE 2, was

announced in 1978 by President Daniel arap Moi. FPE 2 introduced: free school for the

last three years of primary school, a free school milk program, and the abolition of

direct levies on parents such as the building levy. The results of FPE 2 can be seen in

figure 3. Similar to FPE 1, FPE 2 caused a spike in enrollment rates, followed by a

dramatic drop between standard one and standard two for the following year. Unlike

FPE 1, enrollment rates for standard one remained relatively similar in the following

years, although each year registered a dramatic drop between standard one and two.

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[214] Sifuna, "The Illusion of Universal Free Primary Education in Kenya," 5-8; and
Somerset, "Universalising Primary Education in Kenya: The Elusive Goal," 233-250.
[215] Sifuna, "The Illusion of Universal Free Primary Education in Kenya," 5-8.
[216] Somerset, "Universalising Primary Education in Kenya: The Elusive Goal," 233-250.
[217] Ibid., 233-250.

Perhaps more interestingly, final graduation rates from primary school remained relatively unchanged from before FPE 2 to after FPE 2.

Figure 3. Enrollment rates for primary education, 1976-1983
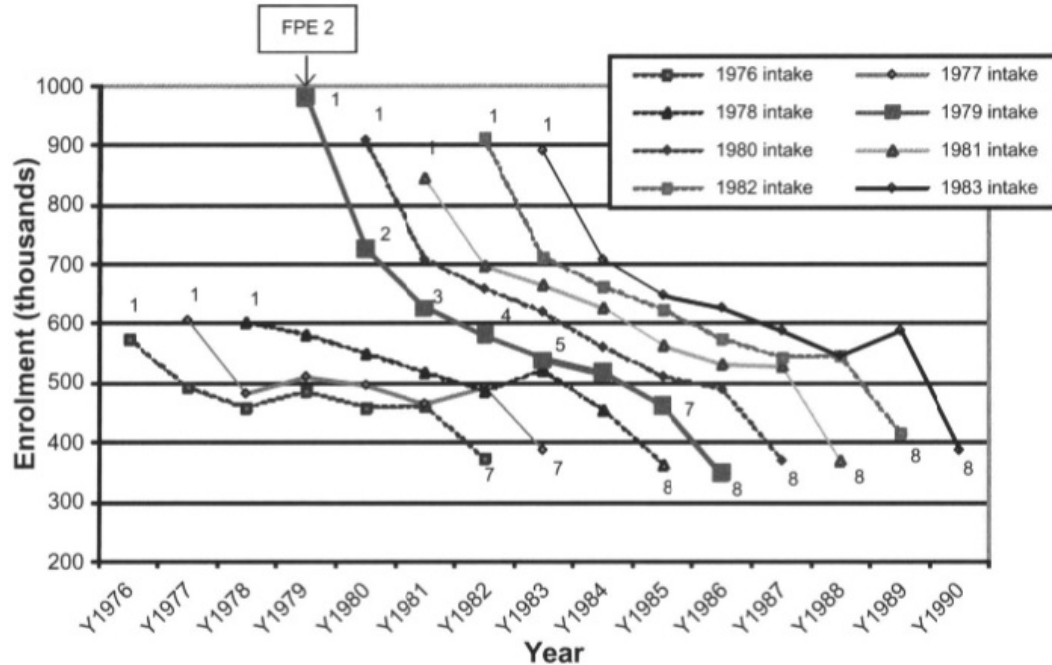
Source: Somerset, "Universalising Primary Education in Kenya: The Elusive Goal," 233-250.

Other than a steady increase in enrollment rates in standard one and disappointing stagnation of primary school graduation, FPE 2 was notable for a few other reasons. The first is that unlike FPE 1, FPE 2 was phased into schools.[218] This gave educational planners as well as students and parents more time to adjust to the presidential decree. Additionally, FPE 2 attempted to address the source of funding that was lost due to the eradication of primary school fees. FPE 2 banned schools from levying direct costs against parents, and instead encouraged schools to make up the gap in funding with community-based, voluntary harambee activities.[219] However, these voluntary funding sources were not enough to cover educational costs and, therefore,

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[218] Bogonko, *A History of Modern Education in Kenya (1895-1991)*, 115.
[219] Ibid., 117.

direct levies were gradually reintroduced throughout Kenya and officially reintroduced in 1988.[220]

The third presidential decree for free primary education was initiated in 2003, under President Mwai Kibaki. Once again, this political announcement caught the surprise of educational planners and the general public, as the incoming president sought to immediately make good on campaign promises.[221] As with the other free primary school initiatives, FPE 3 eliminated direct costs against parents for all levels of primary school (standards one through eight). However, FPE 3 also made uniforms voluntary so that children were no longer turned away from school because their parents could not afford uniform costs.[222] The impact on enrollments for FPE 3 was much the same as with FPE 1 and FPE 2, as seen in figure 4. Enrollment for standard one jumped up, and at least until 2006 stayed above enrollment levels pre-FPE 3. In enrollment numbers, standard one rose from 969,000 in 2002 to 1,312,000,000 in 2003.[223] Additionally, total primary enrollments rose from 5.9 million to 7.1 million between 2002 and 2003.[224] The most interesting addition to FPE 3 has been the subsequent measures enacted to address the loss of school revenues from direct costs. In the late

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[220] Ibid., 117.
[221] Somerset, "Universalising Primary Education in Kenya: The Elusive Goal," 233-250.
[222] Ibid., 233-250.
[223] Ibid., 233-250.
[224] Elaine Unterhalter and Amy North. "Responding to the Gender and Education Millennium Development Goals in South Africa and Kenya: Reflections on Education Rights, Gender Equality, Capabilities and Global Justice," *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 41, no. 4 (2011): 495-511.

2000s, the government introduced a capitation-grant system, which contains funds earmarked for learning materials such as textbooks.[225]

Figure 4. Enrollment rates for primary education, 1995-2006
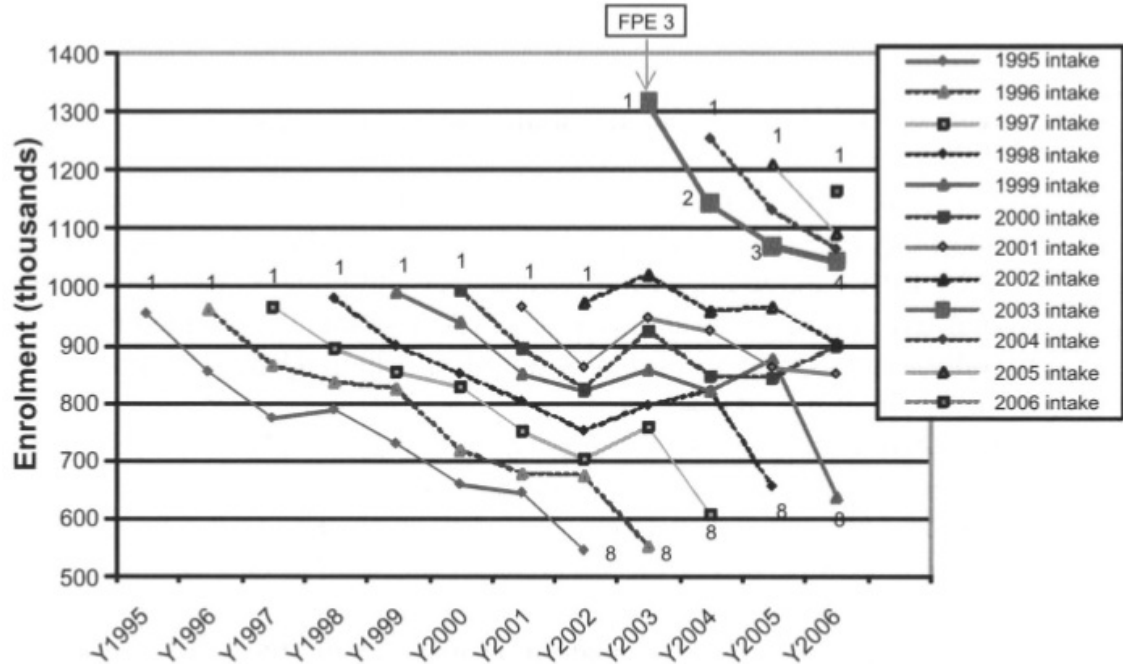
Source: Somerset, "Universalising Primary Education in Kenya: The Elusive Goal," 233-250.

Other than the three free primary education decrees, there were two more large educational policy changes, enacted between FPE 2 and FPE 3. First, the Kenya National Examinations Council publicized performance tables for students after the 1978 final examinations, called the KCPE performance tables.[226] The tables grouped performance by both district as well as by the individual schools. This had a major implication for students and schools. Repetition and dropout rates increased in between the last grade and the second to last grade of primary, as both schools and students themselves restricted access into the last grade of primary to better prepare for the final

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[225] Somerset, "Universalising Primary Education in Kenya: The Elusive Goal," 233-250.
[226] Ibid., 233-250.

exam.[227] Schools commenced in a process called 'sifting', where they would restrict weaker students from entering into the final year of primary without repetition in the second to last grade of primary.[228] Students themselves also chose to repeat the second to last grade, or even to dropout before the last grade due to the increased pressure of the school to have higher performance on the KCPE.[229] Although the dissemination of KCPE performance tables began due to the desire for increased transparency and quality measurement, the tables placed higher stress on institutions and students, resulting in unanticipated enrollment results.

The second major change to the education system was a change of structure from 7-4-2-3 to 8-4-4 in 1985; meaning that education was now eight years of primary, four years of secondary, and 4 years of tertiary education. Combined with the KCPE performance tables from a few years earlier, the change to educational structure had a large impact on education in Kenya. Along with the change to the amount of years in primary, there was also a change to curriculum, which impacted what teachers were expected to teach and what materials students were expected to buy for school. For example, the amount of subjects covered in primary education changed from 7 to 13 under the reform.[230] Parents had to buy more textbooks to cover the new material, and schools had to provide more physical infrastructure through classrooms to house some of the new subjects if they needed other facilities. Additionally, with the KCPE performance tables impacting the last year of primary, there was a drastic drop between enrollment rates between standard seven and standard eight.

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[227] Ibid., 233-250.
[228] Ibid., 233-250.
[229] Ibid., 233-250.
[230] Ibid., 233-250.

Overall, the Kenyan education system saw considerable structural change in the immediate few decades after independence in the 1960s. The policy changes included three free primary education initiatives, a change of quality measures with the KCPE tables, and a change in the amount of years per level of education. All of these educational changes were politically motivated. Primarily, Kenyan political leaders viewed education as one of the main avenues towards development, both economic development and development of a national identity. Additionally, all three FPEs were introduced under a new president. FPE 2 and FPE 3 were both introduced within months of presidents being newly elected so that they could make good on some of their big political platforms and promises. The use of FPEs as political tools rather than educational tools often meant that the FPEs were introduced with little thought about how they would impact the education system in small ways, such as the impacts on: infrastructure, repetition rates, dropout rates, funding sources, and employment constraints. However, each of the three FPEs increased access and thus enrollment in primary education, but at what cost? The quantity of education increased, but the policies did little to address the quality of education. Quality suffered after each policy was enacted due to the strain on teachers, hiring of untrained and unqualified teachers, the strain of new curriculum, and the swiftness with which the policies were set into motion.

Education and Gender

Quantitative Measures

The most common measurement used to assess equality in education is enrollment. There are two principle enrollment measures: net enrollment rates and gross

enrollment rates. Gross enrollment is the number of children enrolled in a grade,

divided by the population of the age group that corresponds to that grade. In contrast,

net enrollment is the number of children enrolled in a grade who are of the correct age

level for that grade, divided by the population of the age group that corresponds to that

grade. Therefore, net enrollment differs from gross enrollment when children either

repeat grades or start primary school at a younger or older age. For this paper, I utilize

both gross enrollment rates (GER) and net enrollment rates (NER). Table 3 below

includes statistics for the GER for 1970-2009.

Table 3. Gross primary enrollment rate by gender, 1970-2009

YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
1970	72.57%	53.17%	62.83%
1971	73.72%	55.74%	64.69%
1972	77.67%	59.78%	68.69%
1973	80.24%	63.43%	71.80%
1974	116.29%	96.46%	106.34%
1975	117.58%	101.06%	109.30%
1976	111.90%	98.18%	105.03%
1977	110.32%	97.84%	104.07%
1978	105.32%	94.10%	99.71%
1979	125.16%	113.52%	119.34%
1980	124.81%	114.95%	119.88%
1981	120.16%	112.07%	116.11%
1982	121.23%	113.94%	117.58%
1983	120.31%	113.07%	116.69%
1984	114.93%	109.03%	111.99%
1985	109.28%	104.35%	106.82%
1986	108.94%	103.59%	106.27%
1987	108.03%	103.04%	105.54%
1988	105.38%	101.62%	103.51%
1989	106.00%	101.99%	104.00%
1990	102.17%	98.71%	100.45%
1991	99.62%	96.78%	98.21%
1992	98.11%	95.34%	96.73%
1993	96.86%	94.89%	95.88%
1994	93.01%	91.76%	92.39%
1995	90.90%	89.45%	90.18%
1996			
1997			

1998	92.41%	90.67%	91.54%
1999	91.68%	89.12%	90.41%
2000	95.86%	94.54%	95.20%
2001	97.84%	95.97%	96.91%
2002	93.78%	89.10%	91.46%
2003	109.45%	104.33%	106.90%
2004	110.10%	103.95%	107.05%
2005	109.60%	105.26%	107.44%
2006	106.85%	103.89%	105.38%
2007	113.30%	111.63%	112.47%
2008	113.40%	111.01%	112.21%
2009	114.56%	111.96%	113.27%

Source: African Development Indicators World Bank (2018)

The GER statistics do a good job of highlighting a few key events. Each presidential decree for FPE results in a jump the following year for GER. For example, after the first FPE in 1973, total GER jumps from 71.80% to 106.34%. Likewise, total GER climbs from 99.71% in 1978 to 119.34% in 1979 and from 91.46% in 2002 to 106.90% in 2003 corresponding to the second and third decrees for FPE. The resulting changes in education statistics after education policy changes indicate that fees and lack of incentives are a barrier to education, even in the early 2000s. The gross enrollment statistics also demonstrate the rapid increase in enrollment at the start of the post-colonial period. Table 3 shows that in 1970 GER was 62.83%, and by 1973, only a decade after independence, the GER had already risen to 71.80%. Finally, gross enrollment statistics present data comparable across gender. Statistics indicate that for each year, enrollment for boys is greater than enrollment for girls. If I only utilized GER statistics, I would conclude that education for boys is slightly preferred to education for girls, but overall education between males and females is relatively equal.

Gross enrollment rates highlight the amount of students the education system contains with high repetition and late starts to education, but net enrollment rates help us understand how much of the population is in the grade corresponding to their age and

gives us a more clear picture of what percent of the population still does not receive

education. Therefore, net enrollment rates for primary school are presented in table 4

for the years 1999-2012. Unfortunately, the NER statistics do not go back to 1970 and,

therefore, cannot shed light on some of the key educational policies before the 2000s.

However, the statistics are still informative for the most recent FPE in 2003. Despite the

GER being above 100% for a long time, the NER shows that enrollment of students in

the correct grade for their age is around 85% as of 2012. Therefore, there are still 15%

of students that are either not enrolled in primary education or are repeating lower level

grades. High dropout and repetition rates have historically been a problem for Kenya in

the post-colonial era.[231]

Table 4. Net primary enrollment rates by gender, 1999-2012

YEAR	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
1999	61.99%	62.61%	62.30%
2000	64.56%	66.29%	65.42%
2001	66.20%	67.61%	66.90%
2002	61.81%	62.25%	62.03%
2003	74.48%	74.53%	74.51%
2004	73.69%	73.87%	73.78%
2005	75.12%	75.73%	75.42%
2006	74.61%	75.94%	75.27%
2007	86.27%	86.39%	86.33%
2008	81.50%	82.65%	82.08%
2009	82.26%	83.31%	82.78%
2010			
2011			
2012	83.17%	86.60%	84.87%

Source: World Development Indicators World Bank (2018)

Additionally, in contrast to GER statistics which record higher male enrollment

rates, NER statistics indicate that females have higher enrollment rates. This likely

indicates that males have higher enrollment under GER due to higher repetition rates or

starting education at a different age. Therefore, examining only NER statistics indicates

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[231] Ibid., 233-250.

that the gender inequality in access to education is skewed in favor of females.

However, the true story is more complicated as discussed below. Finally, the NER

statistics highlight a jump in enrollment between 2002 and 2003, from 62.03% to

74.51% after the introduction of the third FPE policy. This indicates that direct costs to

schooling is still a limiting factor for education, for both males and females.

Another benefit of enrollment statistics is that they are recorded at various

levels. Kenya has large disparities based off location, which is historically tied to ethnic

groups with large portions of ethnic groups generally living in the same province and

district.[232] Different ethnic groups and communities had different responses to colonial

education, which still shapes education in the post-colonial era.[233] As seen in table 5

below, certain provinces have quite large gender imbalances, while others are close to

equality. North Eastern and Nairobi have the largest imbalances skewed towards higher

male enrollment, while Western and Central are close to parity. Although the count data

for enrollment highlights which provinces have higher enrollment rates, it does not

indicate enrollment rates as a percentage of the province's population. Table 6 below

contains the NER for each province based off gender for the year of 2002. The NER

shows similar results to the count data, North Eastern and Nairobi are the worst

performers while Central is the best. However, the statistics also offer more insight,

such as Western, which has more student enrollment via count data, but is actually the

fourth province of eight in terms of NER. Additionally, the NER by province is

interesting because it indicates that although females nationally have a higher NER,

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[232] Reference figure 1 in the introduction.

[233] For example, some groups were more resistant to missionary education, even in the colonial era. Additionally, some areas were too unstable or spread out populations, which resulted in less school facilities.

males have a higher NER in five of eight provinces: Coast, Nairobi, Rift Valley, Nyanza, and North Eastern. Females have a higher NER nationally due to their much higher NER in only three provinces. Therefore, while the national NER indicates that females have higher access to education than males, data on the level of provinces indicates that the picture is much more complex.

Table 5. Enrollment in public primary schools by gender and province, 2003

PROVINCE	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
CENTRAL	425,034	423,655	848,739
COAST	242,337	204,541	446,932
EASTERN	641,562	625,838	1,267,451
NAIROBI	134,782	88,783	223,625
NORTH EASTERN	41,688	19,129	60,886
NYANZA	616,967	622,789	1,239,804
RIFT VALLEY	875,002	838,162	1,713,215
WESTERN	509,883	508,739	1,018,672
TOTAL	3,487,255	3,331,633	6,819,324

Source: Chege and Sifuna, *Girls' and Women's Education in Kenya: Gender Perspectives and Trends*, 39.

Table 6. Net primary enrollment rates by gender and province, 2002

PROVINCE	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
CENTRAL	56.9%	49.4%	52.7%
COAST	81.5%	84.1%	82.8%
EASTERN	72.5%	75.0%	73.8%
NAIROBI	44.3%	42.2%	43.2%
NORTH EASTERN	67.1%	66.7%	66.9%
NYANZA	69.0%	76.3%	72.7%
RIFT VALLEY	75.1%	74.3%	74.7%
WESTERN	16.5%	9.8%	13.4%
TOTAL	67.2%	68.9%	67.6%

Source: Chege and Sifuna, *Girls' and Women's Education in Kenya: Gender Perspectives and Trends*, 38.

Although enrollment statistics are easy to understand, they only brush the surface of how scholars can understand education and gender equality though quantitative measures. Another method, called the education Gini, provides a more in-depth look into gender inequality in education. A Gini coefficient examines inequality and provides a measurement between 0 and 1; the closer the coefficient is to 0, the more

equal the concept measured by the Gini coefficient. Implemented in a paper by Castelló and Doménech, the education Gini can be constructed through the following equation:

$$G^h = \frac{1}{2\bar{H}} \sum_{i=0}^{3} \sum_{j=0}^{3} |\hat{x}_i - \hat{x}_j| \, n_i n_j{}^{234},$$

where Gh is the education Gini, H is the average school years, i and j are different education levels, xî and xĵ are cumulative years per level of education, and ni and nj are the share of population with a given education level. In more simple terms, the equation can be written as this:

$$G^h = n_0 + \frac{n_1 x_2 (n_2 + n_3) + n_3 x_3 (n_1 + n_2)}{n_1 x_1 + n_2 (x_1 + x_2) + n_3 (x_1 + x_2 + x_3)}.^{235}$$

Using a dataset by Barro and Lee, I have constructed the education Gini for Kenya for every five years from 1950-2010. I have also constructed two parallel education Ginis for both genders. All three education Ginis can be found in table 7 below. I utilize the age group 15+ because it captures more of the labor force than 25+, as well as long term educational trends for the majority of Kenya's population.

Table 7. Education Gini 15+ by gender, 1950-2010

YEAR	TOTAL GINI 15+	MALE GINI 15+	FEMALE GINI 15+
1950	0.783	0.690	0.878
1955	0.757	0.654	0.861
1960	0.721	0.610	0.833
1965	0.700	0.588	0.812
1970	0.650	0.541	0.759
1975	0.571	0.451	0.688
1980	0.478	0.362	0.591
1985	0.391	0.304	0.475
1990	0.328	0.263	0.390

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[234] Castelló and Doménech, "Human Capital Inequality and Economic Growth: Some New Evidence," 187-200.
[235] Castelló and Doménech, "Human Capital Inequality and Economic Growth: Some New Evidence," 187-200; Robert Barro and Jong-Wha Lee, "A New Data Set of Educational Attainment in the World, 1950-2010," *Journal of Development Economics* 104, (2013):184-198.

1995	0.296	0.254	0.336
2000	0.278	0.240	0.313
2005	0.259	0.227	0.290
2010	0.253	0.270	0.239

Source: Barro and Lee Dataset (2017)

The education Gini 15+ is a useful tool for analyzing long-term trends, but due to the large age range of the data is not as useful for analyzing specific educational policy implications. Therefore, I have also constructed the same three education Ginis for the youngest age group in the data, 15-19 year-olds. These three Ginis portray a more nuanced understanding of how specific policies impact overall educational inequality, as well as gender inequality in education. Using the same equations as above, these educational Ginis can be found in table 8 below.

Table 8. Education Gini 15-19 by gender, 1950-2010

YEAR	TOTAL GINI 15-19	MALE GINI 15-19	FEMALE GINI 15-19
1950	0.636	0.556	0.718
1955	0.590	0.485	0.695
1960	0.523	0.394	0.653
1965	0.472	0.351	0.591
1970	0.414	0.320	0.506
1975	0.339	0.258	0.419
1980	0.215	0.161	0.268
1985	0.033	0.032	0.034
1990	0.060	0.063	0.056
1995	0.136	0.171	0.100
2000	0.179	0.182	0.176
2005	0.179	0.174	0.183
2010	0.091	0.079	0.104

Source: Barro and Lee Dataset (2017)

Both measures of education Ginis provide a more detailed account of the differences between males and females in education. Starting with the education Gini 15+, when graphed there is a clear trend of improved education equality in Kenya with figure 5 below. The greatest indicator for inequality between males and females is the total education Gini; however, the male education Gini and female education Gini are still informative. Table 9 below provides a detailed analysis of the education Gini 15+

for both males and females in 2005.[236] In the table, i is the education level, x_i is the

average years of school, n_i is the share of the population with that level of school, s is

the quintile, p_s is the share of the population for each quintile, $\hat{p}_s$ is the cumulative

population per quintile, $\bar{x}_s$ is the total education attained by each quintile, u_s is the

cumulative sum of $\bar{x}_s$, and Q_s is the cumulative share of education attained per quintile.

Figure 5. Education Gini 15+ by gender, 1950-2010
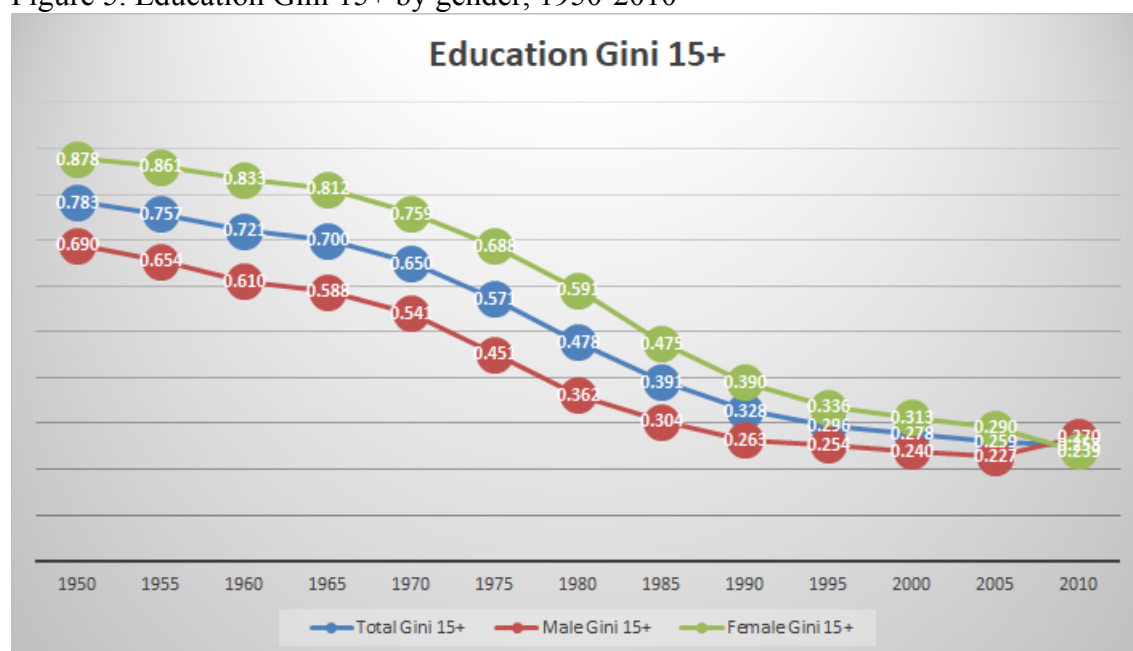
Source: Barro and Lee Dataset (2017)

Table 9. Education 15+ by quintile by gender, 2005

	EDUCATION LEVELS			QUINTILES						GINI
	i	x_i	n_i	s	p_s	$\hat{p}_s$	$\bar{x}_s$	u_s	Q_s	G^h
KENYA	0	0.00	0.246	1	0.2	0.2	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.290
FEMALE	1	4.20	0.503	2	0.2	0.4	0.647	0.647	0.274	
2005	2	1.18	0.208	3	0.2	0.6	0.840	1.487	0.629	
	3	0.13	0.044	4	0.2	0.8	0.686	2.173	0.919	
				5	0.2	1.0	0.191	2.364	1.000	
KENYA	0	0.00	0.162	1	0.2	0.2	0.191	0.191	0.066	0.227
MALE	1	5.02	0.463	2	0.2	0.4	1.004	1.195	0.414	
2005	2	1.77	0.309	3	0.2	0.6	1.004	2.199	0.762	

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[236] 2010 has measurement error in the original dataset that hampers the education Gini 15+ for males, which is why I utilize the data from 2005.

3	0.21	0.066	4	0.2	0.8	0.435	2.634	0.913
			5	0.2	1.0	0.251	2.885	1.000

Source: Barro and Lee Dataset (2017)

By comparing the two Ginis, it is clear to see that males in Kenya have greater equality in education, which is denoted by the lower Gini measurement. The Gini is broken down into quintiles in the second to last column of table 9 with the measurement Q_s. While the low female Gini informs us that female education is also relatively equal, comparing the cumulative education obtained by each quintile (Q_s) informs us that most of the education is controlled by the third and fourth quintile (65%) and that there is none in the first quintile. The spread of education between quintiles equates to how equally or unequally females receive education; therefore, since the majority of education is captured by only two quintiles, I conclude that access to education is relatively unequal. Overall, the table informs us that females have a lower average number of years spent in education, the majority of female education is still concentrated in primary education, there is a higher proportion of males in education, and that males have a higher cumulative education as seen by the measurement u_s.

Quantitative measures such as enrollment statistics and the education Gini help to evaluate the progress and fulfillment of two markers, access and attainment. The first measure, enrollment statistics, demonstrate what level of access males and females have at different levels of education, both at the national level and the provincial level. However, enrollment statistics cannot tell us more about gender imbalances in education. The second measure employed in this paper, the education Gini, helps shed light on attainment of education based off gender. Attainment takes into account measures such as years of schooling, investment in schooling, and other easily identifiable statistics. While these statistics provide greater understanding of gender

imbalances in education, they too cannot detail why there are gender imbalances in education, just that there are imbalances.

Qualitative Measures

Qualitative measures can help us unpack the last two markers of gender inequality in education, achievement and accomplishment. Both markers measure more nuanced impacts of gender such as exclusion, marginalization, or differences in opportunities. While quantitative measures cannot capture these concepts, qualitative measures can and, therefore, qualitative work can indicate why there is gender inequality whereas quantitative can capture the result of gender inequality. There are multiple qualitative examples of how gender norms influence the formal and informal mechanisms of education from Kenya.

Foulds' study on the complexities of employing gender discourses in development initiatives, such as education, is a particularly salient example of how formal mechanisms of education are influenced by gender. Foulds analyzes images from textbooks in Kenya, and couples the imagery with student responses of what they absorb from the teachings. The study has a particular focus on how motherhood is constructed and understood both outside and within the education system. One image from the study depicts women voting while holding children. Foulds analyzes competing theoretical opinions on the idea of motherhood, here tied with political participation. As Foulds demonstrates, "the hidden curriculum appears in that there are no other images of women politically engaged that do not first position them as

mothers".[237] The utilization of motherhood, and gender stereotypes in general, is complex due to power dynamics. One position is that the idea of a political, engaged citizen is compromised when it necessitates motherhood, while another position argues that the relegation of motherhood to subjugation denies how women have historically used "gender roles as sites for resistance and sources of empowerment".[238] Foulds study does a good job demonstrating the intersection of the different categories I have presented as the main topics of qualitative studies on gender in education, while also highlighting the complexities of how gender interacts with education through different societal structures.

Lizzi Milligan provides another example of how gender impacts formal mechanisms in education through gender stereotyping in course recommendations. Her qualitative study of gender norms in rural, southwest Kenya demonstrates how gender norms influence performance in certain subjects. The study is of two secondary schools in rural Kenya, in the Kisii county. Milligan primarily analyzes teachers' actions and attitudes at the two schools. Although each school boasts a policy that is gender-sensitive, teachers' actions often reflect socially constructed gender norms and gender biases. One salient example comes from a girl named Faith, who participates in both interviews and an education diary provided by Milligan. It is clear from the diary that Faith has internalized teachers' attitudes towards girls and their assumptions that lack of achievement in certain areas is due to the girls themselves and not due to gender biases and barriers. Milligan states that from the diary "she deems it to be her fault that she is

[237] Kim Foulds, "Buzzwords at Play: Gender, Education, and Political Participation in Kenya," *Gender and Education* 26, no. 6 (2014): 653-671.

[238] Chilisa and Ntseane quoted by Foulds, "Buzzwords at Play: Gender, Education, and Political Participation in Kenya," 653-671.

not getting higher marks; particularly so in sciences" and later on in the interview Faith "reflected on teachers' views that she had 'bad attitude' towards certain subjects".[239] This case study provides a nuanced look at how gender can impact performance in certain subjects; although it can be direct, such as telling girls that they should stick to more feminine subjects, this study shows that gender biases in subjects can also be indirect, such as the assumption that girls do worse in sciences due to their bad attitude and lack of seriousness.

Other than the impact of gender on formal mechanisms of education in Kenya, qualitative studies also provide insightful analysis on some of the informal mechanisms of education, such as teacher attitudes and expectations. A case study of a primary boarding school in Kenya by Lucy Bence-Wilkins provides an illuminating reference on how teacher expectations and believes influence construction of gender identities for both male and females. In the study, teachers transmitted gendered messages through many channels. One channel was expectations; teachers "believed that boys were more likely to misbehave in class, whereas girls were more likely to be sexually active".[240] Due to expectations of heightened sexuality among girls, girls often faced extensive 'policing' of their dress and behavior at school. Similarly, girls' work was linked to the assumptions of their sexual behavior. One quote from an interview demonstrates this idea; a girl in her last year of primary school stated that "if we do badly on a test they punish us and they say bad things, like 'you must have boyfriends, ah you must be

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[239] Milligan, "'They Are Not Serious Like the Boys': Gender Norms and Contradictions for Girls in Rural Kenya," 465-476.
[240] Bence-Wilkins, "Reproducing Inequalities: How Schools in Kenya Shape Gendered Power Relations Among Adolescent Pupils," 50-59.

having ten of them".[241] Boys and girls also received different forms of punishment, both corporal and non-corporal, due to their gender. Boys received harsher corporal punishment due to the belief from teachers that masculine qualities include strength and a higher pain tolerance. Similarly, cleaning punishments were used as a deliberate attack on the masculine identity of boys, whereas it was considered a normal punishment for girls due to feminine ideals. Teachers have the ability to regulate and control what they deem as appropriate gender ideals and identities, which in turn transmits concepts of masculinity and femininity to their students.

The study by Lucy Bence-Wilkins of the primary school in Kenya also demonstrates the impact of gendered space in school, another informal mechanism referenced in the literature review. Interestingly, Bence-Wilkens explores how gender impacts all physical areas of school, including the staff room as well as the playing fields outside. Gender shaped every physical space at the school. Male teachers dominated the staff room; female teachers rarely entered the staff room, only utilizing it when they had to for meetings. Similarly, students faced the same gender dynamics in relation to the staff room, coupled with power dynamics of age. Several female students said in interviews that if they had to enter into the staff room, that they would try to do so in groups for greater power with numbers.[242] In the classroom, Bence-Wilkins presents similar findings as Dunne et. al. showcase in Ghana and Botswana. Pupils separated by gender in the classroom, during meals, and in the playing fields. On the playing fields in particular, Bence-Wilkens argues that males dominated the space,

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[241] Ibid., 50-59.
[242] Bence-Wilkins, "Reproducing Inequalities: How Schools in Kenya Shape Gendered Power Relations Among Adolescent Pupils," 50-59.

which demonstrated the unequal power relations of gender.[243] The social construction of gender influenced the space, both physical and verbal, afforded to girls in school.

Finally, the last example of informal mechanisms from the literature review is gender violence. Bence-Wilkens' case study of a Kenyan primary school sheds light on how gender violence impacts education. She focuses on male sexual norms that were constructed and reinforced in school, mostly through offering gifts and money in exchange for relationships as well as by 'big boys'. 'Big boys' is a term that refers to older boys, in the later stages of adolescence, that have been circumcised and have reached cultural adulthood. These boys reinforced their identity through aggressive behavior, which was deemed as more masculine. These boys were often responsible for bullying, verbal abuse, and unwanted sexual advances. Two quotes demonstrate how they utilize their identity as 'big boys' in gendered ways. The first comment demonstrates verbal abuse for 'big boys': "The girls are sometimes mistreated by the big boys… If you are the last to leave they can turn off the light then they will say bad things".[244] The second quote demonstrates unwanted sexual advances: "The big boys can get girlfriends from the lower classes… The girls fear boys, so they say no. So the boys go to the younger girls… They don't know the consequences, they are still young".[245] These quotes demonstrate both forms of gender violence analyzed by Dunne, Humphreys and Leach, implicit gender violence and explicit gender violence.

Achievement in school is limited based off gender when gender biases lead to exclusion, avoidance, and marginalization through relationships, expectations, and

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[243] Ibid., 184-198.
[244] Bence-Wilkins, "Reproducing Inequalities: How Schools in Kenya Shape Gendered Power Relations Among Adolescent Pupils," 50-59.
[245] Ibid., 50-59.

curriculum. The above qualitative studies demonstrate that achievement in school is limited when there are explicit gender biases that marginalize females. Marginalization occurs when teachers expect females to perform worse in class, so they do not give them the same opportunities. Marginalization occurs when females do not receive the same verbal space in the classroom that boys commandeer. Marginalization occurs when females are led towards occupations that have been feminized or receive punishment that relates to "feminine" qualities. Marginalization occurs when females face violence based off their gender. All of these mechanisms related to the gender identity of female creates an environment where females have a harder time gaining academic achievement. Therefore, there is gender inequality in educational achievement. Accomplishment refers to what students turn their educational achievements into after school. Due to lower achievements based on gender and higher barriers to education for higher-performing occupations such as STEM jobs, females also suffer gender inequality in accomplishments after education due to a sexual division of labor tied with gender.

Therefore, out of the four markers I have utilized to analyze gender inequalities in education in Kenya, females have only begun to experience equality in one of the markers: access. The other three, attainment, achievement and accomplishment, still show gender inequalities for females. Additionally, although attainment is becoming more equal over time, the persistent imbalance and inequality in achievement and accomplishment is worrying. When researchers study female education, it is important to view education in a more holistic manner, with both quantitative and qualitative

research, in order to better understand the inequalities females still face in education in Kenya and to create better policy recommendations.

Economic Interaction

The Economy

Similar to many countries in Africa, Kenya was the site of a proxy war between Cold War ideals of Capitalism and Communism. President Kenyatta and fellow conservatives aligned more with Western values of capitalism right after independence in 1963, while Odinga led a group of top politicians more aligned with the East and communism values. Kenyatta eventually ousted Odinga, and pursued more capitalist policies in Kenya to encourage industrialization and large development projects.[246] There was initial high growth in the late 60s under Kenyatta, but the global terms of trade were shifting against primary producers in favor of manufacturers, which soon impacted Kenya's economy.[247] The 1970s started with slowing growth, increasing inequality, and a declining trade balance. The state turned to more central planning, in line with European Western powers rather than the United States' distrust of state involvement in the economy. The global oil crisis of 1973 decreased growth and led to an inflation bubble in 1974 and 1975.[248] The economy turned around briefly in 1976 and 1977 due to a coffee boom, which resulted in GDP growth that was short lived due to structural problems that could no longer be concealed.[249] This was the economy that Daniel arap Moi inherited when he became president in 1978. Western powers began to exert more influence over Moi's government, and the state soon turned to structural

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[246] Hornsby, *Kenya: A History Since Independence*, 159.
[247] Ibid., 182-184.
[248] Ibid., 239.
[249] Ibid., 290.

adjustments proposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to relieve the growing

debt, declining capital, rising interest rates, and declining economic growth.[250] The

structural adjustments largely worked to decrease state involvement in industries and

increase trade liberalization, but the lackluster push for liberalization produced little

results. Although GDP declined in 1983 and 1984 due to a drought and rebounded in

1985 through 1987 due to a mini economic boom, Kenya was still under Western

pressure to reform their faltering economy.[251] The outside pressure climaxed with the

withholding of aid by US donors in 1991 to induce rapid liberalization in 1992; coupled

with the Goldenberg banking scandal of 1993, Kenya faced a major economic crisis in

1992 and 1993 due to rapid structural change, the anxiety and uncertainty produced by

change, and a massive financial scandal.[252] Although the economy recovered from the

crisis relatively well from 1994 through 1996, the end of the Moi presidency was

marked by economic decline.[253] The first term of the Kibaki presidency starting in 2002

turned around the economic performance. The economy entered a strong period of

growth between 2003 and 2007, resulting in increased GDP from better administration

of the economy.[254] However, the intense ethnic violence sparked from politics in 2007

as well as the world financial crisis in 2008 and 2009 led to a downturn once again in

the economy. Since 2011, growth has been relatively stable and modest. Overall, the

economy of Kenya was marked by Cold War politics, intense Western intrusion to

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[250] Ibid., 421.
[251] Ibid., 420 & 469.
[252] Ibid., 504-505 & 559. The Goldenberg scandal was a banking scandal that revolved around how a firm bribed the government for monopoly access to customers, smuggled in gold to the country, and extracted billions for their own gain.
[253] Ibid., 637.
[254] Ibid., 731.

liberalize the economy, and growth fluctuations due to uncertainties and rapid structural adjustments.

Economic Measure

The measurement of how the economy interacts with gender and education is the sexual division of labor. Female education directly influences the skills and opportunities females have for labor. However, the sexual division of labor also is influenced directly by gender, not just through education. Therefore, gender impacts labor opportunities through both the quality and quantity of education afforded to females as well as through the feminization of occupations.

Sexual division of labor can be defined as "the division of tasks (sexual division of labour in the simplest sense); spheres of responsibility and authority; and contributions to the reproduction of the domestic unit".[255] As implied by the term, analysis of the sexual division of labor is primarily concerned with how gender impacts differences in labor. In Kenya, the sexual division of labor changed in many communities between the pre-colonial and colonial era both in productive and reproductive terms. A study by Francis explores how gender relations both shaped and changed with agrarian economic change in Koguta, a city in the Kisumu county of western Kenya. A fall in agriculture, and an increased dependence on wage labor and remittances have impacted the sexual division of labor throughout the late colonial period and the early post-colonial period. The author demonstrates that changes to power and authority through male dominated wage labor has changed women's role as

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[255] Elizabeth Francis, "Migration and Changing Divisions of Labour: Gender Relations and Economic Change in Koguta, Western Kenya," *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 65, no. 2 (1995): 197-216.

laborers as well as authority in their own homes.[256] Wage labor, in the case of the Luo

in Koguta, is primarily a male dominated activity. This sexual division of labor,

restricted access to wage labor for many women, negatively impacts women's power as

well as economic opportunities and output.

Another study on the sexual division of labor that finds a connection between

wage labor and the male gender is by Holtzman. Holtzman studies the construction of

the male identity in Sambura county in north-west Kenya. Holtzman analyzes the

decline in pastoralism in Sambura around Kenyan independence, and the increased

amount of male migratory wage laborers from Sambura. Holtzman posits that the pool

of wage laborers is primarily composed of young, males due to the construction of the

male identity in Sambura, specifically related to young males breaking away from being

provided for by their mothers and providing their own source of food as a marker of

being an adult male.[257] Once again, gender impacts the opportunities presented to both

males and females. In both cases, wage labor was often restricted to males. In the case

of Francis, the restriction of females from wage labor led to women being dependent on

males for cash that is generated through wage labor.

Political Interaction

Political Structure

Kenyan independence ushered in a new system of African led, electoral

democracy. However, Kenyan leaders soon consolidated power into a more hierarchical

model that catered to elites, educated young men from powerful ethnic groups, due to a

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[256] Ibid., 197-216.

[257] Jon Holtzman, "Age, Masculinity, and Migration: Gender and Wage Labor among Sambura Pastoralists in Northern Kenya," in *Gender at Work in Economic Life*, ed. Gracia Clark, (Walnut Creek, California: Alta Mira Press, 2003), 225-241.

"brief and shallow tradition of democratic accountability" that led to "a natural

tendency amongst Kenya's new rulers to see their interests as identical to those of the

country".[258] Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya's first leader and president, began to lead again by

the 'command and control' system similar to British colonial rule. As Hornsby

articulates, "he (Kenyatta) built a structure of power, organized around himself, his

ethnic community (Kikuyu) and their interests, and a broad coalition of others who

interests he assisted. Because this coalition delivered development, others

acquiesced".[259] Kenya under Kenyatta's presidency was democratic, but pseudo-

democratic due the lack of sustained, multiple political parties and unquestioned

presidential power. Kenya's second president, Daniel arap Moi an ally of Kenyatta, led

Kenya in much the same way during his presidency from 1978-2002. Moi's presidency

was marked by economic stagnation and crisis, politics dominated by Western wants

and desires, and authoritarian and populist rule.[260] Notably, Moi was the only president

not from the Kikuyu ethnic group, but rather from the Kalenjin. Even still, the Kikuyu

ethnic group still maintained elite power throughout the period, and retook control of

Kenya again under the third president, Mwai Kibaki. Political pressures on Moi from

external sources, Western powers unsatisfied with how the economy was being

liberalized, as well as internal sources led to the reintroduction of multiple political

parties in 1991.[261] Still, it was not until 2002 that Moi lost his presidency to Kibaki. The

office of president passing for Moi to Kibaki in 2002 garnered hope for a truly

democratic political system in Kenya, with power passing peacefully from one party to

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[258] Hornsby, *Kenya: A History Since Independence*, 12.
[259] Ibid., 107.
[260] Ibid., 334, 337, 355, 356, 419, & 637.
[261] Ibid., 486.

another as a marker of democratic consolidation.[262] Despite the new hope, real change

is hard to come by. The new political elites followed the same path that was paved by

those before them, and no real structural or social change came about due to the Kibaki

presidency.[263] Although, key structures such as the economy, foreign aid, and security

did begin to flourish under Kibaki. However, the election cycle of 2007 resulted in

violent and bloody clashes between ethnic groups, due to the prioritization and parallel

marginalization of specific ethnic groups. The result was a power sharing agreement

that placed a Luo, Raila Odinga, in the role of Prime Minister under Kibaki.[264] Finally,

the president who took the reins from Kibaki was Uhuru Kenyatta, once again from the

Kikuyu ethnic group. Kenyatta is still president today after disputed elections in 2017

against Raila Odinga.

Politics in Kenya have followed the same pattern since independence in 1963.

The first, and most seminal pattern is the tension between ethnic groups. This pattern

dates back to colonialism, where specific ethnic groups were prioritized over others

under the colonial government.[265] These groups grew strong through greater

populations numbers, greater education, and greater opportunities in the colonial state.

These groups, such as the Kikuyu who crafted power under colonialism, consolidated

and strengthened their power in Kenya post-1963. Ethnicity based policies were

rampant throughout the post-independent period, which lead to increased tensions as

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[262] Ibid., 690-694.
[263] Ibid., 703-704.
[264] Ibid., 769.
[265] Ethnic groups did not have equal interactions with British colonialists. For example, some areas had increased access to Western education, increased access to wage labor due to their location, and increased political participation. These inequalities increased over time.

communities from ethnic groups outside of political power were routinely marginalized.

This culminated in the 2007 election cycle ethnic protests and violence, with

somewhere around 1,000 deaths and hundreds of thousands misplaced people. This

pattern continues even until today, with political tension between Kenyatta, a Kikuyu,

and Odinga, a Luo. Kenyatta won the most recent elections, and Odinga promptly called

for new elections due to inconsistencies with voting. New elections were granted, but

without any real change to the election system Odinga abstained from the election, and

Kenyatta returned to power. The other consistent pattern is the tension between political

policies and who they benefit.

Charles Hornsby provides a detailed analysis of the history of Kenya in the post-

colonial period. He identifies a struggle between different types of policies seen

throughout the entire period that is illuminating for conceptualizing the political

structures of independent Kenya. He identities the three policy types as: predatory

policies, utilitarian policies, and popular policies. The predatory policies benefited elites

in power, the utilitarian policies benefited the majority although also often increased

inequality, and the popular policies were massively supported but not economically

efficient.[266] These three policy categories are important for conceptualizing major

educational policies enacted throughout the post-colonial period, and I employ some of

this categorization for analyzing the educational policies.

The political system of Kenya has evolved into a multi-party democracy.

However, politics are still driven by ethnic alliances, elite power, and international

intervention. Although there was and authoritarianism swing under Daniel arap Moi,

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[266] Ibid., 12.

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Kenya has more or less maintained tenants of democracy in political decision making, even if many of the policies have been skewed by a hierarchical government with preferences specific ethnic groups. This political system is the backdrop against which the relationship between gender and education has played out. As discussed earlier, political policies such as the three FPEs had major ramifications on the relationship between gender and education. The FPEs are mostly popular policies; policies enacted due to popular demand, but lacking in economic efficiency, which has doomed the long-term feasibility of at least the first two FPEs.

Political Measure

Political educational policies have already been discussed in detail in the section on education. The desire for greater, more equal education underlined the independence movement and, therefore, was of great political importance in the post-colonial era, especially in the first few decades. Starting under Kenyatta, education was the subject of multiple policies, reports, studies, and political promises. One of the main reasons education was so ardently pursued was because education was seen as a direct avenue to economic growth. Therefore, greater quantity and quality of education was pursued fervently under the Kenyatta presidency. For the first ten years, Kenya focused on secondary education to develop a higher-skilled labor force to stimulate economic growth. However, the demand for universal, free education soon turned the attention of the government to primary education. The result in the 1970s and 80s under both Kenyatta and Moi was the continual attempt to lessen or eradicate school fees and other financial barriers to education. These policies would be classified by Hornsby as popular policies, driven by popular demand but not always economically and financially

sound. As seen above, the first two FPEs were riddled with problems that made them

unfeasible in the long-term because there was no sound alternative for funding. These

educational policies are of particular interest because they were political motivated,

meaning that they were enacted in a large part because of political promises and

demands. Additionally, these policies had huge ramifications on education for females;

the quantity increased, which has led to relative equality based on gender for access to

education. Although these policies do not address gender directly, other policies do.

Gender norms and values have changed drastically throughout the decades

following independence. A quote from an MP regarding women in 1966 summed up

their marginalized role in many communities: "the first duty of a woman, any woman, is

to get a husband. This is the first qualification of a woman. If she fails to get a husband,

she has failed her first examination and she is not worthy to represent anybody…".[267]

From there, women's rights and gender equality has progressed to where women have

greater education, economic employment, rights, and power. Gender equality in

education has a heightened place on the political agenda both globally and in Kenya.

This has led to the "gender sensitive", "gender inclusive", "gender lite", or "gender

responsive" policies in many areas of Kenya.[268] Government policies, research, and

training on gender responsive education was not introduced until 2008.[269] Gender

specific policies, proposed by both the government and specific education institutions,

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[267] Mwendwa quoted by Hornsby, *Kenya: A History Since Independence*, 202.
[268] Milligan, "'They Are Not Serious Like the Boys': Gender Norms and Contradictions for Girls in Rural Kenya," 465-476; Unterhalter and North, "Responding to the Gender and Education Millennium Development Goals in South Africa and Kenya: Reflections on Education Rights, Gender Equality, Capabilities and Global Justice," 495-511.
[269] Unterhalter and North, "Responding to the Gender and Education Millennium Development Goals in South Africa and Kenya: Reflections on Education Rights, Gender Equality, Capabilities and Global Justice," 495-511.

include: affirmative action for girls' education, expansion of gender inclusive and safe environments, providing support to non-formal education institutions, changes to curriculum, and teacher training on gender equality.[270] Although global and domestic actors introduce research and policies geared to accomplish gender equality in education, these policies often fall short. Unterhalter and North uncover in their research on the Millennium Development Goals in Kenya that many officials and educators believe that gender equality is "properly taken care of".[271] Similarly, in Milligan's study teachers recognized the difficulties females face in education, but often they enact their own socially constructed ideals of gender in their classrooms that maintained gender-biases through their teachings and encouragement of their students.[272] Therefore, while Kenya in the past couple of decades has made huge strides in equality in education, such as almost equal access, full gender equality still lags behind despite government policies enacted to foster gender equality in education.

The interaction of politics with gender and education has increased some areas of equality in education, but has not produced full gender equality in education as of today. Educational policies have increased girls' access to education, but as for quality measures such as achievement and accomplishment, policies have yielded few results. This is largely because the same gender norms that hinder gender equality in education also impact the political institution. These cultural norms lag, and some barriers to

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[270] Milligan, "'They Are Not Serious Like the Boys': Gender Norms and Contradictions for Girls in Rural Kenya," 465-476; Foulds, "Buzzwords at Play: Gender, Education, and Political Participation in Kenya," 653-671.
[271] Unterhalter and North, "Responding to the Gender and Education Millennium Development Goals in South Africa and Kenya: Reflections on Education Rights, Gender Equality, Capabilities and Global Justice," 495-511.
[272] Milligan, "'They Are Not Serious Like the Boys': Gender Norms and Contradictions for Girls in Rural Kenya," 465-476.

gender equality remain persistently stubborn to changing. The persistence of these norms impact the interaction between gender, education, and politics.

Conclusion

The focus of this chapter was the interaction between gender and education and the presence of gender inequality in education throughout most of the period. While some imbalances have largely successfully been addressed through government policies and international pressure, gender gaps persistently remain in education. This relationship between gender and education impacts the economic and political structures of Kenya. The economy experiences lower growth and a sexual division of labor due to differences in female education as well as gender norms outside of education. Likewise, the political structure boasts progressive policies, but continues to experience the impact of skewed gender norms, which impacts the education system with inefficient gender equality policies. This is the situation in Kenya as of today, the concluding chapter addresses where to go from here and introduce policy and research recommendations.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I analyze the relationship between education and gender in Kenya, and explore how that specific relationship interacts with economics and politics. Throughout three time-periods – pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial – the relationship between education and gender changes due to shifting norms. These changes impact the interaction with economics and politics. These themes are important because it reframes the way we conceptualize development.

My thesis was driven by the central research question: how does the relationship between education and gender interact with other societal structures, such as politics and economics overtime? After extensive historical analysis, I posit that social norms of gender influence education, which in turn interacts with the political structures and the economy of Kenya. Throughout each time-period, a multitude of actors defined, accepted, rejected, and incorporated gender norms into the education system, which shaped female education. I measure how the norms change and the impact of these changes on education through four measures: access, attainment, achievement, and accomplishment. Additionally, I determine how these norms work through education and interact in specific ways with political and economic institutions in Kenya. While this thesis provides no definitive policy recommendation, it is still important because it informs us what type of policy addressing gender in education is necessary: one that recognizes the complexities of how education is informed by gender hierarchies and gender norms. Additionally, this thesis demonstrates multiple areas through which education is influenced by gender that would need to be addressed be policy recommendations. Furthermore, this thesis provides reasons for why addressing gender

inequality in education is important. First, it is important for development, as the capabilities theory predicts. Additionally, gender inequality in education also impacts economic and political structures and, therefore, addressing gender gaps in education also works to address gender gaps in other social structures. Finally, this thesis defends the notion that it is necessary to address gender inequality in education because education is a freedom that has intrinsic value.

Education in Kenya has historically been utilized to promote development of some kind, whether it is social development, economic development, or national development. Currently, development projects with various goals typically have one common feature: the utilization of Western norms to promote "modernization" or development. However, this thesis has highlighted negative outcomes due to the influx of Western norms, as seen during the colonial period. This produces a great irony: the use of Western norms to enhance social and economic development in Kenya despite the historic reality of negative outcomes due to utilization of Western norms for development. While this paper does not fully address this issue, it has serious policy implications for future development projects. Development practitioners and advocates need to resist the notion that Western norms are universally good, superior, and ahistorical.

Review of Themes

The main theme from the pre-colonial period revolved around indigenous education and its relationship with gender norms. Although each ethnic group had different educational, economic and political structures, some common themes among these structures are present throughout Kenya. Primarily, indigenous education had five

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common principles: preparationism, functionalism, communalism, perennialism and wholisticism. These principles drove indigenous education to be tailored to specific roles, practical, communal, to advance multiple skills, and to preserve and reproduce the culture and traditions of different ethnic groups. The relationship between education and gender is measured in each time-period chapter with four measurements: access, attainment, achievement, and accomplishment. For the pre-colonial period, I argue that access and attainment are unrestricted, but that achievement and accomplishment are restricted by gender norms. Throughout the time-period, education and gender interacted in a manner that impacted economic and political roles. As with every time-period chapter, I measured how education and gender interacted with the economy by analyzing the sexual division of labor. During the pre-colonial period, there was a clear sexual division of labor based off gender, which was informed by the specific education that males and females received. Additionally, the political measurement, educational policies, indicated that politics influenced gender in education opportunities for political participation. Overall, the main theme of the period was one of separation for males and females; while there was subordination in many communities, it was not so clear cut as it becomes during the colonial period.

With the introduction of missionary education, which was formalized in the early colonial period, gender norms began to change the relationship between education and gender. Missionaries imported Western norms, which postulated gender ideals based off Victorian and religious notions. Therefore, under the colonial period, educational inequality began to increase due to gender identities. These changes impacted how education interacted with the economic and political structures.

Additionally, tensions between settlers and Africans, the introduction of overarching

structures, and racial subordination impacted societal structures in the colonial period.

One of the main focuses of the third chapter is dedicated to how Africans internalized,

accepted, or rebelled against the changes that Europeans exerted on their society. These

reactions were tied to education, specifically through the independent school movement.

Therefore, education became a site of norms and culture for both European missionaries

as well as Kenyans. The four measurements for gender and education all indicated that

gender norms during the colonial period restricted education for females in various

ways; this was the only time-period were all four measurements indicated that gender

norms restricted education. The economic measurement for the period indicated that the

sexual division of labor was heavily influenced by the impact of Western gender ideals

in education. The political measurement also highlighted the shifting relationship

between education and gender and how it impacted politics. The measurement indicated

that politics impacted education due to gender ideals that were incorporated in

educational policies. During the colonial era, I demonstrate that there is growth to the

impact of gender on education, economics, and politics.

Finally, the last time-period under review is the post-colonial era. During the

post-colonial era, there have been a lot of structural changes to education. Additionally,

gender norms are not static and always changing, which has impacted education in

numerous ways. Chapter four analyzes these changes to the relationship between

education and gender and determines that although some imbalances in education are

largely being corrected from the colonial era, gender inequality is still a persistent

problem within education. Access and attainment during the post-colonial period

indicate near to total educational equality based off gender, but achievement and accomplishment are still restricted by gender norms. This is demonstrated with the quantitative and qualitative data employed. These inequalities have major implications for economics and politics, which face persistent gaps based off gender. The economic measurement helps highlight how education continues to impact the sexual division of labor due to gender norms. As for the political measurement, it is clear that gender ideals impact education through the political structures. Educational policies, whether they are specifically tailored to gender or not, impact the manner in which gender informs the educational structure. These developments are important to analyze because of the impact on individual development as well as social development of the nation. I include a summary of all the variables of interest in the table below.

Table 10. Summary of Variables

	PRE-COLONIAL	COLONIAL	POST-COLONIAL
EDUCATION AND GENDER			
Access	Unrestricted	Restricted	Unrestricted
Attainment	Unrestricted	Restricted	Almost Unrestricted
Achievement	Restricted	Restricted	Restricted
Accomplishment	Restricted	Restricted	Restricted
ECONOMICS			
Division of Labor	Yes – High	Yes – High	Yes – Medium
POLITICS			
Policies	Yes – Low	Yes – High	Yes – Medium

Significance and Contributions to the Literature

I provide a detailed look at the interaction between education, politics, and economics in Kenya throughout three different time periods. While this thesis does not represent a fully holistic look at these three societal structures, the strength of this thesis is that by focusing on specific links between the three structures, I am able to

demonstrate different avenues through which these structures are linked. The strength of this paper is that it provides an in-depth historical analysis to address the complexities of the relationship between gender norms and education. As gender norms and education structures separately shifted and changed throughout Kenya's history, it is important to pin down the specific relationship throughout each time-period. I also demonstrate new ways to conceptualize and study education and gender. This has real world applications because it demonstrates the historical complexities of education and gender and the insufficient response of development to this relationship. To make efficient and effective policies relating to female education, it is necessary to have a better understand of the dynamics that impact female education as well as the impacts on other parts of society.

Implications and Avenues of Future Research

The implications flow from the conclusions of chapter four, namely that gender inequality is a persistent problem in education due to the construction of gender norms in Kenya. Since this thesis is founded on a capabilities approach, equitable education is a fundamental freedom that increases individual freedoms and societal development. Equitable education is important. Thus far, Kenya has not achieved equitable education based on gender, considering both quantitative and qualitative data. Despite this, many believe that due to the quantitative data that education equity is increasing. However, when the full relationship between education and gender is reviewed, it is clear that there are still persistent, systemic problems to achieving education equality based off gender.

This analysis is important for anyone participating in development in Kenya, including: governments, NGOs, and experts. To fully rectify inequality in education, one must understand the complexities of the relationship between education and gender. Additionally, it is important to understand how this relationship impacts other areas that development deems important, such as economics and politics. Although I only focused on one freedom (education), the unfreedoms present in education create unfreedoms in other areas. While there is no easy fix to this problem, by gaining more insight into the complex web of freedoms and unfreedoms, we can create more effective policies.

Finally, there are many avenues of future research which flow from this paper. I have only looked at one freedom and corresponding unfreedom; however, many other related freedoms and unfreedoms are clearly related to education. Further research is needed to understand this web of freedoms and how they interact. For example, Sen indicates five categories for freedoms: "political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees and protective security".[273] Education is a social opportunity, but equally important are freedoms that are part of the other four categories and understanding how they interact together, such as education and poverty for example. These avenues of extended research are important because of the underlying assumptions of this thesis, that freedoms are important as a goal of development, tool of development, and as fundamental rights. If we let these assumptions drive our research, then we can produce more work that advocates for development due to its intrinsic value to individuals and their rights.

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[273] Sen, "Introduction," 3-11.

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