Racial Integration and Educational Policy in Kenya

Suhashni Datta
Western Michigan University

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RACIAL INTEGRATION AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY IN KENYA

by

Suhashni Datta

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment
of the
Degree of Master of Arts

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Suhashni Datta
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The profound significance attached to racial integration in nation-states has been injected into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by the principle that the state should be nationally homogeneous and the nation should be politically united. This principle depends on the Western concept of nationalism. The problem of racial integration within a nation arises out of the conflict between the ideal of the homogeneous nation and the reality of racial heterogeneity. Race, of course, is not the only variable producing division or stratification in a nation-state. One can describe racially homogeneous states which are religiously heterogeneous, or ethnically heterogeneous, or whose economic structure is such as to have produced a rigid stratification system based on occupation. On the other hand, racial, religious, or ethnic divisions can be highly correlated with political, economic, and social stratification. The variety of conditions under which minorities exist exemplifies the correlation of political, economic, and social status on one hand, and race, religion, and ethnicity on the other hand.
Before analyzing the situation of the minorities in Kenya with which this thesis will be concerned, let me present the recurring ways in which ethnic racial groups attain their status as minorities in a larger society or state. I will use Schermerhorn's typology on the sequential patterns of ethnic relations. The four major patterns are caste, annexation, migration, and colonization.

The first classification is that of a caste system, which leads to hierarchical and vertical stratification. The Indian caste system is one of the better known ones in the world. It not only created a minority of low class untouchables, but also one of high class brahmins at the top level. The political, economic, and social status was not hierarchical, but depended on the individual's caste and, thus, his occupation.

The second sequential pattern, annexation, is caused by the enlargement of a nation-state. The incorporation of the border areas may include the addition of ethnic minorities, also.

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The third sequence is one in which a group of people from one society move to another. The various types of migrations explain the status of the migrants. One of the most coercive forms of migration was that of Africans as slaves to the United States, the Caribbean, and Brazil. Of course, the constraints on these migrants were strong and their status the lowest. A second type of migration involves that of labour\(^1\) from one area to the other. The conditions may not be as constraining as those for slaves, but, as in the South African mines, African labourers were often forced to leave their villages to work on the mines. The third type of migration is that of contracted labour. This was most prevalent in the colonial times, when colonialists needed labour for their economic endeavors. The British imported such labour from the Indian subcontinent for some of its Caribbean and African colonies. The majority of the contractual labour went back especially in Kenya, but permanent migration was set up and was followed by prospecting Indians. The exploitative needs of the colonialists were conducted with a fairly strict control over this labour. However, economic opportunities were plentiful, and migration continued.

\(^1\)British spelling is used in this thesis.
to supply a labour with technical skills and one which was more used to a money economy than the indigenous population. The fourth type of migration, and one with the least amount of control, is the admission of voluntary immigrants.

The final sequence is that of colonization. The basic implication here is that the colonialist is in the minority, but gains control of the indigenous population under his territory. Oftentimes, colonial settlement was limited. The tropical climate was intolerable for the temperate-acclimated European. The limited settlement occurred for economic exploitation. Security for these settlers was provided by the military, and the 'divide and rule' policy helped keep the 'natives' occupied among themselves.

Where colonization led to substantial settlement, the climate was more tolerable. The land was fertile, and colonial settlement was encouraged by the 'mother countries.' Thus, substantial settlement implied large land holdings. However, numerical proportions are most significant in determining the nature of the society. For example, both South Africa and South Rhodesia had larger proportions of whites than the East African territories. Kenya, as a settler colony, was very close to having a permanent domination of a white minority.
The lack of success for this minority was not only numerical but also due to the withdrawal of the British government's support for their permanent rule. Steward classifies Uganda, Tanganyika and Kenya, when they were colonial territories, in that order in respect of the degree to which native interests were consulted; it is in reverse order to the proportion of the whites.

In presenting the above sequences, I have placed a great deal of significance in the hierarchical position of minorities. I would like to point out that in many nation-states, minorities have been integrated and assimilated into other cultures. The Hausa-Fulani is one such culture where the conquering minority of the Fulani assimilated with the indigenous Hausa culture. This sort of a change took place over a long period.

The duration of Western colonization in Africa and Asia was too short to provide time for such situations. Indeed, the colonial period has left many nation-states with minorities - indigenous and immigrant. Thus, 'ex-colonies' provide some very interesting situations of race relations. Kenya, the case-study for this thesis is also an ex-colony which was left with two immigrant

---

minorities. One was the British colonial rulers, and the other was the Asians of the Indian subcontinent. These two minorities reflected the three-tiered colonial societies of Africa. The White minority was the colonial ruler; the Asians were the entrepreneurs, conducting clerical functions for the British administrators and running the cash economy of the colony; and at the bottom was the African, being pestered by the missionary activity and driven off his land by the white settler. This pluralistic society took a sudden change with the wave of nationalism which led to the independence of African nations. After independence, the hierarchy changed to make the African leaders the political elite, displacing the whites into advisory capacity. The status of the Asian was automatically at the bottom.

The problem of racial minorities in Kenya is further complicated by tribal heterogeneity among the Africans. Indeed, Africa's post-independence era has been one of major upheavals and tremendous instability. The suddenness of independence did not leave the African elite a sufficient transitory period to consolidate their power and stabilize their nations. The racial minorities, a significant portion of the population, had to show their faith in the legitimacy of the government. Many a statement was issued by African leaders, as to
Kenya becoming a unique multi-racial society. The ideal was some form of racial integration and cooperation among the races. The colonial past was to be forgotten and the minorities were to become part of a stable Kenya society.

Assuming that the Kenyan leaders were honourable towards their policy, the ideal of a multi-racial society could only be formed if the minorities were retained in Kenya and some form of racial integration took place. Kenya has been independent for nearly ten years. This transitory period can reflect the future of racial integration in Kenya.

To make any specific observations on the changes in racial patterns and attitudes, I had to limit my study to a specific environment. One of the most accessible, and often the only, place of inter-racial contact in Kenya is the urban educational institution.

The sample for this study was drawn from the high schools of Nairobi, the largest urban center of Kenya. These schools were segregated into African, Asian and European schools. After independence, the schools were desegregated and the youth of these races came into contact with each other, often for the first time. Racial attitudes of an age group ranging from 14 to 18 years old, were gained using items from a questionnaire from
a more comprehensive project on "Education and Citizenship" in East Africa. The original study covered a fairly wide range of citizenship issues - investigating the relationships between educational policies, school experiences, and citizenship attitudes in nations newly independent and still struggling with the very complex problems of nation-building under conditions of inter-tribal and inter-racial tensions. I shall confine my research to the effects of racial contact on racial integration and attitudes on students in the Nairobi schools.

Since these students were often the first to have such inter-racial contact, they brought to the situation the traditional biases and prejudices. How successful they were in shedding these biases and gaining respect for each other is reflected by the statistics gained from the study. It is hoped that from these statistics we will get some indications of the direction towards which the Kenyan society is moving and how much

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1The project was set up by the Political Science Research Program, which was directed by James Coleman and funded by the Rockefeller Foundation. I worked in 1967 as Research Assistant to the Project Director, David Koff, in Kenya. On my return to Nairobi in 1971, Kenneth Prewitt, of the Institute of Developmental Studies, encouraged me to sort out part of the data for my thesis research.
racial integration has been accomplished in this transitory period.
CHAPTER II

THE COLONIAL HERITAGE AND THE POST INDEPENDENT SITUATION

The Colonial Society and Race

As a background to this research, it is necessary to see the effects of colonial society on the three racial groups. It was the colonial society which was responsible for the stratification of the three racial groups into separate social, economic, and political entities. This stratification and separation had strong repercussions on the attitudes that these groups formed about each other. It is important to know how little Kenya society was integrated during colonial times and to assess the degree of its integration now in order to be able to analyze the attitudes of the racial groupings toward one another and toward the society as a whole.

The colonial society in Kenya was organized on the basis of racial groups. It is interesting to note here that there is no official document which explains the segregation, colour bar, and the discriminatory policy of the colonial government. No doubt, Britain had laws of equal rights which were to be maintained in its
colonies, and no British statesman can be accused of repudiating the policy of equal rights. However, the colonial ruler "lay great emphasis on the distinction between statutory and administrative discrimination."¹ In other words, the colonial administrator could go ahead and base the organization of his colony on segregation and discrimination. Thus, colonial Kenya became a segregated society 'de facto' if not 'de jure.' Let me now explain in detail the organization of this segregated society and the repercussion of such a society on each individual racial group.

To start with, there was a definite hierarchical structure based on race. At the top of this hierarchy came the European - the colonial ruler and administrator. This position gave him political power, and he used it not only to perpetuate his rule, but also to exploit the rest of the population for personal benefits. The European came to the situation with the preconceived notion that the African and Asian cultures were inferior to his own. They demonstrated this attitude by their policies in many areas. The major conflict between the Europeans and the two other races was

due to land. Laws prevented the Asians from buying land in the fertile highland. The Africans had been displaced by the white settlers, and were squatters on their own land. Facilities such as medical and educational were always the best for the European. This, with an abundance of discriminatory practices, led to bitter feelings by the Asians and the Africans. The Mau Mau rebellion was one such expression of these bitter feelings by the Africans.

The Asians also struggled for political rights. However, the nature of the segregation policies and practices enforced by the Europeans did not allow them to cooperate with Africans. If Asians and Africans were seen to be cooperating, the Europeans tried all that they could to curtail it. The deliberate attempts by the Europeans to stir up anti-Asian feelings among the Africans were mostly motivated by their own needs for aggrandisement.¹

The Asian was on the second rung of this racial hierarchy in Kenya. Their settlement in Kenya began at the turn of the century, when the British imported labourers from their colony on the Indian sub-continent,

to work on the "Uganda railway." These indentured labourers were obligated to return to Asia; but some of them actually remained and were followed by other Indians who settled, among other places, at the upland terminal of the railroad - Nairobi - and ultimately made it the largest entrepot in East Africa. Because of the land policies mentioned above, Asians - the majority of whom had come from rural backgrounds - could not farm in Kenya. The best farming lands, the highlands of Kenya, were reserved for the whites, and laws were passed by the colonizers to prevent immigrants from buying land. Even the better occupations were usually reserved for Europeans. The few Asian and African professionals were employed on lower pay scales than Europeans. Thus, the only major occupation available to the Asians was retail trade. Their monopoly over the retail economy has since come under strong criticism from both Europeans and Africans, due to its exploitative nature, but the reader should note that Asians might well have been more widely distributed in the occupational structure had other opportunities been available to them.

The lack of social contact between the European and the Asians and Africans was due primarily to the attitudes of superiority widely felt among the Europeans. The Europeans did not want to associate with the Asians and the Africans, and they maintained exclusive clubs where the only coloured people present were the bartenders and the waiters. The contact between Asians and Africans was also limited. This is not surprising, considering the social climate the segregationist policy had created. Though the colonial policies led to discrimination for both the Asians and the Africans, the Asians - being an immigrant minority - were always better off than the Africans. The disparity in their cultures made the situation even worse. The Asians belonged to different ethnic groups and were used to interacting only among their own community. Thus, social contact was limited even amongst their various communities. They tended to imitate the colonizers by acquiring a belief in the superiority of their culture, and this led them to treat the African as an inferior being. Instead of cooperating with the Africans, which they might have done if they had emphasized their common interests which derived from both groups being discriminated against by the Europeans, the Asians marked out a position for themselves in a social hierarchy between
the Europeans and the Africans. The Africans in the colonial period thus found themselves to be at the bottom of the hierarchy; not only politically and economically, but also socially. Their political and economic aspirations were thwarted by the Europeans, and within the realm of retail trade, by the Asians.

The major cause of conflict was their land, which had been taken away from them by the colonizer. They not only became squatters and labourers on their own land, but they were denied equal economic opportunities in agriculture. The Europeans, for example, did not allow the Africans to grow tea and coffee, Kenya's chief exports. This ultimately became a significant political issue. The Mau Mau rebellion, which attracted worldwide attention as an important nationalist movement, had land issues as its primary concern.

The African also saw the Asian as a hinderance in his economic progress. The Asian as a 'dukawalla' (shopkeeper) was seen as an exploiter of the African. Moreover, the Asian occupied the middle rungs of the economic ladder. He was the artisan and the clerk, and it was these positions that placed Asians directly in competition with Africans.
The Effect of Segregation on Education

Since the sample of this study is from the secondary schools of Nairobi, I would like to describe the organization of the colonial educational system in Kenya. Basically, this system was devised to serve the segregationist policy of the colonizer. The divisions were primarily along the three racial lines, but included two other divisions: the Arabs and the Goans. Perhaps one of the most notorious aspects of this organization was the enormous disparity in the standards of education that were made available for each racial group. The annual governmental reports showed the amount of money spent on the education of the three major groups; the disparity is self-evident. In 1938, the colonial government spent $2 on every African student, $12 on every Asian student, and $62 on every European student.¹

Obviously, African education suffered greatly in colonial times. The school was often a straw-thatched mud hut. More than half the money allotted to African education was for the purpose of subsidizing mission

schools. Another significant feature of African education was that the majority of African schools were primary or elementary schools. In 1938, there were only four mission schools that provided any facility for a secondary school education.\(^1\) The purpose of keeping the African education to a bare minimum was an imperative of the colonial policy. The African or the heathen was to be taught enough English to be able to read the Bible and to become a clerk or an artisan. The 'civilizing mission' was to be accomplished through the missionary. It did not take the African long to realize that the missionaries were collaborating with the administration and were indeed the twin edge of the sword of colonialism.

Asian education was only slightly better funded than that of the Africans. However, the Asian communities were largely commercial and professional, and they set aside private and religious funds in order to make it possible for their children to attend schools that were of much better standard than the African.

No doubt, the European child had the best education available. It was based on the private school system in Britain and was usually a boarding school.

\(^1\) ibid.
These schools were comparable to the top elite schools of the world with all the facilities, from laboratories to tennis courts, provided. No Asian or African was allowed to send his child to these schools even if he could afford to do so. The government not only spent the majority of the educational funds for the European students, but also paid for the initial cost of building these schools.

The situation had improved somewhat by 1955. The government education expenditure had increased to give about 45 percent of African students primary education. Even if it was only a small fraction of the relevant age group that could have secondary education, the government was showing more interest in African education. The $2 expenditure of 1938 had increased to $7.50 by 1955.¹

A handful of Africans had by then returned from their foreign studies with degrees from Makerere College in Uganda and Britain. They came with new ideas and a spirit of nationalism that became a major threat to the colonial rule.

However, the enormous disparity in the standard

of education continued. In 1955, $52 was spent on an Asian child and $202 on a European child.\(^1\) By 1955, all Asian and European children had an opportunity for primary and secondary education. The majority of European students also had the opportunity of a University education, for most of their parents could afford to send them to Britain.

As I mentioned before, the type of education provided was based on the British model. Even the Asian schools that were affiliated to religious and communal groups had to include British materials in their curricula. Thus, the educational system made little effort to make the student aware of his local problems and environment. Students learned about English kings, English poets, and English weather.

However, we must note that the great prominence given to formal education by the colonial setting was somewhat beneficial for the African and the Asian. Lystad's study of the Ashanti people in Ghana and Agni in the Ivory Coast concludes that the British colonial administration

\[^1\text{ibid.}\]

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associational groups and implemented by more extensive and intensive formal education, has fostered greater and more rapid change than has the French system of assimilation through direct rule without the implementation of intensive formal education.¹

Of course, the purpose of the British colonialists was not to produce an educated elite, which would threaten the very existence of the colonizers. They were motivated by the economic situation of their colony. The 'native' was to be educated only to the level where he could fill the lower occupational positions. But the Africans and the Asians learned the colonizers' language and started communicating their demands, which were sometimes passive and other times explosive.

When the Africans gained independence, they were well aware of the significant role of formal education in the process of development and in building a new nation. However, they had to change the educational system drastically. The demands of a new nation were in no way reconcilable with those of the colonial administrators. The colonial educational system had to be remodeled to one which was relevant to an independent

African nation. This meant the over-hauling of the system into one which met with the challenges of creating unity, a sense of citizenship and respect for the political institution. This was no simple task especially with many of the colonial ways and stereotypes deep-set in the minds of all three races.

Post-independent Kenya and the significance of Nairobi as a Research Site

At the time of independence (1963), Kenya was no longer the segregated society it was in the colonial period. However, the wounds of the segregationist policy left deep scars in Kenyan society. The exclusiveness of the racial groups did not allow for any communication between them, and the superficial relationships led to the development of stereotypes. The European was still a strong and aggressive person - to be respected and emulated. The African was lazy and not to be trusted. The Asian, as the 'dukawalla' was the exploiter of the African and was mean and crooked. The British did much to aggravate the racial conflict by perpetrating these stereotypes. Also, by not allowing Asians to move to rural areas, the British really promoted a concentration of the Asians in the urban centres of Kenya, a situation which has continued to the present. Similarly, a large proportion of
Europeans also live in these urban areas. Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, reflects this urban heterogeneity to a much higher degree than any other city in Kenya or East Africa.

Nairobi stands apart from all other East African urban centers. It is also the largest city, with a population approaching a half-million. Most foreign firms select Nairobi as their headquarters for the East African region, and the demand for skilled technical labour has grown apace. In its efforts to desegregate, the government of Kenya has furthered a policy which has made it inevitable that an increasing proportion of skilled, as well as semi-skilled, jobs will be allocated to Africans in the near future.

With this dynamic growth have come tensions which are characteristic of urban societies. Nairobi exerts a pull on ambitious Kenyans from all parts of the country, whether as politicians, civil servants, as part of a new class of African entrepreneurs, or simply as labourers hoping to benefit from the opportunities being made available in the process of industrialization, expanding commerce, and tourism. For some Africans, living in Nairobi represents the realization of a variety of aspirations, some rational and others irrational, which were first voiced during the Mau
Mau insurgency of the early 1950's. Many of these Africans have been settled in Nairobi for a considerable time and have made successful adjustments. For many other Africans, however, living in this great metropolis represents the painful adjustment of a rural person and would-be proletariat to the unfamiliar and exacting demands of a modern city. Nowhere in East Africa is the gap between the aspirations and the objective life-changes of Africans so great and so apparent as in Nairobi.

The presence of the Asians and Europeans with their relatively higher socio-economic status makes the situation worse. The living standards of these two races are there for the poor African to observe and have made a major contribution towards what Africanists call 'the revolution of rising expectations.' The contact with the European is less than that with Asians. Though many Europeans returned to England and the Continent, the number of Europeans remaining in Kenya has actually increased. The colonial administrators have more than been replaced by Western business interests. Even though Europeans form a substantial proportion of Nairobi's resident population, their high socio-economic status reduces the opportunity of their being in contact with the African
population. The Asians, not only because of their socio-economic status, but because of the type of their work, are in constant contact with the African. I have already mentioned the resentment of the Africans towards the Asians which derives from the fact that the Africans have to compete with the Asians for many of the lower occupational levels.

This social heterogeneity and its resulting tensions are fully reflected in Kenya's school system. In the rural areas, the government is struggling to bring at least a minimal level of education to a poor and widely scattered population and to in-still in school children citizenship values appropriate to the demands of a modern nation-state. The situation in the urban centers, in terms of facilities, is a little better. However, the problems here, especially in Nairobi schools, are compounded by a dramatically different political climate. Nairobi schools, for example, must cope with inflated expectations and sub-cultural animosities aroused by continuous school-room confrontations among pupils from radically differing backgrounds.

One other important point needs to be noted here. Even within Nairobi itself, schools vary greatly in terms of the social environment they provide their
pupils. First, Kenya's elite boarding schools (the former European schools) and some of its more modest day schools both operate within the city limits. Secondly, religious sponsorship adds certain marked differences in tone to many schools. Thirdly, and most importantly, Nairobi's schools vary dramatically in their racial composition. Some elite schools (to which the children of African businessmen, higher African civil servants and politicians, etc., have now been added) remain largely the preserves of European or wealthy Asian families. Then there are schools that always have been and are still predominantly African. Additionally, Nairobi has some schools in which the three races are represented in roughly equal numbers.

For some years now, the relation of the schools to the acquisition of citizenship values has been of concern to educational officials in Kenya. This was one of the most important problems included in the terms of reference of the Education Commission set up by the Kenya government in 1964. In its report, the Commission emphasized the point that "no problem is more important to the future welfare of Kenya than the cultivation of a sense of belonging to a nation and the desire to serve the nation."1

1 op. cit.
The Commission viewed Kenya's schools to be of central importance in the process outlined above. It recommended that they be charged with the responsibility of instilling in their students a tolerance and respect for tribal, racial, and religious diversity; a respect for traditional African culture; and acceptance of social change and of the orientations required to sustain such change; a spirit of self-help; and a desire to preserve as far as possible a traditional sense of social equality. This process, it was suggested, was not to be confined to formal citizenship instruction in the classroom. The Education Commission noted that "a sense of belonging to a nation is not merely, or perhaps mainly, something that comes from study or the reasoning faculties. Quite as important as the growth of knowledge is the experience of an atmosphere ... the need to diversify the student body and staff of schools have a connection with this psychological factor."¹

Kenya's schools are thus regarded by Kenyans themselves as a social laboratory in which education officials, teachers and pupils must work out patterns of learning and of social interaction that will

¹ibid.
engender behavior relevant to a modernizing, multi-racial society.
In this chapter, I would like to consider some of the theoretical aspects of this study. In the previous two chapters, I have mentioned many problems and terms which need some further defining. I have talked in terms of Kenya being a pluralistic society struggling to integrate for the purposes of the stability and legitimization of the new African government. What exactly do we mean by legitimacy and stability? Is integration merely the desegregation of the colonial society? Can Kenya, through the socialization of the three races and through increased amounts of contact among the races, produce attitudes supportive of the development of a more stable society? Can we conclude that the Kenya government, given the circumstances of a multi-racial society with a long history of segregation, has theoretically chosen the best process for solving its inter-racial problems?

Pluralism and Integration

Let me start by defining the term 'pluralistic society.'
Furnivall\(^1\) described the colonial tropical societies as 'plural societies' and gave currency to this term. Today, social scientists use 'plural society' for any society which is culturally and socially heterogeneous.

Some writers have referred to an ideology of pluralism. In this context, pluralism is seen as a doctrinal belief system usually ascribed to an ethnic minority group whose members assert the desirability of preserving their way of life even though it differs substantially from that of the majority group. As Wirth\(^2\) states: "A pluralistic minority is one which seeks toleration for its differences on the part of the dominant group."

A more pervasive and inclusive description of pluralism in the African and colonial context is the one proposed by Van den Berghe.\(^3\) He conceived pluralism as "a matter of degree rather than as an all or none

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phenomenon." Any structurally segmented and culturally diverse society can be placed on this continuum.

Operationally, Van den Berghe characterizes pluralism by

"... the relative absence of value consensus; the relative rigidity and clarity of group definition; the relative presence of conflict, or, at least lack of integration and complementarity between various parts of the social system; the segmentary and specific character of relationships, and the relative existence of sheer institutional duplication (as opposed to functional differentiation or specialization) between the various segments of the society."\(^1\)

This definition would describe South Africa as one of the world's most pluralistic societies. Colonial Kenya, with its quasi-apartheid policy, would rate pretty high, too.\(^2\)

It is interesting to note here that, even though the situation in South Africa is basically conflict-promoting, the relations between groups of differential power produce integrative bonds. Gluckman describes the

\(^{1}\)ibid.

\(^{2}\)African scholars have speculated on the chances of Kenya to have become another South African or Rhodesian type of development. It was fortunate in having a smaller white settlement, which could not keep as strong a hold as the whites in South Africa and Rhodesia.
interactions of the various groups in South Africa on the foundations that:

"When the members of two societies come into relationship with one another, they quickly establish regularized relations, and the form of these relationships may be shaped by internal conflicts in either society." ¹

Of course, South Africa is considered to be a colonial situation, and pluralism is an accepted reality of colonial societies. However, the high correlation of colonial societies with pluralism does not exclude independent states from existing in similar circumstances. Thailand, which claims to have been independent for over 1,000 years, has a large Chinese minority. Kenya has been independent for 9 years but still retains some of its historical pluralistic characteristics.

This is not to say that the preservation of the previously segregated society is an accepted phenomenon by independent Kenya. Indeed, the African leadership has changed all the major policies of segregation to create a desegregated society lacking the discriminatory practices of the colonial era. This society demands a new social order, interrelated activities and

"the internalization of institutional values so that genuine motivational integration of behavior in the social structure takes place..."\(^1\) In other words, until there is a value consensus and an assimilation of the three racial groups, the presence of the European and Asian minorities will produce strain and instability in Kenya.

Assimilation or integration are very difficult to pinpoint; they are continuing processes. It is a matter of degree rather than an all-or-none phenomenon. We note that the pluralistic societies of Africa seek policies to foster integration. (Exceptions are South Africa and South Rhodesia.) In their model plan for achieving a cohesive nation, the African leaders believe that structural and social integration are the ways to bring together various groups of people into one united society.

**Legitimization and Stability**

One can safely assume that, for these nations, integration is one of the major means of legitimization and stabilization of the government and the

state. Independence usually led to a sudden change, where the African elite displaced the European elite. The transitory period was not nearly sufficient for this elite to consolidate their power and stabilize their nations. Thus, legitimacy is a major problem for Kenya - a multi-racial society which has the added problem of ethnic heterogeneity.

Furthermore, it is argued that such developing nations cannot be called societies; rather, they might be called societies in the process of formation. Historically, such a process has required the antecedent creation or, rather, development of a viable nation-state. As Shils puts it:

"The emergence of a social order, the formation of the state, the transformation of tradition, the legitimization of new authority - these are only a few of the most fundamental problems of Social Science that can be studied in the experience of new states."¹

Legitimization of these new states is crucial to their stability and existence. Thus, integration is intimately related to legitimacy. African governments, with their colonial pasts, are hindered in developing

these sentiments among their people. Kenya is tribally heterogeneous and has settled minorities of European and Asian descent. Government policy is well described by the following quotation:

"No problem is more important to the future welfare of Kenya than the cultivation of a sense of belonging to the nation and the desire to serve the nation."¹

The above quote was found in a major Education Commission Report. The Government's concern with teaching the right values to the youth is very much reflected in this report.

**Legitimacy and Education**

Political philosophers have given emphasis to the role of education in producing stable societies from the times of the Greeks. From Plato and Aristotle one has heard such phrases: "As is the state so is the school," or "What you want in the state, you put in the school."²

The educated elite in the new nations has started to pay attention to socializing in schools. What sort

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of political values are learned through formal education? Are these values nationalistic and compatible with the political values of the State? The government leaders are well aware of the fact that of all the major political socializing agents (family, peer group, school, etc.) the school is the only agent on which they can impose their policies. These leaders have before them the examples of nations such as China and Russia. However, most of them have not yet made full use of the educational system for "citizenship training, indoctrination, or even more crudely, brain-washing; (they do realize that) the objective of the educational system in all societies is to produce among the youth attitudes and dispositions that will support the society in which they live." 

Stability and legitimization of their power are such important factors that they cannot ignore the citizenship training of their young.

Education and Political Socialization

"The principal challenge to the leaders of the new states is one of creating a sense of common citizenship in which there are certain shared political values, a measure

1 op. cit. p. 23.
of common purpose, and a respect for political institutions and established authority. They confront not only the problem of consolidating and stabilizing the new society, but also the monumental task of mobilizing the human and natural resources of their country in pursuit of the goal of rapid modernization.

Confronted with heterogeneous populations having varied interests and making conflicting demands, they must create a common political nationality, and the role of participant citizen must be identified with that nationality. They must meet challenges to public authority and internal security, not only by the use of those coercive and punitive measures employed by all governments faced with crisis, but, more importantly, they must inculcate a positive loyalty to the new nation and a respect for the laws of the government of the nation.\(^1\)

This statement summarizes the problems of political socialization in African nations. The question that remains concerns the relationship of planned action to the solution of these problems. The African nations have before them the examples of nations like the Soviet Union and China where students go through a rigorous program of political indoctrination or what some may call brain-washing. The point is that the individual has to learn the basic

attitudes about the political structure and his position in this structure. As Almond has put it "political socialization is the process of induction into the political culture."\(^1\)

One must note here that because of its very dynamic nature, social change must involve the political arena. Le Vine, in describing the process of political socialization, says "... (it) is as broad as those aspects of social behavior that can be meaningfully related to the political system."\(^2\)

Among the socializing agents the role of formal education is highly visible. Le Vine argues that the African leaders in desiring change in their nations, "attempt to create national institutions for the counter-socialization of individuals whose orientations have already been formed to some extent along traditional lines."\(^3\) Thus, Le Vine emphasizes the importance of formal education in regards to the inculcation of

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\(^3\) loc. cit., 282.
national values, vis-a-vis those of parents, which he finds significant only for "local authority systems of the rural areas." Almond and Verba have also found positive correlations between education and political attitudes and values. They conclude "Educational attainment appears to have the most demographic effect on political attitudes ... [none of the other variables] compares with the educational variable in the extent to which it seems to determine political attitudes."2

In relation to the school as the formal educational institution is the school peer group.3 Hyman has emphasized that in the formation of attitudes, it is the accumulation of specific experiences and the direct adoption of attitudes from other individuals that are significant.4

1 Ibid.
3 Langton's research in Jamaica is a significant work in describing the effect of peer group in school - Langton, Kenneth, Political Socialization. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969, 182.
The Contact Hypothesis and Educational Policy in Kenya

In the post-independent schools, students came into contact with students of other races, and the effect of this contact on their attitudes toward other races and racial problems is of major concern here.

The initial purpose of desegregating schools in Kenya was to remove the disparity that had been created between African, Asian, and European educations. However, the leaders of Kenya realized the significance of this imposed desegregation in bringing about change in the behavior and attitudes of individuals and races, by bringing about a change in the social situation in which they are required to function. The general belief in the contact hypothesis is obviously stated in the Kenya Education Commission Report, 1964. However, this report gives no explicit details as to the carrying out of this experiment. Desegregation of schools is expected to accomplish better relations between Africans, Asians, and Europeans. Undoubtedly, this was the first time that these students came into contact with each other. Even if the desegregation was imposed, its effects on the attitudes of the three races is worth researching. Contemporary governmental policies for promoting racial harmony are based on the supposition
that increasing opportunities for classroom interaction among races will produce increasingly favourable interracial orientations. This supposition may well be true, but research on prejudice has shown that under certain circumstances the opposite effect may take place. In other words, familiarity can breed contempt as well as harmony.

Let us look at the contact hypothesis in more detail. We know from the many research studies on desegregation that the contact hypothesis has been affirmed often.\(^1\)

In 1964, the Coleman Report\(^2\) rejected the notion of racially segregated education. The Berkeley\(^3\) experiment is one of the first major projects which resulted in improvements in racial attitudes and educational achievement of the students.


Langton's\textsuperscript{1} study on Jamaican schoolboys uses class heterogeneity to show how the contact hypothesis has achieved positive results. However, this has only been done with certain underlying assumptions. The majority of these studies are related to the blacks in the United States and their contact with the whites. It is assumed that equal-status contact can change the attitudes of members of different racial groups so that group members will understand and accept each other, if, firstly, the contact takes place in a congenial atmosphere that favours cross-group contact, and, secondly, where members of the groups are able to feel that they are not in competition with each other. Yarrow's\textsuperscript{2} study on segregated and desegregated youth camp settings revealed that with the above conditions inter-racial contact did change the attitudes of white towards Negro children, and of Negro towards white children in a more positive direction.

When we turn to the desegregated schools in Nairobi, we note that the socio-economic status of students is


comparable in terms of the school fees. For example, the ex-European schools were usually boarding schools and due to the facilities charge high fees. This makes them the elite schools and only a certain class of people can send their children to these schools. Thus, one can make the assumption that the contact of the races is on the basis of equal status. However, in terms of atmosphere and competition, the picture is completely different. The societal atmosphere is tense in terms of political accusations by many of the African leaders, especially against the Asian minority. In terms of competition, the Kenya education system calls for a highly competitive examination structure and the furtherance of a student's education, and even his career can depend on it.

Inter-racial orientations and the society and the school

I have presented above, the situation in which the contact between the three races is occurring. In terms of a harmonious multi-racial society and the problems of maintaining unity, it is crucial that the three races show a certain degree of trust and positive feelings towards each other. Indeed, the lack of these feelings may become a key limiting factor in Kenya's capacity for attaining goals that need the concerted action of the
three races. We are not clear as to how each race ca-
tegorizes and perceives the other. With what intensity
does the new generation of Kenyans with the new social
setting, maintain the various stereotypes. Undoubtedly,
there has been a dramatic change in the dominance and
submission relationships of the three races; but, has
this changed the student's perception of race? Perhaps,
the students' orientations about other races is deter-
mined by what he perceives to be the social differences
between his race and the other races.

There is no systematic evidence for all the pro-
blems that have been posed above. In the research for
this thesis, inter-racial orientations were explored
extensively. At several points, the attempt was made
to elicit indications of the extent to which students
felt that racial considerations should influence perso-
nal decisions concerning such matters as marriage. Se-
veral questions were asked to find out each races' trust
toward the other.

The Nairobi schools provide a remarkable laboratory
in which one can observe the full-range of the combina-
tional possibilities of race. Inter-racial perceptions
emerging from classroom experiences are of major signifi-
cance in judging the contact hypothesis. The students
were asked about the frequency of their visits to homes
of fellow students of other races. Students were also asked to give their reactions to teachers of different races and to assess their impartiality. Finally, they were asked to evaluate the benefits of attending racially mixed schools.

Hypotheses

My hypotheses are based on the Kenya Education Commission Report (1964). This report represents the governmental policy toward education in Kenya. Ominde, the chairperson of this report, emphasizes the need for improving inter-group orientations through the schools. The Ominde Report explicitly states this:

We believe that the secret of a national feeling which overrides tribal and local loyalties lies in bringing about a much more conscious mixing within our educational system ...  

This 'mixture' seems to be very crucial in creating better relations among the three races in Kenya. Indeed, this mixture is meant to build a non-racial society. The initial step in creating this mixture was the desegregation of the Asian and the European schools.

1op. cit.
The schools, especially in Nairobi, are a conglomeration of tribal and racial groups. The school authorities have to "consider how the conduct of the school or college may subserve the aims of greater national unity ... "¹ No indications were made by the report as to what sort of conditions would be conducive to the improvement of inter-group relations or how the conduct of the schools will help these relations.

With this background on the major governmental expectations from schools, let us turn to my hypotheses. These Hypotheses can be described as a test of the effects of the 'mixture' or contact in Nairobi secondary schools on student attitudes towards other races and integration of their society.

¹. The first concern is to find out if racial groups differ in their attitudes toward integration in society and toward one another. The hypothesis states:

There are differences among the three racial groups in their attitudes toward (a) inter-racial trust; (b) the creation of a non-racial society; (c) acceptance of inter-marriage between the races; (d) tolerance for members of other racial groups; (e) the race of teachers; and there

¹ op. cit.
will be differences in the extent to which the three racial groups (f)visit and are visited by members of other races. Hypotheses 1 will be considered in Chapter V.

2. My second concern is with the consequences of the racial mixture of a particular school on the attitudes of students attending that school. The concern here is whether inter-racial contact on a regular basis in school does in fact promote positive attitudes toward integration at the societal level, in the schools, and in the students' out-of-school experiences. Each school is placed on a Scale of Racial Composition and each question will be analyzed in terms of this scale. The hypothesis states: The higher the score a school obtains on the Scale of Racial Composition (a) the greater the desire among the students of that school for a non-racial society and integrated schools; (b) the greater the amount of mutual visitation of students from the three racial groups; (c) the greater the tolerance for other races; and (d) the greater the desire for inter-racial marriage.

3. Finally, I would like to analyze the effects of the racial composition in forms (grades in school) on the
formation of student racial-trust. The hypothesis states: The greater the proportion of a race in the form, the greater will be the trust among other students in the form for that race. Hypotheses 2 and 3 will be considered in Chapter VI.
CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Sample

The data for this study were obtained by the administration of a questionnaire to students in 21 Nairobi secondary schools. There were 2,986 students who completed the questionnaire. Of these, 27 percent were African, 55 percent were Asian, and 17 percent were European. The age level of the sample is between 14 and 20 years, approximately. The respondents belonged to three grade levels: Form II, equivalent to ninth grade; Form IV, equivalent to eleventh grade; and Form VI, equivalent to junior college level in the United States. The representation for the three forms was 21 percent of the total sample for Form II, 64 percent for Form IV, and 13 percent for Form VI.

Units of Analysis

The analysis of the data depends on three major units of analysis. These are:

1. The individual student as the respondent to the questionnaire.
2. The form within a school also representing the students' environment.

3. The school representing the students' environment.

The individual

For the purpose of this research the significance attached to the individual's racial grouping is important for it is the independent variable. The three racial groupings are African, Asian, and European and are culturally and socially distinct. Race of the individual was used as an independent variable with the following dependent variables: first of all, the trust felt by the three races towards Africans, Asians, and Europeans; secondly, their desire for the creation of a non-racial society; thirdly, their acceptance of inter-racial marriage; fourthly, their tolerance for each other; fifthly, their reactions towards the racial composition of teachers in their schools and sixthly, the frequency of mutual visitation with the members of other races.
Form

The second unit of analysis is the Form within the school. This is an important unit analytically because all the students within a Form are of the same age, have a regular opportunity for interaction and have their Form in common as a referent. Since students are divided into Forms by two criteria - academic interests and achievement as represented by examination scores, they usually share these academic interests and achievements, also.

School

I mentioned above that the school can be seen as a laboratory in representing so many degrees of racial mixture. The large number of individual schools (21) in the sample makes it advantageous to treat the individual school as a unit of analysis. The sample included schools that vary considerably in such important traits as the racial, religious, linguistic, and tribal composition of the student population, the racial and religious composition of the teaching staff, the age and sex composition of the students, the academic quality of the school, its length of time in existence, its pre-independence status (especially with respect to
racial segregation and religious control), its geographical location, its position on an urban-rural continuum, and its status as a boarding versus a day school.

In this thesis only the schools' racial compositions at the time of the survey will be considered, although each of the traits mentioned above might well serve as an interesting variable for further analysis of these data at a later date. A Scale of Racial Composition, which will be described below, is the main independent variable related to schools. The proportion of students in each school holding particular attitudes having to do with race is the major dependent variable for the school level analysis.

Tools of Analysis

Scale of racial composition

This scale was formulated by statistically comparing the actual distribution of the three races in each school with the distribution that would be present in each school if all the students in the 21 schools were

1The Scale of Racial Composition for the 21 schools, with the racial distribution and type of school, is presented in the Appendix.
assigned randomly to a school. The expected distribution resulting from random assignment would be 27.4 percent Africans, 54.8 percent Asians and 17.8 percent Europeans. Since each school actually varied in its racial composition, the scale was constructed with the intention of showing which schools were closest to the expected frequency.

Statistically, this scale was produced by the following formula $C = \frac{X^2}{\sqrt{X^2 + 2N}}$. The $C$ was then subtracted from 1, to make the school closest to the expected frequency - 1.0, and the school farthest from the expected frequency zero. The highest value a school obtained on this scale was 0.96 and the lowest value was 0.35.

This Scale of Racial Composition has largely been utilized to test the correlation between racial composition and racial attitudes in the 21 schools.

Compositional analysis, using polygons¹

The effect of the composition of the school on the

¹The following article was used for the methodology of compositional analysis: David, James A., Spaeth, Joe L. and Huson, Carolyn, "A Technique for Analyzing the Effects of Group Composition." American Sociological Review, Vol. 26 (April, 1961), 215-225.
students' attitudes towards other racial groups can be observed graphically by the use of frequency polygons. A polygon is a graph where the frequencies are plotted as dots and then the dots are joined by a line. I used polygons to show whether forms which have a large proportion of a particular racial group among its members also have high rates of trust for that racial group from the students in that form. Correlations measuring the degree of relationship between the two variable plotted in each polygon are also reported. The use of polygons in this way is called composition analysis. James A. David et. al. describes the meaning of this type of analysis:

"The general principle (of compositional analysis) is that if ego's X affects not only ego's Y but also alters Y, a structural (or compositional) effect will be observed, which means that the distribution of X in a group is related to Y even though the individual's X is held constant. Such a finding indicates that the network of relations in the group with respect to X influences Y. It isolates the effects of X on Y that are entirely due to or transmitted by the process of social interaction."¹

Let me explain the above statement by relating it to my data. Let us take Y to be an African. A compositional effect takes place if the Africans' attitudes are altered by the presence of X, X being either Africans, Asians, or Europeans. The Asians and the Europeans will undergo similar changes.

Correlation and regression

Correlations were utilized to describe certain bivariate relationships. This relationship between two variables is described quantitatively by a correlation coefficient which varies from -1.00 to +1.00. A +1.00 reflects a perfect relationship that is positive. In other words, individuals who scored high on one variable also had high scores on the other variable. A -1.00 reflects a negative relationship, in which individuals who score high on one variable score very low on the other variable (or vice versa).

The purpose for using the correlation coefficient is to show the negative and positive relationships between variables and to analyze the polygons in the compositional analysis.

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CHAPTER V

ATTITUDINAL RESPONSES BY RACE

In this chapter, I shall present some data on attitudinal responses of Africans, Asians, and Europeans on various aspects of race relations. Let me restate the hypotheses that I will be testing in this chapter. These hypotheses (presented in Chapter 3) are based on the proposition that the three groups will not show much consensus in their responses towards racial issues. The hypotheses are that racial groups differ in their attitudes of trust for other racial groups, support for the creation of a non-racial society, acceptance of inter-marriage between races, tolerance of minorities in Kenya, acceptance of integrated schools and teaching staffs, and finally, the degree of mutual visitation with the members of other races.

The responses from the three races were cross-tabulated with each of the variables mentioned above. These tabulations are specifically used to show the differences in the responses of the African, Asian, and European students to the questionnaire items measuring these attitudes. Whether the differences among Africans, Asians, and
Europeans are large enough to be considered statistically significant is determined by the Chi-Square test. The probability that a particular difference could have occurred by chance is also reported with each table. In most cases, this value was less than .001, or one chance in a thousand.

Inter-Group Orientation in Relation to Society

Inter-racial trust

Trust between the three races is seen as the basis of building a non-racial society. The government sees the non-racial society as a product of cooperation and interaction. The trust items were introduced in the questionnaire with the following statement:

Some people are almost always fair and honest. It is safe to trust them. There are other people whom it is better not to trust. We must be careful how we deal with them. What about the following people? In general can one trust them?

Table 1 shows the feeling of trust felt by the students towards each other. The figure in the table represents the percent of each racial group that responded "always" or "usually" to the trust items.
**TABLE 1—Patterns of inter-racial trust.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Races to be Trusted</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Race Asian</th>
<th>European</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(783)</td>
<td>(1577)</td>
<td>(493)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(785)</td>
<td>(1572)</td>
<td>(496)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(784)</td>
<td>(1579)</td>
<td>(506)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figure in brackets represents the number of students who responded to each of the three items. For example, one would interpret the first column of this table in the following way: Among African students 37% trust Africans, 9% trust Asians, and 29% trust Europeans.

Several interesting patterns are observed in this table. First of all, the Europeans show a high percentage of social trust towards Africans (58 percent) and especially toward themselves - 95 percent. The homogeneous nature of the Europeans (mostly British) and the colonial tendencies of the colonist to keep segregated from the rest of the Kenyans is even visible in their social interaction today. Their belief that the white race is superior makes their cohesiveness even stronger.
On the other hand, the Asians and the Africans do not exceed 45 percent in their trust for any group. Interestingly enough, the Africans and Asians show low trust even for their own races. Only 37 percent of the Africans feel trust for Africans, and 45 percent of the Asians feel that Asians can be trusted.

At this point, I will only present the homogeneous/heterogeneous explanation for the low rate of trust shown by Asians and Africans, both towards themselves and others. Africans often have their first contacts with other tribes in the school. The tribal diversity is heavily represented in Nairobi schools. The lack of trust Africans show for Africans is caused not only by the social interaction of the ethnic groups, but also by the political realities. For example, the Luos' political aspirations are thwarted by the fact that Kenya leadership is largely in the hands of the Kikuyu. Asians also show tremendous cultural diversity and still maintain separate social institutions. The Muslim is separated from the Hindu, and even the various Hindu and Muslim sects operate separately.

One of the more striking percentages in Table 1 is the low figure of 9 percent for trust toward Asians by Africans. The explanation for this is directly related to the historical position of the Asian in Kenya, which I have already discussed in Chapter III.
The problem of building a non-racial society

The responses towards 'racial integration' are most illuminating in showing attitudinal differences in the three races. Students were asked to rank order five of Kenya's major problems. The building of a non-racial society was one of these problems. Only 25 percent of the Africans, 31 percent of the Europeans and 38 percent of the Asians ranked building a non-racial society as the first or second major problem in the rank order. The Asians and the Europeans are both small minorities in this African nation, thus they both attach greater significance to the problem than the Africans.

Inter-racial marriage can be an obvious solution to creating a non-racial society. A negative response on racial inter-marriage can be defined as a racist response. The following table shows the three races' opinions on inter-racial marriage.

The most striking response is that of the European. Eighty percent of the Europeans regard endogamy as important. This gives us an insight into their segregationist tendencies. Both the African (61 percent) and Asian (60 percent) responses are surprisingly low for races that are already fairly heterogeneous and have a tradition of discouraging even inter-tribal or inter-communal marriages (actually, some inter-tribal and a few...
inter-communal marriages have taken place in Kenya. The students' responses indicate that many would consider, or at least not condemn, an even more radical departure from endogamy, i.e., inter-racial marriage. On the question of marrying within a tribe or a community, 58 percent of the Africans and 60 percent of the Asians saw it as important. Once again, this is not a very large majority, considering the traditional value placed on endogamy by older generations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Importance attached to marrying</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>European</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>person from same race</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very important</td>
<td>61%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairly important</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not very important</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total responses</td>
<td>787</td>
<td>1575</td>
<td>471</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 + 165.51 \quad P < .001 \]
Reactions towards the problem of racial minorities

The Asians and the Europeans are small, but very significant, minorities. Both these minorities make large contributions to the pool of technical and professional manpower of Kenya. The government recognizes the current need for these people, for it allows them to stay in the country even if they are not citizens of Kenya. Teachers are still imported from Britain and now America. Of course, the long-term plan of the government is to replace these Europeans and Asians with trained Africans.

Let us turn to the students' attitudes towards these two minorities. They were asked if the effects on Kenya of the two minorities' departure would be positive or negative for Kenya. Table 3 and 4 show the three races' responses towards the departure of the Asian and European minorities.

It is interesting to observe that in these tables, 41 percent of the Africans and 30 percent of the Europeans said that it would be good for Kenya if the Asians left; on the other hand only 13 percent of the Africans and 5 percent of the Asians saw the departure of the Europeans as being beneficial to Kenya. One has to consider the historical perspective to explain the above responses. First of all, the historical role of the Asian
TABLE 3—Percent distribution by race and the effects on Kenya if most of the Asians left.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effect on Kenya if Asians left</th>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Europeans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It would be very good for Kenya</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It would not matter</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It would be bad or very bad for Kenya</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total responses</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total responses: 773, 1544, 483

X² = 526.92 \( P < .001 \)
TABLE 4—Student responses on the effects on Kenya if most of the Europeans left.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effect on Kenya if Europeans left</th>
<th>Africans</th>
<th>Asians</th>
<th>Europeans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It would be very good for Kenya</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It would not matter</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It would be bad or very bad for Kenya</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>95%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total                           | 100%     | 100%   | 100%      |
| Total responses                 | 783      | 1561   | 505       |

\[ X^2 = 836 \quad P < .001 \]
is rarely regarded to be of any significance to the development of Kenya. Though the Kenya Asian is the largest contributor to the professional and technical segments of Kenya, his contact with the African is usually as a shopkeeper and thus we see a stereotype of the Asian as an exploiter.

The Europeans, as the colonizers, may be resented by the Africans and the Asians but this resentment does not seem very visible in independent Kenya. The European farmer or businessman has little contact with the 'locals'. The encouragement given to Western businessmen to come to and remain in Kenya by the government is interpreted as meaning that the government sees Europeans' role in the development of Kenya as being highly essential. Thus, their departure is not likely to be viewed as being as beneficial to Kenya as would the departure of the Asian.

Students were also asked if Asians and Europeans would have to change in order to live in an independent Kenya. The responses of Asians, Europeans and Africans to this item are more alike than they were to the issue about their departure from Kenya. 75 percent of the Africans thought that Asians ought to change, and 71 percent of the Africans thought that the Europeans should change too. The Asians and the Europeans ranged from
50 percent to 54 percent in feeling the need to change if they are to remain in Kenya. Thus, all three groups show a definite feeling as to the necessity for some change to take place in the Asians and the Europeans of independent Kenya. This change, it seems, is required because of the disparity of roles of the three races in pre-independent Kenya society.

Citizenship and the minorities

The question of citizenship has been a very controversial one in Kenya. The role of the government is crucial in the problem of having minorities who are also citizens of Kenya. After independence the initial governmental offer of citizenship to its minorities was generous. The citizenship provisions of the Kenya Constitution allowed persons who are citizens of the United Kingdom and colonies or of the Republic of Ireland to receive Kenya citizenship if they applied before 12th December 1965. (Two years after independence.) The response to taking out citizenship by the Asians and the Europeans was varied. Many of them were 'sitting on the fence' waiting to see if independent Kenya would be a stable nation. The fear of coups and coercion was genuine if we take into account what was happening at the time throughout the African continent. Closer to home, on the
island of Zanzibar, the Arab and Asian minorities were badly treated after a coup.

The Kenya government has made many a statement of anger towards those members of the minorities who did not apply for citizenship in the time allowed for it. However, some applications have been sitting in the Department of Immigration for the last 5 or 6 years.¹

Because of the attention the mass media have placed on this issue, most students are exposed to the problem of citizenship and thus their responses reflect their position on the problem. In Table 5, the students were asked how long should the Asians and Europeans who are not citizens of Kenya be allowed to live and work in Kenya.²

In Table 5 only 30 percent of the Africans would like to see non-citizens stay for the indefinite future, whereas 43 percent of the Asians and 87 percent of the


²The Kenya government gives yearly permits to allow non-citizens to stay and work in Kenya.
Europeans would like non-citizens to stay in Kenya indefinitely. It is interesting to note that 50 percent of the Asians would like to see the non-citizens in Kenya remain only for a few years or another decade at the most. Since Asians are the largest group of non-citizens leaving or likely to leave Kenya, this fact may well have something to do with their response.

TABLE 5--Percent distribution by race and the length of time non-citizens should be allowed to live in Kenya.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of time non-Citizens should be allowed to live in Kenya</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>European</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Not even at the present</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the next few years</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the next ten years</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For the indefinite future</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 100% 100% 100%
Total responses 762 1546 498

$X^2 = 868.48 \quad P < .001$
Another citizenship and race item asked the students if any Kenya citizen should have a chance to become president or should the presidency be exclusive to Kenya citizens who are African. Table 6 shows the differential in the African, Asian, and European responses. The percent distribution is self-explanatory.

**TABLE 6--The three races responses as to non-African citizens becoming President.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Which idea do you like more</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>European</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Any Kenya citizen can be president</td>
<td>30%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only Kenya citizens who are African should be president</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total responses</strong></td>
<td>787</td>
<td>1567</td>
<td>503</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[
x^2 = 576.28 \quad P < .001
\]

Students, government leaders and the nation

Finally, I would like to show student trust toward the government leaders and the significance students attach to nation vis-a-vis tribe or community. The
political leadership of Kenya is in the hands of the educated African elite. The majority of this elite belong to the Kikuyu tribe. The item on trust for this elite shows that only 50 percent of the Africans, 64 percent of the Asians, and 77 percent of the Europeans trust the government leaders. This may seem, at first, to be a surprising pattern. However, the low African response can be attributed to the variety of tribal representation in Nairobi schools. The high trust by the European could be seen in the light of the government leaders' support of the white businessman.

Europeans (84 percent) also see the nation as more important than the tribe or community. This may be because they do not consider themselves as a tribe or a community. Perhaps they should have been asked if the nation was more important than race.

Be that as it may, the Africans (72 percent) and the Asians (74 percent) also attach more importance to the nation than to the tribe or community. This, indeed, is one of the few items on which the three races show any consensus.
Inter-Group Orientations and Schools

Here I will study the school and its racial environment for the students and their attitudes toward their teachers. I will also consider which students perceive the school as providing an opportunity for increasing contact among races outside of school.

Racial integration\(^1\) and schools

We have already observed the students' responses towards building a non-racial society. A completely different pattern of responses is seen when students were asked their feeling about racial integration in schools. Only 18 percent of the Africans and 8 percent of the Asians made the observation that there was 'too much' integration in their schools. Thus both the African and the Asian want to see greater integration in their schools. The majority of them attend the more modest day school and aspire to belong to the elite oriented, former European schools.

On the other hand, 43 percent of the Europeans feel that there is too much racial integration in their schools and 48 percent feel that there is just the right amount. Thus, only 9 percent of the Europeans

\(^1\)I use integration merely to connote a mixture.
feel that there is 'too little' racial integration in their school. Obviously, the European does not see the necessity of increasing racial integration in their schools, in spite of the fact that some of these elite schools show only a sprinkling of African and Asian students.

Students were also asked if they would prefer to send their children to school where they will be with those of the same race or to a school which is racially mixed.

Ninety percent of the Africans and 92 percent of the Asians wanted to send their children to a racially mixed school; whereas only 35 percent of the Europeans want to send their children to a racially mixed school. This, once again, gives us a view of the desire of the European to remain as a separate entity and is perhaps due to the historical segregationist tendencies of Kenya Europeans.

**Student attitudes toward teachers**

Teachers in developing nations are ascribed a role which is high in prestige and respect. Students show a high degree of trust for teachers. This trust - 70 percent by Africans, 69 percent by Asians and 84 percent by Europeans - is almost as high as that for
parents. However, concerning the discriminatory practices of teachers, all three races express a certain doubt. Forty-five percent of the Africans, 37 percent of the Asians, and 46 percent of the Europeans believe that some teachers in their schools treat some people or groups better than others. It is difficult to present any analysis of the above responses. One cannot pinpoint these discriminatory practices of the teachers against students of races other than their own.

The students' attitudes towards the racial composition of teachers in their schools is well reflected by the next item. Students were asked if they would like to have more African, Asian, or European teachers in their schools. Table 7 shows their responses.

The Europeans (55 percent) would prefer to have more European teachers. None of them would like more African or Asian teachers, and it did not matter to the remaining 45 percent. Surprisingly, 27 percent of the Africans and 20 percent of the Asians also would like more European teachers. It seems that the historical correlation of educators with Europeans is still maintained by some Africans and Asians. Besides, nearly one-third of the secondary school teachers in Kenya are
Europeans. A majority of these are in Nairobi. The quality of these European teachers may be the reason the Asians and the Africans would like more European teachers.¹

TABLE 7—Percent distribution of race and choice for more African, Asian, or European teachers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Choices available</th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>European</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More European teachers</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More African teachers</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More Asian teachers</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does not matter</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total responses</td>
<td>782</td>
<td>1579</td>
<td>497</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X² = 512.13

¹The only criteria by which one can judge their quality is the length of time they have been teachers and their qualifications. (Missionary school teachers, the majority of whom are European, show high quality by this criteria.)
Mutual visitation by students to the homes of school fellows of other races

Finally, I would like to consider the differences among the races in the degree of their contact outside of school with students from other racial groups. Students were asked how often they visited students of other races and how often students of other races visited them.

Visitation was most frequent between Asians (39 percent) and the other races. Among Africans, on the other hand, 22 percent reported frequent visiting of other races. On the other hand, only 9 percent of the Europeans said that they frequently visited other races' homes. Seventy percent said that they never visited homes of other races. Again the Europeans' social contact with other races is extremely limited. In many ways, they seem to show the most uncompromising and racist attitudes among all the three racial groups.

This subject, as many others mentioned above, will be analyzed further by school and form to observe the complex effects of racial composition, for one cannot just rely on a general description of the whole data.
Although we have seen that inter-group orientation differ by racial groups, I would like to save my conclusions till I have made some further analysis of individual schools and their racial composition. Indeed, any conclusion at this point may be premature and thus possibly invalid.
CHAPTER VI

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RACIAL BALANCE AND ATTITUDES IN SCHOOL AND FORM

Differences in Schools with High Scores and Low Scores on the Scale of Racial Composition

To assess the effect of the racial mixture on student attitudes, the following hypothesis was formulated, in accordance with the Kenya education policy. The hypothesis states that the higher the score of a school on the Scale of Racial Composition (a) the greater the desire among the students of that school for a non-racial society and for integrated schools; (b) the greater the amount of mutual visitation among the various racial groups in the school; (c) the greater the tolerance among the students for the minorities; and (d) the greater the students' desire for inter-racial marriage. To analyze these data, I will use the polygon and the correlation coefficients. The value on the Scale of Racial Composition will be plotted on the x axis and the attitude toward any specific issue on the y axis.
Chart 1.1 shows the effect of the racial composition of a school on the attitudes of Africans, Asians, and Europeans in that school towards a non-racial society. The low correlations and the erratic line plot indicate that the Africans and the Asians are not affected by the racial composition of their schools in the significance they attach to a non-racial society. On the other hand, European students become extremely negative (r = -.536) towards building a non-racial society as a mixture in the racial composition increases in their school. Specifically, this means that the European students who have the greatest opportunity for daily interaction with Asian and African students are most resistant to a non-racial society, while those attending schools that are still relatively segregated are most favourable to a non-racial society. Interaction with Asian and African students does not seem to be producing the attitudes intended by the Kenyan government at least among European students.

Surprisingly, attitudes toward racial integration in schools do not seem to be affected by the racial
Chart 1.1—The effect of racial composition in the schools on the percent favouring a non-racial society for Africans, Asians and Europeans.¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Percent positive towards non-racial society</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>r = -.032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>r = +.027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>r = -.536</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Solid line represents Africans, dashed line, Asians and dotted line, Europeans.
composition of the school. One might hypothesize that the schools that are ranked high on the Scale of Racial Composition would show a high correlation with the response that there is too much integration. In fact, the correlations are low and statistically not significant; the lines on the polygon are relatively unpatterned. The only thing that continues to be clear is that the European students are, overall, less supportive of integrated schools.

The Effect of Racial Composition on Mutual Visitation Between Races

The effect of racial composition on mutual visitation of Africans and Asians is positive; the correlation coefficients are reported below. The African $r = +.148$, and the Asian $r = +.242$. It is more useful to study the African and the Asian lines in Chart 1.3. The Asians' response to not visiting other races is very low, whereas the Africans' response to not visiting other races is rather high. Again, it is obvious that Asians do a lot of visiting with other races, compared to Africans and Europeans.

The European response deserves special attention. First of all, the correlation coefficient is highly negative. The European $r = -.712$. In other words, the higher the score on the Scale of Racial Composition,
Chart 1.2—The effect of racial composition in the schools on the attitudes toward racial integration in school for Africans, Asians and Europeans.

- African: $r = +0.227$
- Asian: $r = -0.242$
- European: $r = -0.109$
Chart 1.3--The effect of racial composition in the schools on the percent students not visiting other races for Africans, Asians and Europeans.

African  $r = +.148$
Asian     $r = +.242$
European $r = -.712$
the more the Europeans visit other races. This response may seem unusual, but a look at the polygon in Chart 1.3 will help to clarify. The chart shows that about 70 percent of the Europeans do not visit other races. This may be explained by the fact that most of them would not have too much contact with Africans and Asians. So the major contact of the European schools would have to be in schools that score highly on the Scale of Racial Composition, for the schools that have a majority of European students would score very low on the Scale of Racial Composition.

Racial Composition and Tolerance for Minorities

In Chapter IV we noted that Africans wanted Asians and Europeans who were non-citizens to leave Kenya. The African line in Chart 1.4 confirms this; however, the racial composition of the school has little effect on their response. The African $r = +0.120$ is rather small.

The Asian $r = -0.665$ and the European $r = -0.307$ are both negative. The Asian correlation coefficient is highly negative. It seems that the greater the score on the Scale of Racial Composition, the less the desire of the Asian to see non-citizen Asians and Euro-
peans leaving Kenya. The same trend is observed in the European response. Chart 1.4 also shows that the Europeans have even less desire to have Europeans and Asians leave Kenya than the Asians have. This could very well be related to the government attitude which says little about the non-citizen Europeans, but consistently attacks the non-citizen Asians as a minority which does not show allegiance to the nation.

Finally, let us examine the data on inter-racial and inter-tribal marriage. Charts 1.5 and 1.6 show the races that think it is important to marry within a race, tribe, or community. The African $r$ shows an insignificant effect of racial composition or attitude towards marriage. The Asians show a negative $r$ for both marriage within the race and within the community. The Asian $r = -0.385$, for importance of marrying within the race. Thus, increase in racial mixture affects Asians negatively towards the question of marriage outside of their race. The Europeans show a negative $r$, both for importance to marry within the race ($-0.409$) and within the community ($-0.538$). The increased mixture in schools has negative effects on the importance Europeans attach to marriage within their group. It is unfortunate that secondary schools
Chart 1.4—The effect of racial composition in the schools on the percent students stating that non-citizen Asians and Europeans should leave Kenya: for Africans, Asians and Europeans.

African $r = +0.120$
Asian $r = -0.665$
European $r = -0.307$

Percent students stating that non-citizen Asians and Europeans should not be allowed to stay in Kenya

Scale of racial composition
Chart 1.5--The effect of racial composition in the schools on the percent students attaching importance to marriage within their race for Africans, Asians and Europeans.

African $r = -0.076$
Asian $r = -0.385$
European $r = -0.409$
Chart 1.6--The effect of racial composition in the schools on the percent students attaching importance to marriage within tribe or community for Africans, Asians, and Europeans.

African  $r = -0.068$

Asian  $r = -0.175$

European  $r = -0.538$
in Kenya are not co-educational, for I am sure it would have been interesting to compare patterns of importance attached toward inter-racial marriage in male, female, and mixed schools.

The above data are only a small portion of the data that were correlated with the Scale of Racial Composition. The rest of the items, though controversial, do not seem to be affected by the racial composition of a school.

One most definite pattern to which I would like to draw attention is that in all the above correlation coefficients the Africans are least affected by the racial composition. This does not mean that they do not have strong opinions towards the above issue. On the contrary, it shows that their opinions are so strong that they do not change due to environmental difference.

The strongest effect of the racial composition of the schools is observed on the European. It seems that increase in mixture affects the European most negatively. This, again, is very consistent with the analysis presented in Chapter IV. It confirms the exclusive and segregationist tendencies of the European.
So far, I have analyzed the effect of the racial mixture in schools on the students' attitudes. I now turn to the Form, to analyze the effect of group composition on racial trust. The general hypothesis here is that the presence of a particular racial group in a Form will help students have greater trust for that race. Specifically, the research hypothesis is that the greater the proportion of students in a Form from a particular racial group, the greater the trust for that racial group from students in the class. Once again, I am basing this hypothesis on the Kenya Education Commission Report, which has expressed great confidence in the positive reorientation of attitudes of students, by contact with other races.1

The trust items are used to show if any positive feelings about race occur in Forms where that race is highly represented. Racial trust seems to be a useful measure, for the items on trust are directly related to the individual races.

1op. cit.
Since Form also represents age, I would also like to analyze the compositional effects on interracial trust for three different age groups.

Compositional Analysis using Polygons and Correlation Coefficients

The effect of the percent Africans on trust toward Africans by the three races in Forms II, IV, and VI

The three polygons in Charts 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3, represent the effect of the percent of Africans in Forms II, IV, and VI on attitudes of trust towards Africans by Africans, Asians and Europeans.

In studying the polygons, one may have difficulty in deciphering the slope of the line. To be more specific, one may not be able to tell if the line presented shows an increase of trust for the race, as the representation of that race gets higher, or vice versa. At this point, the correlation coefficients may help in explaining if the increase of trust is seen with an increase of that race in the forms.

1Age representation is:
Form II, students average is 14 years.
Form IV, students average is 16 years.
Form VI, students average is 18 years.
Chart 2.1—The effect of the percent of Africans in Form II on attitudes of trust toward Africans by Africans, Asians, and Europeans.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Correlation (r)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>-0.409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>-0.701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>-0.628</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Percent positive toward Africans

Percent Africans in Form II

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Chart 2.2—The effect of the percent of Africans in Form IV on attitudes of trust toward Africans by Africans, Asians, and Europeans.

African $\rho = -0.266$
Asian $\rho = -0.213$
European $\rho = -0.379$
Chart 2.3—The effect of the percent of Africans in Form VI on attitudes of trust toward Africans by Africans, Asians, and Europeans.

African $r = +.293$
Asian $r = +.407$
European $r = +.145$
Another point to note about the polygons is that between 0 percent to 10 percent representation level of a race (x axis), a large variance of trust (y axis) may be observed, often 0 percent or 100 percent. This is attributed to the fact that the numerical representation of that race is very low. In other words, where there are only 1 or 2 individuals, the percent of trust may be 0 or 100. This fluctuation has to be ignored for this analysis.

To analyze Chart 2.1, it seems obvious that the larger the percentage of Africans in Form II, the lower the trust by all three races. The negative nature of the lines is reinforced by the r's. The African \( r = -.409 \). This, again, confirms my original analysis for the low trust that Africans felt for Africans. The negative \( r \) in Form II is explainable by the fact that the larger the percentage of Africans, the greater the ethnic diversity and the lower the trust felt by Africans towards Africans.

The lines on trust for Africans by Asians (\( r = -.701 \)) and Europeans (\( r = -.628 \)) show even greater slope than the line representing trust for Africans by Africans in Form II. Thus, the percentage of Africans has a very negative effect in terms of increasing trust towards Africans in Form II by all three
races, and especially by the Asians and the Europeans.

In Form IV, similar results were observed. In comparing Chart 2.1 with Chart 2.2, one cannot judge the difference in the three lines. As a matter of fact, the lines in Chart 2.2 do not fall as low as those of Chart 2.1 as the percentage of Africans increases. Here again, the correlation coefficients make it clear: in Chart 2.2, the African $r = -0.266$, the Asian $r = -0.213$, and the European $r = -0.379$. The correlation coefficients are lower, especially in comparison to those of Chart 2.1.

Before analyzing the variance due to age, let me present Chart 2.3. This chart shows the effect of the percent of Africans in Form VI on attitudes of trust toward Africans. In this chart, we note that in Form VI there is a definite increase in trust toward Africans as the percentage of Africans increases. The African $r = 0.293$, the Asian $r = 0.407$, and the European $r = 0.145$. We must note here that the percentage of Africans in Form VI does not go over 40 percent.

Several interpretations can be made from the above charts. First of all, the steady increase of
trust towards Africans can be attributed to age. As students get older, they become more trusting of their class fellows. This interpretation seems improbable because, at the time of the survey, the racial mixtures in Forms IV and VI were not representative of several years of integration. Indeed, African students were often admitted to Asian or European schools at all Form levels from I to VI. The same was true of the Asians moving into former European schools. This also explains the low percentage of Africans in Form VI.

Perhaps some other interpretation is required to explain this increase of trust by age. The trust for Africans by the Asians and the Europeans in Form VI could be explained by the fact that these students are more aware of the political realities. Perhaps they see the necessity of interaction with Africans and having trust for the Africans, because, in many ways, the Africans control the destiny of the Asian and the European minorities in Kenya.

A final explanation is related to the low representation of Africans in the sixth Form. Perhaps the Africans show greater trust for Africans because they are a minority in the sixth Form. The trust shown by Asians and Europeans could also be due to the small number of Africans in the sixth Form.
Having a small number of Africans in their Form may be a novelty rather than a threat.

The effect of the percent Asians on the trust toward Asians by the three races in Forms II, IV, and VI

In Charts 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3, the rise or the fall of the lines become even more difficult to decipher than for Charts 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3. The upward and downward linear progression of the lines make any analysis without the correlation coefficients impossible.

In Chart 3.1, the African $r = - .462$. Once again, we note the low trust by the Africans towards the Asians. The low positive Asian $r$ of $+.055$ is insignificant. However, note that the majority of the Form II Asians show less than 50 percent of trust for themselves. The high positive $r$ of the Europeans ($+.779$) is indeed surprising. This can be ascribed to the fact that the percentage of Asians in Form II is very low. Since this percentage is low, the Europeans are not affected or threatened by the Asians.

In Form IV, the Africans' trust for Asians again shows a fall with the increase in the representation of the Asians (African $r = -.468$). The effect on
Chart 3.1--The effect of the percent of Asians in Form II on attitudes of trust toward Asians by Africans, Asians, and Europeans.

African $r = -0.462$
Asian $r = +0.055$
European $r = +0.779$
Chart 3.2—The effect of the percent of Asians in Form IV on attitudes of trust toward Asians by Africans, Asians, and Europeans.

African \( r = -0.468 \)

Asian \( r = -0.603 \)

European \( r = -0.231 \)
Chart 3.3—The effect of the percent of Asians in Form VI on attitudes of trust toward Asians by Africans, Asians, and Europeans.

African $r = +.233$

Asian $r = -.417$

European $r = +.373$
Asians due to the increase in the percentage of Asians in Form IV is highly negative \( r = -0.603 \). Once again, we are accosted with the problem of heterogeneity among the Asians. The European \( r \), though negative \(-0.231\), is too low to be significant.

When we turn to the sixth Form, the African \( r \) becomes positive but remains low \(+.233\); the Asian \( r \) remains negative \(-.417\); and the European \( r \), though positive, is not too high \(+.373\). An interesting feature in Chart 6 is that the African trust for Asians never rises above 33 percent. Thus, the percent representation of the Asian has no effect on the Africans' trust for the Asian.

The effect of the percent Europeans on the trust toward Europeans by the three races in Forms II, IV, and VI

Only seven schools in the sample have European representation. In Form II, only six schools have European students. However, these schools show a good range of representation, from 2 percent to 90 percent. The effect of the percentage of the Europeans is quite different from the effect of the percentage of Africans and Asians on the rest of the races. In Form II, the African \( r = +.607 \) and the
Asian $r = +.864$, both indicating a high level of trust when the Europeans are well represented. The European $r = -.173$; though it is negative, it is low, especially when one studies the polygon in Chart 4.1. It shows that Europeans from four schools have 100 percent trust for Europeans, and the Europeans from the two remaining schools show 86 percent and 92 percent trust for Europeans.

In the fourth Form, the three races increase their trust for Europeans as the percentage of Europeans increases in their school; the correlation coefficients are: $+.731$ for the Africans, $-.781$ for the Asians, and $+.771$ for the Europeans.

Chart 4.3 (Form VI) shows a positive $r$ for both Africans and Asians. However, it is not very high: African $r = +.322$, and Asian $r = +.115$. The Europeans, surprisingly enough, show a negative $r$ of $-.345$. A look at the European line in Chart 4.3 will again explain that, though their line may be downwards, the trust shown by Europeans for Europeans is extremely high (89 percent to 100 percent for the seven schools represented).

In comparing the Charts 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3, we can see that, of all the trust response charts presented, the European trust for the European is the
Chart 4.1—The effect of the percent of Europeans in Form II on attitudes of trust toward Europeans by Africans, Asians, and Europeans.

African $r = +.607$
Asian $r = +.864$
European $r = -.173$
Chart 4.2—The effect of the percent of Europeans in Form IV on attitudes of trust toward Europeans by Africans, Asians, and Europeans.

African $r = +.731$
Asian $r = +.781$
European $r = +.771$
Chart 4.3--The effect of the percent of Europeans in Form VI on attitudes of trust toward Europeans by Africans, Asians, and Europeans.

African $r = +.322$
Asian $r = +.115$
European $r = -.345$
highest and most consistent of all the three races. This trust not only reflects the homogeneous nature of the Europeans (largely British) but it also reflects their exclusive racial tendencies.

Surprisingly, the African and Asian responses are also affected very positively by the presence of Europeans in their schools. The $r$ for all the grades for the Africans is $+.523$ and for the Asians is $+.583$. Two explanations can be given for the above. First of all, the whole process of Westernization and emulation of the white man's culture puts the European student in a model situation for the Africans and the Asians. The Africans and Asians have just come out of a colonial situation and though resentful about it, they have not yet recovered from their inferiority complexes. Indeed, the high trust for the European is reflective of this whole process of Westernization.

Secondly, the contact with Europeans is usually in elite oriented boarding schools. Most of these students belong to the highest socio-economic class in Kenya. I have already shown the differences between trust levels of the elite boarding schools and the more modest lower-class day schools.

A more interesting response in Charts 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3 is that of school number 47. This school is a former European, boys, day school. The
representation of Europeans in the three Forms is only 1 percent to 14 percent; however, the trust by both Africans and Asians for Europeans in this school is low in all three Forms. On the other hand, the European trust toward themselves is very high, but toward Africans (Charts 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3) and Asians (Charts 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3) is rather low.

It seems that something is specifically wrong with the environment of this school. At the time of the survey, I administered the questionnaire to the Fourth Formers in this school, and I noticed a clustering in the seating arrangements of the three races and a definite lack of discipline.

The emphasis on this case is to show that we have to keep in mind the fact that a school may have a peculiar environment which may not be conducive to bettering of race relations. Of course, it is not in the scope of this thesis to go into further details about each school's environment. A great deal of data have to be analyzed to make any specific analysis of such a situation, as presented by the above school.

Further Analysis with Correlation Coefficients

So far, I have presented the effect of the percentage of each race in the Form on attitudes of
trust for that race. I would now like to examine the effect on the attitudes of trust towards a race when the other races are highly represented, using the following table. For example: Is the trust level of the African for the African affected by an increase in the representation of the Asian or the European?

In examining Rows 1, 4, and 7, we can observe the effect of the Africans' trust toward Africans, when Africans, Asians, or Europeans are highly represented. Here the overall African $r$ for all the three grades is $-.301$. When the independent race is Asian, the African $r$ remains negative but is reduced to a mean for the three grades of $-.160$, thus becoming insignificant. A most interesting change occurs in the African trust for Africans when the independent race is European; all three Forms show very positive correlation coefficients. The African Form II $r = +.819$, Form IV $r = +.502$, and the Form VI $r = +.557$. These last figures show that the large number of Europeans has a very definite positive effect on the trust that Africans show for Africans. There can be three reasons for this: firstly, the large number of Europeans makes the Africans become more closely united and show greater trust for themselves.
vis-a-vis the European. Secondly, the African makes his first confrontation with the large number of Europeans in the elite schools of Kenya. These schools are only for the elite classes of Kenya who are able to afford the high fees in boarding schools. The fact that these Africans are children of government leaders or other rich Africans may have a lot to do with their high trust. Thirdly, the fact that, numerically, the Africans will be a minority in a school where the European representation is high may also explain the high trust Africans show toward Africans.

The effect on the Asians trust for Asians (Rows 11, 14, and 17) when the Africans, Asians or Europeans are kept independent, shows similar trends as those observed above in the African. The mean for all grades for the Asians trust toward Asians is negative both when Africans (-.368) and Asians (-.286) are the independent races. Here as for the Africans, the strongest effect is seen when the European is highly represented in the Form. The overall correlation coefficient for the Asians in all three Forms is +.577, the Form II $r = +.845$, the Form IV $r = +.836$ and the Form VI $r = +.162$. Here again we can give the same explanation as that for the high African trust when there is a high percentage of Europeans.
TABLE 8—Correlation coefficients to show the effect of the percentage of each race on the other races' attitudes of trust.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRUST TOWARD AFRICANS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Race:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 1. Trust by Africans</td>
<td>-.409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 2. Trust by Asians</td>
<td>-.701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 3. Trust by Europeans</td>
<td>-.628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Race:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 4. Trust by Africans</td>
<td>-.163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 5. Trust by Asians</td>
<td>+.121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 6. Trust by Europeans</td>
<td>-.743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Race:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 7. Trust by Africans</td>
<td>+.819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 8. Trust by Asians</td>
<td>+.707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 9. Trust by Europeans</td>
<td>+.806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRUST TOWARD ASIANS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Race:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 10. Trust by Africans</td>
<td>-.247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 11. Trust by Asians</td>
<td>-.699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 12. Trust by Europeans</td>
<td>+.391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Race:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 13. Trust by Africans</td>
<td>-.462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 14. Trust by Asians</td>
<td>+.055</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 15. Trust by Europeans</td>
<td>+.779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Race:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 16. Trust by Africans</td>
<td>+.676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 17. Trust by Asians</td>
<td>+.845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 18. Trust by Europeans</td>
<td>-.707</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The socio-economic status of the Asian in European schools, the small numerical representation of Asians in European-dominated schools, and, finally, the mere presence of an alien majority with whom the Asian is coming into contact for the first time explains Row 27 (high trust for Europeans).

When we turn to the European trust for Europeans (Rows 21, 24, and 27), we note that there is no trend or consistency in the correlation coefficients. The obvious conclusion here is that the large n of Asians, Africans, or even Europeans does not affect the European trust for the European. This does not mean that the Europeans do not have high trust for themselves. Indeed, we have already observed in our polygons that all the Europeans in all the Forms are the only race that show a high trust for themselves.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

Since 1960, the Kenya government has been experimenting with its educational system. The desegregation process was accomplished in the Kenya school system. However, this thesis' concern has been with the effect of this desegregation on the racial attitudes of the students. Since the study was not unidirectional, the interpretations needed historical explanations.

In this chapter, I will attempt to make some generalizations from the findings in Chapter V and VI and try and give some explanation of the results.

In Chapter V, I have presented data on several items using race as the independent variable. In this chapter I will break down the results by race and present the results that show some consistency of response from an individual race. Let me begin with the African students. According to the data Africans have less trust for the Asians than the Europeans; attach importance to marriage within race; would like to see all the Asians leave but not the Europeans; would like to see the non-citizens leave Kenya and would like more
European teachers. Two basic generalizations can be made from the above results. Firstly, the feelings Africans have towards Asians are negative, and, secondly, their feelings towards the Europeans are somewhat positive. The Asian responses show an equal amount of trust for Africans and Europeans; show significance for an individual to marry within one's race; state that it would be bad for Kenya if all the Asians and Europeans left; and, finally, show that non-citizens should be allowed to live in Kenya. Basically, their responses show a desire to remain in Kenya and, more or less, a positive feeling towards both Africans and Europeans.

When we turn to the Europeans, we note that their responses towards themselves are most positive. A very high percentage of Europeans trust Europeans; think it would be bad for Kenya if Europeans leave; want Europeans to marry within their own race; and want more European teachers. In terms of trust, they seem to trust Africans more than Asians. One general trend that can be observed of the European responses is that they respond most favourably to themselves and have a tendency towards segregation. This is especially noticeable in their response towards inter-racial marriage.
Chapter VI uses the same items as Chapter V; however, the data are further analyzed in terms of the effects on each race of the racial proportions in the school and the Form. The data on the effects of racial composition on the responses of Africans, Asians, and Europeans show that the European responses are negatively affected by an increase in the racial mixture of their school. The lack of consistency in the African and Asian responses does not allow us to show any generalized effects on these two races, by the change in racial mixture.

When we turn to Form, we observe that an increase in the number of Europeans makes the Asians and Africans show a greater amount of trust for their own respective races. However, the Europeans' trust towards Europeans is not affected one way or the other, by a change in racial composition.

It is obvious that the basic findings contradict the assumptions and expectations of the education policy in Kenya. The effect of desegregation on the three races seems to be negative, but not totally so. The data seem to reflect that desegregation is not working as expected. I have tried to give some explanations of the findings in Chapters V and VI. I would now like to give some more general explanations that may throw
some light on why the research did not prove the hypotheses.

First of all, we have to realize that the Kenyan society is in a transitional stage in terms of attaining the desegregation prescribed by the government. The malintegrated colonial society led to strong racial attitudes which seem to be lingering on, so much so that the post-independence social environment still reflects some aspects of colonial mentality. As a matter of fact, one can still describe Kenya as a pluralistic society. The racial attitudes of the students are influenced by circumstances and events outside of school. The controversial citizenship issue and categorical political accusations about the minorities only perpetuate the antagonistic feelings of the colonial days.

Secondly, the socio-economic structure in Kenya is a capitalistic one, and the fact that the Asian and European minorities are living in better conditions than the Africans generates a tremendous amount of antagonism. On the other hand, the youth of the minorities feel discriminated against by the Africanization policy prescribed by the government. Thirdly, the highly competitive examination system makes the school environment very unhealthy for the betterment
of race relations. Students had to compete against each other constantly, to do well in exams and come out of high school with good grades. Often, high school achievement determined the students' future career. Very few seats were available in the junior college level classes and in the university, which meant that one had to do well to get ahead.

In the ultimate analysis, the atmosphere for the contact among the three races was hardly conducive to bettering racial attitudes. The racial attitudes were not only a result of the complicated historical circumstances, but, also of the social, economic and political circumstances that existed and still exist in Kenya.
APPENDIX-I

Items From the Questionnaire that were used in this Thesis

1. Do teachers in your school seem to treat some people or groups better than others?
   1. Yes 2. No

2. If you could make a choice, would you like to have:
   1. more European teachers at your school?
   2. more African teachers at your school?
   3. more Asian teachers at your school?
   4. It doesn't matter to me.

3. How do you feel about racial integration in your school?
   1. There is too much integration.
   2. There is the right amount of integration just now.
   3. There is too little integration.
   4. There has been no integration in my school.

4. Since you began attending this school, about how often have you visited the homes of students of other races?
   1. at least once a week
   2. a few times a month
   3. a few times a year
   4. not at all

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5. Since you began attending this school, about how often have students of other races visited your home?
   1. at least once a week  2. a few times a month
   3. a few times a year  4. not at all

6. Which of these two ideas do you like more?
   1. Any Kenya citizen should have a chance to become President.
   2. Only Kenya citizens who are African should have a chance to become President.

7. Which is more important to you?
   1. Your nation  2. Your religion

8. Which is more important to you?
   1. Your tribe (community)  2. Your nation

9. Which is more important to you?
   1. Your religion  2. Your tribe (community)

10. How important do you think it is to marry a person from your own religion?
    1. very important  2. fairly important
    3. not very important  4. not at all important

11. How important do you think it is to marry a person from your own tribe (or community)?
    1. very important  2. fairly important
    3. not very important  4. not at all important
12. How important do you think it is to marry a person from your own race?

1. very important
2. fairly important
3. not very important
4. not at all important

13. Which of these sentences is most true?

If most of the Europeans left Kenya,

1. it would be very good for Kenya.
2. it would be good for Kenya.
3. it would not matter.
4. it would be bad for Kenya.
5. it would be very bad for Kenya.

14. In general, one can trust Europeans . . .

1. always
2. usually
3. not often
4. never

15. In general, one can trust Asians . . .

1. always
2. usually
3. not often
4. never

16. In general, one can trust Africans . . .

1. always
2. usually
3. not often
4. never

17. Which of these sentences is most true?

If most Asians left Kenya,

1. it would be very good for Kenya
2. it would be good for Kenya.
3. it would not matter.
4. it would be bad for Kenya.

5. it would be very bad for Kenya.

18. How important are these problems for Kenya today?

(Place a '1' beside the most important problem, a '2' beside the second most important, and so on, with a '5' beside the least important problem.)

Preserving African traditions and customs.

Training more young people to be good farmers.

Building a non-racial society.

Providing education for every young person in Kenya.

Building more factories to make more jobs in the towns.

19. For how long should Europeans and Asians who are not citizens of Kenya be allowed to live and work here?

1. They should not be allowed even at the present time.

2. Only for the next few years.

3. For about the next ten years.

4. For the indefinite future.

20. Do Europeans have to change or adjust in any way in order to live in an independent Kenya?

1. Yes

2. No

21. Do Asians have to change or adjust in any way in order to live in an independent Kenya?

1. Yes

2. No
## APPENDIX-II

### The Formulation of the Scale of Racial Composition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>African</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>European</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>$1 - C^*$</th>
<th>Type of School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>.96 Delamare Boys School: Former European school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>.90 Highway Secondary School: Former Asian government school for boys.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>.89 Parkland Secondary School: Former Asian school, affiliated to Hindu religious denomination.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>.89 Eastleigh Secondary School: Former Asian government school for boys.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>.83 Delamare Girls School: Former European school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>.81 Duke of Glouster School: Former Asian government school for boys.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>.76 Duchess of Gloucester: Former Asian government school for girls.</td>
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*$C^* = \frac{X^2}{\sqrt{X^2 + N(2)}}$
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>African</th>
<th>Asian</th>
<th>European</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>L - C</th>
<th>Type of School</th>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>164</td>
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<td>171</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>Ngara Secondary School: Former Asian, government school for girls.</td>
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<td>6</td>
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<td>.74</td>
<td>Aga Khan: Former Asian School: affiliated to a Muslim sect.</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>72</td>
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<td>.73</td>
<td>St. Teresa School: Former Asian girls school run by Roman Catholics.</td>
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<td>82</td>
<td>.71</td>
<td>Arya Girls Senior School: Former Asian school, affiliated to Hindu religious denomination.</td>
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<td>Visa Oshvial School: Former Asian school affiliated to Hindu religious denomination.</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>55</td>
<td>.67</td>
<td>Loreto Convent School: Former European school run by Roman Catholics.</td>
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<td>121</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>Nairobi Boys School: Former European boys school.</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
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<td>.57</td>
<td>Sharda Mandir School: Former Asian school affiliated to Hindu religious denomination.</td>
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<td>.56</td>
<td>Kenya High School: Former European girls school.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1 - C</td>
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<td>30</td>
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<td>City High School: Former Asian boys school.</td>
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<td>Guru Nanak School: Former Asian school affiliated to Indian religious denomination.</td>
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<td>Nairobi Girls School: New U.S.A.I.D. school.</td>
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<td>84</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>.35</td>
<td>St. Mary's School: Former European boys school.</td>
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</tbody>
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BIBLIOGRAPHY


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Wilkinson, Doris Y., "Coming of Age in a Racist Society: The Whitening of America." Youth and Society, Volume 3, Number 1 (September 1971), 100-17.