

**POLITICS AND EDUCATION IN KENYA: THE EMERGENCE AND  
DEVELOPMENT OF THE NOMIYA LUO MISSION SCHOOLS 1911 - 2018**

**BY**

**BARASA SAMSON OMACHAR**

**A RESEARCH THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF DOCTOR OF  
PHILOSOPHY DEGREE IN HISTORY OF EDUCATION,  
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS,  
SCHOOL OF EDUCATION**

**MOI UNIVERSITY**

**NOVEMBER, 2018**

## DECLARATION

### DECLARATION BY THE STUDENT

I, the undersigned, declare that this research thesis is my original work and has not been presented for degree in any other University or institution of higher learning. No part of this thesis may be reproduced without the prior written permission of the author and /or Moi University.

\_\_\_\_\_

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

**BARASA SAMSON OMACHAR**

**EDU/DPHIL.PGF/1005/15**

### DECLARATION BY THE SUPERVISORS

This thesis has been submitted with our approval as university supervisors.

\_\_\_\_\_

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Prof. J. K. Changa'ch,**

Department of Educational Foundations,

School of Education,

Moi University.

\_\_\_\_\_

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Dr. K. L. Simwa,**

Department of Educational Foundations,

School of Education,

Moi University.

**DEDICATION**

To my late father Prof. Ignatius Barasa Omachar, my mother Fanice Akola and my late Grandparents Mr. Reuben E. Omanyala and Mrs Seruya A. Omanyala. To my Valentine, Cynthia, Vanessa and Ryan.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I wish to acknowledge various people and institutions that made the completion of this thesis possible. First, I am greatly indebted to my supervisors Prof J.K Changa'ch and Dr S.L Kefa and colleagues in the Department of Educational Foundations, School of Education Moi University Kenya. I am immensely grateful to Prof Emmy Kipsoi, Prof Laban Ayiro, Prof Isaac Njuguna Kimengi, Dr Felicity Githinji, Prof Caroline Omulando, Dr Sammy Chumba, Prof Peter Barasa and Prof Ndeda of JOUST. To my students and all those that I am valuable to; I cannot forget to mention your endurance, patience and encouragement as I undertook this study. Lastly, honour and glory be to God who gave me good health, wisdom, knowledge and hope which enabled me to complete this thesis.

## ABSTRACT

This study provides a critical appraisal of the role played by politics and generally the independent school movement to education in Kenya with reference to the Nomiya Luo Mission Schools. The study was anchored on the following objectives; to trace the Historical development and the development of the Nomiya Luo Mission established Schools, to establish the contributions of politics to education in Kenya in reference to the Nomiya Luo Mission established schools, to examine the challenges faced by of the Nomiya Luo Mission established schools in its growth and development and the solutions sought, to investigate the impact of independent established schools to the local community. The findings of the study revealed that the evolution of Nomiya Schools was made possible by the fact that the schools grew through time and space, influenced by key political players allied to Nomiya Luo Mission, management of Nomiya Luo Mission Schools revealed that politics determines the content, component and structure of an education system. Historically the growth of Nomiya Schools was made possible by the fact that the schools were able to strategically counter socio-economic and political change and transformation in the culture and traditions of the local Luo community. The study found its niche in the interpretive paradigm and involved historical research method which was used in collecting, analysing and presenting data. To ensure extensive and intensive investigations of the phenomenon under study through time and space, a blend with a case study approach was employed. The main sources of data were primary and secondary; primary data mainly involved oral interviews, data from the Kenya National Archives, Nomiya Luo Mission Church Archives and various educational institutions archives while secondary sources included books and other written records. Non random selection technique called purposive sampling and snowballing technique was employed in the field. The guiding principle to the process of data verification was subjecting the gathered information to historical techniques of internal and external criticism in the process of determining authenticity of the data collected. The study is significant since it has revealed important political aspects relevant to the establishment and growth of education in Kenya and further expansively identified major historical problems hindering the growth and development of education and the solutions sought. In conclusion, politics of a country has a direct impact on education; it dictates the type of administration and the education system a country adopts. It underlines the content and the component of education system operates and functions, the details of the curriculum, educational financing and functional training of citizens. The study will be resourceful to the state department of education, international governmental and nongovernmental organizations, educational historians, educational policy planners, political players and all the other educational stakeholders.

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

<b>DEDICATION.....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES.....</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES.....</b>	<b>xi</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....</b>	<b>xii</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE.....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Background of the Study.....	1
1.3 Statement of the Problem.....	6
1.4 Purpose of the Study.....	8
1.5 Research Objectives.....	8
1.6 Research Questions.....	8
1.5 Assumptions of the study.....	9
1.6 Justifications of the study.....	9
1.7 Significance of the study.....	10
1.8 Scope and Limitations of the study.....	11
1.9 Theoretical Framework.....	12
1.11 Operational definition of terms.....	22

<b>CHAPTER TWO .....</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>LITERATURE REVIEW .....</b>	<b>23</b>
2.0 Introduction.....	23
2.1 Pre-Colonial African Indigenous Education as Practiced by the Luo .....	23
2.3 Introduction of Western Education in Kenya from 1800.....	29
2.5 Colonial Government and Politics of Educational Control 1800-1960.....	42
2.6 African Political Control of Education: African Airlifts and the Local Native Councils 1900-1960.....	46
2.7 Politics versus Education .....	53
2.8 Conclusion .....	56
<b>CHAPTER THREE.....</b>	<b>57</b>
<b>RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>57</b>
3.1 Introduction.....	57
3.2 Area of Study .....	57
3.4 Philosophical Paradigm .....	59
3.5 Research Design.....	60
3.6 Target Population.....	62
3.7 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size .....	63
3.8 The Research Instrument .....	64
3.9 Data Analysis and Interpretation .....	65
3.10 Piloting of Research Instruments .....	67
3.11 Validity and Reliability of the Instruments.....	67
3.12 Ethical Consideration.....	68

<b>CHAPTER FOUR.....</b>	<b>70</b>
<b>DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSIONS .....</b>	<b>70</b>
4.1 Introduction.....	70
4.2 De facto Relationship between Politics and the Nomiya Luo Mission Education.	70
4.2.1 Philosophical and Political Beliefs of Mwalimu Rev. John Owalo and the Rise of Nomiya Luo Mission Schools.....	72
4.2.2 Nomiya Luo Mission Ideological Diffusion and Attractions .....	84
4.3 Politics as a Matrix to Education: The Rise of Nomiya Luo Mission Schools.....	107
4.3.1 Government Assistance to NLM Schools before 1950.....	130
4.3.2 Community Patterns in School Enrolment and Development .....	131
4.3.4 John Owalo's Model School: Oboch Primary and the Rise to St John's Oboch High School 1913 To 2018 .....	132
4.3.5 Evolution of NLM Nyamira Primary School to Nyamira Girls High School in Siaya .....	142
4.3.6 The Growth of Sagam Primary to Sagam Mixed Secondary school .....	149
4.4 Social-Economic and Political Changes to the Traditions of the Native Luo Communities of NLM Schools .....	161
4.5 Challenges faced by the Nomiya Luo Mission Schools .....	166
4.6 Conclusion .....	177
<b>CHAPTER FIVE .....</b>	<b>179</b>
<b>SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....</b>	<b>179</b>
5.1 Introduction.....	179
5.2 Summary of the Problem, Research Questions and Methodology .....	179



5.3 Summary of Major Findings .....	183
5.3.1 Historical Development and Growth of the Nomiya Luo Mission Established Schools.....	183
5.3.2 The Contributions of Politics to Education in Kenya the Case of the Nomiya Luo Mission Schools.....	188
5.3 .3: Challenges NLM Schools faced in their Growth and Development .....	189
5.3.4: Socio-Economic and political impacts of NLM established schools to the Local community .....	191
5.4 Conclusion .....	195
5.5 Recommendations.....	196
5.6 Suggestions for Further Research .....	197
<b>REFERENCES.....</b>	<b>199</b>
<b>APPENDICES.....</b>	<b>221</b>

**LIST OF TABLES**

Table 3.1 Profile of Participants .....	64
Table 4.1 NLM Established Schools .....	127
Table 4.2: St John's Oboch Secondary School Performance .....	141
Table 4.3 Nyamira Girls High School Performance .....	148
Table 4.4 Growth of Secondary Education in Kenya between 1940 and 1955. ....	160

## LIST OF FIGURES

Fig 3.1 Former Siaya District Map .....	58
Fig 4.1 Researcher inside the Mausoleum of John Owalo the Founder of NLM .....	84
Fig 4.2: Researcher at the original Oboch church earlier established by John Owalo.....	104
Fig 4.3: the Researcher with Prof Ndeda in her office at JOOUST: who has done extensive research on Gender and NLC.....	105
Fig 4.4 Relationship between Politics and Education.....	109
Fig 4.5 Jaramogi Oginga Odinga NLM hat .....	117
Fig 4.6 Maseno CMS teachers Opio Okinda and Esao Donde who taught at Maseno and Latter at various NLM schools; in the middle Mr Oginga Odinga. ....	117
Fig 4.7 Students of Nyamira Girls: Attending Guidance and Counselling Session (Source :Nyamira Girls High School).....	149

**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

ACK - Anglican Church of Kenya

AIM - African Inland Mission

CMS - Church Missionary Society

DC - District Commissioner

COG - Church of God

JKUAT – Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology

KCSE - Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education

KNA - Kenya National Archives

LNC - Local Native Council

NLC - Nomiya Luo Church

NLM - Nomiya Luo Mission

PC - Provincial Commissioner

RC - Roman Catholic

TSC - Teachers Service Commission

UoN - University of Nairobi

UNICEF - United Nations International Children Education Fund

JOUST - Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY**

#### **1.1 Introduction**

Education is critical in the progress of individuals and the nation. In this section, the reason as to why this study is significant has been fully discussed, the chapter contextualises the study by bringing out the gap through an in-depth historical lens and philosophical analysis giving a critical understanding of the subject matter under study. The chapter exhaustively highlights the background to the study and draws the light into the purpose of the study, significance of the study, justification of the study, scope and limitations of the study. This chapter further addresses theoretical framework and the operational definition of terms as used in the study. Discussions herein further demonstrate that the struggle for African education during the colonial period was purely a political contestation between Christian missionaries, the colonial government and Africans but after independence a new battle front was created in educational arena with the same actors.

#### **1.2 Background of the Study**

Contemporary thought looks at education as an institution not standing by itself, nor existing in a vacuum; it is an integral part of a society in a given place and at a given time. The Society in which we live in is a complex of micro-systems among which the political system is of greater importance. It's true that this system, from the point of view of Marxism and Leninist philosophies is a super structure determined to a

greater extent by infra or sub structures composed of socioeconomic systems whose vital component is education. Yet this does not negate the principle that the political system is in its turn and at the same time, a determining factor that has supremacy even over socioeconomic structures of the society. Politics said Lenin must take precedence over economics. To argue otherwise is to forget the ABC of Marxism (EL- Ghannam, 1970). The nature of education is determined by the political matrix in which it develops or exists and the old age dirge that politics and education is as old as human civilization is undebatable. Former South African President Thabo Mbeki stated the following:-

If the next century is going to be characterised as truly African century, for social and economic progress of the African people, the century of durable peace and sustained development in Africa, then success of this project is dependent on the success of our education system. (Mbeki, 1998)

In this case Mbeki (1998), elaborates clearly what has been bothering African statesmen for ages since colonial times. This move to a larger extent influenced and incited Africans to seek better and more reformed educational opportunities which to a greater influence contributed to the rise of independent church and school movements such as the NLM.

The wholesome springboard of modern education lies in the traditional education systems from antiquities to the modern Information Communication and Technology age. Human evolution in all essence is significant in the improvement of man's faculty and thus the institution of education (Sifuna and Otiende, 2006:6) bringing into force new civilizations such as the Ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Hebraic, Chinese, and Greco-Romano civilizations. As argued by Barasa (2013) this force laid

the foundation of modern western formal education whose connection with politics is the subject of this study.

Historically between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries, the continent of Europe realised the great urge for knowledge, the period of renaissance, enlightenment or rebirth of knowledge having been influenced by medieval ideals triggered the need for education that is universal and that which takes into account the learner's social, physical spiritual and intellectual development. In other terms, education was to be in line with human nature, wellbeing as well as political and social stratification. This urge for practical scientific learning ushered in the period of Agrarian and Industrial Revolution.

Industrialization came with the social evil that the society sought to fight such as slavery and slave trade outside Europe. Progressivism and political movements in Europe rose as a result of negative effects of industrialization, thus Christian missionaries being part of this movement came to Africa to champion for social rights, reforms and consequently to spread western civilization and culture. In fact Wallerstein argues that the expansion of Europe was part of modernization (Wallerstein, 1963:1) which may be equated to political interest because European nations were seeking to expand their territories through colonialism.

Western education was pioneered and perpetuated in Kenya by Christian missionaries. The arrival of two Church Missionary Society (C.M.S) missionaries Krapf and Rebman at the Coast of Mombasa in 1840s led to the establishment of schools in Mombasa and Rabai Mpya. The schools that will later be the focal point of

western education and the rise of African Nationalism through the demand of better and quality education away from missionary and colonial control.

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, missionary endeavour of spreading Christianity and western civilization that is so much linked to European political activities underwent some kind of revival and intensification that saw them arrived in large numbers as motivated by the following factors: - International declaration against slavery and slave trade after 1800 encouraged European countries to seek opportunities for legitimate trade in Africa. Missionaries were encouraged to come to Africa to redress injustices of slave trade. With other economic and socio-political factors at play, the Partition and eventual establishment of colonial rule in Kenya provided security to missionaries (Barasa, 2013). The construction of the Uganda Railway between 1895 and 1901 brought the largest immigrant community in Kenya and opened up the interior of Africa for colonial political control.

As a result, there was mass influx of missionaries in Kenya for example, the Church of Scotland (SCM) moved from Mombasa to Kibwezi and finally Kikuyu in Kiambu County where they established a mission station in 1898. From Kikuyu, this missionary organization moved to Tumutumu in Nyeri County and then to Chogoria in Meru County. On the other hand, the Church Mission Society (CMS), founded stations at Kabete in Nairobi County, Waithaga, Kalulua, Mahiga and in Embu County. This was from 1903 to 1910. At the same time, the United Methodist Church moved further inland to Meru. African Inland Mission (AIM), established stations at Kagundo, Kijabe, Githuma and at Kinyona. By 1910, the Catholic Holy ghost Fathers set up stations at Kabaa, Kilungu, Nairobi and Kiambu. The Consolata Catholic Mission went to Nyeri and Meru regions. By 1910, the CMS had established stations



at, Maseno, Butere, and Ng'iya, At the same time, the Mill Hill Mission (MHM) established stations at Yala, Mumias, Mukumu, Nyahururu and at Asumbi while the Seventh Day Adventists (SDA) had set stations at Gendia, Kamagambo and Nyamechwa and the Friends African Mission got stations at Kaimosi and their headquarters in 1902.

Missionary schools had greatly increased in their numbers to 2,266 by 1931. However, these were village schools whose classes reached only at standard three and four. Full primary reached standard six and only thirty two schools had reached this level by 1931. Secondary schools were very rare in the country at that time. The first secondary school for Africans, Alliance was established in 1926 at Kikuyu. It was followed by Kabaa (later changed to Mang'u in 1930, Maseno in 1938 and Yala in 1939 (Barasa, 2013).

Colonial administration was reluctant to provide Africans with education, they tried to cooperate with and encourage missionaries to provide Africans with technical education. Barasa (2013), further notes that; the Colonial government first showed interest in 1909 by setting up the first education commission, chaired by Professor Nelson Frazer from India. He recommended racial based system of education in Kenya among many other biased recommendations on African education.

Colonial government and missionary advocated education that was almost completely refused by the Africans because of the manner in which it was handled (Barasa, 2013). It promoted apathy, racial discrimination and was of poor quality. Other reasons for these reaction includes: Colonial government did not provide of purely academic education that Africans were yearning for, it only ensured steady supply of

cheap labour to the settlers, it was racial based since Europeans held the views that Africans were different from them and could not comprehend intellectual education. The resultant effect was the rise of independent schools such as the Nomiya Luo Mission schools which forms the subject of this study. Szkudlarek (2013) points out that there is an urgent scholarly need to define and establish the relationship between politics and education which greatly informed the need for this research.

### **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

This study has revealed that Education is a transformative asset to an individual, the community and the state; socially, politically and economically. The foundation and growth of western education in colonial Kenya was predominantly the work of Christian missionaries, supported and influenced by European economic and political interest. However its provision was a political contestation between different entities including the colonial government, Asians, Christian Missionary organizations and Africans themselves.

Publications on African independent churches have increased over the years and the mastery of literature is beyond the grasp of any single scholar; however missing out is the concept of education and politics and educational contributions of independent churches and schools but only citing missionary contribution to education and the general history of the independent church movements.

The aspect of the independent school movement has been scantily brought out and its educative role underscored. The studys data collected therefore knit together the fragmented data and filled the knowledge gap with new, detailed and well organised

empirical information on the role of politics in education. There was an urgent need to point out a clear understanding on the relationship between politics and education or independent schools which this study successfully did.

Most studies have suggested that there is an urgent need for research to be done on the role of the independent churches or government on educational development outside the context of missionary schools.

The case of the Nomiya Luo Mission schools though appearing interesting little is known about its contributions to education and its connection with politics. There is limited and fragmented documented evidence presented and therefore a need for research specifically on politics and the Nomiya Luo Mission schools to enable a clear comparison to be made with a study done on the Kikuyu independent school movements 1923-1953 and a generalisation to be made to fill the gap.

It's evident from the above studies that, African role in the development of education whether politically or otherwise, has been negatively viewed and given very limited scholarly and literary attention, therefore this research has unravelled the nature and the role of politics in education that will also be a breakthrough reference in the context of the modern world, thus a greater reason why this research was carried out.

The study therefore bridged the knowledge gap that existed by first demolishing the cynical perception of bias scholars of the school of Eurocentric thought who have over the years besmirched and impugned the role played by African educators in promoting African education.

#### **1.4 Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study was to establish the existing bond between politics and education and how politics influence education with reference to the educational role of the NLM schools since its establishment in 1911 to 2018.

#### **1.5 Research Objectives**

To achieve the purpose of the study, the study was guided by the following objectives:-

1. To trace the historical development and the development of the Nomiya Luo Mission established Schools.
2. To establish the contributions of politics to education in Kenya with reference to the Nomiya Luo Mission schools.
3. To examine the challenges faced by of the Nomiya Luo Mission established schools in their growth and development and the solutions sought.
4. To investigate the impact of independent established schools to the local community.

#### **1.6 Research Questions**

To answer the above research objectives the following research questions were used:-

1. What was the historical development and growth of the Nomiya Luo Mission established Schools?
2. What was the contribution of politics to education in reference to the Nomiya Luo Mission schools?

3. What were the challenges that faced Nomiya Luo Mission established schools and the solutions sought?
4. What were the impacts of the Nomiya Luo independent established schools to the local community?

### **1.5 Assumptions of the study**

The assumptions of this study were:-

1. That, John Owalo's early life experiences in colonial Kenya provided the threshold for his future educational career.
2. The founders and followers of the Nomiya Luo Mission movement will provide useful information without any biasness.
3. Most of the information collected in the field will corroborate with the data from the Kenya National Archives.
4. The study will shade light on the role of politics in education.
5. Based on the outcome of this study NLM will find the results useful in reconstructing there educational history with the view of improving their present and future livelihood.

### **1.6 Justifications of the study**

The fact that a lot has been mentioned about African independent churches; this study brings out a dissenting voice on the symbiotic relationship between politics and education in connection with the independent church movements. Justification of this study was therefore anchored on the fact that NLM as a forerunner of independent educational work in Kenya and Africa at large has played a wider role in educational

development of Africans. Compared to Christian missionary organizations, educational role played by independent school movements and their relationship with politics has not been adequately covered in scholarly work. NLM was used as the point of reference to bridge the gap by examining its historical development and the nature of political influence in its educational work, challenges faced, solutions sought and the impacts of its activities which has escaped or is rather thinly treated in existing literary work. This study is important because it has helped in identifying major historical challenges hindering the development of education in Kenya and solutions found will help in solving similar hindrances and challenges in modern educational growth and development.

This study has revealed pertinent role played by politics in education which is a breakthrough reference in the context of understanding the dynamics of modern world education, thus was a greater reason to carry out a critical inquiry into the case. Further the study has revealed both historical and scholarly gaps that will definitely lay foundation for further research on the role of politics in educational development especially after independence and in reference to neo-political world.

### **1.7 Significance of the study**

This study contributes to the growing knowledge base of research on how politics generally influence and determined educational aims and objectives, establishment of educational institutions and curriculum content basing on the fact that the activities of the independent schools and churches may have been influenced politically.

Specifically this study would be of the following vitality:

- a) To historians of education the documented study would be reference to their academic work for knowledge acquisition, dissemination and retention. This study has ultimately bridged the gap in Historical knowledge in education and enriched history of education as a subject.
- b) To other educational stakeholders; this study has brought out a clear connection on how politics underlines and determines the content and the component of education and how the system of education operates and functions, the details of the curriculum, educational financing and functional training of citizens.

### **1.8 Scope and Limitations of the study**

The study was carried out in Kisumu and Siaya Counties where NLM schools are predominantly found and mainly focused on the role played by the NLM movement in the development of education in Kenya since 1911.

The study examined the trends of education since 1911. The year 1911 is when John Owalo founded the Nomiya Luo Mission Church and schools at the height of African struggle for better educational opportunities. Further in its cases the study has captured and brought out educational events of NLM during the independent period, post independent period under the old constitutional dispensation up to the time Kenyans adopted a new constitution that declared education as a fundamental human right. The span of 100 (a hundred) years categorised into colonial, independent, post independent and new constitutional dispensation period that specifically focused on the relationship between NLM education and politics gave the researcher enough space to have an in-depth inquiry into the subject under study.

As a historical research, oral interview was used as a primary tool in data collection; however the sources might have been subjected to exaggerations therefore limiting validity and reliability of the research. To avoid this, data corroboration was done using additional primary sources available at the Kenya National Archives; NLM schools archives and the Oboch NLM Church headquarters archives.

Conceptually the study was limited to the role of the NLM schools in the development of education; it will not be able to cover all the other roles played by the independent NLM church. The scope of the study was limited within Kisumu and Siaya Counties whose findings will be generalised for the whole country; however a comparison of the outcome of this study needs to be done with that of the Agikuyu independent school movement by Kovar M.H, (1970) so as to arrive at a proper generalization of the relationship between politics and education with specific reference to the independent church movement.

Reaching key important informants who are scattered in many parts of the country was a great challenge; as a result snowballing sampling technique which proved to be effective for this study was used to reach the required respondents.

### **1.9 Theoretical Framework**

This study was based on a blend of critical policy analysis; policy historiography theory as advanced by Trevor Gale (2001) and Weaver Hightower critical post structural framework for policy analysis that revolve around the metaphor of policy contexts and ecologies for policy analysis. The blending of the two theories was necessary in order to fill the gaps created by one.



Critical Policy analysis, thus is informed ‘by the conviction that things, especially policy discourse must be pulled apart’ (Troyna,1994) and should be more than just the analyses of state mechanisms and policy documents as expressions of political purpose stating the actions and intentions to be implemented. This study therefore employed multiple perspectives to data collection and analysis that is informed by critical policy historiographical lenses and Hightower’s policy ecology and policy metaphor.

Policy historiography asks questions to construct a systematic account of past events to trace the process of educational change and to expose the possible relationships between the socio-educational present and socio-educational past (Kincheloe, 1991). The rationale for using policy historiographical lens stems from the realization that policy exists in the wider, social, political, economic and ideological contexts that make up human society. Because policy process is contested and/ or affected in a multiplicity of ways by various forces, groups and actors analysis of policy requires a critical ‘strategic edge’ in accordance with Troyna (1994) that can hold ‘both policy and practice (or implementation) within the same frame, and in some sense map them into ‘macro’ dimensions (Raab, 1994)

This heuristic framework was necessitated because it aims to reveal both formal and overt mechanisms for example the organizational structures, rules and communication patterns, delegated competencies and flow of information and more so for countries with diverse governance structures and historically developed contexts. Foucault (1987) notes that it’s appropriate in unearthing the historical antecedents that have given rise to the rationalization of modern institutions. This theory enabled the researcher to reflect on the development and implementation of educational policies

for Africans during the colonial period and post colonial period and relatively explore on the causes and alternatives of African resistance against certain educational policies within a historical context. This theory forms a new basis in the study of educational policies in the light of history of education as advocated by Spiller, Reiser and Reimer (2002).

In connection with policy historiography, the first educational policies in Kenya having been structured either formerly or otherwise by the Christian missionaries and the colonial government reflected both positive and negative reaction from the beneficiaries who were viewed to be mostly Africans. It's the negative values associated with this kind of education that necessitated the rise of independent school movements.

Weaver Hightower (2008) analysis of policy framework revolves around policy ecology and policy metaphor. Policy ecology in this context refers to the existing relationships between living creatures to each other and their environment. Simply, the existing relationship between the stakeholders in policy making and implementation processes in their policy production contexts or environment. The actors in the policy making process within their environment. In the case of this study the theory helps to interrogate the relationship between education actors during the colonial period and further how that relationship affected education.

On the other, hand policy metaphor refers to imaginative use of word or a phrase to describe something, somebody as another object to show they have the same qualities and to make description more forceful. In this study, ecology metaphor is extensively employed to show that policy is divided into formation/production, or formation and

implementations one endeavour. We have a network of actors who work like living things in ecology or an ecosystem where they relate with each other to perform their natural roles (Hightower, 2008). In this case, the study has explored on the actors, relationships, environments and also the processes involved.

For the case of this study, actors are considered to be the players in the provision of education; they are actually policy makers within the confines of education. Actors will always depend on certain amount of biodiversity so that the systems many roles such as provision of services, controlling population or clients or service consumers, processing or production functions are performed. In education circles, these actors include teachers, students, politicians, administrators, media, religious organizations such as the Nomiya Luo Mission and nongovernmental organizations among others.

According to Hightower (2008) actors in ecology share space and exist in complex relationships of four basic types namely completion, cooperation, predation and symbiosis. NLM competed with other religious organizations such as C.M.S, AIM, Friends Mission, and the Catholic Missionary Organizations for a niche. At some point the NLM sought cooperation from the C.M.S in the management of its schools; however the C.M.S wanted to absorb or predate the NLM schools as discussed in chapter four. However on realisation on how popular NLM was the government sought mutual relationship with the leadership of NLM.

Environment determines the natural and construed conditions, traditions and rules within which actors and relationships exist. The environment constitutes extant conditions such as economy, politics and social status that form super structures of the society.

Processes are dynamic natural or constructed changes in the relationships between actors and within environments. Actors share relationships and interact with their environments, these dynamics are not stable, and involving various active processes in constant change depending on pressures and influence are in ascending order as follows Emergency, entropy, adaption, conversion, fragmentation, succession, conservation anticipation and redundancy (Hightower, 2008).

Ecology metaphor represents complexity and interdependence hence does not imply a 'natural' and therefore inevitable or acceptable adaption of political structural to their environment. Policy is highly and inherently political complex and subject to constraints that policy as ecology is powerful to analysts since it requires that an analyst look for the following as they interrogate the policy; History and culture of the place, its many actors and the relationship of the actors, the large national and international dynamics involved. Policy ecology metaphor provides a framework for asking broad questions about many contexts and influences swindling around process as follows: - Who are necessary and influential actors? What relationships exist among actors? Within what environments and structures do they operate? What processes are they dealing with or reacting to? or creating? (Hightower, 2008).

Basing on Gale (2001) policy historiography and Hightower (2008) critical structural framework for policy analysis two distinct schools of thoughts explain the nature of the impact of western education as advocated and propagated by the colonial government and the missionaries and why Africans resorted in establishing their own educational structures. The first school of thought perceived Christian missionaries as having played a key role in positively transforming African society. It claims that, introduced into Africans with whom they came into contact with the taste for western

material culture (Rotberg, 1967). Missionaries played a key role in transforming the lifestyle of Africans, they urged Africans to adopt white mannerisms and taste for western material culture. Western education introduced by missionaries in this sense was seen as a factor being accepted and fitting in the rapid changing African society in colonial times.

Western education as introduced by the Christian missionaries and effected and propagated through the school institution proved as the most appropriate means for orienting and preparing individuals for useful and relevant role in the emerging society where European economic, social and political system and values begun to replace the traditional ones. These were aspirations African people wished to achieve through the education offered in colonial schools (Shanghuyia, 1996). They trained Africans to take up clerical jobs in the colonial government, to be self reliant through technical and vocational training and teachers of mission schools. The move was later on viewed to have greatly culminated to the development and growth of Africa nation. The need for western education grew with time as the African society experienced westernization.

Both the colonial government and the missionaries played a critical role in meeting the ever rising demand of education. Education became a basic source of survival for one in the society. Post primary output became critically important for it was those with secondary education who could go on to become university graduates or enter training for a wider range of technical business or administrative careers (Stabler, 1969:16). This argument is also put forward by Oliver (Oliver, 1952:292), that Kenyans got secondary education because of Christian missionary activities who

wanted to entrust the leadership of East Africa in the hands of Christians, arguments supported by also Bauer (Bauer, 1990) and Wanyama (2012:20).

It became clear on the onset to European philanthropist and missionaries who perceived the realization of Africa needs through education. As noted by painter:-

“With prophetic highlights Friends recognized that proclaiming Christian messages of salvation involved much more than singing and praying and preaching. Their concern was to witness to the truly abundant life in Christ. The African people to whom the missionaries were being sent would need medical care, more suitable homes, food and for their families, education for the young and old, and above all, they would need to develop their own Christian culture by expanding the entire horizon of their living (Painter, L.K1966:20)”

To the missionaries, western schooling was seen as one of the key tenets to “civilize” Africans. But to the native Africans western formal schooling was a means of achieving colonial economic, social and political status. Several scholars have argued differently on the role played by missionaries in colonial Africa. The argument has been more profound and greatly associated with colonization.

Missionary endeavour should not be lightly dismissed as precursors to colonial conquest. Walaba (2009) agrees that missionaries came to spread Christianity, civilize Africans, abolish slave trade, slavery and introduce legitimate trade. Since some missionaries faced some challenges from Africans; the missionaries requested for protection from their respective mother countries. The imperial powers mainly

occupied countries where their missionaries had established themselves (Walaba, 2009).

As interpreted by Walaba (2009) ushers in the second school of thought which this study seeks to be anchored on. Christian missionaries were agents of European colonization in Africa that distorted African culture, liberation, conceived the actual misery of Africans due to colonialism and was part and parcel of European colonization (Wanyama, 2012). In Britain and other parts of Europe, the need to spread European faith formed a very important justification for imperial expansionism (Maxon, 1989). Native Africans viewed and associated missionaries with colonial evils imposed on them, namely forced Labour, land alienation, destocking policy, tax payment, kipande system (Pass) and other social evils, particularly when the missionaries got involved with administrative issues, hence the assertion that “Africans lost their land as they closed their eyes participating in official prayers offered by missionaries”. Missionaries were seen to have gotten mixed up and forgot their evangelical mission in Africa, which led Africans to view them with a lot of contempt as noted by Wellborn (1976:386),

“The denomination which was imported from West caused not only social but political division; and nationalism developed and the God of the church became identified with the God of the Europeans, it began to be asked whether Christianity was in fact the religion for Africa or whether it was no more than the religion edge of the imperialist” a policy of divide and rule.” (Welbourn, 1976:386)

Education was religious based and actual classroom teaching was based on the basic 3rs (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic). In this case, western formal education paid less attention to the needs, goals and expectations of the wider African society. The perception that Africans had no written history made the natives to be considered conspicuous by lack of tradition, history and culture, sentiments that were greatly echoed by Wilson.

“While the rest of the world was being occupied by rapid developing races of mankind, elaborating from the first rudiments of civilization their own culture, these Africans advanced hardly at all. The primitive hunter had learned to cultivate a few crops and to keep domestic animals; they made for themselves huts.....then progress stopped and in that stale they seem to have been content to remain” (Wilson, 1952:34)

The ordinary European regarded Africans as retarded children incapable of intellectual effort and deficient in constructive power. The argument that Africans were infamous to European and motivating spirit behind missionary education was brought out clearly by Julian Huxley (1931).

“I am prepared to believe that if we ever do devise a really satisfactory method of measuring inborn mental attributes, we shall find the races of Africa slightly below the races of Europe in pure intelligence...But... And the but: is a big one...I am perfectly certain that if this proves to be so the differences between the races will be small...and the great majority of the two populations will overlap as regards their innate intellectual capacities”(Huxley, 1931:189)



To an African as earlier on indicated, missionary education had no meaning and place in the society. Missionaries were identified with land grievances and their form of education failed to meet the circumstance of the time, as Africans saw them criticism of the opposition to missionary influence deepened to erupt in the 1929-31 “circumcision controversy” (Mutua, 1975). Missionary education interfered with the tribal rites and structures and many native Africans opposed this kind of education because it alienated members of the society from the tribal life.

The second school of thought views the role of missionaries as agents of “destruction” and “erosion” of African culture. Missionary education seemed to be irrelevant to the indigenous people. It prepared and modelled individuals to be patriotic citizens, providing the much needed labour force for the colonial administration in Africa. It was a means of African exploitation and hence it herald imperialism and eventual colonization of Africa a concept that never pleased the native Africans who came in contact with Europeans. The study was mainly guided by the second perception of the perceived negative role played by the Christian missionaries and the colonial government on African societies. This school of thought is widely supported by a number of scholars and historians among them Maxon (1989), Welbourn (1976), Ngugi (1972), Ochieng’ (1989). Missionary education should be viewed as having been relevant and vital except in specific areas of lives of the indigenous African communities under study whose social, economic and political activities were negatively affected. In this later transformation the negative effects brought by the colonial government and missionary education cannot be under scored, triggering the need for studying African independent school movements such as the Nomiya Luo mission and others, a move that this study seeks to endeavour.

### 1.11 Operational definition of terms

**Development** : The process of improving one's way of life through education.

**IndependentSchool**: Educational institutions established by Africans.

**Interaction** : Situation or occurrence in which politics and education act upon each other to produce a new effect or a result.

**Moderates**: individuals having an intermediate position on colonial education.

**Nomiya Luo Mission**: A socio-political movement that founded the Nomiya Luo Mission Schools.

**Politics**:The process of running the affairs of government or an institution by super coordination, subordination, dominance and submission.

**Radicals** : African group that favoured fundamental change in colonial education.

**Synthesis** :A blend of education and politics

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.0 Introduction

Literature review in this study helped the researcher to have a thorough understanding of the topic and to identify similar work done. It further creates a justification for this study. This chapter therefore examines African indigenous education, missionary factor in education 1800-1960, colonial government control of education 1800-1960, African political control of education: African airlifts and the local native councils 1900-1960, political dynamics and the establishment of the Nomiya Luo mission church. Politics of academic rebellion: the rise of independent school movement in Kenya 1900-1960.

#### 2.1 Pre-Colonial African Indigenous Education as Practiced by the Luo

Africans had an elaborate system of education long before European activities in Africa. However, Eurocentric scholars and historians who first came to Africa held the view that an African is a savage, a pagan with no history and culture that he was primitive, that he knew nothing and that Africans never taught their young (Sifuna and Otiende, 2006:149). However, this view has been objected by Afrocentric scholars and historians who argue that, if the common conception of education is that which takes place in schools, fails to consider the wide variety of teaching and learning that goes on outside any formal institution (Sheffield, 1973:1). Traditional education cannot be separated from the society because both are intertwined with the same cultural fabric. Because it's interwoven in the fabric of African life, indigenous

education is inseparable from traditional African religious thought and practices; there is no dichotomy between religious and secular thoughts and values according to Mbithi (1990).

Thus, Africans do not speak of education as a process of institution separate from everything else in life, there is no distinction between formal, non formal and informal education. In fact, the term education is a western word that does not speak of the traditional African reality, in which the entire community is continually engaged in learning and teaching (Tedla, 1992:7). Education begun at birth and ended at death (Kenyatta, 1962:96), informally training was done by parents, senior members of the society and the elders; formally, through apprenticeship and by initiation rites (Herkovits, 1962:222).

Early Childhood Education took place in and around the home. According to Menkiti (1984:172), in traditional African, learning begun very early in life, soon after birth and continued to death. The whole of life is a process of learning to become fully human, to attain personhood. It took the form of games, riddles, stories and specific instructions concerning the correct behaviour to adopt towards his numerous relatives and other members of the community (Sifuna and Otiende, 2006:2). Kinship knowledge acquired was very vital because it was a major determinant of status and privileges. Traditional education was concerned with personal relations, rather than natural phenomenon (Kenyatta, 1962:102). Nevertheless, natural phenomena and practical knowledge were also imparted, largely in the course of participating in the work of the home and farm. Names of particular plants, the uses of different trees, management of particular herd of sheep's and goats and cattle were taught (Kenyatta, 1962:117).

Education incorporated the individual into the fabric of the society. Learning took place everywhere in the home, the field, the gathering places, the forest, caves, shrines, by the lake or riverside, at the weddings and festivities and funerals. Everyone was engaged in teaching and learning. As a result, a rich tradition of teaching and learning was developed with uses of symbols, rituals, ceremonies, proverbs, riddles, wise sayings, memorising, apprenticeship, storytelling, observation, practising, singing, dramatising and sometimes writing (Tedla, 1992:8). Examples of African communities that developed the art of writing include but not limited to Meroetic script, Moun script, Vai script, Bete script and the Akan script as cited by Niagoran (1984) and Van (1986).

Through apprenticeship individuals acquired specialized skills such as woodcarving, tanning, blacksmithing, hunting, bee keeping and practical use of different herbs, roots and leaves as medicines. These occupations were in most cases hereditary, but even so the emphasis was on learning by practical application of skills that was considered to be important to the application of the real life situation (Sifuna and Otiende, 2006:2). An African whole life was marked by progress from one level to another hence the lowest social status to the higher as played by the rites of passage. Whether formal and informal means were used, these rites usually culminated in an initiation ceremony, frequently associated with circumcision or physical ordeals. These initiates were ready to assume the responsibility of adulthood and until it was complete, no young man could be considered a full member of the society (Scanlon, 1960:148)

After initiation, individuals went through a period of seclusion where they were given instructions of social values and responsibilities. The initiates were given the basic

knowledge necessary to assure that the identity of the tribal community would persist from one generation to the next (Sheffield, 1973:2). Although indigenous education systems varied from one society to another, the goals of these systems were often strikingly similar (Sifuna and Otiende, 2006:150). Indigenous education therefore embraced character building as well as the development of physical aptitudes. In broad terms, indigenous education emphasized social responsibility, job orientation, and political participation, spiritual and moral values as argued by Ocitti (1970), Sifuna and Otiende (2006:150).

However, the coming of Europeans affected the entire fabric of traditional cultures (Sheffield, 1973:3). This includes indigenous education system. Though left and abandoned by many, aspects of indigenous African education still exist, but as a result of westernization and especially urbanization, to which the culture was exposed, traditional institutions and the powerful structures have broken down, leaving many Africans caught between two worlds (Sheffield, 1973:3). As a conduit of trans social rules and values indigenous education plays a crucial role in the process of incorporating individual into the African community and forming their identity (Tedla, 1992:9).

Indigenous knowledge and identities do not reside in affixed static metaphoric site or space removed from practice, performance, power and process. They are socially created and dependent on everyday or lived experiences of the people. By attempting to enculturate or assimilate indigenous people, the settlers believed they were annihilating a static and fixed predisposition. In fact, because indigenous knowledge, identities and resilient resides within the situated (political) practices

through identities and places are contested produced and reworked in particular localities.

Indigenous education was undoubtedly effective in all spheres of African life therefore a brief description of the Luo socio-economic and political organization will shade light into the aspects of education and changes that was brought by the missionaries. Education in traditional African society entailed five main philosophical foundations namely communalism, preparationism, functionalism, perennialism and holisticism, this is evident from the culture of the community under study (Ogot, 1967). Mzee Odongo one of the Luo elders in Nyanza during an oral interview (O.I; Odongo, 29/5/17) gave a wider description of the societal organization before the coming of the Europeans to Luo Nyanza.

The family was the basic social unit of organization and the basis of traditional education among the Luo. Communalism or group cohesion was nurtured at this level. Family socialization took its center stage at this level; this was done to strengthen the organic unit of the clan. At this level an individual was brought up to have concern to fellow human beings and given training on relationship with the wider members of the society. The Luo lived in villages of related people who formed clans. They believed in one supreme God “Nyasaye” who was worshiped from sacred places like trees, rocks, hills, lakes and river. Religious ceremonies were performed by elders and priests who prayed through the ancestral spirits “Juogi” (Ogot, 1967).

They had ceremonies and occasions such as prayers; sacrifice of good harvest, abundant rainfall and other blessings or against epidemics and other calamities. Diviners’ interpreted Gods message to people before conducting such ceremonies; it

is through religious exposure of members that functionalism and perennialism was emphasized as this was the basis of moral values. Adolescent boys and girls were initiated through the removal of six lower teeth after which they were ready for marriage. Marriage ceremonies lasted for several months and followed by payment of dowry (Ogot, 1967).

Informal education was administered to the young ones for example, boys were taught by the older men in the society to be ready to take up family responsibilities and girls were taught by the older women in the society, they were brought up as future wives and mothers of their children. However, all children spent time with their grandparents learning about important values of the community. It is through such training that preparationism was exhibited where children were brought up and trained as useful members of the society according to Walaba (2009:61-62).

Politically the Luo were divided into subtribes known as “Oganda”, each occupying an autonomous political and territorial unit “gweng”. Below this were the village councils “jodongo” and the clan council “doho”. The gweng” was ruled by a council of elders “buch piny” made up of heads of clan councils, prominent diviners, healers, rain-makers and military commanders. The council of elders was headed by a chief “ruoth”. It dealt with important values like murder, cattle theft, boundary disputes, welfare and calamities. The youths were taught on the dangers of being involved in such vices (Walaba, 2009:61-62) and carried out ritual ceremonies, declared war or negotiated peace with the adversaries. It was the custodian of “gweng” land and it was the final court of appeal (Ogot, 1967). The council admitted strangers into the community or expelled undesirable individuals. The council of elders also appointed senior elders in the community who would give the youth training during initiation



period. They were also considered as great custodians of communities' history and culture.

Economically the Luo community practised farming, animal keeping, hunting and gathering. Fishing was done on Lake Victoria and along the major rivers. Trade was carried out with the neighbouring communities such as the Luhya and the Kalenjin (Ogot, 1967). At this level, holism was exhibited which involved multiple learning where members were required to be skilled craftsmen and hunters and perform all other forms of economic activities. Specialized training was done at this stage.

It is therefore evident that Africans had an elaborate system of education which was deeply rooted in the environment both physical and social. This system brought the young ones into the world of reality and nature. African traditional education seems to reflect and built on the values, ethics and expectations of the wider society. This study therefore seeks to bring out the ideals of change that characterized the C.M.S missionary activities and that interfered with the native African communities' societal setting.

### **2.3 Introduction of Western Education in Kenya from 1800**

Historically, the Portuguese were the first Europeans to attempt to spread Christianity in East Africa. However, their success was limited for several reasons. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were renewed efforts by Europeans to bring Christianity to Africa. Several factors contributed to the coming of missionaries in Africa.

They wanted to spread Christianity which was a response to evangelical movements in the Christian church in Europe and particularly so in Britain. During the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the movement aimed at converting to Christianity those in foreign land and this explains why and how they reached the continent of Africa and to the interior regions of East Africa such as Nyanza (Ogot, 1967). Some missionaries belonged to humanitarian movements in Britain, this movements aimed at ending slavery and slave trade, they wished to replace trade in slaves with legitimate trade since Christian missionaries considered slavery and slave trade as both unethical and satanic as the practice worked against the Biblical doctrine of equality and brotherhood of mankind. Missionaries took it as their moral obligation to stop it. The abolition of slavery led to renewed strong desire among Christians in Europe to convert and help Africans (Walaba, 2009:23).

C.M.S was prominent in this agitation, and its lay secretary, Edward Hutchinson, made himself acknowledged expert in the whole question of the East African Coastal slave trade (Hutchinson, 1874:35). It should be noted that East African coast effectively participated in the East African Coastal slave trade as attributed by Richards (1966:19). This clearly explained why churches and mission centers were put up in various places in Africa and to some extent justified the reasons why C.M.S were able to built mission stations in Nyanza and other places in East Africa(Walaba, 2009:61-62).

Some missionaries wanted to explore the interior of East Africa so that it could be opened up for Christianity and western civilization. This group was greatly interested in the geographical knowledge of East Africa. The aspect of opening Africa emanated from the belief that Africa was '*a dark continent*' because very little was known

about it (Painter, 1951:111). The effects of these discoveries upon the future of missionary invasion were considerable. Even the simplest geographical results, the appearances of the great lakes upon the hitherto vacant spaces of the map of Africa, had special fascination for a generation that was just experiencing the new power afforded by steam navigation (Oliver, 1966:27). Lake Victoria played a significant role in the coming of C.M.S missionaries in Nyanza and its environment since it was a great geographical phenomenon that attracted geographical exploration and navigation.

Some missionaries wished to counter the spread of Islam which was becoming more prominent around the continent and also wanted to 'civilize' Africans. The concept of civilization of Africa is brought out by Wilson (1952:34).

'While the rest of the world was being occupied by rapid developing races of mankind, elaborating from the first rudiments of civilization their own culture, these Africans advanced hardly at all. The primitive hunter had learned to cultivate a few crops and to keep domestic animals; they made for themselves huts.....then progress stopped and in that stale they seem to have been content to remain. Europeans believed that African culture was backward and religious practices barbaric' Wilson (1952:34).

They therefore felt that it was their duty to 'civilize' Africans by introducing western education and culture. Missionary work in Kenya started in 1844 with the arrival of a German Missionary; Dr Ludwig Krapf was sponsored by the Church Missionary Society, whose activities are the main concern of this study. He set up a mission station at Rabai and two years later he was joined by another German missionary Johan Rebman and in 1849 they were joined by yet another missionary Jacob Erhardt. Between 1847 and 1849 Krapf and Rebman set out by turns across the parched and thorny Nyika desert (Roland, 1966:6). From Rabai they travelled inland, Rebman travelled to Taita while Krapf travelled to Ukambani.

It was this travels in the interior that Krapf sighted Mt Kilimanjaro during his travels in Taita country. Erhardt was able to compile a map of the interior of East Africa, which was done largely through the information gathered from the Arab and the Swahili traders. His map aroused a lot of European interest in the interior of East Africa (Painter, 1951:111). The inclusion on the map of the inland sea led to speculation that this could be possibly the source of River Nile, thus arousing the interest of European geographers in the area. The inland sea in this case was Lake Victoria, probably a critical region neighbouring the study area.

It remains factual that it was Livingstone the individual and not the C.M.S missionaries with their twelve years start and their powerful society behind them, who set motion the missionary invasion in East Africa. Their linguistic work laid a solid foundation for all who came after. Their explorations forged a vital link in the discovery of the great lakes and the Nile sources (Roland, 1966:6). The following years experienced the coming of more missionary societies in East Africa (Painter, 1951:111). The United Methodist Church set up a mission station at Ribe near Rabai in 1864 and Jumuu near Mombasa. It is at this point that a first Luo by the name Apindi Odongo got his first education and came in contact with the Christian word of God as freed slave, Apindi later returned home and taught people who inspired others to embrace western education and religion such as Obare Maraji, Nandi Agola, Ratenge, Rating, Okoo and Ochieng (Walaba, 2009:61-62).

The Holy Ghost fathers established a settlement for freed slaves at Bagamoyo in 1868. Former slaves were introduced to western formal education for example they were taught basic skills such as agriculture, carpentry, reading and writing. The Presbyterian Church of Scotland set up a station at Kibwezi in 1891 and in 1898

moved to Thogoto. The African inland mission from U.S.A established their first station at Nzavi in Makueni and later spread to Kijabe, Nandi, Kabarnet and Nyakach. Catholic Missionary Societies such as the Holy Ghost fathers established the first mission station at St Austin's in Nairobi in 1899. The Consolata fathers established the first station at Nyeri in 1907(Painter, 1951:111).

By 1914 missionary work had been extended to western Kenya with the declaration of western Kenya along with all the Eastern province of Uganda as far as the Rift valley from Uganda as the protectorate of the British East Africa (Richard, 1956:8). Nabongo Mumia the King of the Wanga whose influence extended to the Luo land the main community under study was made a Paramount Chief Nabongo Mumia was considered as a darling of the many (Painter, 1951:111). Nabongo is thus honoured for opening up of Western Kenya to Europeans and facilitation of peaceful missionary settlement in Kenya, arguments greatly echoed by Walaba (Walaba, 2009:61-62).

In 1905, Archdeacon Willis was posted by Bishop Tucker to the Nyanza Province to open work among the Luo, which spread to the Bantu Kavirondo, the Nandi and the Lumbwa (Roland, 1966:169). At this time, it was evident that change was to be experienced in Western Kenya, the main cause being the construction of the Uganda Railway that linked Western Kenya and the Coast and with it came a tremendous influx of those of Muslim faith, of traders and merchants of interpreters and clerks for the new administration of office boys and sailors for the township and workers for the railway and the port (Painter, 1951:111). There came the Roman Catholic fathers first of all to Kisumu Township (Richard, 1956:9).

Walaba argues (Walaba, 2009:26-27), that the railway line extension to high potential areas for example Thika to Nanyuki and Kisumu to Butere in 1931 was for the missionary work. The Friends Missionaries arrived at Kaimosi around 1902 (Painter, 1951:19). The church of God established a mission station at Kima; the Pentecostal Assembly of God established a mission station at Nyang'ori.

The C.M.S arrived and established a mission station at Maseno. At the beginning of missionary work two names are particularly mentioned and are popular even to the natives today that of Mr. Hugh Savile and that of Rev. J.J Willis (Walaba, 2009:61-62). Work at Maseno actually begun in 1905, but as an effective C.M.S mission station in 1906. Maseno would later be a great hub of missionary work in Nyanza and its environment (Painter, 1951:111). Maseno will later lay foundation of John Owalo's movement. In an interview with Archbishop Obego (O.I, 05/11/17) three Luo's were recruited as the first students of Maseno school; Odindo, John Owalo and Adem.

Maseno school was established in 1906 barely a year after the establishment of C.M.S mission station at Maseno. The school was established to be used as an agent of civilization among the native African communities and also as a transformational institution and school for the sons of chiefs, senior elders, other rulers and early Christian converts, who were seen as future leaders of the country (Ogot, 1967). It is through the efforts of local chief Odhola that John Owalo got admission to Maseno (Painter, 1951:111).

Formal western education was introduced for the first time by European missionaries a little more than a hundred years ago. The primary purpose of all Christian missionaries was to spread Christianity according to Painter (1951:111). Naturally

then they taught Africans how to read the Bible and how to write at their mission schools. Missionaries thus were pioneers of educational work in Kenya, mission schools were built at their centers (Ogot, 1967).

In missionary schools, young boys and girls were trained on Christian lines and ways from fears of 'animism', for example the students had to be Christians to give up their 'traditional pagan' beliefs. Missionaries received every encouragement from the government for their endeavours in the promotion of education to the Africans (Painter, 1951:111). Till 1911, African education was in the hands of the missionaries and the government was too busy in establishing colonial influence and law and order in all parts of the country as well as pacifying resisting African communities. Besides the provision of formal education, mission schools trained pupils in technical crafts such as carpentry, metal work, agriculture and construction.

With the coming of colonialists in Kenya, indigenous education changed its form; it was obvious to the natives that old men and women were the prime holders of knowledge an idea that changed with the arrival of Christian missionaries. Growing boys and girls received education from their fathers and mothers according to Painter, (1951:111). On the other hand, fathers and mothers received their education from the older ones in the community, however when the white men penetrated the country they did not approve this type of informal education, they took Africans as having no education at all (Ogot, 1967).

In Kenya the development of western education was controlled by the Christian Missionaries. Missionaries who came to Kenya belonged to different church organizations from Europe (Walaba, 2009:61-62).

Western education took strong dimension with the coming of three C.M.S Christian Missionaries (Ludwig Krapf and Johann Rebman) in 1844 and 1846 respective (see appendix 18) and Erhardt in 1849. They translated the Bible into Swahili and started a boarding school for the sons of the chiefs at Rabai in Mombasa. However, the coastal tribes were not particularly receptive to severe pietism of the C.M.S pioneers (Sheffield, 1973:8). Krapf published a most valuable Swahili dictionary while Rebman studied Nyika language. Dr Steere translated the bible into Swahili, much of the subsequent work that has been done in African literature and culture has been based upon the works of these missionaries (Ogot, 1967).

Nevertheless, the educational work of the C.M.S missionaries continued and foreshadowed some of the main dichotomies of education in the twentieth century. Under Krapf and his early successors, education at Rabai was intellectual in orientation if not in content; it sought to inculcate basic literacy, for reading scripture and manual tasks, and develop chiefly values for the supposed world benefits (Sheffield, 1973:3). It was at Rabai that the foundation stone of western formal education was laid. Many Africans were sent to India to train at Sheranpur, Nasik in order to teach at Christian missionary schools in 1864 (Bogonko, 1922: 18).

By 1910, missionaries of different denominations had spread in many parts of the country and set up a total of thirty five mission schools. By 1920, the missionary education had started off as a mere handful of schools had greatly expanded such that their numbers had reached 2,266 by 1931. However there were but village schools whose classes reached only at standard 3 or 4, full primary reached standard 6 and only 32 schools had reached this level by 1931. It should be noted that missionary



education was not to produce passive minded African Christian converts who would not question the oppressive colonial religious activities (Eshiwani, 1993:18).

As pointed by Painter (1951):-

From the very beginning there should be direct relationship between academic learning and the practical application of what was learned, learning to read the Bible should lead to the acceptance of the principals of Christian teachings and the application of those principles in living (Painter, 1951: 117).

This was evident by the use of catechists as teachers in schools. Africans were in fact being given low quality of education to provide for cheap labour in European farms. However this move elicited a lot of concern for the quality of education given to the African as noted by one Provincial Administrator.

“Speaking generally it may be stated that the bulk of the Instructions carried out by native teachers is of little educational value since it must be remembered that many of the missionaries are not trained teachers and do not view education as of greatest value but merely as a medium of the Christian belief” (Sifuna, 1975:8)”

As noted above education started at elementary class level and then to higher classes which were equivalent to the primary and secondary levels. In 1911 the department of education was established and a Director of Education was appointed to organize education in Kenya. The colonial education was organized on racial lines and there were different schools for Europeans, Asians, Arabs and Africans. The government spent most of the money on European education whereas very little for African education.

The British government had accepted in the Devonshire white paper (1923) that Kenya was an African country and it would be developed in the interest of the African

people, hence there was reasonably good progress in the African education in the following years. By 1926, there were several government primary schools in the country and in 1924 the first education ordinance in Kenya required all schools including missionary schools to be registered, it was required that a school must be properly managed and approved syllabuses to be taught by qualified teachers.

Although the details of missionary educational effort varied, it is possible to identify some general aspect of missionary education (Sheffield, 1973:11). The first goal of missionary education was to gain converts and train catechists who could both preach and teach, but literacy soon became a basic concern, since Protestants had to be able to read the Bible for baptism (Oliver, 1952:213). With time the curricular was soon broadened to include manual training. The relative importance of religious instructions, literacy and humanistic education on the other hand, and technical training on the other, was a constant source of disagreement in missionary circles. In reporting on the international conference held at Lezoute, Belgium, September 14-21, 1926, the Reverend Edwin Smith defined the goal of missionary education as “to fashion character after the pattern of Christ”, by maintaining a religious basis of all subjects (Smith, 1926:109).

Missionaries could not agree on the similar goal of education to be offered to Africans. At the Jeanes Conference of 1935, two speakers advocated divergent approaches to Christian education. The Reverend Dougall, who had spent many years in Kenya, stated that “In history or reading lesson the Christian teacher will be teaching history and reading, religion will pervade the teaching of non-religious subjects, but as energy and inspiration, not as diagnostic truth (Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1935:233) in striking contrast to Dougall, the Reverend H.W Murray

from Southern Rhodesia stressed the great value of the Memorization of Bible passages (Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1935:233).

The adverse effects / impacts of western culture upon traditional societies aroused certain dislocations and conflicts between the Africans and Christian missionaries. Missionaries failed to differentiate Christian ethics from the European way of life. To them becoming a Christian generally meant negation of the traditional African way of life (Otieno, 1963:229). This meant that the country for along period of time continued to rely on the support of the establishment of schools by religious groups (Koech, 1999). During the colonial period, the British colonial government sponsored a study of educational system in what came up to be known as “Frazer report of 1909” which gave rise to racial education system.

The government, established the education department in 1911, and the government took up steps to coordinate the missionaries’ educational efforts. In 1913 the Church of Scotland mission called a conference at Kikuyu to establish a federation of protestant missions in the territory, although no African had a voice in the proceedings, it was a significant effort to coordinate educational policy and the efforts bore fruit after the First World War. The Phelps Stoke Commission of 1924 was set up which gave Africans more western educational opportunities. Further developments were realized twenty five years later when the colonial government set up the Beecher Commission of 1949 which encouraged more Africans to go to school generally to seek knowledge wherever it could be found. This is due to the fact that the commission came up at the time of great re-awakening in Kenya both educationally and politically (Walaba, 2009:61-62).

Three years later the Binns Commission of 1952 was set up which reinforced the recommendation of the Beecher commission. After independence, other commissions were set up with the view of improving the quality and African access to western education. Among the commissions, Ominde commission of 1964 led to rapid growth of and expansion of primary, secondary, college and university education. Teacher training colleges were established both privately owned and government owned to train teachers (Walaba, 2009:61-62).

Missionary role in educational development of Africans should never be underscored. A number of scholars have done studies on missionary groups and their contributions to educational development. Studies on the Friends African Mission in social, economic and political contributions in western Kenya has been brought out clearly by Painter (1966), Smuck (1987), Rasmussen (1985) and Kay (1973).

A study on the Pentecostal Assemblies has been done by Shanguyia (1996). For instance a study on the Church of God missionaries has been done by Sogoni (2013) and that of the Mill Hill missionaries by Wanyama (2012), CMS by Barasa (2013). To some extent these studies have proved that missionaries played a critical role in educational development in Kenya, however this study has gone further deep to bring out an expansive understanding of the specific role played by the independent NLM as purely African outfit outside the missionary context. Examining the works of Painter (1966), Smuck (1987), and Rasmussen (1985) on the missionary roles, they have mainly dwelt on elementary, primary and secondary education leaving out the contributions of politics to education in the light of African independent church movement and personalities the gap which this study has filled.

After the coming of missionaries, missionary groups opened schools before government began to be concerned with education. Despite lack of centralized control over standards or policy of education, the missions laid the foundations for future educational development in Kenya. The fact that the government relied so heavily upon the voluntary agencies, long after assuming major responsibility for the education of Africans, was an acknowledgement of the mission substantial contribution (Sheffield, 1973:12). Missionary involvement in education was necessitated by the fact that they needed to spread the gospel and civilize African communities which they considered illiterate. For their work to be successful, they needed to teach Africans reading writing and arithmetic as a prelude to teaching religion (Sifuna, 1990).

The products of these institutions continue to serve this country in various capacities, in professions such as teaching, medical profession, administration and social economic sectors (Wanyama, 2012:35). As a result, missionary societies that pioneered Kenya, established mission schools in different parts of the colony. In its part, the colonial government supported this initiative since it also required the service of literate Africans in its western administrative set up.

The church had a sole duty of providing teachers and facilities for the schools which most of them found it to be difficult, this led to most missionary groups seeking finance and material aid from the government abroad, this unique relationship developed between the church and state in dealing with education. The mission partnership in education had grown into a mature relationship by 1952 with government at the insistence of missions, taking an increase measure of responsibility. In the beginning, the government participation consisted largely in making monetary

grants (Painter, 1951:118). But later on the responsibility was left for the church and different missionary groups. This means that the country continued to rely on the support of the establishment of schools by religious groups (Koech, 1999).

## **2.5 Colonial Government and Politics of Educational Control 1800-1960**

Political control of education during the colonial period can be attributed to three main players; namely the colonial government, Africans themselves and Christian missionaries. On its part, the colonial administration was reluctant to provide Africans with education, they tried to cooperate with and encourage missionaries to provide Africans with technical education.

Colonial government first showed interest in 1909 by setting up the first education commission, chaired by Professor Nelson Frazer from India. He recommended racial system of education in Kenya, Industrial education and moral training for African to replace expensive Indians and discourage undesirable elements in Africans and the need for cooperation between the government and missionaries in the provision of education. Frazer recommended that the government should provide grants in aid to missionary schools providing technical education (Kimengi and Lumallas, 2009). The government accepted his recommendations. The first action from the government was to set up a department of education in 1911. This marked the beginning of the participation of the government in educational development in Kenya.

In particular, the first step which the government took in its efforts to improve education in the country included the following major steps: The establishment of educational department in 1911, the appointment of the Director of education to take

charge of the department of education and intensification on the provision of technical education for Africans.

The government established and sustained industrial educational schools in areas away from the areas served by missionary such as Machakos (in 1915), Narok(in 1919) and Kabete (in 1919), Kitui (in 1909), Kabianga (in 1925), Kapsabet and Tambach (in 1928) and Kapenguria (in 1928).From among recommendations of Fraezer commission, a dispute was created between the government and the missionaries.The dispute was about two important issues which were: one over the strong recommendation for industrial education for Africans and on recommendation that the government should run and manage African schools (Barasa, 2013).

In order to settle these disputes, the government convened a conference in 1918. At this conference, views of all races were represented. The resolution of the conference included one where the government was to give grant-in-aid for all well managed schools by the missionaries providing education for Africans.In 1919 Department of Education was established with Sir J.R Orr as the first director. The government provided grant-in aid to mission schools that offered technical education.

In 1919 education commission report re-affirmed recommendations of Frazer report and added, literary education should not be given to Africans because they would seek clerical work rather than providing labour in farms (Barasa, 2013). The commission further recommended that the government should use available missionary educational facilities for Africans and grant-in aid to be pegged on enrolment as attributed by Smuck (1987).

Up to 1925 the government played supervisory/ oversight role, but education largely remained in missionary hands. From 1909 the colonial government came up with the following policies and reforms, 1909. Frazer Report, 1911 Education Commission Report. In 1924 Phelps Stoke Commission made the following recommendations that English be used as a medium of instruction in upper schools, establishment of teacher training centers, uniform education system for all missionary and government schools, subsidize missionary schools rather than opening new ones, and expansion of educational opportunities for Africans especially girls (Kimengi and Lumallas 2009).

Following this recommendations, the government formed advisory committees on education for Africans, Asians, and Europeans. All schools and teachers were registered and the director of education was appointed to inspect and supervise all schools in Kenya. 1934 District Education Ordinance established District Education Boards across the country. By 1934 we had only four secondary schools for Africans namely Kabaa, CMS Maseno, Yala and Alliance had been established.

In 1925 a permanent advisory committee on education was established which recommended that education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of all people conserving all elements of their social life. In 1943 Royal Commission on Higher Education for colonies recommended: Makerere College to be upgraded to university college status to offer degree of the university of London and expansion of African education.

In 1948 the memorandum of education for citizens recommended that:- education should foster a sense of public responsibility and democracy, educational expenditure



be increased and ten year development plan aimed to achieve six years of education to 50% of school age children by 1958.

Beecher Report of 1949 chaired by Archdeacon L.J Beecher, was formed to examine and report on the scope, content and methods of African education. The report recommended that: Control and supervision of primary and teacher education, D.E.B to fund primary and intermediate school to reduce the burden of Local Native Council, practical industrial education to be offered to Africans, set minimum age of entry to standard one to be seven, each stage of education to be terminal, 6-2-4 system to replace 4-4-4 and gradual expansion of secondary education to 16 by 1957. Africans objected to Beecher recommendations for the following reasons: Teacher education was not adequately addressed; it also recommended a four year primary course which was not sufficient to achieve permanent literacy, whereas the report emphasized on the need to improve quality and yet quantitative expansion was low and would exclude many school age children.

Binns Education Commission of 1952 agreed with Beecher on a number of issues and gave the following recommendations: Consolidation and proper coordination of teacher education, agriculture to be taught in secondary schools and Kiswahili to be used as 'lingua franca' because it stifled the learning of vernacular and English. Binns recommendations were adopted in 1957 as follows: Teacher education for central and eastern colleges was coordinated at Kagumo while western colleges had a center at Siriba.

In 1952-1957 State of emergency was declared which led to the closure of all independent schools however they were reopened in 1958 under supervision of

D.E.B. The Royal Technical College was established in 1956 and in 1961 Siriba and Kagumo colleges began teacher training education (Teacher 1-P4). In 1963 7-4-2-3 structure was adopted (Kimengi and Lumallas, 2009).

## **2.6 African Political Control of Education: African Airlifts and the Local Native Councils 1900-1960**

Africans demanded literary education at all cost it was provided in European schools. Local Native Councils played the following roles in the provision of education for Africans: they established schools through funds collected from taxes such as Kakamega 1932, Kisii 1934 and Kagumo in 1934. Local Native Councils financially supported African government aided schools such as Narok, Kericho, Kajiado, Tambach, Loitokitok and Kapenguria and provided land for the establishment of schools.

Local Native Councils continued to face a lot of challenges in their efforts to provide quality education to Africans. These challenges may be considered political within the domain of education. Wamagata (2008) puts it that:-

Despite the Government's covert and overt attempts to scuttle the establishment of schools LNCs stood firm and would not budge. By 1928, Kiambu had collected £6000 and it had resolved to raise the remaining balance of £4000 when the Government approved the project. It was also ready to vote a further £1300 per annum for the school's maintenance. Nyeri had collected £3000 and hoped to collect a further £2700 in 1929 while Murang'a had £2250 and hoped to collect £2250 in the following year.<sup>26</sup> By 1929, the Central Province LNCs had raised £20,000 while their western counterparts had hit their target of £30,000 (Tignor, 1976: 229). During a meeting held in March 1928, the DC once again tried to persuade the Kiambu councillors to abandon the idea of building a high school and instead give the money to missions to improve their schools. But they refused to even consider his suggestion. During the council's meeting held in August 1928, the councillors once again, led by Koinange, rejected the director of education's proposal that they should use the money for their high school to improve elementary schools in the district. They insisted that the funds would not be diverted to any other use. Their stubbornness, according to the director of education, smacked of a lack of appreciation for mission schools which had 'been built up over a long series of years at the cost of much personal devotion and large funds from overseas, and has been in the nature of a free gift to the Kikuyu people' (Wamagata, 2008:349).

The Local Native Councils after putting up a spirited fight to establish schools across the country that would offer slightly academic education their efforts were greatly thwarted (Smuck, 1987). Europeans had a clear agenda of supporting missionary education; that agenda was definite, to provide cheap labour for settlers in order to aid massive economic exploitation of Kenya. The curriculum in missionary and colonial government aided schools emphasized technical training rather than literary education in order to promote settler agenda. This move disappointed African nationalists who were determined to struggle for better and higher educational opportunities for African as articulated by Ssekamwa and Lugumba (2001: 15).

The Colonial government initially was adamant to allow Africans to establish secondary schools outside the missionary control despite Africans having contributed adequate funds to facilitate the construction of these secondary schools. Never the less after silent protest by Africans across the colony, the colonial government become reluctant and according to Wamagata (2008), Central Kenya got only Kagumo while western Kenya got two schools namely Kakamega and Kisii respectively (Smuck, 1987). The government tactfully chose the location of these schools to ensure that they will not survive for long for example the case of Kakamega School it was surrounded by a number of missionary schools same as Kisii and Kagumo. The colonial government pumped allot of resources to missionary schools and other technical and vocational institutions such as Alliance High School in Kiambu, Jeanes School at Kabete and NITD. Though these institutions were considered secondary schools they were considered and empowered by the colonial government at teachers training colleges(Ssekamwa and Lugumba, 2001).

LNCs never failed in their endeavours but rather their efforts were highly frustrated by the colonial regime. To a larger extent this may have been influenced by the 'Indian experience' or rather the 'Indian mistake' of giving the native education similar to what was offered back in Europe. This move arguably led to the rise of the Indian nationalism and therefore Africans were not offered with purely an academic and higher education similarly like them to avoid the Indian scenario (Smuck, 1987). LNCs were politically colonial creations to create a perception in the minds of Africans that they are part of European colonial political structures. These institutions were powerless and toothless puppet political institutions aimed at ignorantly perpetuating colonial legacy by Africans themselves. Consequently whenever a sense

of African nationalism arose within LNCs it was silently thwarted by draconian government policies. Wamagata puts it better:-

The failure of the LNC high schools to materialize underscores the limited efficacy and the powerlessness of the LNCs – and by extension of the Kenya Africans. It also underlines the Government's and missionaries' determination to control the expansion of African education and the contradictions of the colonial educational policies. To prevent the LNCs from taking such a stand again in the future, the Government in 1936 adopted a policy whereby LNC funds would be expended on sub-elementary 'A' and elementary 'B' schools only while the Government would finance primary 'C' and high school education. The director of education (Morris) justified the policy on the grounds that the Government had a duty to control the expansion of higher education and to adapt it to the capacity of the country to absorb the graduates of high schools (Tignor, 1976: 267). This severely limited higher education for Africans for many years as the only available secondary schools continued to be mission schools (Wamagata, 347).

Historically, It's noted that by 1939 Africans who constituted over ninety five percent of Kenyans population had only been provided by four government aided , poorly equipped junior secondary schools compared to people of other races. Indians or rather Asians had four fully equipped aided schools largest chunk of five fully equipped government aided schools that could be equated with those ones in Europe.

The struggle for secondary and better education for Africans by Africans continued unaborted. Furley and Watson, (1978), notes that Kikuyu Alliance High School established by an alliance of missionary organizations and Kabaa Roman Catholic high school in Machakos District offered a three-year course while Church Missionary Society established Maseno school and Mill Hill Roman Catholic school at Yala in Siaya offered a two-year course and by around there was tremendous

increase in enrolment in these schools for example 1939; Alliance school had an enrolment of 106 pupils, Roman Catholic Kabaa school had an enrolment of 50, CMS Maseno school had an enrolment of 58 and the Roman Catholic Mill Hill school at Yala had an enrolment of 17. Some Kenyans travelled to Uganda's premier college Makerere during this period to seek higher and professional education, recorded Kenyan students enrolment at Makerere stood at fifty five (Smuck, 1987).

The move by the colonial administration to frustrate efforts by Africans to seek better educational opportunities made Africans to be daring enough and intensify their quest by establishing and supporting the already established independent schools. These schools were now seen as avenues for socioeconomic liberation of Africans. For the case of the Agikuyu of Central Kenya, the Colonial Government's political move to refuse to authorise the construction of LNC Kikuyu secondary school to a larger extent contributed to the establishment of the independent Githunguri Teachers College in 1939 by the Kikuyu Independent Schools Movement with the aim of training teachers to be equipped with a curriculum that put emphasis on academic type of education that had been denied to Africans by missionaries and the colonial government.

The establishment of this college was surrounded by mystery. Members of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association led by Peter Mbiu Koinange, wrote to the colonial government informing them of their intention to open a school at Githunguri. The colonial administration was made to believe that the institution was basically going to be category C primary school by colonial standards. According to Koinange, the colonial administration only came to realize that it was a teachers training college during the opening ceremony when the huge signboard bearing its name was hoisted

up to their shock (Koinange, 1955: 27). Though the teachers training college in itself; had elementary, primary and secondary wings. Anderson strengthens the fact by noting that it was a bold move which left the Government representatives 'very embarrassed and irritated' (Anderson, 1970: 123).

Peter Mbiu Koinange and the members of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association knew very well that any move to make it known to the colonial government would scuttle the process of opening a teachers training college at Githunguri. The college was mainly established to train teachers for the Kikuyu Independent Schools and other independent movements like the Karing'a education association and the Nomiya Luo Mission which is the subject of this study.

Due to the fear of what had happened at Githunguri after the failure of allowing the commissioning of the Kikuyu secondary school; Wamagata (2008) points out that by 1946, the three LNC schools at Kagumo, Kakamega and Kisii had evolved into junior secondary schools offering education up to form two and by 1956, they were among the 10 fully fledged secondary schools offering education up to the Cambridge School Certificate, secondary form four level. The others were Alliance, Mangu, Maseno, Yala, Alliance Girls, Loreto Convent Limuru and Machakos. Bogonko (1992) expounds that at the dawn of independence in 1963, these schools namely Kakamega and Kisii schools were preparing pupils for entry into university by offering the Higher School Certificate (HSC) Examination while Kagumo had transformed into a primary school teachers' training college.

African Exsoldiers after World War one and two demystified European superiority and demanded equal educational opportunities for Africans. They sensitized Africans

on the need for better and quality education. They also petitioned colonial government on Africans grievances including education.

Missionaries continued to command the greatest share and control of African education up to independence in 1963. After 1957 Jaramogi Oginga Odinga obtained scholarships for Africans to study in eastern communist countries such as U.S.S.R (Russia), Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, East Germany and North Korea. Tom Mboya and Gikonyo Kiano organized airlifts of students to U.S.A and Canada on funds rose privately in Kenya and abroad. As noted by Kurgat (2014):-

The origin of Russian and Eastern European scholarships can be traced to USSR-USA competition for the sphere of influence in the continent of Africa. According to interviews Kenyan independence was nearing and politicians wanted to train young people to support them in post-colonial nation building. While Tom Mboya sought USA sponsorship, Jaramogi sought Russian, Eastern Europe and Chinese support. Mboya travelled personally to USA to solicit funding and vacancies in educational institutions (Kurgat, 2014:93).

As Wamagata (2008:350) puts it, in the final analysis, the LNCs were unsuccessful in their quest and struggle to build their own high schools. They had asked for six high schools but they instead got three primary ‘C’ schools which offered a three-year course, and contrary to the wishes of the Africans, the curriculum at first emphasized technical training rather than literary education. (Wamagata, 2008:350). Kiambu’s case was weakened by the presence in the district or in close proximity of the Alliance High School, Jeanes School and NITD. The last two were considered secondary schools though they trained elementary school teachers and artisans respectively.

It’s evident that the failure of the LNC high schools to materialize underscores the limited efficacy and the powerlessness of the LNCs and by extension of the Kenya



Africans. It also underlines the Government's and missionaries' determination to control the expansion of African education and the contradictions of the colonial educational policies. The college was intended to train teachers for the Kikuyu independent schools but due to a huge demand for admission, it also came to include elementary, primary and secondary sections (Wamagata, 2008:350). It was also evident by 1963 that the colonial government's policies had greatly stunted the growth and expansion of teacher education and generally African education and this explains why there was mushrooming of African independent schools and *Harambee* (self-help) secondary schools all over the country.

## **2.7 Politics versus Education**

A school is a formal organization that is made up of learners and interacting together with the community to perform coordinated teaching, learning and knowledge creating activities (Kayode, 2012) views supported by Weber, (1946). Education to accomplish its required purpose must be tailored towards the needs and aspirations of the community and the environment where such reform is taking place. This is to say that the cultures of the community will determine whatever form the reform will take.

If development via a positive relationship of politics and education is conceptualised in terms of material and human advancement then one tends to agree with (Sanders, 1958:30) who conceptualised community development as a way of making the intangible value of the social heritage concrete in the daily experience of translating into action what most members of the community profess as noble segments of using a greater measure of reason and less of prejudices in looking towards the future and of

involving more and more interested and better informed decision affecting their own welfare(Kayode, 2012).

Maclure (1976) notes that it is not clear that education is a single entity. Politics has particular relationship with the decision in educational circles. A good example is the adoption of the free day secondary school policy. Politics in this context means the intervention of the state through the government which may also mean a complex set of checks and balances administratively and professional which provides a mechanism through which collective policy is made.

Szkudlarek (2013) notes that the greater participation between politics and education in the life of any nation is thus, what constitutes the major objectives of community development. This implies that a mutual relationship between politics and education requires that people themselves exert their own efforts joining with government to improve their economic, social and cultural conditions. It is concerned with total community life and needs.

Politics and education as interaction in the fullest and the best sense for stimulation for better things and urge to attain such better things (Obanya, 2002). Mutual interaction of politics and education strive to educate and motivate people to self-help with the view to develop responsible local leadership among them a sense of citizenship and a spirit of civic consciousness (Kayode, 2012).

Szkudlarek (2013) points out that, the purpose of learning is freedom and freedom is another word for what we refer to as self-reliance. It's expected therefore that any symbiotic relationship between politics and education must bring self-reliance. Self-reliance means freedom from dependence on others, or any external support. A man

who has true learning is truly free and independent. The first and the least part of this self sufficiency is that the person must be educated and made skilled in craft. Second and very important is the ability to acquire new knowledge for oneself. Freedom implies not only being independent of other people but also independent of one's own moods and impulses. The man who is a slave to his senses and cannot keep his impulses under control is neither free nor self-sufficient. Temperament vows and service (ingredients of politics) therefore have their place in education, for it's by this means according to Ijaduola (1999) that this third aspect of freedom can be learned.

Szkudlarek (2013) brings out an interesting discussion on the subject of politics and education. He does this by asking fundamental questions such as how within the frameworks of networked ontologies do we cater for justice in education? How can we delineate responsibilities and how do we address political demands? Second how do we maintain dialogical approach in a situation in which the very borders of the subject are porous and especially when we think of social and political agents- almost impossible to define?

At first glance its reasonably impractical to answer the above questions simply because according to Pidgen (1991) famous scholar Hume noted that it is because 'ought' cannot be derived from 'is' or the other words 'moral conclusion cannot be derived from non-moral premises, values and facts. Hence it is practically impossible to determine the nature of relationship between the two entities.

According to Knight (1969) in Tanzania the five year development plan 1964-1969, its preparation and implementation is a perfect example of how politics determines the nature of education. This view is fully supported by Uzelac (1968) who points out that

Yugoslavia is a perfect example of a country that politics can't be separated with education.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

In conclusion, the struggle for education in colonial Kenya was political in nature as advanced by both the colonial government, missionaries and other disgruntled groups like Africans. The above discussion has linked colonial oppression and initial religious reactions to the formation of independent churches, but failed to bring out a similar relationship with education or independent schools. This study therefore sought to unravel the problem of how socio-politically established NLM independent established schools contributed to the growth and development of education in Kenya 1911-1960. As a result it will further reveal the mystery of how politics generally influence and determined the establishment of educational institutions and even curriculum content. This research will unravel the magnanimous role of politics in education that is a breakthrough reference also in the context of the modern world description of politics and education.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

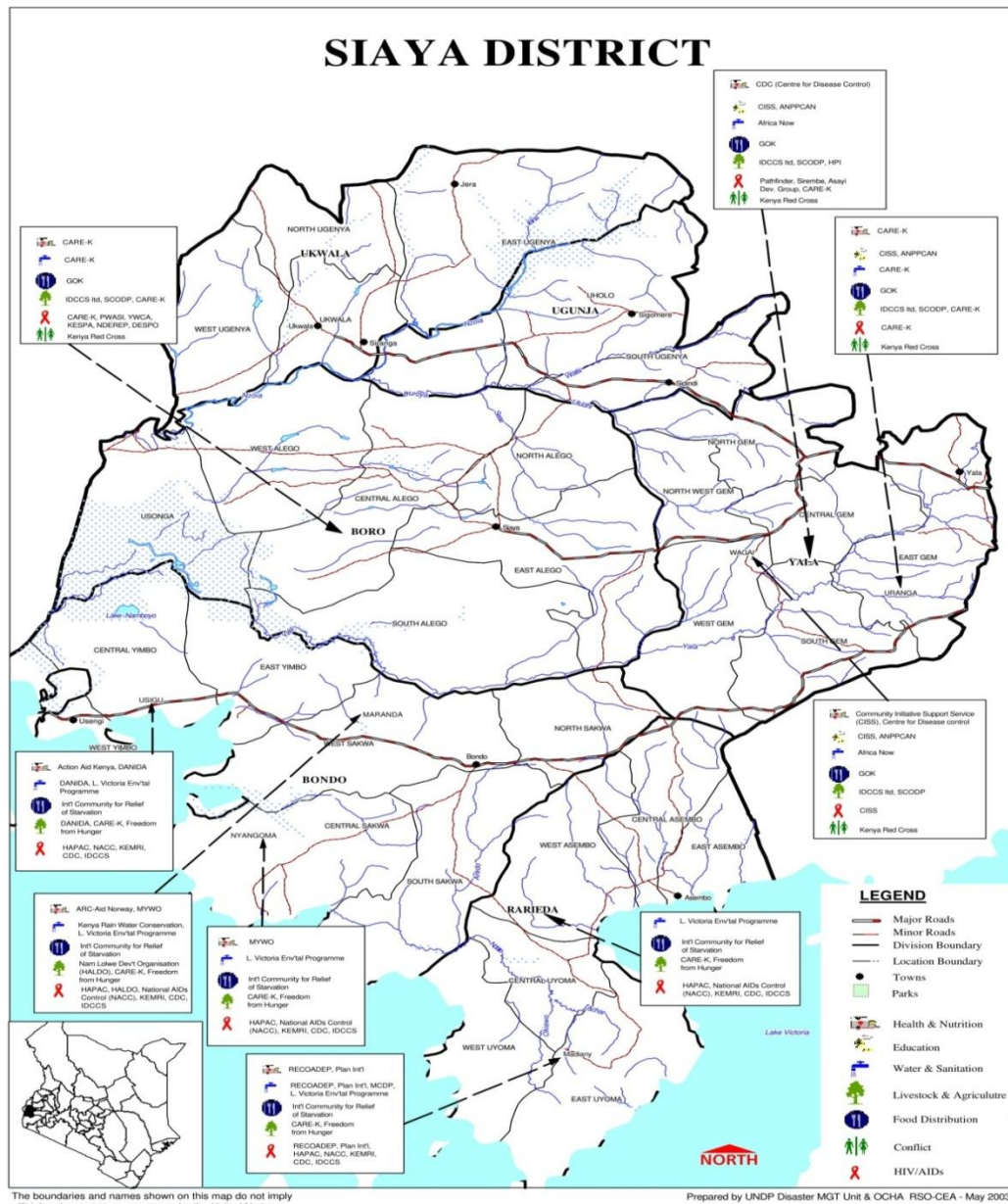
#### **3.1 Introduction**

This section provided the researcher with rationale for specific procedures chosen for the study in a clear and precise manner in order to justify the designs and how the results will be arrived at. The chapter contains description of the research design, philosophical paradigm, and the study area, target population, sampling procedure and sample size, data collection procedure, ethical consideration and data analysis

#### **3.2 Area of Study**

The study was based in the larger Western Kenya region and Nyanza covering Siaya and Kisumu counties. The climate of the area under study is mainly tropical with variations due to altitudes. Geographically the hilly and flat land zones give a unique serene environment. The area has extensive fertile land for farming; both crop and animal domestication. Fishing is also a potential economic activity practised along the river valleys and in Lake Victoria. Demographic composition is made up of mainly the Luo and Luhya communities but over the years the native communities have witnessed immigration of other communities and establishment of new urban settlements in the region.

The area was chosen because it was and still is the bedrock of the Nomiya Luo Mission Church activities.



**Fig 3.1 Former Siaya District Map**

**Source: - UNDP (2003)**

### 3.4 Philosophical Paradigm

According to Konsolaki (2012) basically, there are three major philosophical paradigms namely Constructionist (interpretive), positivism (functionalism), and critical realism. This research was based on interpretive paradigm which interprets elements of the study, thus integrating human interest into the study. According to Myers (2008) interpretive researchers assume that access to reality given or socially constructed is only through social construction such as language, consciousness, shared meanings and instruments. Interpretivism therefore is based on the philosophical position of idealism and is used to group together diverse approaches including social constructivism, phenomenology and hermeneutics; approaches that reject the objectivist view that meaning resides within the world independent of consciousness. Interpretivist approach is anchored on naturalistic approach of data collection such as oral interview and observations which was relevant for this study.

In general interpretivist approach is based on relativist ontology and transactional or subjectivist epistemology. Relativist ontology perceives reality as inter-subjectively that is based on meanings and understandings on social and experiential levels. Subjectivist epistemology assumes that people cannot be separated from their knowledge; therefore there is a clear link between the researcher and research subject. According to interpretivist approach, it is important for the researcher as a social actor to appreciate differences between people and objects.

Collins (2010) and Saunders (2012) all have agreed that the major strengths of interpretivist in qualitative research areas such as cross-cultural differences in organizations, issues of ethics, policy, history, leadership and analysis of factors

impacting leadership can be studied in a great level of depth. Secondly primary data generated via interpretive studies might be associated with a high level of validity because data in such studies tends to be trustworthy and honest.

Similarly to other philosophical designs, interpretive philosophical design is based on the assumptions that include; the nature of reality (ontology), how knowledge about what we know is gained (epistemology), the role of values (axiology), and the process of research (methodology) and basically the language of research (rhetoric).

### **3.5 Research Design**

The study was anchored on qualitative research design. The research design will be appropriate for this study since it's educational in nature. Lincoln and Guba (1994) have argued out that qualitative research design involves the study use of and collection of a variety of empirical materials like case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, instructional and visual texts that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individual lives.

Interpretive methods yield an insight and understanding of behaviour; explain actions from the participant's perspectives as well as ensuring that the participants do not dominate in the discussions. Examples include; open ended interviews, focus groups and role playing. These methods usually generate qualitative data. Interpretive paradigm provides rich evidence and offers credible and justifiable accounts (internal validity/credibility), can be used by a researcher in another situation (external validity/transferability), and the research process and findings can be replicated (reliability/dependability) views supported by Cohen (2007:133-149).



Historical method of research was used in collecting, analyzing and presenting data. According to Creswell (2009:8), interpretive methodology is directed at understanding phenomena from an individual's perspective, investigating interactions among individuals as well as historical and cultural contexts which people inhabit.

Historical method of research deals with how the phenomenon under study came to be, its progressive development within a time frame and relatively, will have strong influence on what will happen in the future. This method is very useful in that the contribution of Nomiya Luo Mission in the growth and development of education in Kenya goes back into colonial times and the study sought to examine its case progressively in time and space. It is a method which attempts to establish facts so as to arrive at conclusions concerning past events and determine their relevance to the past circumstances. The interpreted facts can also be the basis of predictions of future events (Shanguhya, 1996:24).

Historical method of research has been defined by Borg and Gall (1979) as 'the systematic search for documents and other sources that contain facts relating to the historians questions about the past events and facts (Borg and Gall, 1979:373). Views that have been strongly supported by Cohen and Manion, who have defined Historical research as an act of reconstruction undertaken in the spirit of critical inquiry designed to achieve a faithful representation of any previous age (Cohen and Manion, 1944-45). Historical research is a critical inquiry and a product of a description of past events and facts as observed by Wiersma, (1980:175).

R.G Collingwood (Britannica, 1983) proposed history as a discipline in which one relives the past in one's own mind, only by immersing oneself in the mental actions

behind events, by rethinking the past within the context one's own experience, can the historian discover the significant patterns and dynamics of cultures and civilizations (Britannica, 1983:9). This clearly justifies why Historical method of research is suitable for this study.

The suitability of this method to the study was that it enabled the researcher to come up with organized and clear account of events under investigation. Since the study deals with the history of education and as argued by Borg and Gall (1979) through this, we can get better understanding of one present educational practice and problems (Borg and Gall, 1983:807). The case study approach will be blended by the researcher with the historical method culminating to a case study approach which will ensure intensive investigation of the phenomenon under study and in this case the Nomiya Luo mission church and its schools. No doubt that this method will be the most appropriate to the study as justified above.

### **3.6 Target Population**

Population refers to a group of people relevant to the study, according to Borg and Gall (1989) it is a full set of items from which samples are taken. In this case, the population will comprise of cofounders and close associates of the late John Owalo, church leaders of the Nomiya Luo mission church (both retired and serving), retired Provincial administrators, elders, former students of the Nomiya Luo mission schools during the colonial period.

The cohort of target population was arrived at because the study assumed they will provide all the relevant information required.

### **3.7 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size**

A sample is part of the target population that has been procedurally selected to represent it and sampling technique is a description of the strategies, which the researcher uses to select representative elements/ participants from the target population according to Oso & Onen (2005).

Non random selection technique called purposive sampling and snowballing technique were fully employed. Kisilu, Kombo and Tromp (2006) argued that purposive sampling is a sample method that the researcher purposively targets a group that is believed to be reliable to the study. According to Patton (1990), Kerlinger (1983) and Orodho (2004), purposive sampling was used in situations where there existed reasons to limit the samples to the cases that are likely to be 'information rich'.

Cases of subjects were handpicked because they had information or rather they possessed the required characteristics (Mugenda, Mugenda 2003). This method was best suited for this study since it enabled the researcher to come up with organised and clear account of events as argued by Borg and Gall (1979). According to Mugenda (2003), in snowballing a few identified subjects name others with similar characteristics until the researcher gets the number of participants or participants and information required for study. The identified samples represent the target population.

Categories of people identified were be put into strata and the number of participants used under each stratum was determined in the field using snowballing sampling technique basing on the availability of the respondents as indicated in table 3.1.

**Table 3.1 Profile of Participants**

<b>PARTICIPANTS STRUTUM</b>		<b>NUMBER OF SAMPLE</b>
1.	John Owalo family members i.e.Kinsmen	10
2.	Colonial Provincial Administrators i.e. Chiefs and Village elders	13
3.	Nomiya Luo Mission Church leaders i.e. retired and current	20
4.	Former students of Nomiya Luo Mission Schools	20
5.	Former head teachers and teachers of NLM schools	03
6.	Elders who witnessed the activities of the Nomiya Luo Mission organization	15
7.	Colonial school management committees of Nomiya Luo Mission schools	15
8.	Scholars / researchers in Luo History	04
<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS</b>		<b>100</b>

**Source: Barasa (2018)**

### **3.8 The Research Instrument**

Face to face field/oral interview sessions were carried out guided by well-developed interview schedules (see appendix 1, 2, 3 and 4) on the sample and notes taken. In order to ensure extensive data collection, interviews schedule guide, oral interviews in the field whichin turn blended in the process, to ensure adequate collection of

data. Past photographs were used especially where special scenes had been captured such as John Owalo and his cofounders laying foundation blocks or the school receiving grants and other donations from missionaries. Several visits were made by the researcher to the K.N.A and Nomiya Luo Mission Churches and schools headquarters at Oboch. Secondary sources of data such as books, magazines and journal papers helped the researcher to fill some information gaps which lacked in the primary sources.

### **3.9 Data Analysis and Interpretation**

Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources; the researcher subjected the data to vigorous process of verification and justification. The process involved comparison of selected data to validate its reliability. The guiding principle to the process of data verification was to subject the gathered information to historical techniques of internal and external criticism in the process of determining authenticity of the data collected. External criticism involved the process seeking to determine the genuineness and validity of the collected data at hand. As indicated by Sidhur (1990:97), sought to unravel the question; is the source what it seems to be?. Travers (1978:58) defines external criticism as an attempt to distinguish between misrepresentation of a genuine document, relic, monument or any source of data.

On the other hand, internal criticism involved finding out the literal meaning of various statements made by respondents and the documents consulted (Brickman, 1973:93). Travers (1978) further argues that the main concern of internal criticism is to reveal a true picture of what actually happened at a particular time and place (Travers, 1973:58). Internal criticism establishes the value, worth, and accuracy of the

information. It tries to establish whether the writer or author was competent, honest, unbiased, acquitted with facts, and the time in between happenings of events and its recording and the circumstances under which it was recorded (Best, 1979:91). In this case internal criticism gave a clearer analysis of the meanings of statements within documents or reported information.

Data was classified in reference to themes and historical periods under study as acknowledged by Borg and Gall (1983:107), thematic data presentations revolves around elaborations that are guided by main issues or events while chronological approaches used the criteria of time in the presentation of events. As indicated earlier in this study, most of the information /data described in this study are based on the information given by testimonies of actual observers and participants through oral interviews as well as published and archival sources. To avoid possible exaggerations that may have arose through oral data collected in the field, respondents were checked against each other and further, informationwassubjected to comparison with written sources (secondary sources).

The researcher further subjected evidence collected through corroboration, where a comparison of data wasdone to ascertain the similarities in the content. Sourcing of data was alsodone where the originality of the data was obtained and lastly contextualization where information obtained was determined on the basis of where the event as mentioned in the data obtained took place. As part of the internal criticism, the researcher examined whether the authors of various documents were biased and influenced by certain events and facts. To establish this, more information on the author was sought such as reasons for developing the document by the author. The position of the author, place, the date the document was published.

### **3.10 Piloting of Research Instruments**

According to Kerlinger (2009) and Wiersma (2004), piloting is important as it helps in identifying misunderstanding, ambiguity and useless or inadequate items. Hence a Pilot study was carried out between August 2016 to November 2017 in three N.L.M established schools in Kisumu and Siaya counties which do not form part of this study to check and test the viability of all the items indicated in this chapter. It was confirmed that the area of study indicated in **3.3** is the area intensively covered by N.L.M which is the case for this study. The suggested research design in **3.5** and research instruments indicated in **3.8** and appendix **(1)** to **(4)** in relation to the research topic and the objectives were found to be effective for the study. Sampling procedure and techniques indicated in **3.7** was tested and found to be very effective and reliable. Through pilot study population indicated in **3.6** was confirmed to be available and resourceful for this study.

### **3.11 Validity and Reliability of the Instruments**

Validity of a test refers to the correctness, soundness of results and conclusion reached in the study (Kothari, 2009), while Orodho asserts that validity is the degree to which results obtained from the analysis of the data actually represents the phenomenon under investigation. Wolcott (1990) argues that there are a number of components that ensure validity in qualitative research; the researcher should be a listener, record wisely, initiate writing early, include primary data in the final report, be candid, seek feedback attempt to achieve balance and write accurately. The researcher endeavoured to adhere to all the above attributes and content analysis of the data obtained through various instruments.

Further the validity of all data collecting instruments was tested during the pilot study and was proven valid and adequate.

Reliability is a measure of how consistent the results from the test are (Kombo & Tromp, 2006). Orodho (2010) argues that, reliability focuses on the degree to which empirical indicators are consistent across two or more attempts to measure theoretical concepts. Kirk and Miller (1986) identified two types of reliability that are relevant to qualitative research as synchronic and diachronic. Synchronic reliability is the similarity of observation made within the same time while diachronic reliability is the stability of an observation over time (Kirk and Miller, 1986) that relied on multiple perceptions about single reality (Healy and Perry, 2000).

This study utilised diachronic reliability which was ensured through application of varied techniques including carefully designed interview schedules, purposive sampling, snowballing and evaluation of oral data and respondents. By engaging such multiple methods by the researcher, the degree of the results obtained directly ensure that the results obtained were more valid, reliable and exemplified diverse construction of realities.

### **3.12 Ethical Consideration**

Any in-depth study is intrinsically a very involving activity where there is risk of revealing sensitive information. As a result, the researcher's intentions might have been misconstrued; there may have been also some signs of weariness on the side of the researcher; the implications of all these issues for the researcher were thought of very carefully and communicated to the participants.



The participants were informed as fully as possible on the nature and the purpose of the study and the procedures to be used, what is being studied, those involved in the study, the nature of their participation, methods used in collecting data, how confidentiality and privacy will be safeguarded and usefulness of the findings.

The respondent consent to participate in the research was voluntarily; free of any coercion or promises of benefits likely to affect the outcome of the study. The researcher secured a permit from the National Commission for Science; Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI) referenced NACOSTI/P/17/78817/20022 and Kenya National Archives and Documentation Service. Copies of research permits were served to Siaya County Director of Education and Siaya County Commissioner.

Extra efforts were made to seek further permission from all relevant authorities and participants before questioning and interviewing occurred. Whenever need arose the results from oral interviews and other instruments were made available for verification and confirmation by the authorities /management of the institution under the study, the NLM Church and Schools. The results of the study will not be used for any other purpose apart from the stated one.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSIONS

#### 4.1 Introduction

The study of politics is complicated but necessary in order to understand and navigate the educational landscape in a wider educational setup. The rise of independent church and school movements generally in Africa and Kenya was triggered by a combination of factors ranging from socioeconomic to political. This chapter therefore, examines the defacto relationship between politics and NLM education, personal and political philosophy of John Owalo, NLM ideological diffusion and attractions, politics as a matrix to education, government assistance to NLM schools before 1950, community patterns in school enrolment and development, challenges faced by NLM established schools and analysis of socioeconomic and political revolutions in the traditions of the native communities as a result of the establishment of NLM schools. This chapter has, with no doubt demonstrated that politics can't be separated from education.

#### 4.2 De facto Relationship between Politics and the Nomiya Luo Mission Education.

The relationship between education and politics whether by fact or right has been a hard bone to chew since classical times in history through medieval period, Renaissance period, Reformation to the modern times. Ancient scholars such as Plato in his book *'The Republic'* and Aristotle in his book *'Politics'* first brought out the

debate about this relationship and affirmed some principles embodied in phrases such as ‘education is a creature of polity’ and ‘the school is a powerful instrument in building a state’, the school in this context usually patterns citizens after the image of the state’, and ‘as is the state so is the school’. Schools over the years have continued through ‘the tooth and claw politics’ of state authorities (El-Ghannam, 1970). This assertion fits in the context of Nomiya Luo Mission schools and seems to find a niche in Thomas Szkudlarek (2013) conception of politics and education:-

Even though there has been a constant interest in political issues within the community of educational scholars and researchers, the connection between educational and political theories seems still to be under estimated. Today the situation is similar, education is to a larger extent a part of neo liberal political agenda and different in this respect that the present ‘utopia’, as compared to the previous ones seems to be devoid of ethical justifications ( Szkudlarek, 2013:1).

Contemporary philosophical and empirical studies on education have provided astonishing results that schools are integral components of the larger society and can be equated to a cell in an organism whose nature and characteristic is determined by the societal factors among which politics plays an integral part. These factors will always influence how ideas of establishing schools are formulated and actualised within time and space. As noted earlier in the assertions made by Mr Okech (O.I, Okech, 6/11/17) and elaborated by Szkudlarek, (2013) and Kimbrough (1967) puts it that studies of community power structures have demonstrated that education is and indeed ought to be in politics. This study, using Nomiya Luo Mission schools as a case has demonstrated and unravelled a complex question on the extent to which politics affect education.

In essence, no education system can escape from political community in which it operates and this has been demonstrated in this study from the hosting community of the NLM schools. Any education system must reflect what political community wants it to do. The system can set formally to change the community if the community includes change of its kind among its aims. No doubt every educational system contains some germ of true education evidently shrouded in politics and is therefore likely to have side effects (Kayode, 2012:124) the above fact was supported by Mr Okech(O.I, Okech, 6/11/17). To this end, a critical reflection of Owalo's personality and political philosophy will attempt to give us answers on the influence of politics on education, Mwalimu John Owalo being the vision bearer and the founder of NLM schools.

#### **4.2.1 Philosophical and Political Beliefs of Mwalimu Rev. John Owalo and the Rise of Nomiya Luo Mission Schools.**

The founder of the Nomiya Luo Mission, Mwalimu prophet John Owalo was born in the former Nyanza Province, Siaya district now Siaya County, Asembo Location, Marang'inya sub location (OI, Archbishop Obego, 4/11/17). This assertion was also supported by Opwapo (1981). Rev J J Willis in an undated manuscript described Owalo's home area as 'Anyoro Asembo', 'Anyoro' seemingly as the name of the village headman. However in an interview with Kenneth Otweyo Omuga a distant relative to John Owalo seems to agree with Opwapo (1981) and describes John Owalo area of birth as Oboch or an area close to Oboch where the remains of the late prophet Owalo was laid to rest ( Omuga, 4/11/17).

Mr Omuga ( Omuga, 4/11/17) and Mr Oketch (O.I, Okech, 6/11/17) assertions that Opwapo (1981) fully agrees with just like all the other participants in this study pointed out that the birth of Mwalimu prophet John Owalo was surrounded by mystic events. It is said that Odimo his Mother never experienced severe labour pain something further happened at his birth, which was taken as a sign of his future political and religious prominence, it is stated that a man had died in the next home to that of Mr Abor (Owalos Father), after the burial, a bull with long sharp horns went to the grave and dug up the earth on the grave with its horns and suddenly roused along rattle snake which remained hanging and wriggling on the bulls head. With the snake on its horn the bull walked straight to the hut of Owalos Mother where Owalo was being born at the time (Opwapo, 1981, O.I, Oyugi 7/11/17, O.I, Omondi 7/11/17). The above event was a clear indicator that the newly born Owalo would yield both political and social power (O.I, Okech, 6/11/17).

Mwalimu John Owalo was therefore the third born child of his Father Mr Abor the son of Mzee Otonde, his mother was a second wife to his father and the daughter of Mzee Odimo from the neighbouring Kisoro village. Mr Abor had two wives namely Tado (the first wife) who had two sons Philip Obado and Mark Ojode while the second wife gave birth to Methusela Nyunja, Okech Samson and the third born was John Owalo (Opwapo, 1981) this fact was clearly brought out by Mr Oyugi (O.I, Oyugi 7/11/17). The question of the exact date of Owalo's birth remains a puzzle however Ogut (1978) rightly puts it to have been in August 1871. It should be understood that none of the respondents was able to clearly point out when exactly Owalo was born. The date put forward by Ogut (1978) as indicated above is questionable because at this time the native Luo's did not know how to read and

write, and at the same time there is no recorded phenomenon or event historically that can be used to approximate his age, so how Ogot arrived at this date is not known. It is recorded that he died in 1920, one participant saw him when he was young and approximates his age at the time of his death to be between 40years and 50years. This assertion is supported by Opwapo (1981),

‘It can be estimated from available evidence that Owalo was born towards the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, people who saw him claim that by the time of his death, he was in his late forties. One is inclined to conclude that if he was able to start a mission in 1912, then he was the age mate of chief Daniel Odindo and Shadrack Adem who were about 40years of age by 1912’ (Opwapo, 1981:58).

However in an interview with Mr Oyugi (O.I, Oyugi 7/11/17), contrary to a number of participants, he pointed out that, Owalo might have died in his late thirties and that his life and ministry can be equated to that of Jesus Christ or rather prophet Mohammed.

Mwalimu John Owalo was born in a humble background; Owalo’s father was a farmer he kept a few indigenous cattle, chicken and goats and also practiced subsistence farming. It is noted that Mr Abor was never aggressive to amass wealth like his peers; he never did fishing nor participated in active trade which was a common economic activity to the people of Asembo. His family depended solemnly on the little that he gathered together with his wives. Even the little assets that he had, after his death attracted serious family disputes between the wives and the sons though Owalo was not interested (O.I Ochola 12/11/17) this facts are clearly

presented and supported by Opwapo (1981:59). However it should be noted that most participants were not able to give a full description of Owalo family background.

Mwalimu John Owalos physical description could not be clearly given by all the participants, however according to Opwapo (1981:59):-

‘Those who saw him claim that he was short tempered; he neither liked defeat nor critics; but he was quiet and hospitable. Physically, he was short in stature, bow legged, with a big flat head and a wide mouth. By any standard Owalo was not a handsome man’ (Opwapo 1981:59).

Owalo’s background is shrouded in mystery, however during his youthful age and also being close to chief Odhola of Asembo, together with his friend’s chief Odholas son Odindo, Shadrack Adem and himself were taken to study at Friends Kaimosi Missionary School and later Maseno School. It was because of the good relationship between Chief Odhola, his friend Chief Odera Ulalo of Gem with the Church Missionary Society Rev J.J Willis that they were given a chance to admit the three young men to school. It’s also because the colonial government at that time wanted the sons of chiefs to be educated in preparation for white collar jobs and future leadership into the colonial government structure (O.I, Ochieng, 12/11/17) this assertion is fully supported by Opwapo (1981). This was the beginning of a revolutionary journey in the life of Owalo and later his followers and students who attended NLM schools.

It should be understood that a number of participants gave mixed responses as to whether Owalo joined Friends Kaimosi School directly or Maseno Church Missionary Society School or Kisumu Kibuye Roman Catholic Mission School or attended both.

Willis (Willis, 1910) noted that Owalo was a frequent visitor in Kisumu and probably during one of his visits in 1904 he met students of Kaimosi Boys School led by Daudi Okwato who impressed him and made him stay in Kisumu and joined Kibuye Roman Catholic Mission School (Willis, 1910) Ochieng seems to agree with Willis but he was not able to cite the dates clearly (O.I, Ochieng, 12/11/17). According to the above sources, the idea of Owalo attending different missionary schools sparked in him the need to know more about the white man's education.

Enough evidence points to the fact that in 1905 Owalo was a student at Kibuye Roman Catholic Mission School where he was a student for four months and also worked as a mission boy for four months. It was during this time that he was baptised John (Johannes) Owalo in June 1906. Shortly, after he left Kisumu to work as a houseboy for a court judge called Sir Alexander Morrison in Mombasa for one year and left when Morrison was transferred to Nairobi (Willis, 1910) this fact is fully supported by Archbishop Obego(O.I, Archbishop Obego, 4/11/17) and Kenya National Archives source (KNA: Judicial 1/297). It should be understood that due to the friendly nature of Owalo, he befriended Sir Morrison who was a court judge in Kisumu and even on several occasions he was his translator and even taught him the dholuo language (O.I, Ochieng, 12/11/17) a source from the Kenya National Archives (KNA: Judicial 1/297)and PCEA Archives (PCEA Archives Microfilm May 1901) seem to agree with the above information. Further the relationship with Sir Morrison enabled the 'tactful' Owalo to familiarise himself with the colonial laws. Later this experience will enable him develop a movement that will for some timewith a hidden agenda operate within the confines of the colonial laws.



However, Ndeda (2003) as well as Archbishop Obego (OI, Archbishop Obego, 4/11/17) notes that; Yohana (John) Owalo, the founder of the NLC, was a man with great experience within this new worldview. He was an employee of the colonial government during the construction of the Uganda Railway just before 1900. In this case, it must have been the time he worked as an assistant to judge Morrison.

In 1907 John Owalo went to Ojola Catholic Mission with the view of getting the white man's education to its completion. Later, it became apparent and known to the church authority that his beliefs were inimical and contradicted the Catholic faith and belief which led to his excommunication from the church in 1907(O.I, Okinda, 06/11/17) this is also supported by Ndeda (2003) .

This move was a great political stance in the life of a phenomenon in the name of John Owalo. While in the mission station at Ojola, it is noted that owalo led a silent political rebellion that was even captured in the Roman Catholic Church Kibuye Report in Kavirondo 1904-1925 as noted :-

‘Ojola mission promised a glorious future.....it was customary to begin and end the instructions with ‘our father’ and ‘Hail Mary’ and ‘the glory’. Sometime after the priest had begun to notice that catechumen did not answer ‘Hail Mary’. He questioned the catechists and to his surprise learnt, the first and only Christian among the Nilotic Kavirondo was a rank protestant who threw aside our lady and the intercession of the saints (Roman Catholic Church Kibuye Report: Kavirondo 1904-1925).’

This kind of rebellion may have emanated from the teachings he received from Judge Morrison about the history of the Roman Catholic Church and Protestantism. And, secondly, from the treatment he received from the catholic priest at Ojola church and thirdly he wanted to conserve some indigenous cultural practices (O.I, Ochieng,

12/11/17) this is also indicated in Kenya National Archives document (KNA: DC/CN/1/6/1) at the same time it should be understood that Mwalimu Owalo had contact with radical African Muslims in Kisumu, but initially he had contact with the Arabs at the coast, who probably circumcised him before he joined the CMS School in Nairobi in 1908 as a sign of obedience to God's call.

Opwapo(1981:70) , notes that he asked Zakayo Ojwang of Asembo who was one of his close friends to circumcise him, since Ojwang had never circumcised he advised him to talk to one of the friends Yakobo Okeyo of Kisumu Karateng who suggested to him the idea of seeking help from the Muslims of Kisumu.... He joined Islamic religion where he was circumcised and named Omari. Several respondents tended to agree to this assertion including Mr Ochieng (O.I, Ochieng, 12/11/17) who gave the same information. His contact with Muslims and his partial conversion was very significant. Islamic religion and its school system of Madrasa may have influenced Owalo to establish a religious outfit with similar structures,

However Rev JJ Willis in his manuscripts asserts that, Owalo was circumcised by a Roman Catholic Luo Boy (Willis, 1912). According to several respondents interviewed none of them agreed with Willis ideas and especially Mr Ochola who put it better, this view seems fallacious simply because the Luo did not have the knowledge of circumcision and at the same time all the participant in this research denied the above a assumption and backed the idea of Islamic circumcision (O.I, Ochola, 07/11/17). In this case, information obtained by Mr Ochola seems to agree with the information given by Willis (1912).

In 1908, Owalo married his first wife called Elizabeth Alila. She is described as a medium sized African lady endowed with beauty and brains. Elizabeth was a graduate of Ojola Catholic Mission School (O.I, Ochola, 07/11/17). In agreement with the above Judge Morrison's letter to Dr Scott notes that Owalo who was now called Omari had a wife and a child and therefore was in need of a private shelter and food in the mission (P.C.E.A Archives, microfilm 1909).

Owalo moved to Nairobi with his wife searching for his friend judge Morrison. He resumed his duties as a house boy and later joined the newly established C.M.S school as a teacher under the headship of Rev Canon George Burns. He didn't work in the school for long because of doctrinal differences with the school authorities. Later, he joined the Church of Scotland in Kikuyu by 1909 with the help of Judge Morrison who introduced him to Rev Dr Scott who later played a wider role in the establishment of Alliance boy's school. A number of sources support the above assertion such as KNA: JUDICIAL/ 1/297, KNA: JUDICIAL/ 1/474/11 and P.C.E.A Archives, microfilm of 1909; also the information seems to affirm that given by Mr Oduor (Oduor, 11/11/17) during the oral interview.

According to KNA: JUDICIAL/ 1/297, KNA: JUDICIAL/ 1/474/11 and Archbishop Obego (O.I, Archbishop, Obego 03/11/17); John Owalo taught at Thogoto in Kikuyu however burglary incident took place at the mission center where he was considered a suspect, he was detained at Dagoretti command Prisons under Sir Lyford, Assistant District Superintendent of prisons as the chief suspect but later released the move to arrest Owalo was considered as political to silence and instil fear in him to change his radical views about the government and generally Christianity as propagated by the missionaries, (O.I Odour, 03/11/17). At Thogoto he taught and politically radicalised

Kenya's first President Jomo Kenyatta and other nationalist (O.I, Obego, 03/11/17) the above information is also contained in a source KNA: JUDICIAL/ 1/474/11. As a brilliant student and teacher, he learnt and taught typewriting and Carpentry (O.I Odour, 03/11/17).

In October 1910, he became a teacher at Maseno School where he taught reading, writing and Kiswahili, however Rev Willis noted that Owalo was not a satisfactory teacher (Willis, 1912:197) he refused to worship with other Christians and therefore his controversial beliefs contradicted the Christian faith and thus led to his expulsion in 1912 (Opwapo:1981). Owalo was vehemently accused of teaching and indoctrinating students with 'resistant' ideology. Both Opwapo (1981) and Willis (1912) seem to confirm the information given by all respondents concerning the matter.

In 1912, Owalo left for Oboch Maranginya village in Asembo with the sole aim of establishing the NLC. No doubt Owalo's actions were anchored on politics. When educators actively seek the legitimization and subsequent adoption of changes in educational policies, it seems reasonable to expect that educational leaders interested in changing the schools should become good politicians (Kimbrough, 1967). This is supported by Mr Ochola (O.I, Ochola, 07/11/17) in the context of NLM who argues that the case of Mwalimu John Owalo represents a radical educator and clergy who was determined to develop both a school and a church anchored in his own right, wisdom and beliefs.

Lonsdale and Wipper (1963) suggest that Owalo utilised the movement as a vehicle for interclan politics, since he belonged to the clan traditionally opposed to the chiefly

clan. Oginga Odinga says that the movement was apolitical protest and when Owalo was called to be questioned by the district commissioner in a public baraza he said 'leave me to preach'. 'I am preaching to Africans and not whites'. In his writings, Opwapo (1981:79) quotes B.A Ogot describing Owalo as the first Christian rebel in Nyanza who on discovering the hypocrisy of westernism decided to be a Christian in his own terms.

Just like Gen Mathenge among the Agikuyu, Koitalel arap Samoei among the Nandi, Elijah Masinde among the Bukusu, John Owalo was fighting for a particular cause and was determined to struggle and fight for his beliefs, the only difference with the rest is that Owalo decided to use the school and the church as tools to fight colonial practices and injustices. This is clear and evident right from the time he claimed to have received a vision from God. In *Kitabu Lamor* (1957:118) authored by Owalo himself, he clearly shows dissatisfaction with foreigners including Europeans, Indian Banyans and the Goans when he said that they were not allowed in heaven. The above information is also supported by (O.I, Ojwang 14/11/17).

Owalo had no better alternative of sending his political statement directly to Europeans other than through his religion. Similarly to Mr Ochola's assertions (O.I, Ochola, 07/11/17), Opwapo (1981:80) notes that Owalo was an intelligent leader, he clearly understood the repercussions of establishing a purely political outfit, at the time when the colonial government was against all African political movements and uprisings especially from 1913 to 1915 when several political movements and cults such as the cult of Mumbo was crushed to death and mercilessly dealt with. In Malawi the Chilembwe uprising was also dealt with hence Owalo decided to use a political statement rather than to be seen political.

To hide his political description Owalo had to seek refuge in the church and western education as a perfect means to drive his political agenda. He had to convince the District Commissioner that his was not a political movement like the others resistant movements by reporting the activities of his movement to the District Commissioner and Nyanza Provincial Commissioner Mr John Ainsworth (KNA: DC/CN/1/5/2) this information was fully supported by a number of participants including (O.I, Ojwang 14/11/17). This move was a diversionary tactic to keep the colonial government from close watch. As earlier noted Owalo had been exposed to the colonial laws by his friend sir Morrison who supported his actions and also ensured that they are anchored by law.

As apolitical figure he served as the sub headman of his Kochieng clan (O.I, Ojwang 14/11/17) as well as Bryan (1970) seem to agree with the above facts. Coming from a poor background, Owalo could have thought that by establishing an independent church and school, it would help to liberate his people from poverty. The schools were to be instruments for both political and economic liberation.

NLM schools were to be used as a yardstick for development having been exposed to western education and beliefs and the resultant effort thereof. The church was to liberate his people from the pangs of colonialism and imperialism (O.I, Otieno 12/11/17).

The above oral information is evident from the citation by Opwapo below:-

‘Culture clash or acculturation seems to be a strong case for the rise of the NLC ..... The alien government introduced new administration that was different from political organization to which the Luo were used. Christian missions introduced new religious beliefs and practices many of which were unknown to the Luo; formal education in schools whereby reading, writing and arithmetic were taught, Europeans settlers who, having decided to make Kenya their home were continuously instrumental in influencing political issues and affairs which had repercussions on the lives of the people; migrant labour and taxation. (Opwapo, 1981:81)

With colonialism in Luo Nyanza Africans who were accustomed to liberal social dynamism policies were now under capitalism from socialism. From independent political structures to structured colonial administrative structures. Africans who wanted their children to acquire western formal education had to work as migrant labourers to get school fees and also had to be converted to Christianity and abandon their traditional practices against their wish (Barasa, 2013).

This kind of colonial oppression greatly affected John Owalo to an extent that made him establish the Nomiya Luo Church and the Nomiya Luo Mission schools. NLM were to provide emotional and practical solutions to the political, social and economic challenges the Luo were facing during the colonial period. Just as Mr Oduor (Oduor, 11/11/17) Bryan (1970) argues that the desire behind the formation of the NLC was that of a church with a Luo hero, a saviour of the people.



**Fig 4.1 Researcher inside the Mausoleum of John Owalo the Founder of NLM**

Generally the life and socio political role of John Owalo can be summed up by Duffy (2003):-

I believe courageous, passionate and visionary leaders... effectiveness as change leaders is the result of the skilful interplay of power, politics and ethics (Duffy 2003:15).

#### **4.2.2 Nomiya Luo Mission Ideological Diffusion and Attractions**

NLM was like a a pummel in Luo Nyanza, the movement was seen as a solution to the problems the locals were facing ranging from political social to economic. This can be affirmed from the submission Richards (1956) who clearly observes that the Minister of Community Development noted in 1956 that the Church in Nyanza was facing a major split as a result of the establishment and recognition of the Nomiya Luo Mission locally known as Jokowalo after the founder, Owalo who was a charismatic leader and a good orator.



While in Mombasa John Owalo had several visions and revelations that convinced him of God's call upon his life (Oduor, 11/11/17) this view is supported by Opwapo (1981). According to Ndeda,

The most spectacular one that completely transformed him came in March 1, 1907 when he was taken to the first, second and third heaven by the spirit. He saw various revelations in these heavens. He noted that the first heaven, the abode of men was a remarkable place. All races of the world were attracted to it but the angels Raphael and Gabriel secured the gates. Ndeda (2003:3).

At the time, he was serving judge Morrison, he saw a vision which directed him to start a similar political movement that will later transform the lives of thousands of Africans (O.I, Oteng', 15/03/17). In relation to Opwapo (1981), according to Archbishop Obego (O.I, Obego, 03/11/17), John Owalo was a committed Christian and highly religious person during his youthful days. This background may have been influenced by his connection with judge Morrison and his missionary teachers and Christian friends.

He saw the first vision in 1<sup>st</sup> March 1907 (Kitabu Lamo Mar Nomiya Luo Church, 1957:118). Similarly to Archbishop Obego (O.I, Obego, 03/11/17), Owalo heard a voice saying; 'If you accept Gods commission then you will be Gods follower forever'. Astounded by the voice, Owalo asked, 'who? The voice answered 'you', Sir Morrison was present; others said that two men from Kisumu location were also with him. In his vision, Owalo was taken to heaven where he saw two roads. The one on the right hand led to heaven and the one on the left hand which was pampered led to hell, on reaching the first heaven, it was a beautiful place, and all the nations of the earth wanted to enter in but the angels closed the gate of heaven, the angels let the Jews in first, followed by the Arabs, after them went in John Owalo and angels

Gabriel and Raphael, all three entering together. Then the Europeans, the Goans and the Indian Banyans attempted to enter but the angels closed the gates and chased them away; kicking them out (Kitabu, 1957). The above information is supported by oral testimony of NLM Archbishop Obego (O.I, Archbishop Obego, 03/11/17) and Ndeda (2003).

This information is clearly brought out by Ndeda (2003) who notes that, the Nomiya Luo Mission Church allowed in the Arabs, the Jews and the Luo only because they had prophetic representatives. However, attempts by the Europeans (the Pope inclusive), the Goans or the Portuguese and the Indian Banyans were thwarted violently. They failed to meet the conditionality's (Ndeda: 2003). The above analysis is supported by oral information (O.I, Archbishop Obego, 03/11/17) and clearly indicates a political religious prophecy in the sense that the whites apart from the Jews were the ones who were denied entry to heaven; this is a pointer to the fact that Owalo was greatly against white domination and its elements of imperialism and colonialism.

Owalo and angels Gabriel and Raphael reached the first heaven the first thing they enquired was the whereabouts of the Pope and the practices of the Catholic Church. The angel told him that the catholic church had no place in heaven since it's associated with idolatry, however Mary mother of Jesus Christ was among the women in heaven. The first heaven was an abode for men. The second heaven was a living place for angels and the third heaven was the living place for God and Jesus (O.I, Otieno 05/11/17), this information is in conformity with Ndeda: (2003).

At this point he saw Jesus seated on the right hand of God. Leaving the company of angels behind, Owalo hurried to bow before Jesus. Jesus came forward and told him

you must not do that I am your fellow servant; worship God only (Opwapo, 1981:66), (NLC Prayer Book 1973; 118), (O.I, Otieno 05/11/17).

In the third heaven Owalo got instructions to circumcise all male adherents, ‘Go! Take a well-sharpened knife to circumcise all men. He who has an ear let him hear and adhere but leave the disobedient alone (O.I, Otieno 05/11/17). Owalo was further instructed as noted by Ndeda (2003) and oral data (O.I, Otieno 05/11/17), by God himself, he was provided with a long cord whose other end was held by Jesus in heaven, to take to the earth. Jesus himself confirmed to Owalo that he was not of the same substance as God and so Owalo was to serve God alone. Owalo was further instructed to take a long sharp sword and circumcise his adherents as a sign of distinction between his adherents and other Luo (NLC Prayer Book 1973; 118).

Opwapo (1981) puts it clearly that, after his heavenly experience, Owalo was deterred by Sir Morison from starting his movement until he had acquired adequate western formal education. It should be understood though a ‘white’, Sir Morison was a close confidant of John Owalo. They read from the same script, Sir Morison at most cases disliked colonial government practices and even made a landmark ruling against the government. Owalo was always keen to listen to the advice of his mentor in all spheres Sir Morison (O.I, Otieno, 05/11/17) the above information is also supported by NLC Prayer Book (1973; 118).

After this experience, Owalo reported to Sir Morrison that he wanted to leave his employment because God had called him to start a religion for the Luo people. Since Owalo was semi illiterate Morrison advised him to get further education. Since the demand of education was increasing in Nyanza, Morrison felt that in future people

will not accept religion without education. He further argued that, if Owalo did not get any education, then he was going to be viewed by Europeans and educated Africans as insane (KNA: DC / CNI/5/2),(Opwapo, 1981:68) the NLC Prayer Book (1973) seems to be having the same information. This educational challenge from Sir Morrison may have further influenced Owalo and his adherents to lay a foundation and start the Nomiya Luo Mission schools. Owalo in his own right and senses metamorphosis into a political figure and started a silent resistant movement against Christian practices especially aspropagated by the Roman Catholic Church.

In 1907 Mwalimu John Owalo went to Ojola Catholic Mission with the view of getting the white man's education to its entirety. According to Ndeda (2002)as well as Mr Otieno (O.I, Otieno, 05/11/17), Owalo's avowed belief that Jesus was not of the same substance as God and his rejection of monogamy as basically a European idea and not a biblical one was the main idea behind his excommunication. He left Maseno to start his 'Mission to the Luo' but later in 1914 he renamed his movement the Nomiya Luo Mission as a formidable organization to fight Europeans religious, socio-economic and political beliefs. This was the first African Independent Church in Kenya, East Africa and among the earliest in the whole of Africa that later on established independent schools to advocate on its mission(O.I, Otieno, 05/11/17),(Ndeda, 2002).

A number of scholars have argued for and linked colonial oppression and initial religious reactions to the formation of independent schools and churches, such scholars such as Blandier (1971:417-487) and Lantenari (1963:19-62) have brought out a strong link between the rise of African nationalism and the independent school movement. According to Lonsdale (1964:350) and Mr Otieno (O.I, Otieno, 05/11/17)

four factors played a key role in Nyanza environment that greatly influenced the Nomiya Luo Mission Church. The first, related to the religious tug of war that existed in Nyanza. The European Missionaries seemed to be politically an auxiliary arm of the colonial government. This was seen on the way they supported and perpetuated European colonial practices through land alienation, taxation and forced labour.

Lonsdale (1964:350) further argues that a political mutual understanding existed between the missionaries and the government so the Africans concluded that, although their methods were different, they had similar objectives. The second factor that determined the nature of the movements was the more immediate frictions and features of foreign / colonial rule, such as taxation, which forced people to go out far from home to labour. Third, the multiplicity of missions brought confusion to the people. Moreover, in Nyanza independence was not purely an African phenomenon. Willis Hotchkiss of the Friends African Industrial Mission, decided to pull out of the mission and establish an independent mission in Lumbwa. Multiplicity of missions was an invitation to the indigenous religious heritage, which was interfered with, this was a reactionary act which created a very suitable background or setting for the rise of independent churches and schools (Lonsdale 1964: 350). The above seems to find a niche in NLC Prayer Book (1973; 118). This background was perhaps the basis for the emergence and the rise of the Nomiya Luo Mission Church.

According to Ndeda (2003) it's evident enough that available literature on Yohana (John) Owalo shows political causes as the basic theory to explain the emergence of the NLC. A fact supported by scholars such as Lonsdale (1964:208) and Wipper (1975:157) who suggest that Owalo utilised the movement as a vehicle for Luo interclan rivalry, since he belonged to the Luo clan that at the time was opposing the

rulling clan. In his writings Oginga notes that the movement was a political protest against colonialism and when Owalo was questioned by the District Commissioner in a public baraza, he said, 'Leave me to preach, I am preaching to Africans not whites' (Odinga 1968: 68-69). Mr Ogot (Ogot, 1973; 262) agrees with the above and further describes Owalo as the first Christian rebel in Nyanza, who, on discovering the hypocrisy of "Westernism" decided to be a Christian but on his own terms (Ogot, 1973; 262). The above is also supported by Mr Otieno's oral testimony (O.I, Otieno, 05/11/17)

John Owalo's political stand against imperialism and colonialism was seen in his religious position as noted by Ndeda (2003) and supported by Mr Otieno's oral testimony (O.I, Otieno, 05/11/17) and all the other respondents interviewed who seem to agree that Owalo was content, for the moment with the notion that, in the realm of the spirit, colonialists and missionaries would miss places when the Luo, Arabs, and Jews will enjoy the splendours of heaven of course political factors were latent.

Wipper (1975) points out that possibly Owalo sought a movement to release the Luo, politically, socially, religiously, economically, and culturally, from colonial domination but realised that, given strong political overtones, his movement would experience severe reprimands from the colonial government which already responded violently to such movements. Examples of such responses like, the cult of Mumbo in South Nyanza dealt with mercilessly from 1913-1915, (Wipper 1975: 32-40) and the Chilembwe uprising of 1915 in Malawi abound. The above argument terming NLM as a moderate political outfit was affirmed in Mr Kodhek (O.I, Kodhek, 20/12/17) oral evidence and supported by archival source (KNA: DC / CNI/5/2).

Tactfully Owalo had to prove that his movement was not dissident by reporting regularly to Kisumu for a period of two years, a probationary period slapped on him by the Provincial Commissioner, Mr. John Ainsworth, before the movement could be registered. When it was evident that it was "not subversive to good order and morality", it was registered during which time he got a political appointment to serve as the sub-headman for Kochieng' clan (KNA: DC / CNI/5/2). According to Ndeda (2003), Reconstruction of the history of the Nomiya Luo Mission Church reveals that a religious movement goes through several phases as it emerges and that its relations to a larger political context changes overtime.

Mr Otieno (O.I, Otieno, 05/11/17) as well as Opwapo (1981) notes, Owalo had a poor family background and perhaps sought the economic prosperity that seemed obvious in the mainline churches. However, economic causalities may not be adequate as explanations for its emergence because even the mission station at Oboch simply supplied the food requirements of the numerous adherents who for one reason or other had to reside with him. For instance the mission station at Oboch was established to enable the adherents to have ample time together as they prepared for missions and also serve a haven for his adherents from the rampant conscriptions of Africans for the First World War. These adherents had to undertake farm work for subsistence and not for mere economic gain. Hence, the appeal of a new movement can be approached but not completely explained in terms of economic variables or even ethnicity but rather political.

The Nomiya Luo Church arose out of a situation plagued with the effects of the Western impact of the colonial government (O.I, Otieno, 05/11/17). Wipper (1975) and Ndeda (2003) argue that Christian missions and the white settlers, who were

continuously instrumental in influencing the political, religious, economic and social issues which had strong repercussions on the lives of the people (migrant labour and taxation) was inevitable for the rise of this movement.

Ndeda (2003) further points out that western education were the tool and the foundation of Western religion and culture. Adoption of European customs seemed indispensable to a true understanding of Christianity. The two missionary groups which evangelised Nyanza were mainly the Church Missionary Society (CMC) and of the Mill Hill Fathers (MHF) a catholic missionary outfit. This was fully supported by Mr Otieno (O.I, Otieno, 05/11/17).

European occupation resulted in political dependence and the Luo who were accustomed to consensus policies had now to obey orders. There were economic pressures caused by taxes and other measures which forced people to obtain cash and this was possible through migrant labour. This had detrimental effects, particularly on the institution of the family. Although the Luo were willing and even eager to derive benefits from the new conditions, education and Christianity were to disrupt traditional patterns as much as migrant labour did. Respect for taboos, structures and values on which the society depended for its security and harmony was beginning to shake (Ndeda, 1992), (O.I, Otieno, 05/11/17). Solidarity of the clan and family was under constant attack.

The stability of tribal marriage patterns, including polygamy, the levirate, divorce and dowry were beginning to disintegrate and yet there were no new and secure alternatives. Since the traditional methods for obtaining leadership and prestige were no longer accepted, disappointment and loss of identity were beginning to be



experienced and emotional need too did not receive the normal outlet (Muga 1975: 167). Subsequent stress possibly led to tension and unhappiness, loss of identity and sense of belonging (O.I, Otieno, 05/11/17) a fact supported by Wilson (1964: 63-163).

Wipper (1975), Ndeda (2003) and Wilson (1964) all agree that Yohana (John) Owalo life was greatly affected by colonial experience and due to his interaction with African and Indian nationalists from other parts of Kenya and he was aware of their responses to colonialism. Owalo, probably, longed for an African pattern of worship and a meaningful local community that formed a transition between the old and the new. As Muga (1975) points out Owalo might have desired a church with a Luo hero, a saviour of the people. His attitude represented rejection of missionary paternalism and certain Western Christian values, such as monogamy, which were integrated in Christian teaching.

This information is anchored in Mr Otieno oral testimony (O.I, Otieno, 05/11/17). A fact supported fully by Wilson (1970:231), who claims that those who start their own religious movements are relatively deprived but it should be borne in mind that separation sometimes arises in schism from existing sects without operation of external causes. That Owalo was religiously dissatisfied can be inferred from his movement from one denomination to another and even from Christianity to Islam.

The type of Christianity introduced did not seem suited to his needs and understanding, he needed an institution, claiming equality with Christianity and Islam. However, it was to be superior in quality to the type of Christianity introduced by Europeans. When he visited the heavens, God wanted to admit the Luo, like he had done to Arabs and Jews, but they had no prophet. Owalo was then given the Mission

to make God's message relevant, consequently, to usher the Luo, who accepted his message, into heaven. The Luo had also to have a unique experience like that of Jews and Arabs, that of circumcision of the male adherents (O.I, Otieno, 05/11/17). Ogut (1978:50-53) and archival source (KNA: PC/ NZA/ 2/3) seems to be fully in agreement with the above.

Owalo religious stand point on the call of heavenly experience recorded early; there was evidence of theological issues that were basic to the rise of NLC. Ogut (1978), states that Owalo refuted the reliability of the Catholic doctrine of purgatory since on his way to heaven he only saw hell on; not purgatory. Consequently, the Nomiya Luo Church catechism clearly instructs against the belief in purgatory. On a man's death he is ushered into heaven or hell according to his deeds on earth this is also supported by archival source (KNA: PC/ NZA/ 2/3). Owalo was warned against these because they marred the image of God. This experience touched very closely on the cardinal Catholic belief in the supremacy and infallibility of the Pope, and the intercession of the saints, particularly that of Mary.

In fact, in the first heaven, the abode of men, he informed that the Pope was barred from heaven because of misleading the faithful to rely on relics and images in worship and to believe in the intercession of the saints. In the third heaven another cardinal Catholic sacrament that of the Holy Mass, was declared an unacceptable sacrifice before God and Owalo was to teach his adherents that the only acceptable sacrifice was a broken and contrite heart. The Catholic practice of the sacrament of bread and wine, which they consider as the real or actual body and blood of Christ, was declared sinful and Owalo was reprimanded for having tasted the components and hence the

NLC catechism teaches vehemently against it Whisson (1964:154), Opwapo (1981:18) as well as archival source (KNA: PC/ NZA/ 2/3).

All the churches he attended held the belief that Jesus Christ was not only a son of God but also of the same essence as God however in the third heaven, Owalo was instructed that God alone was to be worshipped. The church hymnals stress the supremacy of God. In his Bible, he deleted sections that equated Jesus with God. In the many hymns borrowed from the Anglican Church, he replaced the word Jesus with Jehovah. For Owalo Jesus was perfect man endowed with power to perform miracles to furnish evidence that he was God's messenger. Perhaps this is why B.A. Ogot (1973:256), J.J. Willis, and M. Whisson describe him as a "Unitarian" and suggest that, the Unitarian Judge, Alexander Morrison, impacted on Owalo (Whisson 1964:154). Since Owalo had an intimate relationship with Alexander Morrison, it is possible that apart from working together on the study of Luo grammar, they discussed serious theological thoughts (Opwapo 1981:18), this assertion is fully anchored by archival source (KNA:PC/ NZA/ 2/4).

The two most immediate causes were: first, the fact that he was called by God in March 1907 and second, the action of the council in Maseno which caused him to leave Maseno prematurely to start his own Mission. In a society that was changing already, with Christianity providing the framework, certain important factors were overlooked. First, spiritual, emotional, moral and religious needs of the Luo were ignored. Visions, dreams, spirits and even their idea of God were considered futile, oral testimonies (O.I, Archbishop Obego, 4/11/17), (O.I, Oketch 6/11/17) and archival source (KNA: PC/ NZA/ 2/3) seem to corroborate each other on the above information. The society had a need for solutions to existential problems such as fears

of the forces of evil, the need for emotional outlet and religious healing. In Owalo's teaching, he laid emphasis on the spiritual world, especially on angels perhaps again emerging from his heavenly trip where he was not only under the escort of Gabriel and Raphael but saw many angels. It can be inferred that, for him, angels comfortably replaced the Luo spirits (O.I, Oketch 6/11/17).

Second, whereas the healing world was ignored and rejected as futile, however, Owalo prayed for the sick and exorcised the possessed. Third, while polygamy and the levirate were castrated; Owalo accepted these as practical within his movement. It is also probable that the local people did not comprehend several aspects of Christian teaching but lacked the courage and forum to declare it or to formulate something more suitable. However, Owalo was not a weak and frivolous character but engaged in a most serious search for a more acceptable reality. With the magnitude of his experience and as a courageous person he noted a problem and sought a solution. When he had established what seemed relevant to a people who had to adjust to change, he started propagating it in 1912 (O.I, Archbishop Obego, 4/11/17), this is supported by oral information from Mr Oketch (O.I, Oketch 6/11/17) and archival source (KNA: PC/ NZA/ 2/3). Owalo was mainly concerned with his tribe, the Luo and this concern has continued to affect the development of the membership of the church and partly NLM sponsored schools.

Therefore according to Ndeda (2003) and oral testimony from MrOketch (O.I, Oketch 6/11/17), it could be said that Owalo seemed to be an original and imaginative thinker, despite his limited but rather highly ranked education of his time and he had the charisma of leadership, which made it possible for him to have thousands of followers within Kenya and Tanzania.

From earlier discussion in this section Owalo's movement had both religious and political components, but the political aspect was disguised in his theology. His was an attempt by a person in a rapidly changing society to create a kind of dialogue between Luo traditional beliefs, Islam and Christianity in that he looked for meaningful experiences in different traditions. He used the idea of the centrality of God in the three traditions and related every other idea to it. The advance of the African Nomiya Luo Church did not come about by an organised evangelisation effort, but either by a migratory movement of one person, which has continued to date, or through the initiative of local adherents. The church developed through contact. A new community formed around the first convert or converts, for among the Luo, a man of plenty draws people to himself. Other groups were formed as disciples multiplied and spread out from the initial centre.

The best illustration would be that of Tanzania's North Mara where NLM has taken deep roots. As noted by Ndeda (2003) and supported by Mr Omuga (O.I, Omuga, 4/11/17) oral testimony, the NLC was introduced in North Mara in 1929 by one Nickodemus Siwa who reached here accidentally while searching for pasture. He settled at Ochuna where he formed the first community. With the development of the movement in the area, he became the Bishop, then relinquishing daily affairs to his assistant, he settled in another area of the district because the pasture was exhausted. After settling down in North Mara he then invited other members from Kenya to go get and baptised.

This sort of growth ran a risk of slackening off as the initial dynamism of the movement gave way to routine. Soon after the death of the founder, the evangelical impetus slackened. After 1920, there were adherents in North Mara District of

Tanzania, Gem Ahono and Alego. Expansion continued up to early 1930 and as noted:-

"Nomiya Luo Mission" (African) continues to gain ground and is spreading its activities in South Kavirondo and among the Luo settled areas" However, soon after 1934, the government report said that, "The Nomiya Luo Church continues to function but I have not heard it spreading" (KNA:DC/CN1/6/2).

Whereas its expansion could have been curbed by the pattern it took, the most serious drawbacks were connected with internal feuds. The church experienced crisis at the death of the founder. Beginning from 1920, it survived sixteen and a half years crisis over leadership. Today, the church survives as Nomiya church with numerous splinters.

Ndeda (2003), similarly to oral testimonies from Mr Omuga (O.I, Omuga, 4/11/17) and Mr Oketch (O.I, Oketch 6/11/17), points out that this religious movement was attractive to both men and women and spread with such marked rapidity that by the time of the death of the founder, it had spread all over Luo land and into some of the white settled areas. When the growth rate of a movement is so rapid, several issues need to be responded to, for instance, why were people joining? What features did it display that made it attractive? First, when Owalo appeared in Asembo, it is possible he recognised the situation of the Luo Community in the face of colonialism. He might have capitalised on this situation and then made it articulate.

He introduced a movement attuned to the traditional fears, needs and aspirations. Several cultural practices of the Luo disgusted the Europeans, especially missionaries, who militated against them. Indeed their attitude to the indigenous culture and religion was generally disastrous. Owalo's movement contributed significantly to the

process of deculturation. He curtailed campaigns against certain religious practices, customs and institutions, for example polygamy. To the missionaries the Luo practice of polygamy was offensive to Christian morals, therefore, the baptism of polygamous men and of women and children of such marriages, was not allowed. The issue of polygamy was an integral part of local culture that people were bewildered with the idea that there should be anything wrong with it (Ndeda, 2003). This information is also contained in the NLC Prayer Book (1973) and also in a narration given by and supported by Omuga (O.I, Omuga, 4/11/17).

The crusade against polygamy by Christianity directly affected all but mostly women. Wives of polygamists suffered if their husbands became Christians because the man was only permitted to keep one wife and the others were often sent away suffering the stigma of rejection and disgrace. Robins (1979) suggests that women joined independent movements seeking religious legitimisation for the rejection of polygamous unions, this was fully presented in the case of NLM byoral testimony from Oketch (O.I, Oketch 6/11/17). Europeans attacked polygamy as originating from sinful lust but failed to recognise it as an economic and social institution. Thus, the campaign against it was conducted with colonial criteria, methods, and aims, which took little account of the real and immediate exigencies of women. The above information also seems to find a niche in Omuga oral testimony (O.I, Omuga, 4/11/17) and NLC Prayer Book (1973).

For women this constant conflict between mission and polygamous establishments was leading to an assault on the family. Luo women had managed to cooperate with co-wives, polygamy worked for them-in that it guaranteed them some autonomy, personal freedom and greater mobility than would be possible in monogamous

nuclear family (Ndeda, 2003). They could also use it as a means of maximising their own interests. Several wives in a homestead meant that women had more free time for socialization and could develop strong bonds with other women. Ndeda (2003) facts on polygamy among the Luo and specifically in NLC is fully supported by NLC Prayer Book (1973). Although the practice of polygamy has declined, it persists to date and perhaps today the attitude of women towards it is completely different.

However, from Owalo's time through to early post-independence days, at face value women felt quite comfortable. Owalo authorised men to keep a maximum of four wives if they were interested in leadership positions, but gave no limitation to those with no leadership interests (Opwapo, 1981). He, however, advocated for equal treatment for all wives by the husbands. He maintained that polygamy was not immoral but scriptural since patriarchs like David, Abraham, and Solomon practised it with no godly vindication. Mr Omuga oral testimony (O.I, Omuga, 4/11/17) agreed fully with the above. He insisted that polygamy was more acceptable than adultery. Thus entry into the church became easy; polygamist did not need to discard extra wives and the polygamous women and children were relieved of the stigma, they acquired recognition and, acceptance, which they had been denied in the mainline churches. According to Ndeda (2003), Owalo actually stopped Daudi Migot, his colleague in Maseno, from divorcing his second wife. Many adherents such as Samuel Otieno of Manyatta, Nickodemus Tambo of Nyakach, joined the movement because of its teaching on polygamy (O.I, Omuga, 4/11/17).

As noted by Opwapo (1981), Yohana (John) Owalo Christianised and incorporated customary marriage patterns into the religious and social life of the people. His acceptance of polygamy in particular endeared his movement to the people. He



recognised the social significance of this type of marriage to the Luo people and therefore, anybody intending to marry was advised to negotiate with parents of the girl and to fulfil the dowry according to the traditional requirements. When his effort to get such marriages officially registered by the colonial government in Kisumu failed in 1914, he instituted his own pattern of marriage arrangement that was in line with the community's arrangement. Henceforth when dowry requirement was met, the faithful gathered in the groom's home as a group went to ceremonially convey the bride from her natal home (O.I, Owino, 4/11/17).

The marriage was not consummated on the first night; the man spent the whole day and evening with Owalo in prayer (Opwapo 1981: 159) which is also supported by Ndeda (O.I, Ndeda, 20/01/18) and Omuga oral testimony (O.I, Omuga, 4/11/17) who further noted that the breach of this order was a serious offence. Currently, all intending to marry notify the church leader three months in advance to enable them to make public announcements of this intention at both the man and the woman's local churches. After this, the bride and groom would register at the judiciary before the church ceremony and other celebrations. Intention of marriage to a junior wife would still be announced in the churches. After dowry is fully paid, the faithful will gather at the man's home for celebrations and prayers to welcome the woman. However, life is dynamic and changes have occurred so that adherents intending to take junior wives do so secretly because women's attitudes towards polygamy have changed over time (P.C.E.A Archives, microfilm 1909) and also supported in oral testimony by Prof Ndeda (O.I, Ndeda, 20/01/18).

In the early years of the British administration, the Christian widows were protected by the marriage ordinance of 1912, the missions and the government wanted to

confront this issue but no satisfactory solution was reached (Spencer, 1973:108). According to Ndeda (O.I, Ndeda, 20/01/18) the Luo, practice of the levirate ensured that the widows and their children had their rights to a secure home. Owalo advocated for the retention of the levirate, this was also a point of departure with colonial administration and the missionaries. By this practice wives were not inherited at their husbands' death. They were regarded as still formally married to the dead men and referred to as *chi liel* (wife of the grave). Ndeda (2003) notes that the leviratic union was not regarded as marriage, although some of the elements are common, this was fully supported by Mzee Okech (O.I, Okech, 6/11/17) in his narration.

This was like the Luo version of the life insurance policy and women had a choice in who to be their levir. The leviratic union finds a close parallel in the Old Testament. It was on this type of marriage that Israelites based their approach to polygamy. The widow was cared for in some ways by this arrangement (O.I, Okech, 6/11/17) the information is also clearly brought out by Opwapo (1981). To date, it is the practice of NLC to ensure that widows are inherited and they claim a biblical basis for it. (RSV; Genesis 38; Deuteronomy 25: 5-10; Ruth 4).

Handling of the dead and deceased is a big score to the church because the Luo celebrate death. When an adherent died, they actively participated in the celebrations, ceremonies and burial. Seventy days after the burial a ceremony to free the dead to proceed to heaven was conducted by the faithful. The NLC members believe that after death the spirit of the dead continues to hover in the air space watching the handling of his affairs. After seventy days, all that pertains to burial should have been appropriately handled to release the spirit to rest in peace. Henceforth if the dead was a man then his wife/wives was/were free to pick a levir (Opwapo 1981: 159) this fact

was fully supported by oral testimony of Mzee Okech (O.I, Okech, 6/11/17) and Ndeda (2003).

According to Ndeda (O.I, Ndeda, 20/01/18) Owalo built a community out of the breaking pieces of the old and the ill adopted offerings of the new. He understood the importance of witchcraft and ancestral spirits among the Luo and viewed them as issues to be dealt with through the ministry of the church. Consequently, he promised both mental and physical healing of illnesses. Adherents cite several instances of healing and exorcism, the majority of whom were women. Exorcism remains a common practice in the NLC (Barret, 1968), (O.I, Ndeda, 20/01/18). The tolerance shown towards polygamy, the levirate and other traditional patterns was compensated for by the rigorous and legalistic taboos on drinking, smoking, dancing and wearing of shoes in holy places.



**Fig 4.2: Researcher at the original Oboch church earlier established by John Owalo.**

Traditional religious concepts and practices were re-interpreted in a Christian sense. This kind of re-interpretation seemed acceptable within the changing circumstances. This movement also met a need in a society disturbed by the colonial impacts. Specifically, the Luo could neither provide from their resources nor accept without disruption the Europeans life style. Europeans paid little attention to cultural beliefs and practices of the Luo, in spite, of the warning by the Provincial Commissioner, Mr. John Ainsworth that: All persons who have dealings with the natives of this country to investigate their customs and beliefs before attempting to govern them, to proselyte them, to trade with them, or to live amongst them and employ them as labourers, for it is only by understanding and appreciating their superstitions and habits that one can hope to win their sympathy and affection (KNA:PC/ NZA/ 2/3), the above information is also supported n the work of Ndeda (2003) and Opwapo (1981).



**Fig 4.3: the Researcher with Prof Ndeda in her office at JOOUST: who has done extensive research on Gender and NLC**

Further, Ndeda (2003) and Opwapo (1981) have noted that this movement attracted all and sundry. Men who had nasty marital experiences with the colonial system joined with whole families and of those attracted to the movement were women. As argued out by Ndeda (2003) studies on independency ascertain that women make up at least two thirds of the non-missionary church members and have often noted the greater attraction of religious faith and religious participation to women than to men. This is particularly true for the independent churches and nearly every major study of

these groups' remarks upon this fact as pointed out by Sundkler (1969) and Ley (1984) and similarly by oral testimony of Ndeda (see fig 4.3), (O.I, Ndeda, 20/01/18).

Membership of the Independent Churches provided certain benefits. Women in particular gained a caring support network outside the formal structures (fellowship groups with shared experience) of society and the opportunities for personal advancement. These churches also formed a legitimate space within which women freely participated outside the home without question or need for justification (O.I, Ndeda, 20/01/18) as well as (O.I, Omuga, 4/11/17) arguments also supported by (Lehmann, 1963). On the other hand, they provided that spiritual solace and community in a world in which hard work, social, economic, physical and emotional violence were the order of the day (Ndeda, 2003).

Ndeda (2003) points out that nervous breakdowns or mental disturbances were and are not rare among women with such stresses. In the small local communities there was relief. She found a relaxing escape from the arduous daily tasks and an opportunity of entering into a sympathetic relationship with women under similar strains. When the woman was prayed for or when she prayed alone she underwent a psychological treatment that gave her emotional relief. Increasing drift of women into independent movements was also due to barrenness, delay in conception, and domestic difficulties. This is also supported by oral information from Mzee Okech (O.I, Okech, 6/11/17) who gave the same information as argued and presented by Ndeda (2003).

The churches responded to these problems through deliberate and open prayer and healing sessions. Similarly in accordance to Barret (1968) and Ndeda (2003) claims, it

is in the independent church movements of Africa that women had the chance to recover some of their traditional status and position which had been undermined by the teaching of the mission churches. This fact is further supported by Ndeda (O.I, Ndeda, 20/01/18) who notes that, apart from the tensions and anxieties of the family, the women in colonial times were also the victims of the policies of the mission churches. Missionaries had often criticised and undermined the African forms of religious expression in which women had a part to play. Lehmann (1963) suggests that many women were attracted to the independent churches because they replaced the functions of customary institutions that were weakened by culture change. Barret remarks:

‘The missionary assault on the family complex caused women to act, for they felt the issues at stake more keenly than the men. With more to lose, they vehemently defended their traditional institutions and way of life’. Barret 1968:147.

#### **4.3 Politics as a Matrix to Education: The Rise of Nomiya Luo Mission Schools.**

Relationship between education and politics is auxiliary to a more general relationship between education and society. Public education has always been involved in the execution of political power. In the context of NLM and in terms of Foucault theoretical work; its institutionalization, in the form of compulsory schooling contributes to and in away masks the proliferation of politics and the strategic merger of knowledge and power as political regimes, disguising themselves in pedagogical and pastoral attire as articulated by Szkudlarek (2013). This is clear testimony in the context of NLM (NLC Prayer Book (1973)).

This conception has been supported by a number of several scholars among them Depaepe and Smyers (2008), Peters (2008), Simions and Masschelein (2008). The political philosophy of a country has an impact on the type of education as it dictates the type of administration the system of education adopts. It also underlies the content and the component of the education system. It determines how the system is to operate and function, the details of the curriculum are always determined by the state authorities and it involves functional training of citizens (Mackatiani C, 2016:1). The above assumptions can be compared to the case of NLM as brought out by Ndeda (O.I, Ndeda, 20/01/18).

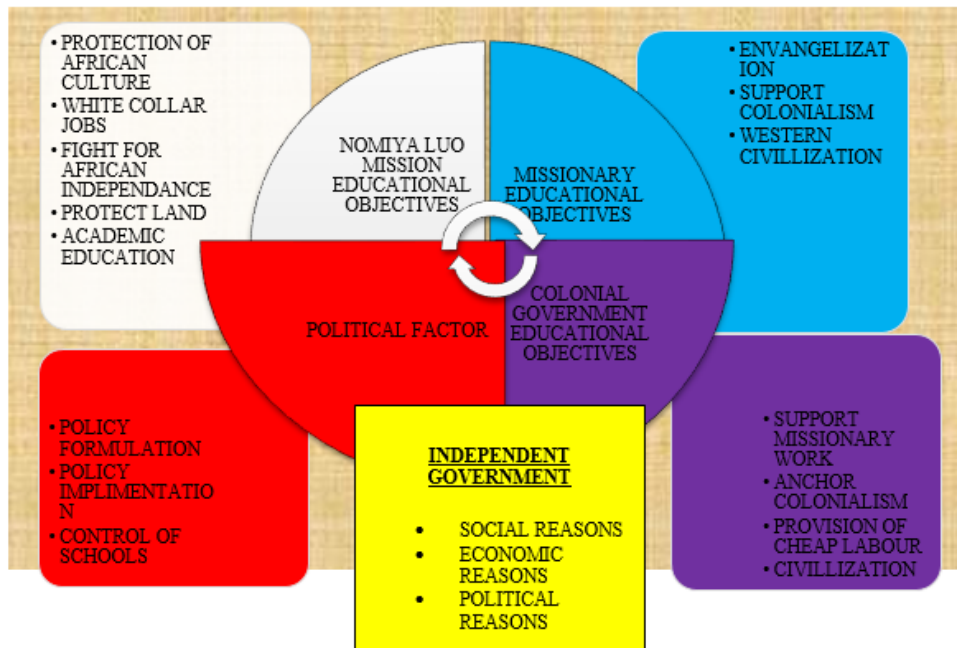
In the case of NLM as a reference point; Education is enmeshed in the network of overlapping and interlocking strands which form the fabrics of social life. As brought forward by Maclure (1976):-

Given that education cannot be taken out of politics, what should be the relationship between education and politics? The trouble is that I am not at all sure exactly what 'education' means in this context; nor am I confident that I mean the same thing by 'politics' as the questioner. And when you introduce the idea that 'politics' and 'education' are or are not to be in some sought of 'relationship', you pile a metaphor onto a couple of imprecise abstractions which is an almost irresistible invitation to wallow in some pretty flatulent claptrap (Maclure, 1976:17)

This study evokes the question of who should be responsible for the implementation of the right education. The above question raises the most fundamental contemporary debate, one of urgency in an over determined or super complex reality. Conceptually, the claims to rights and provision of education are complexities confronted in texts with the complexities of heterogeneity and contemporary policies (Szkudlarek, 2013:6). In the case of Nomiya Luo Mission education this information was supported



by oral testimony of Mzee Okech (O.I, Okech, 6/11/17) and can be better illustrated in fig 4.4



Source: Barasa 2018

**Fig 4.4 Relationship between Politics and Education**

From Fig 4.4 above, it is clear that the relationship between politics and education is ancillary to a more general relationship between education and society. Education in this context is enmeshed in the network of overlapping and interlocking political strands which form the fabric of social life.

If by any means, education system is to be regarded as a substratum of the whole social organism or society, then it can be debated that the actual relationship between education and politics can be deduced from the needs of the society as a whole and in this case, the part which education plays in supporting and changing the society. How

this works out in practice depends on the complexity of the society in question, and the clarity in which would be reformers project their vision of a better society (Maclure, 1976) and in the context of NLM it was brought out by Mzee Okech (O.I, Okech, 6/11/17) oral testimony.

According to analysis from the contents of NLC Prayer Book (1973), John Owalo's vision to transform his society through education at this time may have been too ambitious surrounded by a myriad of factors such as situations, tensions and conflict of interest. But still with such scenario Owalo noted two important factors that played out in his favour. One was the power structure which reflected itself in the rule of a selected group and at that time the few elites whom he really worked closely with to realise his vision. This group yielded political capital cutesy of their privileged positions. The second factor was that; Owalo was able to put at play his own people's actual valuations of related outworn traditions, beliefs and attitudes which contradicted missionary vision or represent a handicap to the realization of missionary objective in Luo Nyanza. The above information as presented in NLM prayer book is supported by oral testimony of Mzee Okech (O.I, Okech, 6/11/17).

Just as El- Ghannam (1970) puts it members of the intellectual elite or some of them are the advocates of planning in a country, it's the political leadership that incorporates it into the countries philosophies or ideology and transforms it from a statement of words to asset of legitimate deeds and one of the major responsibility of the intellectual elite, particularly in developing countries is to sell the idea of planning to political leaders, convince them of its necessity for substantial development and dissipate their fears, misgivings and doubts as the case of John Owalo through his

NLM established schools. This is further supported by archival source (K.N.A:ED/312/1/4/87) that points on a political cause for NLM schools.

There is nothing less therefore other than to note that the rise of the Nomiya Luo Mission movement can be equated to the rise of MajiMaji Rebellion in Tanzania, Diniya Msambwa and Mau Mau movements in Kenya and many more. Lonsdale (1964:350), notes that when examining the rise of independent movements it's important to consider its situation or environment, he further notes that in Nyanza several factors namely, colonial government and its relation with the missionary churches, secondly features of colonialism such as land alienation and taxation, thirdly African indigenous heritage. The above argument as contextualised by NLM was affirmed in Kodheks (O.I, Kodhek, 20/12/17) oral evidence. He further noted that these factors may have played a significant role in the rise of the NLM and its eventual establishment of the Nomiya Luo Mission schools.

Following dissatisfaction with the quality of education offered to them by the missionaries and the colonial government, Africans started their own independent schools. Western education as advanced by the colonial government and the missionaries was almost completely refused by the Africans because of the manner in which it was handled by both the colonial government and the missionaries. other reasons for these reaction includes: Colonial government did not provide of purely academic education, it only ensured steady supply of cheap labour to the settlers, it was racial based since Europeans held the views that Africans were different from them and could not comprehend intellectual education (Barasa 2013). This was found to be exact as presented in theoral testimony given by Odipo (O.I, 6/11/17).

Colonial government and missionary education was misguided by the following factors: - Racism. Europeans had a low opinion over Africans and considered Africans to be at the lowest level of human evolution. To them, Africans could not comprehend intellectual education. The colonial government was discontent and suspicious about offering academic education to Africans. This fear was reinforced by Lord Valentine of Chirrol, following ‘the Indian unrest’ in which he argued that academic education to Africans would make them agitate for political independence (Barasa 2013 and Lonsdale, 1964).

The need for steady supply of labour to work on European farms, Christian missionaries believed in the virtue in working with the hands and therefore, they saw technical education as a means of achieving this aim a kind of education that Africans disliked. Booker Taliaferro Washington 1856-1915 created economic opportunities for Africans from his base at Tuskegee Industrial Institute, Alabama by training them as farmers, mechanics and domestics. In a widely publicized speech of 1895, known as the Atlanta compromise, he abandoned the racially equality for blacks as a priority in favour of material progress. The last nail on the African academic coffin was the 1909 Frazer report, strongly recommended for technical education for Africans (Barasa 2013).

The first one was started by John Owalo a former follower of the Catholic Church and the Church of Scotland in Kikuyu where he was educated and became a teacher. Ezekiel Apindi a follower of Owalo established *Nomia Luo* mission schools. Several independent schools emerged (Stanfield, 2005).

Africans reacted in two main ways as follows: Radicals who wanted quick results. This group established African Independent Schools (AIS) and they also fought to restore the African culture. They were mainly found in Nyanza and central Kenya. In Central two organizations came up: The Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (KISA) and the Kikuyu Karing'a Educational Association (KKEA) (Merle, 1963). Kovar (1970), views Kikuyu independent school movement as one of the profound manifestation of the African struggle for independence that the Great Britain bestowed on Kenya on 12<sup>th</sup> Dec 1963 through bitter struggle.

Kovar (1970) further argues that the establishment of independent schools was the result of uneasy alliance between the tribal elders and the new group of younger men, more politically oriented men. Under these organizations, African independent schools rose to 34 by 1933 with a total enrolment of 2,500 pupils and by 1939, enrolment rose to 12,964. This can be seen as true in the case of NLM because it was registered during the time he got a political appointment to serve as the sub-headman for Kochieng' clan (KNA: DC / CNI/5/2). Moderates wanted to work through the system. Moderates wanted to work with the Local Native Council (LNC) to provide secular education.

In 1939 independent schools opened Githunguri Teachers Training College (African Teachers College). The first principal was Mbiu Koinange the son of senior chief Koinange Wa Mbiu. Peter Mbiu was a Master graduate of U.S.A based Columbia University. However it was closed in 1952-1957 following the state of emergency. By 1936 there were 44 independent schools in Kenya with an enrolment of 3948 (Lonsdale, 1964) however; independent schools experienced the following problems: - Hostility and suspicion by colonial government and missionary groups'

lack of qualified teachers, inadequate facilities such as classes and misappropriation and embezzlement of funds. Due to these problems these schools came under the supervision of the D.E.B after the state of emergency (O.I, Odipo, 6/11/17). The above is also supported by Stanfield (2005).

Just as Opwapo (1981:78) puts it Mr Odipo (O.I, Odipo, 6/11/17) noted that, Nomiya Luo Mission arose out of the situation plagued with the effects which resulted from the impacts of colonialism; without doubt colonial education was a larger component of colonial project to dehumanise Africans by imposing both inner and outer colonization based on the premise that Africans would assimilate into European lifestyle the values that were themselves a threat to the identity and self-perception of the indigenous people. To a greater extent colonial education led to psycho cultural alienation and cultural domination this in turn created a background that favoured the rise of NLM schools.

Following the above justifications, political factor remains the dominant factor for the rise of NLM schools (K.N.A:ED/312/1/4/87) this fact was well articulated by Mr Ongweni (O.I, Ongweni, 6/10/17) who further argued that the political charisma of Mwalimu John Owalo was a major boost to his vision; this level of charisma is what led to his rise both in religious and political spheres. Similarly El- Ghannam (1970), points out that leadership as we know is a function of two interacting elements or poles; the person or group of persons who are led, in a given time and space. It's through their strong political leadership that alludes to massive public support as a source of criterion of this strength. In support of the above Mr Ongenyi (O.I, Ongenyi, 22/01/18) points out that, John Owalo was nothing less than a political schemer who knew how to read and act on the minds of the masses to an extent that decade's later

people still hold to his beliefs and at the same time would not want interference from the outside world.

As noted by Maclure (1970):-

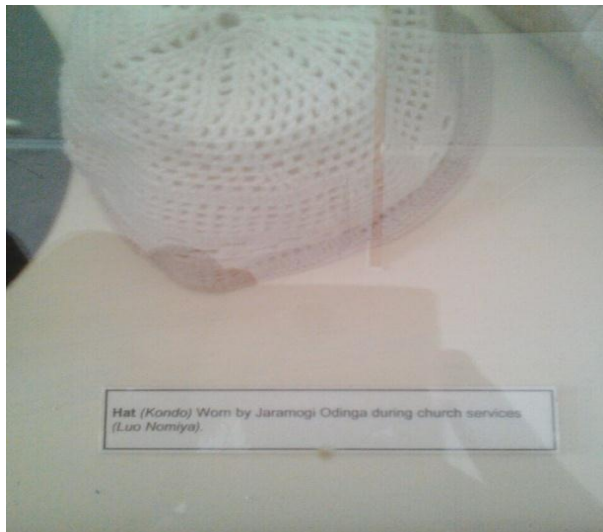
It is meant to suggest that a society has organic qualities, that abstract schematism cannot be imported upon it without running great risks and if its institutions are to be managed successfully they must be approached from the inside, not the outside felt their concreteness and particularity and understood as arrangement which people have worked out in the course of a common experience and which accomplish purposes too subtle to be written into a master plan. Accordingly it's best for people inside an institution to decide what to do with it and it's always dangerous for outsiders to meddle (Maclure, 1970:20)

In his work Opwapo (1981) clearly puts it that J M Lonsdale and A. Wipper suggest that Owalo shows politics as the basis for the rise of NLC. They suggest that Owalo utilised the movement as a vehicle for inter clan rivalry, since he belonged to the clan traditionally opposed to the chiefly clan. Oginga Odinga says that the movement was apolitical protest and when Owalo was called to be questioned by the district commissioner in public 'baraza', he said 'I am preaching to Africans not whites'. The political character of Owalo is clearly brought out in archival source (K.N.A:ED/312/1/4/87). Opwapo (1981:79) says that B.A Ogot describes Owalo as the first Christian rebel in Nyanza, who on discovery the hypocrisy of westernism decided to be a Christian but on his own terms. This seems to agree with oral testimonies of Mr Ongenyi (O.I, Ongenyi, 22/01/18) and Prof Ndeda(O.I, Prof Ndeda, 20/01/18).Europeans held Owalo and his movement with a lot of suspicion, which is evident in a letter dated 5<sup>th</sup> August 1938 the District Commissioner south Kavirondowrote a letter to the district commissioner Central Kavirondo noting that:-

It is reported that the adherents of a religion said to have been started by Johana Owalo of Seme, Central Kavirondo have been proselytising in this district. Would you please be so kind as to inform me whether this religion is prohibited one and give me any information about it which is likely to be of use administratively (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/24).

Owalo just like general Mathenge and Itote among the Agikuyu, Koitalel Arap Samoei among the Kalenjins, Elijah Masinde Wanameme among the Bukusus his movement can be equated to chilembwe in Malawi and Mumbo cult in South Africa. At some point members of NLM were suspected to be associated with the Mau Mau movement. This was because the then bishop of the NLC Mr G.C Owalo who replaced John Owalo was a close confidant to Oginga Odinga and Ochieng Oneko who were presumed to be sympathizers of Mau Mau (Opwapo,1981:192)idea fully supported by Mr Ongenyi (O.I, Ongenyi, 22/01/18). It should be noted for that the late Jaramogi Oginga Odinga was a follower of NLM for the better part of colonial period.





**Fig 4.5 Jaramogi Oginga Odinga NLM hat**



**Fig 4.6 Maseno CMS teachers Opio Okinda and Esao Donda who taught at Maseno and Latta at various NLM schools; in the middle Mr Oginga Odinga.**

In its own right NLM was a consequence of disillusion and discontent into religious outlet, so that it diminishes the ‘force of direct political action’ (Lloyd, 1967:263). As earlier indicated in this section scholars such as Lonsdale and B A Ogot have portrayed Yohana Owalo as a rebel who wanted to accept European civilization at his own terms (Opwalo, 1981:191) a fact which anchors its roots on archival source

(K.N.A:ED/312/1/4/87) and oral testimony (O.I, Ongenyi, 22/01/18). It should be noted that at independence Mzee Jomo Kenyatta was able to put it clearly that the problems of Kenya revolved around poverty, ignorance and diseases, this were the grievances of John Owalo and his choice of means to fight the ‘purported enemies of progress’ was the establishment of NLM schools and churches to liberate his people.

NLM efforts in combating ignorance among its people was its major strength, at the begin of the 19<sup>th</sup> century western education was a prerogative of Christian missionaries however Owalo brought in the aspect of African direct involvement in the provision of their own education (K.N.A:ED/312/1/4/87), this is also supported by oral evidence of Mr Ongenyi (O.I, Ongenyi, 22/01/18). As Adeyemo (2000) notes, the right to education arises out of democratic ideas, everybody should have a chance to become intelligent in this new age of science and innovation which is clearly brought out in UNESCO (2006) that mentions improved education as essential to giving meaning to our national purpose and power. In further support to the above Axim and Mark (2008) add that it requires skilled manpower and brain power to match the power of totalitarian discipline. Basically this is what Owalo was struggling and fighting for through his NLM movement; John Owalo wanted to use political means in order to establish schools to create political awareness among his people, to be able to fight the colonial political injustices and status quo.

In his oral testimony Mr.Ojwang(O.I, Ojwang, 15/11/17) pointed out that, the colonial government had put it very clearly to the people of Nyanza that, if anybody wanted education he had to leave associating himself with NLM activities and join a Missionary Church. In support of the above Opwapo (1981) states that NLM was not ready to lose its members to other missionary organizations and therefore saw the establishment of NLM schools in 1912 reaching its apex in 1938.

Oral testimony by Mr Ongenyi (O.I, Ongenyi, 22/01/18) and similarly to Opwapo (1981:194) points out to the fact that when Yohana Owalo started the NLM, he had both education and teaching experience which he had gained during his quest for truth

from various missions. He was an ardent teacher, well grounded in theory and practice and he always wanted his teachers to teach with the same passion (O.I, Ojwang 15/11/17). John Owalo massive teaching experience in various mission schools provided him with fertile ground to establish strong educational institutions to compete with that of the missionaries.

The taproot of NLM schools stems from two adjacent villages of Oboch and Maranginya village in Asembo. At Marang'inya village famously known as Orengo he established a sub elementary school in 1914 and an elementary school at Oboch in 1912. The students came among the adherents of the NLC and especially in Nyanza. This was when John Owalo wrote a letter to the district commissioner Nyanza to start the schools and permission was granted. However these schools were short lived before they were re-established. The above information was clearly brought out by Prof Ndeda (O.I, Prof Ndeda, 20/01/18) and supported by Mr Ongenye (O.I, Ongenye, 22/01/18) oral evidence.

In 1930 Yona Oyungu and Meshack Onyango wrote a letter to the district commissioner Nyanza requesting for the opening of NLM schools at Oboch, Sagam, Rapogi, and Holo. They were granted permission and the schools were opened amidst silent protest from the C.M.S and Catholic missionary groups that were dominant in Luo Nyanza. After being taken through the curriculum and were proven to be enlightened they were sent as preachers of the NLC to preach and teachers in NLM schools to teach. On record this schools were filled to brim (O.I, Omolo, 22/01/18) supported by Mr Ongenye (O.I, Ongenye, 22/01/18) oral evidence.

These schools employed its teachers from a pool of its adherents and especially interdicted or retired teachers from the missionary schools. Most of those teachers' certificates had been confiscated after they married second wives an act against Christian's values. The church and the community contributed funds to pay teachers. Students paid what they could afford there was no standard fee for students.

A miracle of the sought took place in 1931; the NLM Sagam School was the first one to receive grants from the colonial government which was now to be given annually. The inspector of schools in Nyanza carried out inspection work at Sagam School and in his report he noted that, the quality of education offered at Sagam was below per and could not qualify for grants in aid. However in 1939 Sagam became the first Nomiya Luo Mission School and indeed the first independent school to receive grants in aid (K.N.A/DC/CN/1/6/1). The above facts are in agreement with oral testimonies of Mr Ongenyi (O.I, Ongenyi, 22/01/18) and Mr Omolo (O.I, Omolo, 22/01/18).

NLC was characterised with leadership wrangles especially after the death of John Owalo. This reached its apex in 1940s, the then bishop had little interest in education, and he was not willing to release funds to the schools to facilitate the payment of teachers and purchase of school facilities. During this time Oboch school in Asembo died the second death, Rapogi School in Seme and Holo School in Nyakach consequently died down completely. In 1948 colonial government in fear of the influence of the NLM and its activities took advantage of the leadership wrangles in the church to insight the leaders against each other. The church splited into two factions the original NLC and the Nomiya Sabato Church (NSC). It's at this point that the NLC realised the significance of its schools as a unifying factor. The same year Oboch School was resurrected together with Alungo, Rapogi, Kijana and Holo

(K.N.A/DC/CN/1/6/1). In support of this facts Mr Ongenyi gave a detailed description of the wrangles within the movement (O.I, Ongenyi, 22/01/18).

These schools developed amidst great opposition from the colonial government. On 13<sup>th</sup> January 1953, NLM applied to the director of education for permission to manage their schools similarly to Christian missionary organizations such as the C.M.S, the mission had interest especially on its four big schools namely Holo School, Rapogi School, Alungo School and Sagam School (O.I, Prof Ndeda, 20/01/18). Their request was thrown aside and were advised to look for a known body to manage the schools or they be closed in April the following year. The school management and the church petitioned Mr R.K Stovold to intervene and accept the schools to be under the management of the CMS and the director of Nyanza CMS mission schools.

Sir Stovold rejected NLMs request on the ground that their teachings contravened Christian teachings (K.N.A:ED/312/1/4/87). The district education board took over the management of NLM schools in 1954 and the church bishop G.C Owalo was admitted as a board member to represent the NLM schools. The district education officer Mr Harrigan became the chief inspector of the schools (K.N.A: DC/CNK/2/6). Narration given by Mr Omolo (O.I, Omolo, 22/01/18) seems to be in agreement with the facts presented above.

The level of frustrations experienced by the NLM schools from the colonial authorities can be well explained through a letter written by Mr J Crukmer for Provincial commissioner Nyanza Province to the secretary Nomiya Luo Mission Educational committee 1950; dated 15<sup>th</sup> November 1950, referenced E.MISSN/NL/8. He notes that:-

Your committee is too large; a total of 12 members including the office bearers. The size of your school system does not justify the representation of your church on the D.E.B at present. Perhaps the ADC would consider appointing a suitable member of your committee as one of their representatives. Please give me a list of your schools and the location in which it's situated. Also the registration number of each of the date on which each was approved by the director of education. There will be no additional funds available in 1951 to pay a supervisor. No school committee are registered. Am prepared to discuss your schools with the chairman, secretary and treasurer only on 29<sup>th</sup> at 10am government time. I shall not see you if you are late. Answer this letter first (KNA: KSM/1/10/45/70).

From the above quotation it is evident that the presence of Bishop C.G Owalo at the DEB as a member was a threat to the colonial government and the missionaries. All efforts were put in place to remove him as a board member. Opwapo (1981) notes, that Bishop Owalo was admitted to the board for three years. Competition between missionary groups and the NLM was at play. In 1956 NLM bishop ordered for the establishment of a school in Nyamira without the consent of the District Education Officer. The colonial government having been influenced by the missionary groups ordered for persecution of the church leaders, this was not done. In the same year they established another school at Uradi and in 1957 they established Uthoche School in Uyoma and Kanyibok in Yimbo. These schools operated with unaided status however the government made special provision for them.

The CMC under Rev Playdell and Miss Fanny Moller launched a complaint with the education officer about the status of those schools. Later Kanyabok School, Uthote and Uradi came under the management of the District education Board (KNA: DC/CN/1/2/10). This is also clear from the oral information given by Mr Nyandwaro (O.I, Nyandwaro, 02/11/17).

These schools continued facing opposition as noted below:-

In 1959 Mr Ombaka the assistant education officer was made in charge of the NLC schools. This was after G.C Owalo had been in the DEB for about three years. All the same the DEB recommended that some NLC schools should be closed or transferred to a recognised management. Othoche and Kanyibok were among some of the schools that were transferred or closed down (Opwapo, 1981:200).

Following the recommendations of the Ominde Commission Education Report that all schools be under the management of the Central Government, the government took over the running of NLC schools. All the missions responsible for the establishment of schools became the sponsor; NLC became sponsor of the following schools in Siaya district Sagam, Oboth, Ujwanga, Othothe, Nyamira and Kanyobok. While in Kisumu district, Rapogi, Alungo, Holo, Opande, Nyaundi, Gunu and Nyanginja (Opwapo, 1981:201), in her oral submission Prof Ndeda (O.I, Prof Ndeda, 20/01/18) brought out the same information and further argued that some of these schools have metamorphosis into secondary schools such as Nyamira Girls High school, St John's Oboch secondary school, Sagam High School, Rapogi High School and Holo High School, while other have been politically taken over by DEB and the mainstream churches.

It should be noted that up to 1964, the NLM schools were managed by the church under the education committee. The composition of the committee included 31 members of which six were serving as office bearers; such as chairman and his vice, secretary and his vice and treasurer and his vice. The members were elected from different locations in the province and from different church groups in the province where Nomiya Luo Schools existed. The committee was guided by three cardinal

principles namely: to try to improve conditions and state of the schools and the mission, to appoint teachers working under the mission and lastly to make a link between the Nomiya LuoMission Schools and the education authority (see appendix 20) (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/71). The above was also presented by Mr Siayi (O.I, Siayi, 20/02/18) in his oral testimony.

The colonial authorities seemed to be at the center of NLM politics. They denied NLM main stream church funds to run its school but went ahead to fund arrival group with grants in aid to run their Sagam school. Similarly an explanation was given by Siayi (O.I, Siayi, 20/02/18) this political anecdote in education is evident in a letter written by T.A Watts the District Commissioner Central Nyanza to the Provincial Commissioner Nyanza dated 31<sup>st</sup> July 1952. He notes that:-

You have all the correspondence on this matter particularly Mr Hunters letter ADM.11/6/50 of June 1950 addressed to Mr Ramogi your present correspondent. It's clear that no agreement has yet been reached between the rival factions'. I beg to recommend that you are not prepared to hold another vote as to who should be 'BISHOP' until 25<sup>th</sup> May 1955 i.e. five years after the vote before Mr Goodbody. There never will be agreement so long as the two rivals live. The Gem section is developing the school system and is now on grant aided list. If their educational system develops may be Asembo section will wish to take advantage of it. (KNA: KSM/1/10/45/77). .

After failed attempts by NLM to secure grants from the government they resolved to empower the educational committee to collect funds for the school from its followers in a meeting held on 16<sup>th</sup> march 1951 at Oboch primary school. It was agreed in the meeting that special contributions was made by people belonging to the Nomiya



Mission once a year to aid education in NLM schools. Mr. Hezekiah Ojuok the secretary of the education committee was elected unanimously to be the supervisor of NLM schools to replace Mr Wilson Obilo. The committee also recommended Gilbert Odawa to represent NLM schools to the District Education Board (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/73) and later Mr Erasto Awino the head teacher at Kijana primary school took over the leadership of NLM schools (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/73) other committee members included Mr Z. Anyango of Nyakach Holo, Mr B. Agumba of Sagam Gem, Mr B Oundo of Nyakach Holo, Mr. E Otenda of Sagam Gem, Mr. R.C Odhiambo of Sinaga Gem, Mr Orwa of Seme location Kijana, Mr. I Dinga of Seme location, Rev. Ombewa of Seme location Mabinju, Mr. D Owaga of Sakwa location, Mr. I Oluaande of Asembo, Mr F Obado of Asembo, Mr. RJ Ngore of Asembo, Mr Nelson Ogweyo of Uyoma, Mr. James Okumu of Uyoma and Mr Nikanor Onyango of Alego (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/82). All the above is anchored well in oral submission presented by Siayi (O.I, Siayi, 20/02/18) through oral source he could not give accurate dates and provide names of the NLM education committee members.

The colonial government refused to acknowledge the membership of NLM education management committee. In a surprise or rather political move, the Provincial Education Officer in his letter referenced EDUC/ORD/GEN/267 dated 1<sup>st</sup> March 1954 instructed the District Commissioner to make an immediate decision to close all the NLM schools or hand them over to the existing foreign missions (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/86). In a surprise response the district commissioner in turn wrote to Bishop Petro Ouma of the Nomiya Luo Mission instructing him that the Hon Director of education has withdrawn their request to manage schools and instructed the District Education Board to all NLM schools are illegal and must be taken over by

authorised management before the end of school term (11<sup>th</sup> April 1954 of instructions will be issued on their closure (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/88).

To the surprise of Mr.W.F Parker the District Education Officer Central Nyanza in his correspondence to the District Commissioner Musoma Tanganyika about the Nomiya Luo Mission schools; he wrote that Nomiya Luo Mission has two District Education Board allied schools and two unaided schools. The mission has shown capability of managing their schools to a comparable level with those of any other mission (KNA: KSM/1/10/45/78). This was perhaps a full determination of NLM leaders and its adherents to proof to the colonial authorities and the resisting factions that they were capable of giving and providing the best educational opportunities to its people.

**Table 4.1 NLM Established Schools**

NO	NAME OF THE SCHOOL	YEAR ESTABLISHED	PREVIOUS AND CURRENT STATUS
1	NLM Oboch	1913	Primary School Evolved to a secondary School
2	NLM Maranginya (orengo)	1914	Primary School Evolved to a secondary School
3	NLM Sagam	1930	Primary School Evolved to a secondary School
4	NLM Nduwara	1930	Primary School Evolved to a secondary School
5	NLM Rapogi	1930	Primary School Evolved into a secondary school
6	NLM Holo	1930	Primary School Evolved into a secondary school
7	NLM Alungo	1948	Primary School Evolved into a secondary school
8	NLM Mabinju	1948	Primary School Evolved into a secondary school
9	NLM Asego	1948	Primary School Evolved into a secondary school
10	NLM Kijana	1948	Primary School Evolved into a secondary school
11	NLM Nyamira	1957	Primary School Evolved into a secondary school
12	NLM Uradi	1957	Primary School Evolved into a secondary school
13	Uthote/Uyoma	1957	Primary School Evolved into a secondary school
14	NLM Kanyibok In Yimbo	1957	Primary School Evolved to a secondary School
15	Nlm Ujwanga	1957	Primary School Evolved to a secondary School

Source : Barasa 2018

From the above discussions it is evident therefore that the Colonial Government basically was afraid of the high number of graduates from NLM schools who had been exposed to such a radical curriculum, at some point Nyanza DC complained that all those who had graduated from NLM schools were found to be unfit to even offer simple clerical skills, he noted that they were found unemployable because they were semi-literate and were considered to be individuals who had been politically radicalised to fight the crown government. This greatly targeted NLM Oboch school graduates. This move is greatly supported by Bogonko (1984: 25) when he examines the relationship between LNC schools and the colonial government. The colonial government was afraid that as the demand for education from NLM schools increased especially from the Luo rural population, to the colonial government this would increase the number of radicalised youths and that may lead to the transformation of NLM into a resistance movement.

NLM struggle to have their own schools was moved by a strong political activism precipitated by colonial injustices and discrimination which was characterised with African loss of land to white settlement, destocking policy, the introduction of the *kipande* system, heavy taxation forced labour and discrimination in employment and educational opportunities. Their political awakening manifested itself in the formation of political organizations Young Kavirondo Association (YKA) that for a longer time supported African initiative in promoting their own education through the establishment of independent schools and LNCs schools in Nyanza. YKA was instrumental and a radical political association in Nyanza during the inter-war period. Similarly with KCA pronounced by Wamagata, however in 1937 the colonial government reluctantly through a letter dated 29<sup>th</sup> January 1937 written to Archdeacon

Mesharck Onyango granted NLM permission to establish a school in Asembo. The move was definitely of its kind since NLM initiated efforts to establish educational institution (see appendix 14).

Many of its leaders were converts who had severed their links with their missions because they disagreed with the missions' approach and attitude to some of their customs. That is why the missions contemptuously referred to them as a 'collection of malcontents, with no constitution, no representative authority and no constructive program of reform. No wonder the Government was wary of sanctioning the construction of the high schools because it was afraid the schools would be associated with political activism. Similarly, the whites in the colony were also wary of a rapid promotion of academic education for the Africans 'lest the new knowledge leads them to seek political and economic rights or question the teaching of the missionaries' (Ssekamwa and Lugumba, 2001: 12). A good example is one of renowned NLM educators Mr Erasto Awino who later was appointed the education secretary of NLM but the District Education Board and the District Commissioner Central Nyanza was reluctant to approve the appointment. It was believed that Mr Erasto would propel NLM schools to grow up because length. Mr Erasto who was then the head teacher of Kijana primary school which later on evolved to Kijana secondary school(KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/79b, Kodhek (20/12/17).

Christian missions and the colonial government had a strong phobia for the rapid expansion of NLM schools in Sagam, Oboth, Ujwanga, Othothe, Nyamira and Kanyobok, Rapogi, Alungo, Holo, Opande, Nyaundi, Gunu and Nyanginja (O.I, Ndeda, 20/01/18, Ranger, 1965) puts it, the missions were afraid that the schools would become 'hot beds for sedition as they surely would be seed plots of the evil

elements of paganism'. Not only that, the underlying factor and the core reason was the rise of African nationalism through NLM independent schools. Having learnt a similar lesson from India, what came to be famously known as the 'Indian experience'?

#### **4.3.1 Government Assistance to NLM Schools before 1950**

The government insisted that it had the duty of establishing the educational inspectorate to ensure that the prescribed conditions were fully met. The government then asserted its right to close down schools which they fell below the prescribed standards as per Opwapo (1981:194).

In 1930 Yona Oyungu and Meshack Onyango asked Mr Webb the then inspector of schools to provide them with school equipments. This is fully supported by archival source (KNA: DC/CN/1/6/2, Opwapo 1981:195). In this case NLM was referred to Archdeacon Owen of Maseno to see if he could be of help to them. NLM was desperate of financial aid and wanted to affiliate its schools to the C.M.S to enjoy the missions training facilities. At a meeting in Gem Marenyo with the C.M.S, the C.M.S refused to give their facilities to a movement whose founder had declared them polytheistic. Small mission organizations were not given government assistance, according to government report:-

Persistent endeavours are being made by the leaders of the religious sect known as the 'Nomiya Mission' for government recognition. It has been thought advisable by the education department to register all their schools and teachers but for many reasons, it would seem inadvisable that they should receive grants from the Local native councils (KNA: DC/CN/1/6/1).

NLM schools never got assistance from the colonial government or the local native councils, these schools were cut off from the benefits of the government in Toto. The pleas that the government aided schools were bound to take non-Christians and others and refrain from giving them religious instructions went unheeded (see appendix 9, 11 and 13).

1939 Sagam became the first Nomiya Luo Mission School and indeed the first independent school to receive grants in aid. In 1956 Oboch also received grants in aid (KNA: DC/CN/1/6/1).

In his arguments, Rev Owade (O.I, Owade, 12/01/18) pointed out that the colonial government assisted the NLM schools pay its teachers' salaries. This is evident from a letter written by Mr. W.F Parker to the Bishop of NLM over delays in payment of teachers' salaries yet the government had released the funds:-

I am informed that teachers' salaries for the months of November and December have not been paid to teachers by your manager Rev Sila Adera. The matter has now been passed over to the police for investigation. In the meantime these teachers continue to be deprived of their lawful earnings although that money has been paid to the manager by the D.E.B. Since Rev. Sila Adera was elected by you as your manager and representative, i consider that you are normally responsible to make provisions for these teachers pending the result of police investigation. At the same time I wish to inform you that Sagam and Kijana schools will not reopen as aided schools next year until the D.E.B has discussed the situation (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/85).

#### **4.3.2 Community Patterns in School Enrolment and Development**

The local community played a significant role in the growth and development of NLM schools. As noted earlier, in these study in an interview with Owiti (O.I; Owiti,

20/05/17) the community, played a significant role in the construction of the schools. Most of the builders were members of the Nomiya church, followers donated timber and the women and girls cut and brought the grass for thatching (O.I; Oloo, 08/06/17). This is also supported by archival source (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/113). This shows the great commitment the community had towards supporting the establishment of NLM schools. In the bid to support independent educational development for Luo's, some western educated elites came back to offer services as teachers in Nomiya Luo Mission established school (KNA: MSS/61/443/114).

The community was willing to provide children to go and learn. The overwhelming number of students who reported at Oboch School on the first day gave an indication of the willingness of the community to support their independent education. The community responded as a reaction to protect their culture and open opportunity for their children to develop and progress and perhaps get white collar jobs and develop their society. The community was therefore very much ready for the establishment of NLM schools; they provided land for erection of school and later on the community facilitated the expansion of the school by providing more land.

#### **4.3.4 John Owalo's Model School: Oboch Primary and the Rise to St John's Oboch High School 1913 To 2018**

The general plan of establishing Oboch primary school was based on a visionary hybrid model school that borrows the best of practices from the Christian missionary education, Islamic education and African indigenous education basically arising from the experiences of Owalo with these groups. Owiti (O.I; Owiti, 20/05/17) points out that:-



Five small boys enrolled on the first day namely Ochieng, Odundo, Apul and Odiwori. The kind of education that was offered to them was elementary in nature but different from that offered at the missionary schools because it aimed at producing an African child of both intellectual and physical excellence. Gradually the difference between Oboch school boys and the villager became noticeable. They were taught how to read and write they developed dholuo hymn books, they were taught type writing skills, they were exposed to scientific agricultural skills, home science and office practice etiquettes (O.I; Owiti, 20/05/17).

The case of Oboch Primary School that later evolved to St John's Oboch high school is unique and has justified the assertions by Szkudlarek (2013) that political decisions, in spite of the aura of power that shines through the spectacles follow the logic of capital. Like education, politics gives up its autonomy and hence at a point politics and education servers the same interest therefore the two entities are one and the same. The case was sampled because it was the first NLM School to be established by its founder Mwalimu John Owalo. The school presents a scenario of an educational institution that has for over a century suffered as a result of negative political perception. The case of Oboch has demonstrated that politics has a strong bearing in the growth and development of any educational institution. Having been the first school to be established by the NLM in 1913; today it stands to be the poorest and ill equipped school among all the NLM, other independent established schools, Christian missionary and government established schools, raising pertinent questions that have been answered by this study such as; why many governmental and non governmental institutions proclaim wonderful educational visions of the future for their societies but fail to put in place adequate strategies to counter the ever arising political challenges? To what extent can politics influence policy development in education? To what extent does politics have a bearing to in the development of both physical and human capital in educational institutions?

According to Owiti (O.I; Owiti, 20/05/17) the colonial government opposition to the establishment of NLM schools started immediately Mwalimu Rev John Owalo established a school at Oboch, which later became the first independent school not only in Kenya but in Africa. However Rev G. Owalo notes that:-

The first Oboch primary school was built at its site at which it was witnessed by the then DEO Mr. T E Webb. The school flourished for three and a half years only owing to shortage of money and teachers. The old site of the school together with the trees can be seen , the late Chief Absalom Okobde of Adhola was one of the initial teachers of the school (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/113)

During the initial growth of Oboch primary school it's on record that Nyanza Director of Education refused to sanction the construction of the school on the ground that the school had no capacity to offer quality education as compared to the missionary schools. He instead suggested that the school be put under a missionary organization in order to receive funds for payment of teacher's salary and infrastructural development. However, this move was highly discredited by Owalo himself and his followers, they resolved to collect funds on their own and offer free labour for the construction of Oboch pre-elementary school.

Nyanza District Commissioner saw the move as a sort of defiance against Government policy especially in its bid to control local affairs. Africans through the LNCs were struggling to establish schools away from missionary influence. By 1927, North and Central Nyanza LNCs had each raised £10,000 while Kiambu had raised £3000 for the construction of their schools (Omosule, 1974: 222). African population especially in western Kenya was determined to acquire quality education and they had resorted by all means as long as it justifies the end. The NLM determination forced

the Government to approve its request to establish more schools. Nonetheless, the Government did all it could to thwart the growth of Oboch pre-elementary school.

In a spectacle move Nyanza DC ordered the closure of Oboch School and notified the director of education on the decision (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/113, O.I Owade, 12/10/18). They advised Owalo and his adherents to send all the students to the nearby missionary schools. The leadership of NLM were dismayed at such a possibility and they unanimously rejected the proposal for the second time to be enjoined to a missionary organization outside NLM and instead opted to form other schools within and outside Asembo. Their stubborn stance prompted the DC to wonder sceptically whether they really knew 'the difference between a political resistance movement and a school.

As evident in archival source (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/3) and supported by oral testimony of Rev Owade (O.I, Owade, 12/01/18), in North Nyanza DC argued that it would be almost impossible for NLM school to develop and flourish at Oboch, in 1929, the Director of Education Mr Scott used the same argument in proposing the closure of other NLM schools that had by now mushroomed in North and Central Nyanza. The Government was also opposed to any further development of Oboch pre elementary school on suspicion of promoting radicalization among the youths. To the adherents of NLM, it was evident that the colonial government had been opposed to academic education for Africans.

The Government was also not in favour with the curriculum offered at Oboch School. In line with the colonial government educational objectives pupils were to be given at least equal hours of literary and technical education to counter-balance what it termed

as the side-effects of a one-sided literary education (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/3). This was clearly discussed by Mr. Owiti (O.I; Owiti, 20/05/17) who further expounded that Teachers at Oboch pre-elementary school offered a curriculum that was not approved by the Director of Education or rather a curriculum that was considered radical and not meant for the Africans. In connection to the above, this description can be equated to Wamagata (2008) who points out that, the colonial government criticized the African schools for producing what it called 'quasi illiterate' individuals who lacked any handicraft know-how and who were ashamed of doing manual labour, which they considered below their dignity.

African curriculum at Oboch School included History and traditions of the Luo, numbers, writing skills, agriculture, carpentry skills and religion which included narration of bible stories and NLM doctrines. This curriculum was by all standards what Africans were yearning for. With teaching experience in different missionary schools and with the interaction with the Muslims in Mombasa where he attended Islamic Madrasa classes; Owalo basically knew what was best for his people. Probably this kind of curriculum was all-round and could be equated to the one being offered in European schools at the time. The management of Oboch School and other NLM schools insisted that they had from the onset been instructing their pupils in practical skills that stressed manual knowledge that enabled its graduates to excel both physically, mentally and emotionally or spiritually (O.I, Prof Ndeda, 20/01/18) however the above information contradicts archival source (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/3) that states that the curriculum was less in content and quality than that offered in missionary schools. Facts clearly disputed by Mr. Owiti (O.I; Owiti, 20/05/17) who says that the boys had their school garden, they made the roads leading

to the school, they made their own school uniforms, they maintained the school compound, they cooked for themselves and built their own dormitory and that of their teachers and cleared their own football pitch. They had regular school sports with the village teams and into all this things they threw themselves with a zest and an enthusiasm which were good to see.

What the colonial government missed to understand was that the aims of NLM schools were apart from educating their followers to compete with the white man, it was to equip them to become useful to themselves and instil political consciousness in them (O.I, Omuga 13/10/17).

Racialism was also a strong factor behind the opposition to such radical curriculum because europeans considered Africans as incapable humans ‘not yet ready to cope with highly abstract forms of thinking’ (Tignor, 1976: 205) this was also pointed by Omuga(O.I, 13/10/17). Europeans as discussed in chapter two believed that the Africans’ brain capacity was lower than those of the Europeans and hence argued for the uselessness of trying to attain higher educational qualifications at the same time they argued that Africans were at the lowest level of human evolution and that technical education was best suited for them. In support of the above,colonial Director of Education statement of 1926:-

Generally speaking, the African mind in Kenya has reached the stage of sense perception. The imagination and the emotions are both highly developed but the development of the reasoning faculties must be slow. Just as handwork has been found useful in the training of mentally defective children, so the most useful training which the African can receive in his present condition is continual contact with material processes. The discipline imposed by the exactness required in joinery, carpentry, building, smithing, etc., increases the power of perception and gradually develops the process of thought. Increasing emphasis is, therefore, being placed on education in Kenya in contact with material processes such as agriculture, handicrafts, sanitation, hygiene, house work, the management of money, clothing, etc. and the classroom will become more a place where the ideas and thoughts arising from practical experience can be coordinated and re-applied. By the recalling of practical work in the classroom, the laws of arithmetic, geometry, causation etc., are vividly impressed on the mind. The training of the African mind, therefore, in its present stage of development is more dependent upon the practical than the literary arts (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/73).

Oboch primary school still stands today although the school structures indicate clearly a school that is struggling to meet its financial end. It has an enrolment of two hundred and fifty students and a staff capacity of ten teachers. It's expected that a school with such rich history should be in the league of well equipped schools in the country. This is evident enough that the post colonial government continues the politics of colonial government in supporting NLM schools.

Initial attempts by Mwalimu John Owalo to establish a secondary school was thwarted by the colonial government. It was not until 1957 that the church followers decided against the will of the colonial government to move Oboch Primary school to the neighbouring compound to pave way for the establishment of St John's Oboch secondary school as a memorial school in honour of Mwalimu Owalo (O.I, Omuga 13/10/17) this is also brought out in archival source (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/113).

The school collapsed after about a year and a half due to financial challenges characterised with poor facilities and lack of teachers (see 4.4). Clannism rivalry greatly interfered with the school enrolment therefore Oboch secondary school died

prematurely. However the remnants of the first NLM secondary school for some time became a landmark of the struggle of the NLM now the NLC to provide quality higher education to its people opposed to the segregative missionary education (O.I, Ndeda, 20/01/18). The location of the school just next to the graveyard of Mwalimu John Owalo was a symbol of great determination of the NLC not to deviate from the original vision of mwalimu John Owalo to establish a school to serve the interest of the community. Its remains were a sign of hope that perhaps a school and probably a national school in honour of the legendary John Owalo will be erected (O.I, Omuga 13/10/17).

The colonial government was adamant to register the land under which Oboch School stood. In fact according to Oloo, the government instigated interclanism rivalry and politics that stood on the way of the school registration (OI: Oloo, 13/12/17). This information is found valid as it is also noted in a correspondence from one Adonija Owich to the District Commissioner Central Nyanza and copied to the headmaster of Oboch primary school dated 31<sup>st</sup> May 1955. He noted that the site where the school stands is where the local Muruka headman insists the school should remain is influenced by his move to please his cousins 'jo-kochieng' of the Nomiya Luo Mission, a religious sect. Mr Adonija Owich wanted the construction of the classes to be stopped immediately (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/107). In an interesting and malicious move the District Commissioner Central Nyanza Mr J M Normand stopped the construction of the school and acknowledged the dispute raised by Mr Adonija Owich as genuine (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/113). The politics of the school land did not stop at that point; Andrea Olela Obade and his sons Naftali Olila and Gideon Omolo also claimed ownership of the land (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/113). In confirming the

above Arch bishop Okech notes that they have for many years failed to secure registration of the land due to disputes and financial constraints until 2016 when they approached Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology for assistance that turned out to be successful (O.I, Okech, 6/11/17).

According to Mr Oloo (OI: Oloo Charles 13/12/17), this determination resurrected with a magnitude of its own in 1967 when the school experienced its rebirth. The new St John's Oboch secondary school was born. Facing the same challenges the school experienced stunted growth for years. For the first time it opened a boarding school wing that never really attracted students, and after sometime the boarding section closed. In agreement with the above Mr Omuga (O.I, Omuga 13/10/17) states that the first Oboch High School Principal was Mr Hezron Omege. The school faced opposition from the government from colonial times to post colonial period due to suspicion and perception that the school was a political camouflage.

The independent government never really wanted to take up the management of the school up to 2006 when it agreed to send the first teacher's service commission appointed principal to head the school Onditi. Currently the school has five TSC teachers namely Onditi (the principal), Omondi (the deputy principal), Nzioka, Ojwang and Agaya. They are assisted with four teachers employed by the board of management whose salary is raised by the parents. To date the school has dilapidated facilities, however the national government through an economic stimulus plan with the assistance of the county government of Siaya and the area Member of parliament has put up a modern laboratory facility through the Constituency Development Fund (O.I, Omuga 13/10/17) this information was also displayed in the Principal's office.



In terms of performance, in the Kenya National Certificate of Secondary Examination the school has performed averagely over the years with the worst performance in 2017 (see the table 4.2 below).

**Table 4.2: St John's Oboch Secondary School Performance**

<b>NO</b>	<b>year</b>	<b>Entry</b>	<b>Mean Score</b>
1	KCSE 2010	21 Students	5.09
2	KCSE 2011	25 Students	4.33
3	KCSE 2012	26 Students	4.60
4	KCSE 2013	19 Students	5.00
5	KCSE 2014	19 Students	4.48
6	KCSE 2015	23 Students	4.04
7	KCSE 2016	24 Students	2.7

Source: Barasa 2018

The pathetic state of ObochSchool is pure evidence and a living testimony that education can be used as a political weapon to weaken political opponents. One hundred and five years after the establishment of the school and Fifty-five years down the line since Kenya got its independence classrooms at Oboch School primary and secondary schools can be compared to the structures of Ancient Gedi ruins (O.I, Omuga, 13/10/17).

It should be understood that even after the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Rights of the Child on 20<sup>th</sup> November 1989, which stated that every child shall have the right to education and that primary education shall be made compulsory and free for all, it was not the case for the children of Oboch village. Negative political perception that the colonial as well as the successive independent governments have had over the people of Oboch has made them to be denied this basic fundamental right to education contravening article 28 of the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child, Jomtein declaration of 1990, section 7(1) of the Children's Act 2001 in Kenya and the NARC manifesto of 2001/2002.

In summary, historically Oboch School started as a sub elementary school. This category enrolled students at preliminary level. As discussed earlier, it was unaided and was purely ran and managed by the NLM. With time the school transformed into an elementary school, at this level Oboch School offered a five year elementary course based on an established curriculum. The medium of communication was vernacular. English was taught as a second language in the last two classes of this level. It later metamorphosis into a primary school with boarding and day students, as a primary school it offered a three year course in class six, seven and eight. Secondary school section was later established.

#### **4.3.5 Evolution of NLM Nyamira Primary School to Nyamira Girls High School in Siaya**

The school is located in the shores of Lake Victoria in Nyamira village, Nyawita sub location, Bondo township location, Maranda division. Bondo sub county, Siaya County. Nyamira Primary School which later transformed to Nyamira Girls High

School in Siaya started in 1956; however Nyamira girl's secondary school was established in 1967.

The case was picked because it presents a contrast to Oboch schools and a confirmation that this study was relevant, timely and justifiable. Having been established about forty three years ago after the establishment of Oboch primary school and thirty six years after the death of NLM founder Mwalimu John Owalo. The schools had massively developed good infrastructure as compared to those of anational school status. Nyamira Girls High School being an extra county school in Siaya County posts good results and admits students from all over the country. Similarly to Oboch schools, the case of Nyamira schools have brought out a clear picture of how political class influence the development of educational institutions by determining the level of resource allocation and generally the school sponsorship role.

Nyamira Primary School came up as a desire by the Nomiya Luo Mission leadership to stamp its influence in Luo Nyanza and fight the ever increasing missionary influence especially from the CMS, Friends African Mission, Seventh Day Adventist, the Mill Hill and the Holy Ghost Fathers. Interesting enough, it was discovered during this study that the establishment of Nyamira primary school which is a mixed primary school, Nyamira girls primary school and later Nyamira Girls High School was largely influenced by the late Jaramogi Oginga Odinga who was for better part of colonial period an ardent follower and financier of NLM. According to Akun (O.I, 20/01/18) and confirmed by Mr Orawo (O.I, 22/02/18). Jaramogi was a purely African statesman in many ways, he was neither purely in NLM or Legio Maria but he loved everything African.

At its initial period, Nyamira NLM School could be equated to the missionary established 'bush' schools. It offered purely elementary education. The school admitted both young children and adults. The first lesson was purely practical, students worked on the school and the church compound by cleaning. Practical work provided a stimulus for demonstration purposes and also for pupils who could not maintain prolonged concentration in class. By 1944, a few permanent school buildings had been erected with the aid of Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and some NLM elites (O.I, Akun, 20/01/18) similarly to Orawo (O.I, 22/02/18).

Every step and decision made by the late Jaramogi Oginga Odinga greatly affected the operations of the schools. It's noted that during the late years of colonialism when the colonial government strictly monitored the activities of African political organizations and arrested some African nationalists famously called the 'Kapenguria six' namely Fred kubayi, Kung'u Karumba, Bildad Kagia, Jomo Kenyatta, Paul Ngei and Achieng Oneko. The late Jaramogi Oginga Odinga tactfully together with the NLM leadership affiliated Nyamira schools to the CMS. It should be noted that earlier NLM failed to affiliate its schools to the CMS (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/137). Therefore Odinga hid on the fact that since he was the chief financier of the schools and unfortunately its ownership. The above fact alone convinced the CMS leadership to accept ownership responsibility of Nyamira schools (O.I, Alog Odhiambo, 20/01/18). It should be understood that Odinga in away wanted the colonial government to post teachers and award the schools with grants in Aid.

According to Alog (O.I, 20/01/18) whose information was fully supported by oral testimonies of Mr Akun (O.I, Akun George, 20/01/18) and Mr Orawo (O.I,Orawo, 22/02/18) the rise of Nyamira primary school was highly political and took several

dimension. He noted that the people of Nyamira the village of the Jaramogi Oginga Odinga for many years were sending their children to study in the next Maranda Village where we had Maranda primary school. However Jaramogi disagreed with the elders of Maranda village over the management of the school and generally how they were going to respond to colonial rule. Jaramogi wanted the school to be under the management of NLM and to totally take African dimension, however the elders of Maranda wanted the school to be affiliated to the Church Missionary Society and indeed it was affiliated to it a move that annoyed Odinga and forced him to influence NLM to start a school at Nyamira (O.I, Alog Odhiambo, 20/01/18). This view is also supported by Prof Ndeda (O.I, Prof Ndeda, 20/01/18).

The transition year of Nyamira mixed primary school from an NLM sponsored school to CMS sponsored school is not clear and none of the respondents could give a clear narrative on how it happened. However they both agreed on the fact that Jaramogi Oginga Odinga's shift of religious alliance from NLM to Anglican was the main factor (O.I, Ndeda, 20/01/18) the above facts were also supported by Akun (O.I, Akun, 20/01/18) and Orawo (O.I, 22/02/18). However Mr. Alog Odhiambo puts it clearly that Mr Odinga moved to Anglican because he believed that the church had many followers and therefore it would increase his political capital amidst political opposition from Tom Mboya.

The school has over the years had twelve head teachers in the following chronological order namely Mr Aruda, Mr Akumu Ayata, Mr Ayieko Onivodo, Magambo Ongonga, Owino, Obiero Henry, Onyango Oyola, Mr Okoth, and the current head teacher Mr Akun George (O.I, Alog Odhiambo, 20/01/18) this information was also displayed in the school notice board at the head teachers office. The school boasts of having

produced great men and women of substance who for over the years have been vanguards of change. Among the prominent alumni of the school include Mr Ochwal Oteke who worked with the East Africa Spectra together with Mr Gedeon Molo and Migaya Adur, Mr Omuado Jagoyo of Kenya Defence Forces together with Mr Owiti Ajuma and Mr Olang'o Ajuma, Mr Oyuga Ojoyo an insurer, Bill Ogola former principal of Kisii school, Mwalimu Odhiambo Ojuok, Mwalimu Odongo Ojuok, Obila Jokinda Kenya Power and Lighting, George Otieno of the National Meuseum of Kenya and Dr Agola a lecturer at Maseno University (O.I, Alog, 20/01/18). This information was narrated by only one participant who was a former student of the school and therefore he could recall the whereabouts of his classmates. The products of this school have been vanguards of change and have transformed the community and the wider society both socially, economically and politically.

Nyamira girl's secondary school is a girl's boarding school located in Bondo constituency, Siaya County. The school transited from the old NLM Nyamira primary school in 1967 as a single seemed secondary school and was officially opened and funded by the late Vice president Jaramogi Oginga Odinga. In 1971 the government took full control of the school. In 1972 the school developed the third and the fourth streams (O.I, Omuga 13/10/17). This information was also supported by testimonies from Mr (O.I, Raphael Mugesia, 20/01/18) and Akun George (O.I, Alog, 20/01/18).

During its early years; enrolment of Nyamira Girls Secondary school was low due to poor accessibility, poor performance and limited expansion of physical infrastructure and learning facilities. The school has also suffered a lot as a result of Nyayo politics; since the school was identified with the Odinga family (O.I, Raphael Mugesia, 20/01/18). The change of Nyamira primary school sponsorship to ACK also affected

Nyamira girl's secondary school. It was noted by Mr Mugesia that both Nyamira girl's secondary school and Nyamira ACK church were sponsored by Jaramogi Oginga Odinga.

Since its inception the school has had the following principals; Alfred Aguda 1967-1968, Joseph Lalo 1968-1969, Herschoff Paula 1969-1970, Thomas Ayoki 1971-1980, Patricia Oloo 1980-1982, Rosemary Odele 1982-1983, Eunice Ovanga 1983-1987, Risper Omollo 1987-1991, H Nasirumbi 1991-1991, Alice Opondo 1991-1997, Elizabeth Oywa 1997-2008, Jeniffer Otilo 2009-2017, and the current principal Eva Odhiambo 2018. This information was also displayed in the school notice board at the principal's office.

Since 2000 the school has produced over 500 university qualifiers among them are; 2008 Nancy Osello, UoN Bachelor of Commerce; 2009 Brenda Were, UoN Bachelor of Laws; 2010 Atonga Elizabeth UoN Bachelor of Medicine; 2011 Queenta A Kabila Technical University of Mombasa , Bachelor of Commerce; 2012 Emily Abuongi, UoN Engineering, 2013 Aflin A Ogutu, Adhiambo L Odema and Mercy aAbuodho all at JKUAT; 2014 Omondi Santa Kenyatta University Medicine; 2015 Adhiambo E Abiero JKUAT Medical Laboratory; 2016 Oluoch A Linza UoN Engineering. The above information was obtained from the school; however it was retrieved from a number of documents and not a single document to be referred to.

The academic performance of the school has been poor albeit posting good performance in the year 2000 as indicated in Table 4.3.

**Table 4.3 Nyamira Girls High School Performance**

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>SCHOOL MEAN</b>	<b>DEPUTY PRINCIPAL</b>	<b>PRINCIPAL</b>
2000	5.349	Anne Adunga	Elizabeth Oywa
2001	5.848	Anne Adunga	Elizabeth Oywa
2002	5.48	Anne Adunga	Elizabeth Oywa
2003	5.42	Anne Adunga	Elizabeth Oywa
2004	6.675	Anne Adunga	Elizabeth Oywa
2005	6.118	Millicent Omondi	Elizabeth Oywa
2006	5.679	Millicent Omondi	Elizabeth Oywa
2007	5.53	Margaret Otieno	Elizabeth Oywa
2008	6.944	Margaret Otieno	Elizabeth Oywa
2009	7.42	Margaret Otieno	Jeniffer Otilo
2010	7.356	Margaret Otieno	Jeniffer Otilo
2011	7.509	Mary Lucy Abidha	Jeniffer Otilo
2012	7.616	Mary Lucy Abidha	Jeniffer Otilo
2013	9.455	Mary Lucy Abidha	Jeniffer Otilo
2014	9.2059	Mary Lucy Abidha	Jeniffer Otilo
2015	9.25	Beatrice Okech	Jeniffer Otilo
2016	5.9	Beatrice Okech	Jeniffer Otilo
2017	6.25	Beatrice Okech	Jeniffer Otilo

Source : Barasa (2018)





**Fig 4.7 Students of Nyamira Girls: Attending Guidance and Counselling Session (Source :Nyamira Girls High School).**

The school has a modern library, swimming pool, equipped sports center, computer lab and science laboratory. From the above discussion Nyamira case further demonstrates how political class influence the establishment and location of educational institutions, determine the management of educational institutions and basically how educational institutions function.

#### **4.3.6 The Growth of Sagam Primary to Sagam Mixed Secondary school**

Sagam primary school is a mixed primary school in Siaya established by the NLM that has over the years transformed itself into a fairly performing mixed secondary

school. The schools are located in Gem constituency in Siaya County. This case was picked for a number of reasons; first, it has maintained the status as a mixed school right from its inception to its evolution as a mixed secondary school carrying the vision of Mwalimu John Owalo of providing to his adherents both male and female access to quality education. Secondly, this case has demonstrated that politics is used by the ruling class to divide and dislodge a societies educational agenda which can be applied both at local and international levels. This case has further demonstrated that educational policies can be politically crafted to favour or disadvantage some groups. As presented herein, the case of Sagam proved that according to Duffy (2003) statement that 'power and politics are expected processes that occur naturally in a school setting'.

Anderson (1970) on his book *The Struggle for the School* fits to explain the scenario of Sagam secondary school. The ownership of the secondary section is a subject of contestation. The school has a pure history of NLM; the primary wing is purely NLM however the Anglican Church attempted to take over the secondary school. This information is strongly supported by the current principal Mrs Obodi (O.I, Obodi, 16/02/18) who further argued that this contest has been a major hindrance in initiating development in the school. Because the colonial government, questioned initially the ability of Sagam primary school in its development into a self-sustaining secondary school, it proposed that if such a move could be actualised, then the school would be put under the DEB. After independence though the school was associated with Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and therefore the condition earlier on placed by the colonial government remained in place.

The ‘vacuum of secondary school ownership’ remains a hard bone to chew. However the land in which the school stands was initially part of the primary school which fully subscribes to NLM with the majority of the board of management members being members of the NLM church(O.I, Obodi, 16/02/18) this assertions were also given clearly by Kosewe (O.I, 16/02/18). The principal of the secondary school Mrs Everlyne Obodinotes that the school registration records indicate that the school is a DEB school however recordson land registration indicates that the development of the school was purely a Nomiya issue. The Anglican Church also argues that they too conceptualised the idea of establishing a secondary school at Sagam and that they are best suited to play a sponsorship role than their counterparts the NLM Church(O.I, Obodi, 16/02/18). In his oral testimony Otieno (O.I, 16/02/18) agreed fully with Mrs Opodi narration.

All the respondents interviewed on the matter indicated that the persistent squabbles about the ownership of the school is attributed to a number of factors such as its connection to the Odinga family and the major one being infighting and power struggles within the Church that has a historical genesis from the colonial era. The struggle and supremacy battle between Asembo and Sagam over the leadership of NLM Church has put the question of Sagam school ownership in a swampy state. This study therefore has argued and pointed out clearly that Sagam secondary school is owned by NLM and it’s because of political reasons that the mystery about its ownership cannot be resolved.

The primary school has sixteen classrooms, none of the respondent’s interviewedwas able to give a clear history on who the past head teachers were and when they served. However in an interview with Mr Sammy Kosewe a teacher at Rapogi primary school

who schooled in the same school between 1963 and 1969 and has ever taught in the school points out that at his time the head teacher was Ogola who served up to 1978, Mr Joseph Pudo took over then followed by MR Nebert Wesonga, Mr Wilton Ngoye and Mr Peter Onyango Owor who served for over twenty years up to 2014(O.I, Kosewe, 16/02/18).The current principal who is also a participant in this study is called Mr Samuel Otieno. The school board of management is represented by NLM members Rev Isaac Omongo, Mr Beatrice Oliech and Mr JB Wasonga(O.I, Otieno, 16/02/18).The information given was verified from the school records and therefore not found in a single source document to be referred to.

According to Mr Otieno (O.I, Otieno, 16/02/18) Sagam was the first NLM school and independent school to receive grants in aid in the whole of Africa this information is evident in a letter written by Mr. C.T Davenport District Commissioner Central Kavirondo to the District Commissioner South Kavirondo dated 9<sup>th</sup> August 1938 referenced LNC/ED/5/2/6 (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/25). Further this information is noted in the archival source as noted.

At the same time I wish to inform you that Sagam and Kijana schools will not reopen as aided schools next year until the D.E.B has discussed the situation (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/85).

As indicated earlier in this study missionaries', change of religious roles from ecumenical and educational functions to meeting social and economic needs of the communities they came in contact with started with the realization that evangelization would be made possible through provision of formal education to the converts rather than propagation of the gospel alone. Though to a larger extent, colonial education was to stamp and promote colonial legacy and this is exactly what formed the basis for the establishment of NLM and its schools.

By 1912, missionaries had established forty main schools in various parts of Kenya, during the colonial period, most of them were to be found at the coast, western Kenya including Nyanza and Central Kenya. The school established by the CMS at Maseno triggered the establishment of Sagam Primary school which was sponsored by the NLM.

It's important to note that the initial teaching work at Sagam primary school was carried out by volunteer NLM adherents most of whom were either school dropouts or graduands of Maseno CMS School while others were from Oboch NLM School. Teaching at Sagam was voluntary in nature and was much more of informal than formal; almost similar to what was being offered at Oboch. Mr Sawe recalls that they were taught how to read and how to write, new Luo NLM songs, History of the Luo, agriculture and stories about Nairobi and other distant lands and the development that was to come in future. To Osawe this kind of education was not even offered at Maseno, Kibuye or Kaimosi but NLM schools at Oboch and Rapogi (O.I; Sawe, 13/07/17). From Osawe's analysis in reality the establishment of any educational institution vibrantly has a bare ring on individuals and communities dream and concerted efforts and commitment of the bearers of the dream and definitely the support of the entire stakeholders to the dream. However the colonial government was against this kind of curriculum and as discussed under the Oboch case they threatened to close down NLM schools on the above ground (KNA:DC/KSM/1/10/45/3).

As noted earlier in this study, Sagam primary school started in 1930. The school registered over sixty boys and girls who had heard about the benefits of western formal education offered in African context away from missionary influence and what was happening to the neighbouring Oboch, Uradi, Kijana and Rapogi all owned at the

time by the NLM. (O.I; OSawe, 13/07/17). This was a struggle and initiative by the Africans to have western education but at their own terms and standards.

As an NLM school initially it offered elementary education, at this level standard I-IV where elements of religious education, writing, arithmetic, reading and hygiene were taught but later on there was introduction of standard IV –VI. The education given was supposed to inculcate elements of Christianity and western civilization (O.I; Sawe, 13/07/17). Mary Anyango notes that it was difficult for them to attend classes on daily basis because the community did not attach much emphasis on formal schooling and also they were required to perform household chores of duties before setting for school, she notes that students would disappear for a week and return the next: there was a constant stream of absentees and new pupils (O.I; Anyango, 27/8/17). This was also presented by Sawe (O.I; 13/07/17).

The rising need for this kind of education from missionary education by the locals strained both physical as well as human resource. Never theless, in 1950 three students passed their Elementary examination set by the education department despite the many challenges was the school undergoing. This was a great achievement for both the African boy child and African girl child and in comparison with the neighbouring Maseno school that had all the infrastructural development (O.I; Rev Masake, 2/2/18). But posted lower grades, this facts were confirmed by Anyango (O.I; Anyango, 27/8/17). Sagam School at this time had already taken root, and substantial impact had already started to be shown.

The expansion of facilities, diversification of curricular and increase in human resource to deal with pupils of all ages and categories started at around 1938 and

reached its apex at around 1960. A substantial Kindergarten was built in 1937 with the usual mud walls and thatched roof, today the kindergarten still stand next to the NLM church and in 1939 two good classrooms with murrum blocks and corrugated iron roof were built, the buildings still stand today as a living proof of NLM educational work at Sagam. Young NLM trained African teachers turn out in large numbers to help in teaching at Sagam School.

Solemnly the development of Sagam School was basically a combination of efforts made by the NLM, the local Luo community and to some extent the colonial government. In the various discussions in this study, the role of Colonial government cannot be underscored 1939 Sagam became the first Nomiya Luo Mission School and indeed the first independent school to receive grants in aid not only in Kenya but in Africa (KNA: DC/CN/1/6/1). These facts were justified by Rev Masake (O.I; Rev Masake, 2/2/18). This move was to weaken Oboch and Rapogi schools, create division among the NLM adherents by frustrating the Asembo/ Oboch section and purport to support the Sagam section.

Similarly to the oral presentation of Rev Masake (O.I; Rev Masake, 2/2/18), archival source (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/85 presents clear facts that the colonial government assisted Sagam School pay its teachers' salaries. This is evidently brought out in a letter written by Mr. W.F Parker to the presiding Bishop of NLM over delays in payment of teachers' salaries yet the government had released the funds:-

I am informed that teachers' salaries for the months of November and December have not been paid to teachers by your manager Rev Sila Adera. The matter has now been passed over to the police for investigation. In the meantime these teachers continue to be deprived of their lawful earnings although that money has been paid to the manager by the D.E.B. Since Rev. Sila Adera was elected by you as your manager and representative, i consider that you are normally responsible to make provisions for these teachers pending the result of police investigation. At the same time I wish to inform you that Sagam and Kijana schools will not reopen as aided schools next year until the D.E.B has discussed the situation (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/85).

The local community played a significant role in the growth and development of Sagam School. As noted earlier in this study in an interview with Obul (O.I; 16/02/18) and Masake (O.I; 2/2/18) most of the builders were members of the NLM church and people donated several poles and timber for roofing and the general structure. This shows the great commitment the community had towards supporting the establishment of Sagam School.

The community provided children to go and learn at Sagam School. As noted earlier in this study the overwhelming number of students who reported on the first day gives an indication of the willingness of the community to support education. The community responded as a reaction of what had happened at the nearby Maseno mission station, where the society had tremendously progressed, they therefore saw this as an open opportunity for their children to develop and progress and perhaps get white collar jobs and develop their society similarly to what was happening at Maseno. The local community was ready for the establishment of Sagam School by providing land for the construction of the school and later facilitated the expansion of the school by providing more land (O.I; Obul, 16/02/18). This information was fully supported by Masake (O.I; 2/2/18).



It is very interesting to note that Sagam School was at one time earmarked for closure by the colonial government according to Obul (O.I; 16/02/18) this was because the colonial government and the missionaries feared its rapid growth and expansion as compared to the local neighbouring missionary schools. District commissioners letter clearly notes that NLM schools were illegal and were to be taken over by authorised management before the end of school term (11<sup>th</sup> April 1954) of which instructions will be issued on the immediate closure of all NLM schools including the top schools of Sagam and Kijana (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/88). This narration was also given by Rev Masake (O.I; Rev Masake, 2/2/18). However it should be understood that the director of education never gave any instructions on the closure of NLM, at least there is no evidence of such a move see appendix 21.

Demands of Secondary Education at Sagam area and its environs developed tremendously. Generally the development of secondary education in Kenya was a slow process. This was because the colonial government education policies denied Africans full academic opportunities. As presented by Mr Obul (O.I; Obul, 16/02/18) the justification was that Africans were not yet academically mature to pursue higher education this is echoed by Wilson:-

‘ while the rest of the world was being occupied by rapid developing races of mankind, elaborating from the first rudiments of civilization their own culture, Africans advanced hardly at all. The primitive hunter had learned to cultivate a few crops and to keep domestic animals; “they made for themselves huts.....then progress stopped and in that stale they seem to have been content to remain” (Wilson, 1952:34).

According to Wilson (1952) secondary education was inadequate and higher education was virtually nonexistent up to 1950s. During the period of 1940 and 1963

several factors influenced trends in African secondary education; evidently the demand for secondary education at Sagam as several other places was triggered by a combination of factors. Ranging from socio-economic factors to political factors as discussed in this study.

Firstly, the African Ex-soldiers returning from service in the Second World War emphasised on the benefits of advanced education wherever they had been and demanded for the same education for Kenyans. Both the First World War and the Second World War played a critical role in the demand for the provision of academic or the intellectual type of education for Africans. The Ex-service men who fought in the Second World War 1939-1945 played a significant role when they came back, with vigour strength and determination to fight for independence, political as well as social independence and liberate Africans from colonial injustices. This group of African elites educated the rest on the importance of western formal education.

The war provided a booming market for African Agriculture products which earned Africans a lot of money for the people who later on decided to invest in the education for their children (Kay, 1973:230-231). This seems to find a niche in Obul (O.I; Obul, 16/02/18) oral testimony in the context of NLM. In his arguments, whatever benefits the ex-soldiers obtained from the war front was directly for the provision of quality education to their children. Not only did Africans wish their children to acquire western learning and thus have access to political power, they also wanted them to compete on equal terms with European and Asian pupils in the same extent examinations, and to be first class citizens of the county (Furley and Watson, 1978:243).

The establishment and success of Kakamega, Kisii and Kagumo schools accelerated the development of secondary education and by 1945 these schools had outshone the endeavours of mission schools in examination results. The struggle for the demand of secondary education may have been as a result of the rise of African nationalism especially after the Second World War 1945. African nationalism which intensified after the Second World War mounted a lot of pressure on colonial government to give more and better education to the Africans. This was to produce local skilled manpower that would be needed at independence, which seemed inevitable from the mid 1950s.

The Local Native Council of Siaya also played a key role in the development of secondary education at Sagam. The Native Council wanted higher education as opposed to technical and industrial education as provided by missionaries and government. This was to enable them to compete for white collar jobs. The Local Native Councils were established in Kenya in 1922 after the passing of Native Authority Ordinance aimed at improving the welfare of Africans by creating a channel through which they could air their grievances(O.I; Obul, 16/02/18). In support of the above Ojok (2000:145) notes that to ensure it achieves its objectives of which one was the provision of a basic social needs such as water, public health, education, market and cattle dips, the Local Native Council greatly advocated for the expansion of African education.

It is through the local native councils that African aired their grievances on the need to widen the apex of secondary education. Local authorities continued to double stream the schools which led to a number of them into bankruptcy this has been noted by Beecher Education Commission (Beecher, 1943). In support of this

argument Furley and Watson, (1978:246-7) notes that the rising numbers was mainly because of the rising demand and needs for more educational opportunity for Africans.

**Table 4.4 Growth of Secondary Education in Kenya between 1940 and 1955.**

YEAR	NUMBER OF GOVERNMENT SECONDARY SCHOOLS	NUMBER OF AIDED SCHOOLS	AFRICAN CERTIFICATE CANDIDATES BOYS ENROLMENT	AFRICAN CERTIFICATE CANDIDATES GIRLS ENROLMENT
1940	0	2	11	0
1945	0	4	17	0
1950	5	6	61	0
1955	8	9	245	7

Source Barasa (2013).

According to the school strategic plan 2008-2018 the school officially started in 1990. This fact is greatly disputed by several respondents who argued that the school was started at the time when the neighbouring Ng'iya Girls High school was developed at around 1952 although the school was closed down several times due to lack of teachers' and adequate facilities to offer secondary education (O.I; Beatrice Odindo, 04/07/17). The school ran both A and O level classes though interesting the government never gave it formal registration to enable it register candidates for examinations. This move is seen to be political in its own right because after

independent NLM schools were now associated with Jaramogi Oginga Odinga who was seen as the main challenger of former Presidents Jomo Kenyatta and Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi. Though the school stands on an NLM ground, it was formally registered as a DEB school in 1990 after a bout thirty eight years of existence.

It was registered as a mixed secondary school housed in the primary section, later the primary land was demarcated and the secondary section was allocated about two acres of land. Initially the school was under the headship of the primary section at least during the colonial period however after independence and with the resultant effect of KANU and KADU wrangles the school the school was closed and then re established in the late eighties before being registered in 1990. According to the school strategic plan the following served as school principals of the schools since 1990 Mr Erastas Aron 1990-1999, Mr Nobert Omogo Atieno 2000-2008, Mr Adero Jared 2008-2013 and currently Mrs Obodi Everlyne from 2013. This information is vividly displayed in the school notice board at the principal's office.

The Products of Sagam since its inception have attained higher academic qualifications and have been given appointments by the Public Service Commission. Some worked as community service officers, doctors, nurses, as members of the local native councils and currently as Teachers, Lawyers and County Government Officials.

#### **4.4 Social-Economic and Political Changes to the Traditions of the Native Luo Communities of NLM Schools**

As previously discussed the aspect of land was a communal responsibility and ownership. It is evident from the study that the council of elders among the Luo “buch piny” which was headed by a chief elder “Ruoth” was the custodian of land. However

with the advent of NLM activities in areas under study, African's abandoned their ancestral land ownership system and to the aliens an idea that the NLM was fully against to an extent that it established schools to educate its members on such matters. John Owalo took over the burden of defending what he thought belonged to Africans by establishing schools to create political consciousness (O.I; Obul, 16/02/18).

In support of the above Opwapo (1981:201) notes, Owalo encouraged his followers to be able to provide for their families through farming , in the prayer book they were encouraged to have enough and to be able to provide for the fatherless and strangers. So the invasion of colonialists interfered with the traditional mode of production of the Luo's to an extent that they had to seek an alternative way of fighting for their rights which probably led to the establishment of the NLC and schools so as to address these injustices.

What is significant is that Owalo and his followers realised the importance of education within the changing circumstances. An attempt by the NLM to combat ignorance was evident through the establishment of the NLM schools. Most of the followers were willing to send their children to school. There are many educated NLC members, some of them who either went through NLC primary schools or secondary schools (O.I; Rev Masake, 2/2/18). This view is also supported by Opwapo (1981:201).

According to Obul (O.I; 16/02/18), due to the influence of the C.M.S missionaries, Africans gave up some cultural practices like removal of teeth, and traditional way of worship as well as initiation rituals i.e. the practice of the removal of the six lower teeth was seen by the missionaries as Barbaric and of no positive value to the lines of

the natives. NLM education and John Owalo's ideology as introduced to his followers fought such cultural exclusion practices by further introducing circumcision and polygamy and anchoring it in the NLM doctrines. In support of the above, Strayer (1978:59) notes that isolated outposts of European religious propaganda became focal point for new African socio political associations.

NLM established Schools came as a result of the Africans who had attained western education .and the growing urge of providing Africans with more educational opportunities and the rising spirit of African nationalism. These schools over the years have attracted the development of urbanization and high population around their areas. This is evident by the fact that urban centers have developed around the area as well as residential homes for the workers around NLM schools and its environment. This population may have also been influence by the need to have easy access to the schools established by the NLM (O.I; Awuor, 26/7/17, KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/43).

Through village schools young native girls were provided with a stepping stone to move to higher levels of education. NLM has over the years liberated the African girls from the bondage of illiteracy and has provided highly educated elites in the society (O.I; Awuor, 26/7/17). Similarly this view was articulated by (O.I; Rev Masake, 2/2/18).

The growth and development of NLM schools had adverse economic impact to the local Luo community who were the subjects of the study. In the sense that a class of enlightened Africans who progressed economically a rose in social, economic and political power. Early students drawn into these schools established the western system of economic production. In school skills of production were acquired through

technical and industrial education taught to pioneer students curriculum offered included subjects included Agriculture and Home Science. Students took up trades taught as their occupations. Some utilized newly acquired skills to set up modern homes with permanent structures (O.I; Osogo, 13/7/17). Both Awuor (O.I; 26/7/17) and Masake (O.I; Rev Masake, 2/2/18) were of the same opinion.

One result of the increased western type of education was the production of a class of African clerks and officers to assist the colonial government in the administration and Europeans in their business. Some of the students were employed as workers in the Nomiya Luo Mission stations and schools, others at settler homes and government departments. They provided services in different capacities and professions across the country. Agriculture education exposed members of the local community to new crops and methods of farming .some of these skills were learnt through demonstration plots established in school. This led to the establishment of small scale cash crop economies by the Africans. Oral testimonies of Awuor (O.I; Awuor, 26/7/17, O.I; Rev Masake, 2/2/18) clearly brought out the above facts.

Products of NLM schools though reluctantly by the colonial administration they were given appointments to the public community posts. Some worked as community service officers, doctors, nurses, as members of the local native councils. Young women left their homes to go to urban centers to execute economic production gaps. This group abandoned traditional modes of production such as farming (O.I; Anyango, 27/8/17, O.I, Omuga 13/10/17, O.I, Raphael Mugesia, 20/01/18, O.I, Odipo, 6/11/17, O.I, Alog Odhiambo, 20/01/18).



The Luo traditional systems, in which the family, clan and other organizations, provided or guaranteed cohesion and stability. It provided to members a sense of belonging and a place to feel at home. The impact of colonial administration and missions changed all that by profoundly altering the traditional patterns, political allegiance transferred from traditional elders and colonial rulers to NLM leadership (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/43). Both Mr Odipo (O.I, Odipo, 6/11/17) and Mr Alog Odhiambo (O.I, Alog Odhiambo, 20/01/18) noted the above and further expounded that local traditional chiefs and elders complained of the bad behaviours of the converts, the chiefs and elders of the affected areas demonstrated that the NLM schools and the churches be shut down because of what they termed as negative influence. Africans also became aware of the rights; this led to the rise, growth and development of African nationalism.

Students engaged themselves in various activities for example preaching in the church and teaching in the local/village schools around. Some took informal roles as leaders of associations and organization. Out of the products of NLM schools that are in thousands providing services to this country in different occupations and levels since its inception, we have, Preachers, secretaries and teachers (O.I; Anyango, 27/8/17) this views are fully supported by Szkudlarek (2013).

In conclusion NLC continues to make significant contributions to both socio-economic and political developments on account of its acceptance of education and an attempt to alleviate poverty amongst its members especially in the country side

#### **4.5 Challenges faced by the Nomiya Luo Mission Schools**

Colonial government continuously frustrated NLM from establishing strong educational institutions. The colonial government perceived NLM schools with a lot of contempt as hot bed of chaos. To them NLM schools would revolutionise Africans in a similar manner it happened in India; what came to be famously known as the Indian unrest. This level of reluctance to offer NLM schools support can be traced back to 1931 when Archdeacon Meshark Onyango wrote to the District Commissioner Central Kavirondo on 10<sup>th</sup> January 1931 informing him of the planned education meeting at Nduwara School where they had also invited Mr G.E Webb the then acting Chief Inspector of Schools where in a surprised move they all declined the invitations citing busy schedule in a letter referenced 68/ED.12/1/4/7 (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/1; KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/2) views held by Alog (O.I, Alog 20/01/18). This was a clear indication that the colonial government was not interested in supporting NLM schools at whatever cost.

In another letter written by Sir J.C Appleby the District Education Officer Kisumu to Mr G.C Owalo the then Archbishop of the Nomiya Luo Church dated 20<sup>th</sup> January 1959 informing him that (see appendix 7) Mr G.C Owalo had earlier written on behalf of all the NLM schools to be granted permission to manage NLM schools independently from the district education boards, in his response Sir J.C Appleby noted the following:-

I refer to your application dated 23<sup>rd</sup> October 1958, for the Nomiya Luo Church to be recognised as an authorised schools management body. I wish to inform you that the decision of the minister of education, labour and lands is that Nomiya Luo Church should not be approved as a managing body for schools. This information was received from the permanent secretary to the ministry through the director of education. (His covering letter; 15/23/2/3/Vol IV/90 of 6<sup>th</sup> January 1959). KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/139.

Even after NLM established a standing education committee the colonial government refused to acknowledge its membership and instead took a political move through the Provincial Education Officer in his letter referenced EDUC/ORD/GEN/267 dated 1<sup>st</sup> March 1954 to instruct the District Commissioner Mr. J Harrigan to make an immediate decision to close all the NLM schools or hand them over to the existing foreign missions (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/86). In a surprise response Mr. J Harrigan the District Commissioner Central Nyanza in turn wrote to Bishop Petro Ouma of the Nomiya Luo Mission instructing him that the Hon Director of Education has withdrawn their request to manage schools and instructed the district education board that all NLM schools are illegal and must be taken over by authorised management before the end of school term (11<sup>th</sup> April 1954) of which instructions will be issued on the immediate closure of all NLM schools including the top schools of Sagam and Kijana (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/88). However it should be understood that the director of education never gave any instructions on the closure of NLM, at least there is no evidence of such a move (see appendix 21). Mr. J Harrigan the District Commissioner Central Nyanza emphasised to NLM of the urgency of his order despite of his knowing of its illegality, in addition he points out to Bishop Petro Ouma that:-

...in addition, I wish to inform you that Mr. Owalo's request for permission to appeal against the Hon Directors decision is quite in order but that little hope can be entertained regarding the success of such an appeal. Moreover whether or not the appeal is lodged, the present decision of the district education board should be carried out within the stated period. I regret the circumstances which give rise to the letter of this kind, but it is essential for the future progress of education in the district that a sound policy of construction is followed throughout these early years of development (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/88).

Inter clan politics greatly affected the operations of NLM schools. According to Mr Oloo, the government was purely behind interclanism rivalry and politics witnessed in Asembo the origin of NLM and its schools to stop the registration of NLM schools (OI: Oloo Charles 13/12/17). This information is confirmed in a correspondence from one Mr Adonija Owich to the District Commissioner Central Nyanza and copied to the Headmaster of Oboch Primary School dated 31<sup>st</sup> May 1955. Mr Adonija notes that the site where Oboch school stands and as supported by local Muruka headman who is influenced by his move to please his cousins 'jo-kochieng' of the Nomiya Luo Mission, a religious sect. Mr Adonija Owich wanted the construction of the classes to be stopped immediately and demands ownership of the land (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/107) see also appendix 22. In a shocking move the District Commissioner Central Nyanza Mr J M Normand stopped the construction of the school and acknowledged the dispute raised nby Mr Adonija Owich as genuine (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/113). This information was also supported by testimonies from Mr Omuga (O.I, Omuga 13/10/17), Mr Raphael Mugesia (O.I, Raphael Mugesia, 20/01/18) and Mr Odipo (O.I, Odipo, 6/11/17).

Lack of revenue to run NLM schools was another major challenge to NLM schools. Retired Reverend Okoth notes that the schools catchment was the local community which was fairly poor laden with colonial injustices of paying tax, land alienation and offering free or cheap labour (O.I, Retired Rev Okoth 09/11/17). NLM had struggled to apply for grants in aid from the colonial government and this is evident from Mr W.H Felling the District Commissioner Central Kavirondo, where he acknowledges receipt of a request from the NLM to be granted grants in aid in support of their schools, however he states that he shall be in position to give his views later(KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/7); that information corroborates the one found in a letter referenced ED.12/1/4/7/ dated 6<sup>th</sup> July 1933 written by the inspector of schools to the District Commissioner Central Kavirondo. NLM Bishop Yona Ramogi of NLM wrote to the District Commissioner Kisumu on 24 August 1946 requesting for grants however these requests were always turned down (see appendix 15).

I beg to submit that our above named mission owns two sector schools one at Sagam Gem and the other at Kijana Seme about which we find so many difficulties especially in paying the teachers' salaries. We have am sorry to note, very insufficient income to meet these schools expenses. We therefore kindly request you to consider our case as soon as you find time to do so for a grant to be govern to our two mission schools in order to enable us to run this schools properly(KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/55).

In a response letter to the Provincial Commissioner Nyanza from the District Commissioner Central Kavirondo (Kisumu) Sir V.M McKeag in a letter referenced ED.12/1/4/7, he pointed out clearly that the government will not at present approve financial assistance being given from public funds to educational organizations without responsible European backing. He further proposed that a Local Native Council will approve monies for the establishment of an LNM main stream school

and feeder schools where he advised that the followers of the NLC can take their children to school. To the colonial government NLM schools were but a nuisance and should not at any one time be granted aid.

To them NLM adherents were to admit their children to the most convenient sector schools which were considered to be the missionary schools (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/4). Awuor (O.I; 26/7/17) and Masake (O.I; 2/2/18) clearly pointed out the above facts. However at some point in a surprise move the Provincial Commissioner Nyanza Province Mr H.R Montgomery in a letter dated 29<sup>th</sup> February 1932 referenced ADM.14/6/16 addressed to the Director of Education Nairobi which is in tandem to a letter written by the Inspector of Schools (see appendix 10); noted that:-

I forward a memorandum from the District Commissioner central Kavirondo for your information and am in agreement with the district commissioner's recommendations. I would oppose any grant in aid to a separationist mission but whatever their religious faith they clearly have a right to education equally with other denominations (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/5).

Payment of teachers was another challenge that faced NLM schools. Most teachers served for a short time and left due to underpayment or no payment as compared with other missionary schools. Rev. Wilson Obilo in charge of NLM Sagam mission wrote a letter to the District Commissioner Central Nyanza on 29<sup>th</sup> July 1952 which was received by the District Commissioner on 30<sup>th</sup> July 1952. In the letter Rev. Wilson Obilo complains bitterly of how NLM school teachers at Sagam have never been paid and schools were closing. He pleads with the District Commissioner to release the

cheque that he is holding in his office (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/80). However, the cheque was later on released but to the newly appointed NLM education secretary Mr Erasto Awino the head teacher at Kijana primary school through pleadings made by Rev. Sila Adere secretary of NLM church council in a letter dated 29<sup>th</sup> July 1952 (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/81). This information was also supported by testimony of Omuga (O.I, 13/10/17).

Unstructured educational policies and objectives developed by the Nomiya Luo church. The Government was not in favour with the curriculum offered at NLM Schools. In line with the colonial government educational objectives, it was expected that pupils were to be given at least equal hours of literary and technical education to counter-balance what it termed as the side-effects of a one-sided literary education. However this wasn't the case at NLM schools in the letter dated 12<sup>th</sup> August 1931 Sd. V.M Mckeag argues:-

In Dougall's letter of 27<sup>th</sup> may a copy of which is on your file he puts his finger on the crux of the whole situation..... they must be supported by a recognised society. And by recognised Mr Dougall evidently implies 'responsible'. The Luo Nomiya Mission has no responsible person in control and is neither recognised nor responsible society. It is perhaps being argued that as this people have already started schools it would be wise to train their teachers and generally improve their standards of these schools. On the other hand to do so would definitely encourage the whole movement and prevent the realization of the very desirable solution of the problem contemplated by Mr. Dobbs in the last paragraph of his no 410/40/20 of 19<sup>th</sup> February 1930 i.e. that without good schools numbers of the Nomiya followers will drift away to where they can get better education. It is I fear, undisputable that the best of missions or religions would go to the wall in Kenya if they failed to offer the native educational facilities (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/3).

Shortage of teaching and learning resources which includes professionally trained teachers (human resource) and physical facilities. The department of education

inspection report dated 30/5/1933 at Oboch elementary school (see appendix 9) points out clear facts about the pathetic state of NLM schools. According to the report the school had two main teachers Mr Absalom Okode and John Oliva Goore who were trained in a CMS school at Maseno, the report notes that at the time of inspection they had never been paid any salary.

The school had no official register, no practical garden, no football pitch, no latrine except an open hole that was dug three feet deep and that they had never received any grants from the colonial government or LNC (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/9). This argument is fully supported Mugesia (O.I, Mugesia, 20/01/18). Due to lack of qualified teachers the government found an excuse of denying NLM schools Grants in aid until they employ adequate qualified staff (see appendix 11 and 12).

It's important to note that at one time the inspector of schools Sd. G.E Webb wrote to Mr Meshack Onyango the secretary of the Nomiya Luo Mission in a letter dated 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1934 asking them to second one of their teachers Elkana Ogutu into the Jeanes School. However it turned out that MrElkana Ogutu had terribly failed his elementary examinations; he had hardly scored 10 marks out of 100 in any paper namely Hygene, arithmetic and composition yet he was teacher of NLM(KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/15).

Church leadership wrangles and rivalry greatly affected the operations of N.LM schools. This is evident in a letter written by the District Commissioner Central Kavirondo Sd. V.M Mckeag to the provincial commissioner Nyanza (see appendix 8). In the letter dated 12<sup>th</sup> August 1931 Sd. V.M Mckeag argues that NLM had not lasted for long however it was marked with splits. He quotes two factions, one with



distinctly fanatical tendencies. He noted that due to the split of the movement, the movement had no future therefore they should not be granted financial aid (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/3).

The level of leadership wrangles within the church had taken a political angle; according to Mr. C.T Davenport the District Commissioner Central Kavirondo he met the adherents of Nomiya Luo Mission at Kisumu on August 12<sup>th</sup> 1938 when Bishop Petero Ouma complained that Archdeacon Meshark Onyango was usurping his authority. The whole crowd agreed that Meshark should stop being Archdeacon and chose John Onyango to replace him. The passbook of the church was also to be changed to the name of John Onyango as the new trustee. All monies received from the local native council are to be handed to Rev Suleiman as formally to pay teachers (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/26).

This greatly slowed down the progress of the school and in a letter dated 29<sup>th</sup> April 1941 the District Commissioner Central Kavirondo Mr E.L Hunter refused to grant aid to Nomiya Luo Mission schools citing leadership wrangle in the church (see appendix 13). The political twist within the leadership of the church and the schools was also noted and addressed by Chief Jason Gor of Asembo Location together with his counterpart Chief M Nindo of Seme Location, who found it very difficult to deal with the two factions within the church (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/96). This argument was fully discussed by Mr Odipo (O.I, Odipo, 6/11/17).

Chief Jason Gor of Asembo location and Chief M Nindo of Seme location proceeded to organise for a public 'baraza' on 9<sup>th</sup> August 1954 at Kombewa and invited the district commissioner central Nyanza to attend in a letter dated 29<sup>th</sup> July 1954 (KNA:

DC/KSM/1/10/45/99). This view was held by Awuor (O.I; 26/7/17) and Masake(O.I; 2/2/18) who further explained that the meeting bore neither political fruit nor a compromise between the two factions that were mainly fighting for the control of NLM resources including schools.

In a meeting attended by all NLM leaders and the government representatives at the LNC building in Kisumu on 8<sup>th</sup> July 1941, it was decided that the Bishop had no right to dismiss any clergy without consultations with the members of the Nomiya mission. Further it was decided that Meshak Onyango was at the center of disputes within the church as he purported to be the Bishop of the movement. The members of Gem mission appointed Suleiman Onyando as their bishop without the permission of Bishop Simon Peter who was the head of the Nomiya mission contrary to the Nomiya religious laws (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/35) Rev Masake(O.I; Rev Masake, 2/2/18) pointed out the same facts.

The chief of Gem Mr. Jairo Owino wrote to the DC Kisumu on 17<sup>th</sup> July 1942 informing him on the impending danger of politics within NLM and why Mr. Suleiman who was considered a trouble shooter should be excommunicated by the NLM (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/41). In a letter referenced ED.12/1/4/7; dated 8<sup>th</sup> July 1942 written by the district commissioner Kisumu MR C.F Parry to the Provincial Commissioner Nyanza Province, the District Commissioner notes:-

The following of this sect are all divided amongst themselves again so I arranged to meet them at Gem on 6<sup>th</sup> July. Ninety of their adherents, Chief Jairo and many hundreds of onlookers were present. The dispute is not a new one. Suleiman Onyando has been barred as a preacher by the bishop and his advisory council and a new priest placed in his stead, but Suleiman refuses to accept dismissal. Fifty-five people and the entire council voted for bishop and thirty five ---all from Gem I should imagine--- for Suleiman. Chief Jairo considered that Suleiman should resign as otherwise there might be trouble. the law on the subject is quite clear and I explained to Suleiman that if he refused to obey his church as constituted he could no longer consider himself a member of the Nomiya Luo Mission and that he must vacate all N.L mission property and that if he failed to do so the church council would take action in the tribunal. I warned him, that if through fitina on his part any unfortunate incident took place he would have to take full responsibility and if necessary government would not hesitate to deport him. The dispute is largely ‘Gem for the people of Gem’ whereas Bishop Petero comes from Asembo (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/38).

In his response to the District Commissioner in a letter referenced ADM.11/6/23 the Provincial Commissioner cited the dangers of the colonial administration direct involvement to the matter (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/40) this fact was clearly supported by MrOmuga(O.I, Omuga 13/10/17).

To the colonial government the wrangles within NLM was in its favour in a letter dated 14<sup>th</sup> July 1942 the District Commissioner Central Kavirondo Mr. J Douglas McKean wrote to the Provincial Commissioner Nyanza instructing him that Suleiman had broken ranks with NLM and established his own ‘Luo Orthodox Church’ which he ‘ignorantly call the old church of Abyssinia’ (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/40a). In his reply the Provincial Commissioner in a letter dated 16<sup>th</sup> July 1942 referenced ED.12/1/4/7 advised the District Commissioner to report any development of political flavour in the move (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/40).This argument is fully supported

by Mr Raphael Mugesia (O.I, Raphael Mugesia, 20/01/18) however he was not able to give dates.

Misappropriation of school (project) funds by the clergy. Kavirondo tax payers association in a letter to the district commissioner Mr H.H Low Esqr wrote to complain about a new habit by some NLM clergy of collecting money from people especially for educational purposes and for baptism (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/49) the same opinion was held by Omuga (O.I, Omuga 13/10/17). In a stunning revelation in a joint correspondence by seventeen clergymen to the District Commissioner Central Nyanza they accused Bishop Petro Ouma of having received eight hundred and eighty eight shillings to be banked on behalf of NLM schools however he only banked three hundred shilling and he was unable to account for the remaining (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/100). This views were held by Alog Odhiambo (O.I, Alog Odhiambo, 20/01/18). In a letter from the Provincial Commissioner Nyanza dated 16<sup>th</sup> May 1941 referenced ADM.11/6/21 as noted below:-

I am not prepared to authorise the Nomiya Luo Mission to make collection for war purposes. Please advise Meshak Onyango accordingly. As to his allegations that certain Nomiya clergymen were misappropriating funds, his charge will have to be much more circumstantial before government will be prepared to take any action. (KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/30).

Rivalry and competition between the missionary groups and the NLM was at play. In 1956 NLM Bishop ordered for the establishment of a school in Nyamira without the consent of the District Education Officer

#### **4.6 Conclusion**

As discussed and demonstrated by the above facts, the case of NLM can be discussed and described in the model below:-

Facts presented in this chapter demonstrates that politics has a special place and function in education; in theory and practice for a number of reasons namely because of the partial or political character and nature of education, the interdisciplinary nature of education, the relationship between politics and educational planning and the contemporary concerns with the study of politics of development and political modernization. It has further proven that the intellectual political elite are responsible for educational planning and management.

The chapter has clearly presented the political motive behind the rise of NLM and its schools that can be used to as a case to generalise and justify the reasons for the establishment of modern educational institutions. In summary, the discussions in this study has clearly brought out the facts that ,the level and the extent to which the establishment of NLM schools as a learning institution, introduced African western cultural and political values either directly through curriculum instruction or indirectly through doctrinal interaction with learners and the resulting effect thereof. The role, activities and the impact brought by the products of NLM Schools who are former students both locally and internationally are immense. The early or initial period, produced the first products of the school, namely pioneers up to 1949. This group became the vanguards and strong agents of change in the society who spearheaded an academic revolution whose course still goes on up to today, and early students drawn into NLM schools established a blend of African western system of economic

production a role still played by the ever increasing products of NLM schools and church adhere rents.

It is evident from the study that NLM was a colonial resistance movement in Nyanza for several reasons ranging from economic to social reasons. To achieve this course, NLM schools were established.

It's evident that the foundation of NLM schools greatly stems out of the concerted efforts placed by Prophet John Owalo who first proposed and set out to establish the first independent school at Oboch. At some point, the colonial government gave some NLM schools grants in aid and not forgetting the local leaders and the community that provided both moral as well as material support. The community was ready for the establishment of NLM Schools by providing land that the schools were erected and later on the land that facilitated the expansion of the schools.

Generally the pre-colonial Luo culture was greatly interfered with, for example as discussed, there was Social Revolution and change in the traditions and lifestyles of the native Luo community, due to the influence of the Christian missionaries; economic as well as Political impacts were realized. Political allegiance transferred from traditional elders and rulers to NLM leadership and colonial administration hence declining the socio-political roles of traditional elders in the society and a political contest between NLM leadership and the colonial government. The establishment of NLM schools to protect African interest in general triggered a number of conflicts between the missionaries and adherents of Owalo's movement as earlier on discussed in the study.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the summary of the findings, conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further research. Inclusive are also summaries for the research problems, questions and findings of this study, conclusions and implications. The chapter also outlines recommendations and suggestions for further research.

#### **5.2 Summary of the Problem, Research Questions and Methodology**

The purpose of this study was to establish the existing bond between politics and education and how politics influence education with reference to the educational role of the NLM schools since its establishment in 1911 to 2018. Justification of this study was anchored on the fact that NLM as a forerunner of independent educational work in Africa has played a wider role in educational development in the country. Compared to Christian missionary organizations, educational role played by independent school movements and their relationship with politics has not been adequately covered in scholarly work. N.L.M was used as the point of reference to bridge the gap by examining its historical development and growth, nature of political influence in its educational work, challenges faced, solutions sought and the impacts of its activities of which before this study had escaped or was rather thinly treated in existing literary work. This study was carried out in the larger Siaya and neighbouring parts of Kisumu Counties where NLM schools are spread.

This study has revealed that the case of the Nomiya Luo Mission Schools though appearing interesting little has been on the offer about their contributions to education and connection to politics. This study has filled the academic vacuum and narrative of limited and fragmented evidence on the subject matter and further created a scholarly niche for a clear comparison and generalisation to be made with previous studies done on the various missionary groups and their contributions to education and the Kikuyu independent school movements 1923-1953.

It's evident from the outcome of this study that, African role in the development of education whether politically or otherwise, has been negatively viewed and given very limited scholarly and literary attention, therefore this research has unravelled the mystery of the nature and the role of politics in education that henceforth will also be a breakthrough reference in the context of the modern world, thus a greater reason why this research becomes a paramount tool in the reconstruction of history of education in connection to the independent school movement in colonial Africa.

To achieve the stated purpose of the study, the study was guided by the following objectives; to trace the historical development and growth of the Nomiya Luo Mission established Schools, to establish the contributions of politics to education in colonial Kenya in reference to the Nomiya Luo Mission schools, to examine the challenges faced by of the Nomiya Luo Mission established schools in its growth and development and the solutions sought, to investigate the impact of independent established schools to the local community.

In answer the above research objectives the following research questions were used: -

What is the historical development and growth of the Nomiya Luo Mission



established Schools? What is the contribution of politics to education in reference to the Nomiya Luo Mission schools? What are the challenges that faced the Nomiya Luo Mission established schools and the solutions sought? What are the impacts of the Nomiya Luo independent established schools to the local community?

This study examined NLM educational chronology for a span of 49 (forty nine) years which give the researcher enough space to have an in-depth inquiry into the subject. The study reflected on the trends of education from 1911 to 1960. The year 1911 is when John Owalo first founded the Nomiya Luo Mission Church and school at Oboch; at the height of African struggle for better educational opportunities and the year 1960 as a terminative year of the study as a period when decolonization process had effectively taken a deep root and African demand for higher and quality education had reached its maximum peak.

It's evident from the results of this study that conceptually it was limited to the role of the NLM schools in the development of education; it was not able to cover all the other roles played by the independent NLM church. The scope of the study was limited within Siaya and Kisumu Counties whose findings can now be generalised for the whole country.

This study was based on a blend of critical policy analysis; policy historiography theory as advanced by Trevor Gale (2001) and Weaver Hightower critical post structural framework for policy analysis that revolve around the metaphor of policy contexts and ecologies for policy analysis. Critical Policy analysis, thus is informed 'by the conviction that things, especially policy discourse must be pulled apart' (Troyna, 1994) and should be more than just the analyses of state mechanisms and

policy documents as expressions of political purpose stating the actions and intentions to be implemented. This study employed multiple perspectives to data collection and analysis that is informed by critical policy historiographical lenses and Hightower's policy ecology and policy metaphor.

As a historical research, oral interview was used as a primary tool in data collection; however the sources might have been subjected to exaggerations therefore limiting validity and reliability of the research. To avoid this data, corroboration was done using additional sources available at the Kenya National Archives; schools archives and the church headquarters archives. Historical research method heavily relied on documents from the KNA and on face to face oral interviews guided with an elaborate interview schedule, archival and other written materials. These forms of data can either be referred to as primary or secondary depending on whether they offer eye witness or reported accounts of events in time. The researcher selected a population that constituted the sample that was used. Population sample was carried out when categories of people were established and put into Strata and the number of information used under each stratum was determined in the field using random sampling, technique and Snowballing technique basing on the availability of the respondent hence the sample made about 55 percent.

Each of the established strata was interviewed. Interviews were both formal and none formal. The current school administration and the old staff of the school and the provincial administrators were interviewed after appointments had been made in advance by the researcher. Non formal interviews were done mainly on former Head teachers and teachers, village elders/ elderly members who witnessed NLM activities, B.O.M chairmen of NLM schools and both present and former NLM Church officials.

Data collected was verified using historical research methods of internal and external criticism. This method is useful in establishing the authenticity, appropriateness and adequacy of the data. Interpretations were made as illustrated in chapters three. Data was then classified in reference to themes and historical periods under study.

### **5.3 Summary of Major Findings**

#### **5.3.1 Historical Development and Growth of the Nomiya Luo Mission Established Schools.**

From the study, the following were considered important in the historical development and growth of NLM from 1911 – 2018.

The original base of NLM schools which is considered the taproot stems from two adjacent villages of Oboch and Maranginya village in Asembo. At Marang'inya village famously known as Orengo he established a sub elementary school in 1914 and an elementary school at Oboch in 1912. The students came among the adherents of the NLC and especially in Nyanza. This was when John Owalo wrote a letter to the district commissioner Nyanza to start the schools and permission was granted. However these schools were short lived before they were re-established.

A major boost came in 1930 Yona Oyungu and Meshack Onyango wrote a letter to the District Commissioner Nyanza requesting for the opening of NLM schools at Oboch, Sagam, Rapogi, and Holo. They were granted permission and the schools. These schools employed its teachers from a pool of its adherents and especially interdicted or retired teachers from the missionary schools. Most of those teachers' certificates had been confiscated after they married second wives an act against

Christian's values. The church and the community contributed funds to pay teachers. Students paid what they could afford there was no standard fee for students.

NLM Sagam School continued to receive grants from the colonial government upto 1952, evidence of this was a cheque sent to the secretary Oboch Church Council Akala by the District Commissioner Central Nyanza on 26<sup>th</sup> July 1952 serialised (No) 760338 and receipt voucher (KNA:DC/KSM/1/10/45/79). Sagam became the first Nomiya Luo Mission School and indeed the first independent school to receive grants in aid, NLC was characterised with leadership wrangles especially after the death of John Owalo. This reached its apex in 1940s when the then Bishop had little interest in education, Oboch School in Asembo collapsed as a result of political interference. This was later followed by Rapogi School in Seme and Holo School in Nyakach consequently collapsed. In 1948 Colonial government in fear of the influence of the NLM and its activities took advantage of the leadership wrangles in the Church to insight the leaders against each other. The church splited into two factions the original NLC and the Nomiya Sabato Church (NSC). The same year NLC resurrected Oboch School together with Alungo, Rapogi, Kijana and Holo.

These schools developed amidst great opposition from the colonial government. On 13<sup>th</sup> January 1953, NLM applied to the director of education for permission to manage their schools similarly to Christian missionary organizations such as the C.M.S, the mission had interest especially on its four big schools namely Holo School, Rapogi School, Alungo School and Sagam School. NLM request was thrown aside and were advised to look for a known body to manage the schools or they be closed in April the following year.

The District Education Board took over the management of NLM schools in 1954 and the church bishop G.C Owalo was admitted as a board member to represent the NLM schools. Competition between the missionary groups and the NLM was at play. In 1956 NLM bishop ordered for the establishment of a school in Nyamira without the consent of the District Education Officer. In the same year they established another school at Uradi and in 1957 they established Uthoche School in Uyoma and Kanyibok in Yimbo. These schools operated with unaided status however the government made special provision for them. The CMS under Rev Playdell and Miss Fanny Moller of the nearby Ng'iya CMS mission launched a complaint with the education officer about the status of those schools. Later Kanyabok School, Uthote and Uradi came under the management of the District Education Board.

Following the recommendations of the Ominde commission report that all schools be under the management of the Central Government, the government took over the running of NLC schools. All the missions responsible for the establishment of schools became sponsors; NLC became sponsor of the following schools in Siaya district Sagam, Oboth, Ujwanga, Othothe, Nyamira and Kanyobok. In Kisumu District, Rapogi, Alungo, Holo, Opande, Nyaundi, Gunu and Nyanginja (Opwapo, 1981:201). Some of these schools have metamorphosis into secondary schools such as Nyamira Girls High school, St John's Oboch secondary school, Sagam High School, Rapogi High School and Holo High School.

It should be noted that up to 1964 the NLM schools were managed by the church under the Education Committee. The composition of the committee included 31 members of which six were serving as office bearers; such as chairman and his vice, secretary and his vice and treasurer and his vice. The members were elected from

different locations in the province and from different church groups in the province where Nomiya Luo Schools existed.

After failed attempts by NLM to secure grants from the government they resolved to empower the educational committee to collect funds for the school from its followers in a meeting held on 16<sup>th</sup> march 1951 at Oboch primary school. It was agreed in the meeting that special contributions will be made by people belonging to the Nomiya Mission once a year to aid education in NLM schools. Mr. Hezekiah Ojuok the secretary of the education committee was elected unanimously to be the supervisor of NLM schools to replace Mr Wilson Obilo. The committee also recommended Mr Gilbert Odawa to represent NLM schools to the District Education Board and later Mr Erasto Awino the head teacher at Kijana primary school took over the leadership of NLM schools.

The colonial government refused to acknowledge the membership of NLM education management committee. The Director of education instructed the district education board that all NLM schools are illegal and must be taken over by authorised management before the end of school term on 11<sup>th</sup> April 1954. However Mr. W.F Parker the district Education Officer Central Nyanza acknowledged the same year that the mission had shown capability of managing their schools to a comparable level with those of any other mission.

This study reveals that the schools established and managed by NLM include but not limited to Oboch primary school; Maranginya (orengo),, Sagam primary school, Nduwar primary school, Rapogi primary school, Holoprimary school, Aungoprimary school, Mabinju primary school, Asego1948 primary school, Kijana1948

primary, Nyamira primary school, Uradi primary school, Uthoche in Uyoma primary school, Kanyibok in Yimbo primary school, Ujwanga primary school, Opande primary school, Nyaundi primary school, Gunu primary school, Nyanginja primary school, Ramba intermediate school primary school evolved to a secondary school. The results of this research reveals that with time all the above primary schools historically evolved into secondary schools cases (some) which have been discussed in chapter four of this study.

It's clear from this study that NLM struggle to have their own schools was moved by a strong political activism precipitated by colonial injustices and discrimination. African political awakening manifested itself in the formation and the establishment of independent schools and LNCs schools in Nyanza. Christian missions and the colonial government had a strong phobia for the rapid expansion of NLM schools in Sagam, Oboth, Ujwanga, Othothe, Nyamira and Kanyobok, Rapogi, Alungo, Holo, Opande, Nyaundi, Gunu and Nyanginja. Basically the missions were afraid that the schools would become 'hot beds for sedition as they surely would be seed plots of the evil elements of paganism'. Not only that, the underlying factor and the core reason was the rise of African nationalism through NLM independent schools.

Though NLM schools faced a thorny path in their growth and development, the seeds of determination planted by John Owalo at Oboch has matured thorough the transformation of many of the NLM schools into secondary schools and who knows maybe a University will be born basing on the fact that Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University has accepted to establish a school on Mining at a five acre piece of land donated by NLC in 2015 adjacent to Mwalimu John Owalo's mausoleum.

### **5.3.2 The Contributions of Politics to Education in Kenya the Case of the Nomiya Luo Mission Schools.**

The following important political aspects are considered vital output in educational setup.

From the findings herein, it is arguable that politics permeates the financing of education in terms of content and process. After determining and exploring the share for education in toto in connection with NLM educational activities, politics at all times continue playing a vital role in developing societies educational goals. As is evident education is divided into sub strata and significant decisions need to be made about the allocation of resources in each substrata and since educational financial resources are limited and even scarce compared to popular demand and the requirements of educational standards, politics become the arbiter to a great extent in determining the share of each strata. In the modern context in Kenya; politics will determine the allocation of funds in different categories of schools based on how they were established, who established them, geographical and demographic setting of the schools.

To a larger picture as evident in this study politics influences the financing of education in such other details as salaries of teachers. In other words it determines how much should be allocated to personnel in education system and how much should be set or allocated to other teaching services. Politics in most cases sacrifices the qualitative and quantitative targets of the educational entity in order to satisfy demands. This explains why NLM Oboch School was completely denied funds for both physical and human resource development and yet the neighbouring CMS Ng'iyia girls and even NLM Sagam schools were fully funded by the state.



Politics also determines the strategy of financing education. Politics as the case of NLM when no assistance was coming from the colonial government to their schools despite several appeals; politically they NLM leadership was able to stimulate and mobilise public effort to finance education. The political capital will determine how resources ought to be tapped, what the role of parents should play in financing their children's education

### **5.3 .3: Challenges NLM Schools faced in their Growth and Development**

What challenges did NLM schools faced in their course of its growth and development? NLM schools encountered the following challenges:-

Colonial government continuously frustrated NLM from establishing strong educational institutions. The colonial government perceived NLM schools with a lot of contempt as hot bed of chaos. To them NLM schools would revolutionise Africans in a similar manner as it happened in India; what came to be famously known as the Indian unrest. This level of reluctance to offer NLM schools support has been adequately discussed in the study and it's a clear indication of being politically instigated.

Even after NLM established a standing education committee to take care of its schools the colonial government as they refused to acknowledge its membership and instead took apolitical move through the Provincial Education Officer and the District Commissioner Mr. J Harrigan to make an immediate decision to close all the NLM schools and hand some of them over to the existing foreign missions. Inter clan politics greatly affected the operations of NLM schools. From this study, the colonial government was purely behind interclanism rivalry and politics witnessed in Asembo

the origin of NLM and its schools to stop the registration of NLM schools. The site where Oboch School stands was a bone of contention among the Luo clans. In a shocking revelation having failed to get a reason to close down NLM schools, the District Commissioner Central Nyanza Mr J M Normand stopped the construction of the school and acknowledged the dispute was genuine.

Lack of revenue to run NLM schools was another major challenge to NLM schools. NLM had struggled to apply for grants in aid from the colonial government in vain. To the colonial government NLM schools were but a nuisance and were not at any one time to be granted aid. The government wanted NLM adherents to admit their children to the most convenient sector schools which were considered to be the missionary schools. This even made payment of teachers to be a great challenge that faced NLM schools. Inadequate educational policies and objectives developed by the church. In line with the colonial government educational objectives it was expected that pupils were to be given at least equal hours of literary and technical education to counter-balance which was not the case at the initial NLM Oboch School.

Shortage of teaching and learning resources which includes professionally trained teachers (human resource) and physical facilities. The department of education inspection report dated 30/5/1933 pointed out the state of NLM schools as a Major challenge in the provision of better educational opportunities. Church leadership wrangles and rivalry greatly affected the operations of N.LM schools. The level of leadership wrangles within the church had taken a political angle; this greatly slowed down the progress of the schools since the church was in charge of schools. Misappropriation of school (project) funds by the clergy. The study has revealed that on various occasions the clergy misappropriated funds meant for the school.

Competition between the missionary groups and the NLM was at play. In 1956, NLM bishop ordered for the establishment of a school in Nyamira without the consent of the District Education Officer

#### **5.3.4: Socio-Economic and political impacts of NLM established schools to the Local community**

Former students of NLM established schools have over the years engaged themselves in various activities for example preaching in the NLM and its affiliate churches and teaching in the local NLM village schools around. Some took informal roles as leaders of associations and organization. Out of the products of NLM schools, thousands provide services both at local and international level in different occupations and capacities since its inception such as providing various services professionals. Others became teachers, education officers and researchers in various institutions of higher learning. The schools have produced politicians and government technocrats.

In conclusion, NLM schools have had an adverse impact on the local community and generally the people of Nyanza and the rest of the country and Africa as a whole. The impacts of NLM schools range from social, economic and political as seen in chapter five of this study. NLM as a movement with its schools has greatly contributed to social change and transformation in the culture and traditions of the native Luo community since colonial times. NLM schools in itself have produced products that have consequently transformed the society in various spheres of life and professions. The school employed local African teachers who spent their income in developing the

society economically. As previously discussed, the aspect of land was a communal responsibility and ownership.

It's evident from the study that the council of elders among the Luo "buch piny" which was headed by a chief elder "Ruoth" was the custodian of land. However with the advent of missionary activities at Ng'iya African's abandoned their ancestral land to the aliens. The missionaries who arrived in Luo territory took over control of African land and established churches, schools, mission hospitals and residential homes; this clearly shows how Africans lost their land, to the whites, of which the activities which took place on the same land had adverse effects on the local community's socio-economic and political activities. This is what John Owalo and his NLM movement were purely against and hence decided to form a political outfit using education as a tool to fight against all forms of colonial oppression.

Due to missionary influence Africans gave up some cultural practices like removal of teeth, polygamy and traditional way of worship and initiation rituals i.e. the practice of the removal of the six lower teeth was seen by the missionaries as Barbaric and of no positive value to the lines of the natives. Education at the initial NLM churches and schools as introduced by its founder Mwalimu John Owalo was determined to fight such cultural injustices to the end. NLM movement transformed itself into a socio-political and economic movement; representing a sign of political as well as religious change in to the community under study.

The political and educational role of elders as custodian of culture and knowledge became a struggle between the elders, missionary groups the colonial administration and NLM leadership. The old in the traditional African society educated the youth on

various aspects of life; this form of organization was not only threatened by the colonial administration and the missionaries but also the NLM. The young who left for school lost parental values. In most cases they spent all the day in school and when some of NLM schools transformed into boarding schools they spent months at school. Pioneer students established independent schools and churches attached to NLM in and around Luo Nyanza. NLM Village Schools emerged as a result of the Africans who had attained NLM initial education and believed in its course. The growing urge to provide fellow Africans with more educational opportunities and the rising spirit of African nationalism further motivated the need to open more NLM schools in Nyanza. Most NLM schools such as Sagam, Nyamira girls and Rapogi secondary schools over the years since their inceptions has attracted the development of urbanization and high population around their geographical zones. This is evident by the fact that market centers have developed around the area as well as residential homes for the workers around this schools and their environs. This population was influenced by the availability of social facilities around the school established by the NLM.

Through NLM established village schools young native boys and girls who were initially deprived quality education by the colonial government based on political reasons that they did not collaborate with the whites for the first time were provided with a stepping stone to move to higher levels of education. Over the years, NLM schools have liberated the African girl and boy child from the bondage of illiteracy and harmful cultural rites and have produced a class of highly educated elites in the society.

There was a revolution in housing styles, following the new architectural designs introduced in the construction of classes' houses and dormitories at NLM established schools and churches. Since NLM was determined to borrow the best of European practices, construction design was one of them. Many people started putting up iron roofed and cemented houses in and around NLM schools, it should be noted that most of them were either followers of NLM or products of NLM schools. Traditional religious leaders had their roles reduced as NLM schools produced educated clergies and young leaders who took up leadership responsibilities both in the church and administratively.

The establishment growth and development of NLM schools had adverse economic impact to the local Luo community who are the subjects of the study, in the sense that a class of enlightened Africans who progressed economically a rose in social, economic and political power. Early students drawn into NLM affiliated schools adopted and established the western system of economic production. In school appernticeship skills of production were acquired through technical and industrial education taught to pioneer students at NLM schools; the subjects included typewriting, Arithmetic, Agriculture and Home Science. Students took up trades taught as their occupations. Some utilized newly acquired skills to set up modern homes with permanent buildings.

One result of the increased establishment of NLM schools across Nyanza was the production of a class of African clerks and officers to assist the government in administration and Europeans in their business. Some of the students were employed as workers in the NLM mission stations and even European mission stations, NLM schools school as well as village or bush schools, at settler homes and government

departments. They provided services in various capacities at both local and international level. Agriculture education exposed members of the local community to new crops and methods of farming .some of these skills were learnt through demonstration plots established in school. This led to the establishment of small scale cash crop economies by the Africans in and around NLM schools. Products of NLM schools were given appointments to the public community posts.

Some worked as community service officers, doctors, nurses, as members of the local native councils. Young men and women who left their villages to advance their education at mission stations executed economic production gaps. This group abandoned traditional modes of production such as subsistence farming. The establishment of NLM and its schools general triggered a number of land problems including immigrants who flocked the areas where the schools are established also to have a taste of the education offered there.

Political allegiance transferred from traditional elders and rulers to NLM religious leaders. Local traditional chiefs and elders complained of the bad behaviours of the converts, the chiefs and elders of the affected areas demonstrated that the schools and the churches be shut down because of what they termed as negative influence. Africans also became aware of their rights through the kind of education offered at these schools and this led to the rise, growth and development of African nationalism.

#### **5.4 Conclusion**

From the research questions and the findings in this study, it can be concluded that, politics played a key role and contributed greatly to the establishment of NLM schools and sustained them from colonial times to modern day. It is a fact that any

educational system is a cell in the larger political socio-economic organism and that the component of the system in consequence derives its key characteristics or quality from the organism. NLM schools being political entities provided Africans with an opportunity to acquire education amidst colonial political juvenism in education and hence like other Christian missionary organizations; NLM schools played a critical role in the establishment and provision of western formal education for Africans. Historically, the growth of NLM schools was made possible by the fact that the schools were able to positively counter political challenges by coming up with various political strategies as discussed in chapter four of this study. NLM schools have greatly contributed to social-economic change and transformation in the culture and traditions of the Luo community.

### **5.5 Recommendations.**

Basing on the findings and conclusions of the study, the following recommendations have been derived:-

Although the government and other educational players have invested heavily in education there is internal inefficiencies in educational institutions. There is an urgent need to redress this challenge, thus the importance of separating the management of education from national political process and above all its pertinent to develop a clear educational policy and correlate it to national, societal and global demand.

Since political interference emanate from political ideologies and political parties manifestos and personal political philosophies, it's necessary for theory and practice of education being considered before such interventions.



NLM role in establishment of schools has been found to be lacking in many documented sources. It's worth noting that NLM being a major independent missionary group in Africa; its role should not be neglected or elusively mentioned compared to western missionary groups such as the CMS, Friends African Mission and Catholic missionaries among others. This is because NLM unlike them have over decades and now a century contributed enormously and extensively in socioeconomic and political developments of the Africans despite fighting political battles from within and without. This study has proved that a political movement such as NLM is a very vital and cohesive institution which can be used to knit together the society for a common goal; this from the wider and positive perspective promotes national integration and constructive politics.

Despite an attempt to shade negative missionary beliefs and adopt the best of its practices and similarly on African culture by NLM adherents; through this study it's proven that NLM established schools have failed to remedy the so called 'negative cultural practices' through their school system because of political interference and therefore aspects of this culture are still dominant to date, it is therefore in order for some NLM values to be sustained and retained to form basic historical traditions of the NLM schools since some of the values are eminent and pertinent to these institutions. In this case, the government needs to have limited control on educational matters of individual educational institutions.

### **5.6 Suggestions for Further Research**

Study contains information on colonial period and partly post colonial period. It is necessary for research to be done which will enable comparison between the growths

of education in each period. The findings of this study have exposed the role played by NLM in the light of independent church movement, politics and education; research ought to be undertaken to concentrate on the role of the 'partially independent educational entities' such as Harambee or CDF established schools in the context of politics and education.

A comparison of the outcome of this study should be done with that of Kovar M.H, (1970) on the dynamics between politics and education a case of the Kikuyu independent school movements to arrive at a proper generalization of the relationship between politics and education. Further a study on Rapogi NLM schools in Siaya County should be done.

Despite NLM influence on the establishment of their own educational institutions some of western traditional practices have become a way of life among even the adherents of NLM today, a study is therefore needed to ascertain why some customs have penetrated to be a way of life even after many years of strong influence from the NLM and why they are considered pertinent today to those communities that they cannot be eroded.

## REFERENCES

### Primary Sources

#### a. Oral Interviews.

<b>Name</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Date of Interview</b>	<b>Place of Interview</b>
Agwenyi Peter Sure	92	03-11-17	Kabondo
Archbishop Obego	48	05-11-17;04-11-17; 03-11-17	Oboch
Auma Mical	85	23-01-17	Oboch
Canon Rev Masake	74	12-02-17	Busia
Gideon Migot	85	04-05-17	Wang'arot
Isaya Oyungu	78	09-12-16	Gem
Laban Owalo	81	02-03-17	Ahono
Marko Odenyi	79	02-03-17	Ujwanga
Meshark Onyango	86	04-05-17	Konge
Mzee Ngenga	89	09-12-16	Gem
Nyandwaro Thomas	80	02/11/17	Nyamira
Obado Abiud	87	16-04-17	Ndwara
Obilo Eli	77	18-09-17	Gem
Ochieng Agoya	80	09-12-16	Oboch
Ochieng Johana	71	12-11-17	Yala
Ochola Mariko	77	12-11-17;07-11-17	Yala
Odipo calisters	67	06/11/17	Rapogi
Odongo Ouma	80	29-01-17	Wang'wer
Oduor Noah	77	11-11-17	Ujwanga
Ojwang Jeremiah	69	14-11-17	Sagam

Okech Eliachim	70	06-11-17	Asembo
Okech John	70	06-11-17	Bondo
Okinda Petro	70	06-11-17	Karapul
Oloo James	75	08-06-17	Sagam
Omolo Joash		22/01/18	JOUST
Omondi Simon	72	07-11-17	Sagam
Omuga Petro	89	04-11-17,13-11-17	Oboch
Ongenyi laban	63	22/01/18	Sagam
Orawo Anthony	58	22/02/18	Ugwanja
Oteng' Josiah	84	15-03-17	Sagam
Otieno Eliakim	80	05-11-17;12-11-17	Ujwanga
Owino John		04/11/17	Bondo
Owiti Paulo	78	20-05-17	Bondo
Oyugi Yoshua	73	07-11-17	Asembo
Prof Ndeda		20/01/18	JOUST
Retired Bishop Naftali Ong'awa	89	15-05-17	Kwayo
Retired Rev Okoth	77	09-11-17	Bondo
Rev Owade Joseph		12/01/18	Siaya
Rufus Oginde	80	03-02-17	Oboch
Siayi John	74	20/02/18	Maseno

**b. Microfilm Data.**

A Morrison, (Undated February 1909). Letter to Dr Arthur Scott of Scottish Mission: Microfilm Collection; Presbyterian Church of East Africa. P.C.E.A Archives.

A Morrison, (26<sup>th</sup> February 1909). Letter to Dr Scott of Scottish Mission: Microfilm Collection; Presbyterian Church of East Africa.P.C.E.A Archives.

A Morrison, (Undated November 1909). Letter to Dr Scott of Scottish Mission: Microfilm Collection: Presbyterian Church of East Africa. P.C.E.A Archives.

A Morrison, (Undated November 1909). Letter to Dr Scott of Scottish Mission: Microfilm Collection: Presbyterian Church of East Africa P.C.E.A Archives.

J.J Willis, (13<sup>th</sup> September 1910). Letter to Dr Scott of Scottish Mission: Microfilm Collection: Presbyterian Church of East Africa.P.C.E.A Archives.

Lydford, (5<sup>th</sup> May 1909). Letter to Dr Scott of Scottish Mission: Microfilm Collection; Presbyterian Church of East Africa.P.C.E.A Archives.

Scottish Mission Kikuyu, (17<sup>th</sup> May 1909). Letter to Assistant District Inspector of Police: Microfilm Collection; Presbyterian Church of East Africa.P.C.E.A Archives.

**c. Data from the Kenya National Archives.**

KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/14 Grants in Aid for NLM Schools dated 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1934.

KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/15 PC Mr Montgomery to the Archdeacon NLM on approval for grants dated 8<sup>th</sup> August 1934.

KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/15b MR G. E Webb Inspector of Schools letters to Mr Meshack Onyango the Secretary Nomiya Luo Mission, dated 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1934.

KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/16 General Manager Kakuzi Fibre Lands Limited complaint letter about NLM Schools and its activities to the DC Kisumu, dated 23<sup>rd</sup> January 1935.

KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/17 Office of the DC Kisumu Mr W.A Perreau reply to the General Manager Kakuzi Fibre Lands Limited complaint letter about NLM Schools and its activities dated 28<sup>th</sup> January 1935.

KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/18 Archbishop Meshark Onyango response about Kakuzi allegations to the DC Kisumu, dated 30<sup>th</sup> June 1935.

KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/19 letter from the Office of the DC Kisumu Mr W.A Perreau reply to the General Manager Kakuzi Fibre Lands Limited dated 4<sup>th</sup> February 1935.

- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/20 Mr W.A.W Clark to Archdeacon Meshack Onyango on the construction of NLM School at Asembo dated 29<sup>th</sup> January 1937.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/21 DC Central Kavirondo letter to the Inspector of schools about NLM Schools dated 7<sup>th</sup> January 1938.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/22 NLM teacher James Ojuok report dated January 1938.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/23 Nomiya Luo Mission Congress. Nduawara School correspondence to DC Kisumu, dated 4<sup>th</sup> March 1938.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/24 District Commissioner South Kavirondo(Kisii) Letter to the District Commissioner Central Kavirondo about NLM and its spread to Kisii, dated 5<sup>th</sup> August 1938.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/25 Mr C.T Davenport DC Central Kavirondo to the DC South Kavirondo about NLM, dated 9<sup>th</sup> August 1938.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/26 Mr C.T Davenport DC Central Kavirondo Notes on Nomiya Luo Mission dated 13<sup>th</sup> August 1938.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/27 District Commissioner Central Kavirondo acknowledgement from District Commissioner Kisii dated 12<sup>th</sup> August 1938.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/28 Inspector of Schools letter to DC Kavirondo dated 19<sup>th</sup> April 1938.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/29 Mr Hunter DC to Meshack Onyango dated 29<sup>th</sup> April 1941.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/31 DC Central Kavirondo letter to NLM archbishop Meshack Onyango dated 2<sup>nd</sup> June 1941.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/32 Chief Jairos Owino report on Nomiya
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/32 Land for Oboch School dated 10<sup>th</sup> May 1956.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/33 Report on NLM conflicts
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/34 Mr K.L Hunter DC Central Kavirondo letter to Bishop P. Ouma, dated 30<sup>th</sup> June 1941.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/35 Minutes of NLM held at LNC building Kisumu, dated 8<sup>th</sup> July 1941.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/37 Mr K.L Hunter DC Central Kavirondo letter to chiefs Jairo Owino of Gem and Saulo Outa of Seme.

- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/38 Mr C.F Parry DC Central Kavirondo letter to the PC Nyanza about NLM dated 6<sup>th</sup> July 1942.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/39 PC Nyanza reply to DC Central Kavirondo about NLM dated 13<sup>th</sup> July 1942.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/40a PC Nyanza to DC Central Kavirondo about the registration of the newly established Luo Orthodox Church dated 16<sup>th</sup> July 1942.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/40b DC Central Kavirondo letter to PC Nyanza about the division within NLM, dated 14<sup>th</sup> July 1942
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/41 Chief Jairo Owino of Gem letter to DC Central Kavirondo about politics within NLM and its Schools, dated 17<sup>th</sup> June 1942.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/42 Correspondence by Archbishop Jona Ramogi, Rev Walter Obilo, Rev S. Achola to the DC Central Kavirondo about NLM Schools, dated 30<sup>th</sup> September 1944.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/43 Kavirondo Tax Payers Association complaint letter to the DC central Kavirondo about mismanagement of NLM school funds, dated 25<sup>th</sup> Sep 1944.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/44 Response letter from the DC Central Kavirondo to the chairman Kavirondo Tax Payers Association complaint dated 4<sup>th</sup> October 1944.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/45 DC Central Kavirondo letter to the PC Nyanza about NLM dated 17<sup>th</sup> October 1944.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/46 Extract from Int report- July 1948 Re: Nomiya Luo Mission.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/47 Rev Jona Ramogi, Rev Obilo, Rev Adera on NLM doctrines, dated 20<sup>th</sup> September 1944.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/48 Bishop Owen Letter on NLM request to affiliate its Schools to the CMS, dated 12<sup>th</sup> October 1944.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/49 Secretary Kavirondo TaxPayers Association to H.H Low Esqr referenced NLM rules and regulations, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1945.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/50 DC Central Kavirondo letter to the Secretary Kavirondo TaxPayers Welfare Association dated 8<sup>th</sup> January 1945.

- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/51 DC Central Kavirondo Memorandum on NLM, dated 26<sup>th</sup> January 1945.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/53 letter to PC Nyanza on NLM dated 30<sup>th</sup> January 1945.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/54 Mr J.H Flynn Nyanza PC letter to Mr Z.I.A Nyandonje, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> February 1945
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/55 Rev Yona Ramogi to DC Kisumu on grants for NLM schools dated 24<sup>th</sup> August 1946.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/56 DC Mr C.F Atkins to Rev Ramogi on grants for schools dated 24<sup>th</sup> August 1946.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/57 Mr M.N Evans DC Central Kavirondo letter to Chief Asembo Location dated 16<sup>th</sup> January 1947.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/58 Divisional Police Headquarters Kisumu to the DC, dated 15<sup>th</sup> May 1947
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/59 Chief Asembo Location note to the DC about the Nomiya Luo sector schools dated 12<sup>th</sup> January 1947.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/60 PC Nyanza to DC Central Nyanza responding to complaint by Bishop Petro Ouma, dated 27<sup>th</sup> March 1950.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/61 Mr N.G Hardy response to PC letter dated 1<sup>st</sup> April 1950.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/62 DC Central Kavirondo letter to the PC Nyanza about NLM dated 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1950.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/63 Mr F.W Goodbody DC Central Nyanza to Chief Jason Gor of Asembo Location about conflicts in NLC and schools, dated 16<sup>th</sup> May 1950.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/64 Mr F.W Goodbody DC Central Nyanza to Chief Yona Oyungu of Gem Location about conflicts in NLC and schools, dated 16<sup>th</sup> May 1950.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/65 PC Nyanza reply to DC Central Kavirondo about conflicts in NLM dated 22<sup>nd</sup> May 1950.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/66 Minutes of a meeting about NLM and its Schools dated 30<sup>th</sup> May 1950.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/67 Rev Jona Ramogi of Gem protest letter to the PC Nyanza about NLM Elections, dated 6<sup>th</sup> June 1950.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/68 Mr K.L Hunter PC Nyanza response to Jonah Ramogi, dated 10<sup>th</sup> June 1950.



- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/69 Mr K.L Hunter PC Nyanza response to Meshack Onyango and Chief Ondiek Oyieta of Mirogi Kisii dated 19<sup>th</sup> June 1950.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/70 Mr J. Crukmer for PC letter to the secretary NLM Education Committee, dated 15<sup>th</sup> November 1950.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/71 Secretary NLM Education Committee/ Oboch Primary school to the PC Nyanza dated 6<sup>th</sup> November 1950.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/73 NLM Education Committee dated 27<sup>th</sup> March 1951.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/74 Nyanza provincial education officer to the Manager NLM Schools dated 2<sup>nd</sup> April 1951.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/75 Rev Jona Ramogi of Gem letter to the DC about NLM disagreements, dated 18<sup>th</sup> July 1951.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/77 Mr T. A Watts DC Central Nyanza to PC Nyanza about NLM Schools and the existing conflicts dated 31<sup>st</sup> July 1952.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/78 Mr W. F Parker District Education Officer Central Nyanza to the DC Musoma District Tanganyika about the organization of NLM Schools, dated 19<sup>th</sup> June 1952.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/79 District Education Officer Central Nyanza to DC Central Nyanza On the composition of NLM School boards and submission of Cheque for NLM Schools, dated 26<sup>th</sup> July 1952.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/79b Mr Erasto Awino Head Teacher Kijana Primary School in Seme and Rev Sila Adera to DC Central Nyanza on appointment of New School Manager dated 21<sup>st</sup> July 1952.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/80 Rev Wilson Obilo Sagam Primary school to DC Central Nyanza, dated 29<sup>th</sup> July 1952.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/81 Mr Erasto Awino Head Teacher Kijana Primary School in Seme and Rev Sila Adera to DC Central Nyanza on appointment of New School Manager dated 29<sup>th</sup> July 1952.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/82 NLM Education Committee, dated 5<sup>th</sup> August 1952.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/84 DC to District Education Officer Central Nyanza, dated 15<sup>th</sup> August 1952.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/85 NLM teachers salary dated 15<sup>th</sup> December 1952.

- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/85b Teachers of Sagam Primary School NLM letter to DC Central Nyanza dated 28<sup>th</sup> July 1952.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/86 Provincial Education Officer to the District Education Officer, dated 1<sup>st</sup> March 1954.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/87 Mr T.A Watts DC to the District Education Officer Central Nyanza on management of NLM Schools dated 8<sup>th</sup> March 1954.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/88 Management of NLM Schools dated 16<sup>th</sup> March 1954.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/90 NLM Education Committee meeting dated 9<sup>th</sup> July 1954.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/91 Minutes of NLM Education Committee dated 27<sup>th</sup> April 1954.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/92 Application for re-registration of NLM dated 1<sup>st</sup> June 1954.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/96 Chief Asembo to DC Central Nyanza dated 30<sup>th</sup> June 1954.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/97 Chief Asembo to DC Central Nyanza dated 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1954.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/98 Chief Melekzadeck of Seme to DC Central Nyanza dated 29<sup>th</sup> July 1954.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/99 Chief Joseph Gor of Asembo to DC Central Nyanza dated 29<sup>th</sup> July 1954.
- KNA: JD/1/297 Judicial Reports 1909, 1908.
- KNA: JD/1/297 Judicial Reports 1909.
- KNA: JD/1/474 Judicial Reports 1909.
- KNA: JD/1/474 Judicial Reports 1909.
- KNA: PC/NZA/3/45/12 District Intelligence Report, June 1930-1931.
- KNA: DC /KSM/1/10/45/11 Archdeacon Meshark Onyango NLM Nduwara School Correspondence to PC Nyanza, dated 17<sup>th</sup> July 1934
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/1 Archbishop Meshark Onyango correspondence to the DC Central Kavirondo dated 10<sup>th</sup> July 1931.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/10 Nomiya Luo application for grants, dated 31<sup>st</sup> May 1933.

- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/12 Memo from inspector of Schools to NLM dated 17<sup>th</sup> July 1934
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/13 Memo from Inspector of Schools on NLM instructions to DC Central Kavirondo dated 19<sup>th</sup> July 1934.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/2 Letter from the DC Central Kavirondo to Manager NLM Ndurawa School dated 12<sup>th</sup> January 1931.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/3 DC Central Kavirondo to Ag PC Nyanza copied to inspector of schools Mr Donovan and Sg V.M McKeag on the status of NLM Schools dated 12<sup>th</sup> August 1931.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/4 Mr V.M McKeag DC Central Kavirondo to PC Nyanza on the status of funding of NLM Schools dated 23<sup>rd</sup> February 1932.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/5 Letter from PC Nyanza to Inspector of Schools dated 29<sup>th</sup> February 1932.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/6 Letter from DC Central Kavirondo too Inspector of Schools, dated 29 March 1933.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/7 Letter from Inspector of Schools to DC Central Kavirondo, dated 7<sup>th</sup> April 1933.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/8a Nomiya Luo Mission Ndurawa School dated 7<sup>th</sup> May 1933.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/8b NLM Schools Minutes, dated 9<sup>th</sup> May 1933
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/9 Education Department Inspection Report dated 30<sup>th</sup> May 1933.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/35/15 – Nomiya Cult.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/1/161– Nomiya Luo Mission Schools Correspondences.
- KNA: PC/NZA/1/40 Nyanza Provincial Annual Report 1934.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/100 Rev Yona Ramogi Oboch Primary School to DC Central Nyanza dated 20<sup>th</sup> August 1954.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/114 DO report on Conflict within NLM dated 8<sup>th</sup> July 1955.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/115 Oboch School Site Dated 4<sup>th</sup> August 1955.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/117 Rev G Owalo Ramba Intermediate School to DC Central Nyanza dated 17<sup>th</sup> September 1955.

- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/118 Rev G Owalo to DC on Oboch DEB Primary School dated 19<sup>th</sup> September 1955.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/120 Registration of Oboch DEB Primary School dated 22<sup>nd</sup> September 1955.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/121 NLM Oboch School dated 27<sup>th</sup> September 1955.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/122 Extract from NLM Oboch DEB School.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/123 Adonija Owich letter to stop construction of NLM Oboch DEB Primary School dated 28<sup>th</sup> September 1955.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/124 NLM Oboch School dated 31<sup>st</sup> December 1955.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/125 Land for NLM Oboch School dated 30<sup>th</sup> December 1955.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/126 NLM Oboch School land dated 31<sup>st</sup> December 1955.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/127 NLM Oboch School land dated 12<sup>th</sup> January 1956.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/128a Setting apart of land at Oboch dated 25<sup>th</sup> October 1955.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/128b Setting apart of Oboch school land dated 19<sup>th</sup> October 1955.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/130 New site for Oboch Primary School dated 2<sup>nd</sup> May 1956.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/131 Land for Oboch School dated 14<sup>th</sup> January 1956.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/133 New site for Oboch Primary School dated 11<sup>th</sup> May 1956.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/136 Teaching post at Oboch Primary School dated 8<sup>th</sup> October 1958.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/137 NLM Authority to manage schools dated 9<sup>th</sup> October 1958.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/139 DC Mr J.C Appleby on NLM Authority to manage schools dated 20<sup>th</sup> January 1959.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/101 DC to District Education Officer Central Nyanza to chairman NLM Oboch Primary School dated 26<sup>th</sup> August 1954.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/102 Head teacher Oboch Primary School to the DC central Nyanza, dated 17<sup>th</sup> September 1954.

- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/103 Mr T.A Watts DC to NLM Chairman Oboch primary and Maseno Intermediate Schools dated 13<sup>th</sup> November 1954.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/104 Registration of NLM dated 30<sup>th</sup> March 1955.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/105 Mr P.J Browning DC central Nyanza to Mr Gideon Owalo Ramba Intermediate School on NLM Registration dated 6<sup>th</sup> April 1955
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/106 Oboch School Land dated 31<sup>st</sup> May 1955.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/107 Oboch School Site dated 31<sup>st</sup> May 1955.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/108 Oboch School dated 20<sup>th</sup> June 1955.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/109 Ramba Intermediate School to DC Central Nyanza, dated 25<sup>th</sup> July 1955.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/110 DC Central Nyanza to District Officer Bondo on Oboch School dated 29<sup>th</sup> July 1955.
- KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/113 Mr J.M Normand DC Central Nyanza; on Oboch School, dated 4<sup>th</sup> August 1955.
- KNA: DC/CN/1/6/1 Kavirondo District Annual Report 1924-1931.
- KNA: DC/CN/1/5/2 Annual Reports 1919-1923.
- KNA: DC/CN/1/5/2 Annual Reports, Kisumu District 1919-1923.
- KNA: PC/NZA/4/5/2 Nyanza Provincial Intelligence Report dated September 1936-December 1938.
- KNA: DC/CN/1/6/2 Annual Reports 1932-1934.
- KNA: DC/CN/1/6/2 Annual Reports, Kavirondo District 1932-1934.
- KNA: DC/CN/1/5/3 Confidential Reports on Chiefs (Nyanza).
- KNA: DC/CN/1/6/5 Central Kavirondo District Annual Report 1939.
- KNA: DC/CN/1/2/10 Central Nyanza District Annual Reports 1958.
- KNA: DC/CN/1/2/11 Central Nyanza District Annual Reports 1958-1959.
- KNA: DC/CN/3/1 Central Kavirondo Political Record Book: Historical and Custom September 1936- December 1938.
- KNA: PC/ 18/1 Annual Reports 1983.

KNA: PC/ 18/1 Annual Reports 1983.

KNA: PC/NZA 2/2 Annual Reports 1910.

KNA: PC/NZA 2/2 Annual Reports 1910.

KNA: PC/NZA/2/3 Annual Reports (Ainsworth Political Records) 1908-1913.

KNA: PC/NZA/2/3 Annual Reports 1905- 1915.

KNA: PC/NZA/2/3 Annual Reports 1905- 1915.

KNA: PC/NZA/2/3 Annual Reports 1908-1913.

### Secondary Sources

Adem, (1967). *Two Hundred Independent Church Movements in East Africa*. A survey, analysis and prediction. Mimeo.

Ajayi, J.F (1965). *Christian's missions in Nigeria*: London, Longmans.

Anderson, J, (1970). *The Struggle for the School*. London; Longman publishers.

Ayandele, E.A (1965). *The Missionary Impact in northern Nigeria*: London, Longman

Baeta, C. G (1968). *Christianity in Tropical Africa*; London, UOP

Barasa S.O (2013). 'The Contributions of the Church Missionary Society in the Growth and Development of Education in Kenya: A case Study of Ng'iya Girl's School, Siaya District, Siaya County, 1923-1967'. (Unpublished M.Ed thesis) Moi University, Eldoret, Kenya.

Barret, A, (1973). *Kenya Churches Handbook; the Development of Kenyan Christianity 1498-1973*. Kisumu; Evangelical Publication House.

Barret, C.D.1970. *Interdisciplinary theories of religion and Africa Independency*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.

Baur, J. (1990). *The Catholic Church in Kenya. A Centenary History*. Nairobi; St Paul's publications.

Best, J.W and Kahn J.V, (1993). *Research in Education*. 7<sup>th</sup> Ed., Boston; Allyn and Bacon.

Bogonko, S.N. (1984) *Africans and the Politics of Their Education in Kenya*. Nairobi: Evans Brothers (Kenya).

- Bogonko, S.N. (1992) *A History of Modern Education in Kenya (1895–1991)*. Nairobi: Evans Brothers (Kenya).
- Borg, W.R. and Gall, M.D, (1983). *Educational Research. An Introduction*, 4th Edition. New York; Longman.
- Cagnolo, C. (1933) *The Akikuyu*. Nyeri: The Mission Printing School.
- Carnegie, (1935). *Missionary Role*. New York Carnegie Corporation .
- Cohen L. and Manion L, (1994). *Research Methods in Education*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. London; Rout ledge.
- Cohen, L. Manion, L. & Morrison, K (2007). *Research Methods in education* (6<sup>th</sup> edition). London; Routledge.
- Coleman J.S. (1965). *Education and Political Development*. Princeton University Press.
- Collins, H. (2010). *Creative Research: The Theory and Practice of Research for the Creative Industries*. AVA publications.
- Constitution, (Revised 1973). *Fundamental of declaration; Laws and Regulations of the Nomiya Luo Church*.
- Creswell, J, W (2009). *Research design: qualitative and mixed methods research*. London; Sage.
- Daneel, M.L,( 1971). *Old and New in the Southern Shona Independent Churches Vol 1*. In the '*Background and the rise of major movements*'. The Hague: Mouton.
- Divvern, P.J (1970). 'The Maria Legio; the dynamics of an African independent church among the Luo of East Africa'. (Unpublished Doctoral thesis, University of Rome)
- Education Act, (2002). Government Press. (Nairobi).
- El-Ghannam M.A. (1970). *Politics in Educational Planning*. IIEP Occasional Papers No.19. UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning. Paris.
- Elizabeth Richards, (1956). *Fifty Years in Nyanza 1906-1956*. Nyanza Jubilee Committee, Nairobi; Acme press Limited.
- Elsa Abres, (1973). *The Role of Self Help in Development of Education in Kenya. 1900-1973*, Nairobi, Kenya Literature Bureau.
- Encyclopedia Britannica, 2010 Ultimate Edition.

- Erma A.E, (1971). *The Contribution to Education by the Pentecostal Assemblies of God .Canada; Manitoba.*
- Fitz, J. Halpin, D. Power, S. (1999). Implementation research and educational policy: practice and prospects. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 42(1), 53-69.
- Furley, O.W. and T.Watson (1978) *A History of Education in East Africa*. New York: NOK Publishers.
- Gerrisser M, (2007). *Alegacy of Liberation; Thambo Mbeki*. Jonathan Ball Publishers.
- Government Services for the Benefit of Africans from 1946 Onwards. Nairobi: Government Printer.
- Gulafshani, (2003). "Understanding Reliability and Validity in Quantitative Research. The Qualitative report" 8(4)597-607  
<http://www.nova.edu/sss/qr/QR8-4/gulasfshani>.
- Healy, M and Perry, (2000). "Comprehensive Validity to Judge Validity and Reliability of Quantitative Research within Realism Paradigm". *Quantitative Market research* 3(3), 118-126.
- Herskovits, M. (1962). *The Human Factor in Changing Africa*. New York: Knopf.
- Hutchinson, E. (1874). *The Slave Trade of East Africa*. London; London University press.
- Huxley, J. (1931). *African View*. London; Chattos and Windus.
- Idem, (1963). British Administration in Central Nyanza District 1900-1960. *Journal of African History Vol IV No 11*.
- Idem, (1963). What is at Stake in the African Independent Churches? London: Edinburgh Houses.
- Idem, (1968). Schism and Renewal in Africa; An Analysis of Six Thousand Contemporary Religion Movement. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.
- Idem, (1970). Zionism and fault healing in Rhodesia: Aspects of African Independent Churches. Paris: Mouton.
- Idem, (1971). Masinde: A folk hero in *Hadith 3*. Nairobi: EAPH.
- Idem, (1973). Towards a general explanation of protest movements in Kenya. Mimeo, Nairobi University.
- Idem, (1976). *Zulu Zion*. London. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Idem, (1979). *People around the Lake*. London: Evans Brothers.



- Idowu, B (1965). *Towards Indigenous Church*: London, OUP
- Joseph Payne (1935). *Education in Tropical Africa* (Being three Joseph Payne Lectures for 1935 delivered in the University of London Institute of Education by E.R.J. Hussey, H.S. Scott and J.J. Willis), pp. 25–41. London: Oxford University Press.
- Karani, F.A, (1974). “The History of Maseno, 1906-1962; Its Alumni and the Local Society”. Unpublished M.A Thesis, University of Nairobi.
- Kay, S. (1973). “Role of Friends African Mission in the Development of Western Education Among Southern Abaluhya 1902-1965”. unpublished PhD Thesis. University of Wisconsin, Wisconsin.
- Kayode O. I (2012). ‘The Interplay between Ppolitics and Education in Nigeria: Any Symbiotic Relationship’. *Journal of Education and Practice*, ISSN 2222-1735, Vol 3, No 9.
- Kencheloe, J. (1991). *Educational Historiographical Meta-rethinking Methodology in the 1990s*. *Qualitative Studies in Educational Studies*, 42(1), 53-69.
- Kenya National Archives, (1906 -1916). *Kenya Blue Book*, Kenya National archives, Nairobi Kenya.
- Kenyatta Jomo, (1962). *Facing Mount Kenya*, New York: Vintage, USA.
- Kimbrough R.B. (1967). *Power Structures and Educational Change in Planning and Effective needed Changes in Education*. Newyork Rand McNally & Company
- Kipkorir, B. (1969). *The Alliance High School and the Origin Of Kenyan Africa Elite 1926-1962*, Cambridge.
- Kirk, J. And Miller, M.L. (1986). *Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research* . Beverly Hills. C.A; Sage.
- Kisilu, D. Kombo and Tromp, D.L.A, (2006). *Proposal and Thesis Writing, An Introduction*. Pauline Publications Africa, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Kitabu Lamor (1950). *Book of Common Prayers with additional services and prayers in Dholuo*, CPK, Revised ed 1968, 1978. Nairobi, Uzima Press.
- Knight, J.B (1969). *The Costing and Financing of Educational Development in Tanzania in Educational Development in Africa*. Vol ii, p21, Paris
- Koinange, M. (1955) *The People of Kenya Speak for Themselves*. Detroit: Kenya
- Konsolaki, K. (2012). *The philosophical and Methodological aspects of research being conducted in the field of marketing and advertising*, sore’ze, France: 20<sup>th</sup> EDAMBA Summer Academy.

- Kothari, C. R. (2009), *Research Methodology, Methods and Techniques*; New Age International, Wiley Eastern Limited, New Delhi.
- Kovar M.H, (1970). 'Kikuyu independent school movement: interaction of politics and education in Kenya 1923-1953'. (Unpublished Ed.D thesis).
- Kurgat P.K, (2004). Education as a Foreign Policy Tool. Kenya Students Airlift to Russia and Eastern Europe 1954-1991. Moi University Press, Moi University, Eldoret Kenya.
- La Fontaine, S.H. and J.H. Mower (1955) *Local Government in Kenya*. Nairobi: The Eagle Press.
- Lanternari V. (1963). *The Religions of the Oppressed: a Study of Modern Messianic Movements*. English edition. New York: Knopf.
- Lincoln, Y.S & Guba, E.G (1994). *Naturalistic Inquiry*, Beverly Hills; Sage Publication.
- Liyod P.C (1967). *African Social Change*. London, Penguin.
- Lonsdale, J. M (1963). 'A Political History of Nyanza 1883-1945'. (Unpublished) Doctoral thesis. Trinity College Cambridge University.
- Mackatiani C, Imbovah M, Imbova N, Gakungai D K (2016). 'Development of Education in Kenya: Influence of the Political Factor Beyond 2015 Mdns. Journal of education and Practice'. ISSN 2222-1735, ISSN 2222-288x. Vol.7, No 11, 2016.
- Maclure S. (1976). 'Politics and Education'. Tylor and Francis, Oxford Review of Education, Journal, Vol 2, No1, pp17-28.
- Mbeki T. (1998). *Africa the Time Has Come*. Tafelberg Publishers. New York.
- Maxon, R. (1994). *East Africa, an Introductory History*. Cambridge University press.
- Mbithi, J.S, (1990). *African Religion and Philosophy* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition), New Hermsire: Heinenan.
- Mbithi, J.S, (1975). *Introduction to African Religion* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition), London: Heinenan.
- Menkiti, I.A,(1984). 'Person and Community in African Traditional Thought'. In Wright R.A, (ed) *African Philosophy: An introduction* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition pp 171-182) Lanham, MD: University press of America.
- Merley M, (1963). 'Kikuyu independent school movement of Kenya: a case of stimulating discouragement'.(unpublished M.A thesis) , Columbia University, U.S.A.
- Muga, E, (1975). *African response to Western Churches religion*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.

- Mugenda, O.M and Mugenda, A.G, (2003). *Research methods: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. Nairobi; African center for technology studies (ASTS).
- Myers, M.D. (2008). *Qualitative Research in Bussiness and Management*. Sage Publication.
- Ndeda M.A.J, (1991). *The impact of male labour migration on rural women: A Case Study of Siaya District, 1894-1963*. Unpublished Phd thesis Kenyatta University
- Ndeda M.A.J, (2003). 'Nomiya Luo Church: Gender Analysis of the Dynamics of an African Independent Church among the Luo of Siaya District in the Twentieth century and beyond'. *Missionalia* 31:2, August 2003 pp.239-277.
- Ngugi wa Thiong'o, (1972). *Homecoming*: London; Nairobi Heinemann publishers.
- Niangoran B.G, (1984). *The Akan World of Gold Weight*. Vol 2, Abijan, Ivory Coast: Les Nouvelles, editions Africainnes.
- Ochieng W.R, (1989). *Modern History of Kenya, 1895-1980*. Nairobi; Evans Brothers Ltd.
- Ochieng, W.R, (1974). *An outline history of Nyanza*. Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau.
- Ocholla Ayayo, A.B.C. ( 1980). *The Luo culture: A reconstruction of the material culture patterns of a traditional African society*. Wiesbaden, Frazsteiner Verlay GMBH.
- Odaga, A, (1980). *Education values of sigendini Luo: The Kenya Luo oral narratives*, MA. Thesis, University of Nairobi.
- Odinga, O (1967). *Not yet Uhuru; an Autobiography*. London, Heinemann.
- Odwako, (1975). "The Role of Christian Missionary Society in the Development of Education in Western Kenya". Unpublished M.A Thesis, University of Nairobi.
- Ogot B.A (1971). 'Reverend Alfayo Odongo Mango 1870-1934'. In K. King and Salim A (eds). *Kentya Historical Biographies*. Nairobi: EAPH
- Ogot, B.A, (1973) (ed) *Zamani: A survey of East African History*. Nairobi: Longman.
- Ogut, S.O, (1978). *Kitap lamo mar Nomiya*. Asembo Bay, 1978.
- Ogotu, G.E.M, (1975). *An historical analysis of the Luo idea of God c. 1500-1900*. MA Thesis, University of Nairobi. July 1975.

- Ojok Jackson, (2000). *Focus on National Movements and the New States in Africa, Modern History 1935-2000*. First edition. Kampala: New Vision.
- Olag, D.A, (1978). *A History of Jokarachounyo 1500-1900*. (Unpublished) B.A Dissertation University of Nairobi.
- Oliver, R. (1966). *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*, London Britain; Longmans Green and co Ltd.
- Omosule, M. (1974) 'Political and Constitutional Aspects of the Origins and
- Oosthizen, G. C.1968, *Post-Christianity in Africa: A theological and anthropological study*. London: C. Hurst and Co.
- Opwapo, M.A. 1981. *Nomiya Luo Church: The dynamics of an independent church among the Luo in Siaya District*. (Unpublished) MA thesis, University of Nairobi.
- Oso W, Y & Onen, D.(2005). *A general Guide to Writing Research Proposal and Report*. Options press and publications, Kisumu (K).
- Otiende, J.E et al, (1992). *An Education and Development in Africa. A Historical Perspective*, Nairobi; oxford university press.
- Otieno, N. A, (1963). "An Outline of History of Education in East Africa 1844-1925"(Ed. Project Report). Teacher College, Columbia University, USA.
- Painter, K.L, (1951). *The Hill of Vision The Story of Quaker Movement in East Africa 1902-1965*, Nairobi; English press Ltd.
- Pamela, w, (2001) *Hallelujah Lads and Lasses, Remarking the Salvation Army in America 1880-1930*.University of North Carolina Press, U.S.A.
- Parrin Jassy, M.F, (1973). *Basic Community in the African Churches*. NY:Orbis books.
- Philp, H.R.A. (1936) *A New Day in Kenya*. London: World Dominion Press.  
Publication Fund.
- Pidgin, C.R (1991). *Naturalism*. In P. Singer (Ed), *A companion to ethics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Raab, C. (1994). *Theorising the Governance of Education*. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 42(1) 6-22
- Ranger,T.D. (1965) 'African Attempts to Control Education in East and Central Africa,1900–1939', *Past and Present* 32: 57–85.

- Rasmussen, A. M. B, (1985). *A history of Quaker Movements in Africa*. London, British academic press.
- Ress, E. J, (1964). *Setting the Language Milestone*, Nairobi: the Reporter.
- Richard, E. (1956). Fifty Years in Nyanza 1906-1956, the History of CMS and the Anglican Church in Nyanza Province Kenya Nyanza. Kisumu: Jubilee Committee.
- Rogers, S, (1933). A Plan for Course of Study among the Primitive Blacks-Africa with Special Reference to the Kavirondo People of Kenya Colony, British East Africa. MA. Thesis, State College, Washington.
- Roman Catholic Report on Church in Kavirondo 1904-1925. (Roman Catholic Church Kibuye).
- Roman Catholic Report on Ojola Mission 1900-1914. Kibuye Catholic Mission Records
- Rosberg, C. and J. Nottingham (1966) *The Myth of Mau Mau: Nationalism in Kenya*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.
- Rosette J. B, (1979). *The New Religions in Africa*. (New Jersey:Ablex PC,)
- Saunders, M., Lewis, P. & Thornhill, A. (2012). *Research Methods for Business Students, 6<sup>th</sup> Edition*, Pearson Education Limited.
- Scanlon, D. G, (1960). "The Bush School" Phil Delat Kappan, XLI, No.4 (January 1960).
- Schiller, L.D, (1982). Gem and Kano: A comparative study of the Luo political systems under stress 1880-1914 Vol Phd, Thesis North Western University.
- Scott, H.S. (1936). *Some Aspects of Native Education in Kenya*. London, Edinburgh House Press, UK.
- Shanguhya, S. (1996). "The Contribution to Education Development by P.A.G in Kenya. Nyang'ori School and its impact 1910-1973" (Unpublished M.Phil Thesis), Moi University.
- Sheffield, J. R, (1973). *Education in Kenya: A historical study*, Teachers College Columbia University.
- Sifuna, D. N, (1980). *Short Essays on Education in Kenya*, University of Nairobi Press
- Sifuna, D. N, (1990). *Development of Education in Africa, The Kenyan Experience*. Nairobi initiative Ltd, Kenya.

- Sifuna, D. N, and Otiende J.E. (2006). *An Introductory History of Education*, Revised edition; University of Nairobi, Kenya.
- Sifuna, D.N. (1990) *Development of Education in Africa*. Nairobi: Initiatives Publishers.
- Sindima, H, (1991). Bondedness, Moyo and Umunthu as the elements of Achewa spirituality: organizing logic and principals of life. *Ultimate reality and meaning* 14(1),5-20.
- Smack, H, (1987). *Friends in East Africa* .Richmond. Indiana University Press.
- Smith E. W, (1926). *The Christian Mission in Africa*. , London, Edinburgh House Press, UK.
- Sogoni, M.H, (2013). “The Contributions of The Church of God in The Growth and Development of Education; A Case Study of Bunyore Girls High School, Vihiga County, Kenya 1938-1989”. Unpublished M.Phil Thesis, Moi University.
- Sorobebe Bogonko, (1992). *A History of Modern Education in Kenya 1895-1992*, Evans Brothers Ltd, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Ssekamwa, J.C. and S.M.E. Lugumba (2001) *A History of Education in East Africa* (2nd edn). Kampala: Fountain Publishers.
- Stabler, E, (1969). *Education since Uhuru. The Schools of Kenya*, Middletown, U.S.A; Wesleyan University Press.
- Stanfield J. (2005) ‘Kenya’s forgotten independent school movement’ University of Newcastle economic affairs journal, Vol 25, No 4.
- Strayer W, (1973). “The Making of Mission Communities in Kenya”. Amicrofilm Perspective, *Comparative Education Review* Vol. xvii; 3 (oct.1973: 313-330).
- Szkudlarek T, (2013). *Education and the Political, New Theoretic Articulations*. Sense Publishers, Rotterdam Netherlands.
- Tedlar, E, (1992). ‘Indigenous African Education as a means for Understanding the Fullness of Life’. *Journal of black students*, Vol 23, no 1 September 1992, pp 7-26.
- Temu, A.J. (1972) *British Protestant Missions*. London: Longman Group.
- Tignor, R.L. (1976). *The Colonial Transformation of Kenya*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Tippet A.R (1967). *Solomon’s Island Christianity*. London; Lutterworth Press

- Travers, R. M.W, (1973). *An Introduction to Education Research*. New York, Macmillan
- Troyna, B. (1994). Critical Social Research and Education Policy, *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 42(1), 70-84
- Turner H.W (1971). 'A New Field in the History of Religions'. *Journal of Religion of Religions*, Vol 1, No 1 pp 15-23.
- Turner, H.W, (1977). *Bibliography of New Religious movements in Primal societies*. Boston: Prentice Hall.
- Uzelac, M (1968). *The System of Financing Education in Yugoslavia*. Belgrade Medunarodna
- Van Sertina, I, (1986). *Blacks in science: Ancient and Modern*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
- Walaba, A. W, (2009). *The Role of Christian Missionaries in Socio-Economic Developments*, Eldoret; Bookshelf Publishers
- Wallerstein I. (1963). *Africa the Politics of Independence*. New York, Vintage
- Walter, R, (1980). *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Dar-es-Salam University Press
- Wamagatta E. (2008). African Quest and Struggle for High Schools in Colonial Kenya 361. *Journal of African and Asian studies*. Sage Publication Vol 43(3) 345-363.
- Wanyama, P.M, (2012). "The Contributions of Mill Hill Missionaries in the Growth and Development of Education in Kenya; a Case Study of Kibabii Secondary School, Bungoma County, 1950-2000". Unpublished M.Phil Thesis, Moi University.
- Wanyoike, E.N. (1974) *An African Pastor*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.
- Welborn, F.B, Ogot B.A (1966). *A Place to Feel at Home: a Study of Two Independent Churches in Western Kenya*. London; OUP.
- Welbourn, F. B, (1976). "The Impact of Christianity on East Africa", In Low D.A and Smith A (Eds) *History of East Africa*, Oxford University Press. (1976).
- Welbourn, F.B. Ogot, B.A, (1966). *A place to feel at home: A study of his Independent Churches in Western Kenya*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Wesley, C, (1976). *The church and the community's Quaker in western Kenya 1902-1963*, Columbia.

- West Martin,(1975). *Bishops and prophets in a black city* Claremont: David Philips publishers.
- Whission, M, (1964). *Change and challenge*. Nairobi: Council of churches of Kenya.
- Wiersma, W. (1980). *Research Methods in Education*. An introduction. New York: F.E Peacock Publishers Incorporation
- Wilson B, (1970). *Religious sects: a sociological study* London: Weidenfield and Nicolson.
- Wilson Gordon, (1965). *Luo Homestead and Family*. Elgon Nyanza District. Nairobi: Govt. printer.
- Wilson, C. J, (1952). *Before the Dawn of Kenya*. The English press Ltd, Nairobi
- Winston, (2000). *Red Hot and Righteous: The Urban Religion of the Salvation Army*, Harvard University press, USA.
- Wiper A. (1977). *The Rural Rebels: A study of two protests Movements in Kenya*. Nairobi, OUP.
- Wipper, A, (1977). *The rural rebel: A study of the protest movement in Kenya*. Nairobi: Oxford University Press.
- Wolcott, H.R. (1990). *Qualitative inquiry in education: the continuing debate*. <http://www.ostate.edu>. Retrieved 07/06/16.



## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

#### FORMER NLC LEADERS/ ADHERENTS

1. When did the NLC begun?
  
2. Name the pioneer co founders of NLC.
  
3. What made NLC establish schools?
  
4. How did the local community relate with those educated at the NLM established schools

1. Regard them as aliens to the community ( )
  
2. Feared them hence passively left them alone ( )
  
3. Integrated with them because they offered much to the Community ( )

5. What kind of education was offered by the schools (Tick where Appropriate).

Bible study ( ) Reading ( ) Industrial training ( ) Arithmetic and writing ( )

Any other.....

6. Were the students Borders? ( ) or Day scholars? ( )

7. Does the NLC established schools still active in educational matters?
8. Do you know any church official that may have a lot of information on NLC?
9. What was the impact of the establishment of the NLC to the local community?
10. What was the relationship between NLC and the colonial administration?
11. What difference existed between the curriculum offered by the NLC schools and the missionary established schools?
12. Did the NLC established schools and the NLC conflict with the interest of the state at any time?

**APPENDIX 2: CLAN / Village Elders**

Name.....Village..... Age.....

1. Were you or any of your relative a colonial administrative leader at the time NLC was established?

2. Did the Luo have any system of education before the coming of missionaries?

3. What were the content and the methods of instruction in the traditional system of Education among the Luo?

4. Do you know of any cultural aspect that was part of traditional African Education system that was affected by the missionaries?

5. When missionaries came how were they received?

Poor reception /Resisted by Africans ( )

Good /mixed reaction from Africans ( )

Very good /Excellent/collaborated with Africans ( )

6. What was the reaction of the Luo community to the establishment of NLC and NLC independent schools?

7. Did the community overwhelmingly enrol children in NLC established schools?
  
8. How many former students at that time do you know that successfully finished school and were able to be employed by the government and known organizations of the time? Can you identify them?
  
9. Do you know of any impacts that NLC schools had on the local Luo community?
  
10. Can you mention /identify any other person/people you know who may be able to give us important information about the NLC established schools and the NLC?

**APPENDIX 3: Interview Schedule; Former Students of NLC established schools**

1. In which of the NLC established schools did you attend and when?
2. How many teachers were at the school at that time?
3. Did you interact with the leader of the NLC?
4. Did the school administration or NLC officials inform you on why they established the school?
5. What was the content of the education offered by the school? Did it change you in any way as an African child?
6. After school were you employed by the government? What kind of employment were you offered?
7. How many students do you know that went through the school later become successful? Can you mention them?

**APPENDIX 4: Interview Schedule**

Former school officials/Head Teachers/ Teachers/School Workers

1. Why did the NLC establish schools?
2. When did you serve the school and in what capacity?
3. How many students enrolled at the time you were serving in the school?
4. What do you know about the NLC educational mission?
5. What were the impacts of the activities of NLC established schools to the local community?
6. How did the school community work with the colonial government?
7. What challenges faced the school at the time?
8. What other information do you know about the NLC and its established schools?


## APPENDIX 5: Research Permit from NACOSTI


**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:**  
**MR. SAMSON OMACHAR BARASA**  
of MOI UNIVERSITY, 0-30100  
ELDORET, has been permitted to conduct  
research in Siaya County


Permit No : NACOSTI/P/17/78817/20022  
Date Of Issue : 14th November, 2017  
Fee Received : Ksh 2000

on the topic: **POLITICS AND EDUCATION  
IN COLONIAL KENYA THE EMERGENCY  
AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NOMIYA  
LUO MISSION SCHOOLS 1911 TO 1960**

for the period ending:  
14th November, 2018





  
.....  
**Applicant's  
Signature**

  
.....  
**Director General  
National Commission for Science,  
Technology & Innovation**

**CONDITIONS**

1. The License is valid for the proposed research, research site specified period.
2. Both the Licence and any rights thereunder are non-transferable.
3. Upon request of the Commission, the Licensee shall submit a progress report.
4. The Licensee shall report to the County Director of Education and County Governor in the area of research before commencement of the research.
5. Excavation, filming and collection of specimens are subject to further permissions from relevant Government agencies.
6. This Licence does not give authority to transfer research materials.
7. The Licensee shall submit two (2) hard copies and upload a soft copy of their final report.
8. The Commission reserves the right to modify the conditions of this Licence including its cancellation without prior notice.

  
**REPUBLIC OF KENYA**

  
**National Commission for Science,  
Technology and Innovation**

**RESEARCH CLEARANCE  
PERMIT**

Serial No.A 16436  
**CONDITIONS: see back page**

**APPENDIX 6: Research Permit from the KNA**


Permit No. 19737

Valid from 9/1/2017 to 9/1/2018

Name: BARASA SAMSON  
OMACHAR

Address: DEPT OF EDU.  
FOUNDATIONS SCHOL OF EDU  
MOI UNIVERSITY P.O BOX  
3900 ELDORET


Issued by: P.O. [Signature]  
Director



RENEWAL DATES:  
1 .....  
2 .....  
3 .....

NOT TRANSFERABLE

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



KENYA NATIONAL ARCHIVES  
AND DOCUMENTATION SERVICE  
P.O. Box 49210-00100  
NAIROBI

This permit is the property of  
KNADS and is subject to withdrawal  
at any time.

GPk 5420-3m-7/2005

OFFICIAL ENTRY PERMIT TO  
ARCHIVES SEARCH-ROOM ONLY



## Appendix 7: KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/139

39

S/ADM/MAN/65/149.

DISTRICT OFFICE  
 20 JAN 1959  
 CENTRAL NYANZA  
 KISUMU

20th January, 59.

Mr G.C. Owalo,  
 Leader Nomiya Luo Church,  
 c/o Mr M.W. Ombaka,  
 Assistant Education Officer,  
Bondo.

AUTHORITY TO MANAGE SCHOOLS.  
NOMIYA LUO CHURCH.

I refer to your application, dated 23rd October 1958,  
 for the Nomiya Luo Church to be recognised as an authorised Schools  
 Management Body.

I wish to inform you that the decision of the Minister of  
 Education, Labour and Lands is that the Nomiya Luo Church should  
 not be approved as a managing body for schools. This information  
 was received from the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry through  
 the Director of Education. (His covering letter 15/23/2/3/Vol IV/90  
 of 6th January, 1959).

J. C. APPLEBY  
 (J.C. APPLEBY.)  
 DISTRICT EDUCATION OFFICER,  
K I S U M U.

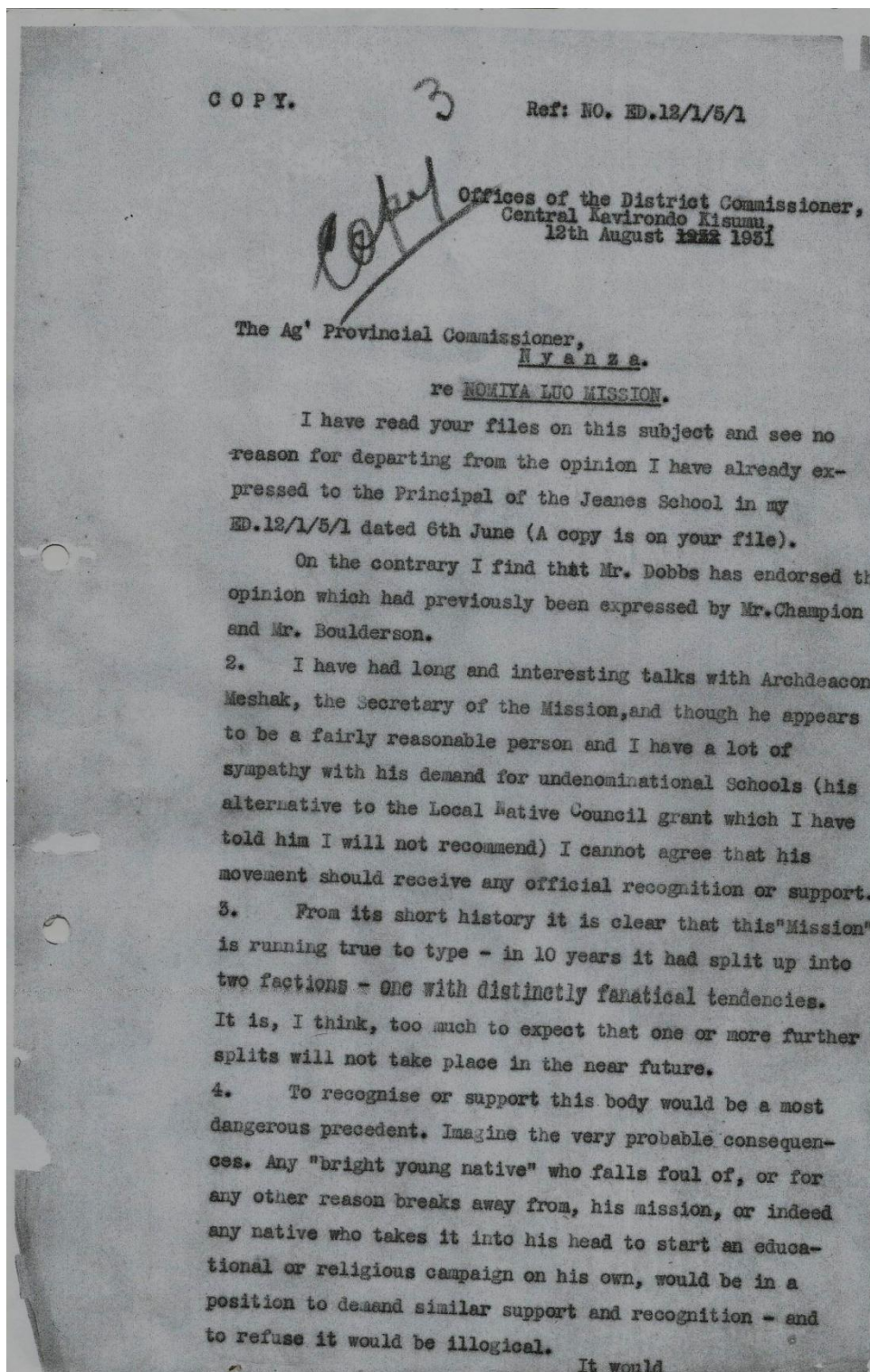
Jc  
 15/1-20/1

Jc  
 20/1

Copy to:- District Commissioner, Central Nyanza. ✓

JCA/IJB.

## Appendix 8 : KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/3



2

5. It would appear possible from Mr. Benson's letter of 1st July that he contemplates taking a nominee of this kind even without Local Native Council backing. I would strongly oppose such a course.

In Mr. Dougall's letter of 27th May, a copy of which is on your file, he puts his finger on the crux of the whole situation "..... they must be supported by a recognised society". And by "recognised" Mr. Dougall evidently implies "responsible".

The Luo Nomiya Mission has no responsible person in control and is neither a "recognised" nor responsible, society.

6. It may perhaps be argued that as these people have already started schools it would be wise to train their teachers and generally improve their standard of these schools. On the other hand to do so would definitely encourage the whole movement and prevent the realization of the very desirable solution of the problem contemplated by Mr. Dobbs in the last para of his NO.410/40/20 of 19th February 1930 i.e. that without good schools numbers of the Nomiya followers will drift away to where they can get better education.

It is I fear, undisputable that the best of Missions or religions would go to the wall in Kenya if they failed to offer the native educational facilities.

Sd. V.M.McKeag

District Commissioner.

Copy given to Inspector of Schools, Mr. Donovan  
11 9 31  
Sd. V.M.McKeag.

## Appendix 9 : KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/4

4

Ref. No. ED.12/1/4/7

Offices of the District Commissioner,  
Central Kavirondo, Kisumu,  
25th February, 1952.

The Provincial Commissioner,  
Nyanza, K i s u m u.

Ref. My Letter No. ED.12/1/5/1 of 12.8.51  
& previous correspondence.

RE: NOMPIYA LILO MISSION.

These people have been pressing for financial assistance for their Schools, either from Government or from the Local Native Council or both.

2. The Local Native Council are anxious to grant them money but I have advised against it on the grounds that it would be a most dangerous precedent to give financial assistance to such separatist bodies who have no responsible backing.

3. At the same time one must have the greatest sympathy with these people who are at present denied educational facilities for their children unless they put them under the influence of missions with religious beliefs contrary to their own.

4. It is suggested that at the next Local Native Council meeting a statement of policy on the following lines be made to the Council and its opinion on it obtained. ✓

POLICY.

5. (a) That Government will not at present approve financial assistance being given from Public Funds to educational organizations without responsible European backing.

(b) That Government recognises the right of  
native/

- 2 -

native to educational facilities for their children unaccompanied by religious instruction contrary to the beliefs of the parents or guardians of the pupils

(c) That as soon as the Local Native Council Central School, for which money has already been earmarked, has been built Government will authorise the building of Local Native Council undenominational Feeder Schools should they be required, such schools to be open to all natives of the District.

(d) That until such Feeder Schools are built natives such as the adherents of the Nomiya Luo Missio are advised to send their children to the most convenient Sector Schools on the clear understanding that no religious instruction shall be given to their children and with the assurance that Government will take the necessary action to enforce this condition.

6. The Director of Education with whom I have discussed this matter, has asked that this suggestion be forwarded to him with your comments for consideration in so far as it affects the Educational Policy of the Colony.

V. M. McKEAG.

DISTRICT COMMISSIONER.

VMM/EA.

**Appendix 10 KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/9**

9

(9)

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, KENYA.

VILLAGE SCHOOL INSPECTION REPORT NO.....Date 20/5/33

1. School Authority ..... Nanyaa Luo Mission

2. Name of School ..... Pluvot ..... Grade Elementary  
Sub-elementary

3. District ..... Ckav ..... Location Beembe

4. Teachers .....

Names:	Tidy?	Qualifications:		Pay Sh. p. m.	Scale
		School	Professional		
i. John Oliva Gore	yes	Elem. S.	nil	35/-	
ii. Absolom Okode	-	Ech. teaching	nil	50/-	
iii.		Cent			
iv. They both began work on Feb. 1 <sup>st</sup> /33 but neither of them has					
v. yet been paid any salary.					
vi. Both are old C.M.S. boys. John says he is still "C.M.S"					

5. Numbers (distinguish children and adults).

(a) Children.

	Sub. Std.		Std. I.		Std. II.		Std. III or III.		Total.	Average Att'dce.
	Roll	Pres-ent	Roll	Pres-ent	Roll	Pres-ent	Roll	Pres-ent		
	:	:	:	:	:	:	:	:		
i. Boys.	32	23	16	7	/	/	/	/		
ii. Girls.	-	-	-	-	/	/	/	/		
iii. Total.	32	23	16	7						

(b) Adults.

1. Male. About 10 of the pupils enrolled have their

ii. Female step and di.

iii. Total.

Grand total

6. Registers. Marked up till App. 22<sup>nd</sup>  
No school has been held since this date

7. Working days and Holidays. M-7. 9-12, 1-3

8. Fees. Nil

9. Time Table. (Is there a timepiece?). No

MG. yes copy of the one used by 10. ....

- 10. Premises. As before. And swathe 36' x 18'. Walls, roof and
  - (a) Building. Floor in v. bad condition. 1/2 mts. from motor road.
  - (b) Garden. Nil
  - (c) Playground. No football field
  - (d) Sanitation. An open hole has been dug about 3' deep - quite useless.
  - (e) Teachers' quarters. Not near the school
- 11. Equipment.
  - (a) Permanent. 4 Black boards, 2 desks & forms, 3 nothing else
  - (b) Consumable. No stationery cupboard & no consumable equipment of any sort.
- 12. Handwork.
- 13. Garden work.
- 14. Vernacular.
- 15. Other languages.
- 16. Arithmetic.
- 17. Writing.
- 18. Other Subjects.
- 19. Drill and Games.
- 20. Outside activities.
- 21. Condition of Pupils.
- 22. Grants.
  - (a) Government. nil
  - (b) L.N.C. nil
- 23. Remarks on Staff. John Bere has good testimonials from previous employers and he is polite and intelligent. I did not meet Abraham Okode, but I was informed (but don't know if it is true) that he was
- 24. General Remarks and Recommendations. sometimes ago imprisoned for theft.

I arrived at the school at 9:30 having been informed by "Bishop" Pussa on Thursday May 25<sup>th</sup> that the school holidays were now over. I found no school in session and the building in a dirty and dilapidated condition. There was no school garden and no latrine except an open hole about 3' deep. I met one of the teachers in the evening at 5:30 pm. and he told me he had not opened the school because he had not yet received any salary.

A grant cannot possibly be recommended.

Signature. [Handwritten Signature]  
[Handwritten Initials]

10  
Maragoli,  
P.O. Kisumu.  
May 31st 1933.

10

1349/ED.12/1/4/7/  
6. 6. 33

The District Commissioner,  
Central Kavirondo,  
Kisumu.

Nomya Mission application for Grants  
from the Local N. Council.  
ref. yours of Mar. 29th No. E.D./12/1/4/7/6.

Further to my letter to you of Apr. 7th  
No. 60/33, I am now able to send you a copy of a report  
on one of the Nomya Mission Schools, for which a grant from  
the L.N.C. has been continually requested by the Mission  
leaders.

2. I think you will agree that apart from other  
considerations, there is at present no indication of a  
sufficiently high standard of work, or degree of local  
effort, to justify a grant.

Check done 6/6/35  
LNC Approved

*G. P. Webb*  
Inspector of Schools.

*Copy to Hon'ble Director of Education for information*



## Appendix 12 KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/14

Ref: NO.ED.13/1/4/7/13

Offices of the District Commissioner,  
Central Kavirondo Kisumu,  
3rd August 1934The Hon: The Provincial Commissioner,  
N y a n z a.GRANT-IN-AID TO NOMIYA LUO MISSION.

The application by the Archdeacon Meshak of the above Mission was placed before the meeting of the Local Native Council on 24-25th July 1934 and the Archdeacon was allowed to state his case.

The Inspector of Schools Maragoli was not of the opinion that a grant should be made unless qualified teachers were employed in the Mission Schools and the Council after discussion agreed that until the Mission could prove to the Education Authorities that their teachers had proper qualifications to teach no financial aid should be given.

I should be grateful therefore if the Archdeacon ~~be~~ officially informed of the position.

*C. T. D. [Signature]*  
District Commissioner

## Appendix 13 KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/14

(14)

REFERENCE NO. FD. 2/6/1/1.

8th August, 1934. (15)

Forward  
C.T. Darupak.  
Dec 9. 18. 34

The Archdeacon,  
Nomiya Luo Mission,  
Thr'  
The District Commissioner  
Central Kavirondo, KISUMU.

I have to inform you that your application for a grant from Local Native Council and Government funds towards the upkeep of your Mission School has been considered and it has been decided that no such grant can be made till the Inspector of Schools is satisfied that qualified teachers are employed.

It would be advisable for you to consult the Inspector as to the best method of getting such instructions for your teachers as will lead to their qualification.

H. R. MONTGOMERY  
PROVINCIAL COMMISSIONER  
NYANZA.

Nakuarifu yakuwa barua yako ya msaada kwa Local Native Council pamoja na Serkali juu ya Skul yenu, tumekwisha angalia sana, na kwa ukatisho la neno, inaonekana yakwamba hakuna msaada, mtakaopewa mpaka Inspector of Schools atakacirithisha, kama walimu wanaoitimu kwa kazi: wameandikwa.

Itakuwa bora, ukiweza fanya shauri na Inspector of Schools, ndia nzuri ya mafundisho na tabia nzuri ya kuongoza walimu yenu.

Sd. H. R. Montgomery  
Provincial Commissioner, Nyanza

## Appendix 14 KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/20

Ref.ED.12/1/4/7.

District Commissioner's Office,  
Central Kavirondo, - Kisumu.  
29th January, 1937.

The Archdeacon Mestak Onyango,  
Nomina Mission,  
Asembo.

Dear Sir,

With reference to school which Zadok wishes to build in Asembo, has permission been granted by the District Education Board Committee? If not, application should be made forthwith by you.

Yours faithfully,  
W. A. W. CLARK  
D.O.  
for DISTRICT COMMISSIONER.

WAWC/VF.

## Appendix 15 KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/29

Ref. No. INC/AD/5/2/6.

Meshak Onyango,  
Asembo.

District Commissioner's Office  
Central Kavirondo. Kisumu.  
29th. April, 1941

29

Nakurudishia hizi karatasi maana nasikia kwa  
Mkulamani yangu kama wewe si mkubwa wa Nomiya Luo siku  
hizi. Mkubwa amejulikana ni Petro Ouma.

KIH/GO.

**L. HUNTER**  
DISTRICT COMMISSIONER, C.K.

## Appendix 16 KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/47

KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/47

NOMIA LUO MISSION,  
ASEMBO LOCATION,  
20th September 1944.

The District Commissioner,  
Central Kavirondo, KISUMU.

(47)

Sir,


RE: NOMIA LUO MISSION.

We the undersigned are the members of the Nomia Luo Mission, the residence of Central Kavirondo, Nynza Province, beg to put before you the following grievances, trusting you will feel it sympathetic to consider the disputes which going on between the members of the Nomia Luo Mission, which seems to cause abusive words and autocratic and illegl illegal to objects and rules of our religion.

That Our leader Mr. Johana Owalo of Asembi Location, found religion now known as Nomia Luo Mission, which were practicable and used by Luo for praying God, as others does in the Country. The religion were found in 1911. Johana Owalo died 1920, after his death, Petero Ouma, were appointed Bishop of N.L.M., to succeed Johana, and Musa Wera, as his Pastor, and were Odened as Leaders of Nomia Luo Mission.

The following Rules and Regulations, and orders, were made to Governed, and to be administered by leaders of this religion :-

1. A Student, may be taught for 1 year before he became a Christian, and receives Baptism.
2. A Teacher of Nomia Luo Mission, must first possessed qualification of Nomia objects and instructs etc, and should have course, or trained for 2 years and obtained passed of religion subjects etc.
3. A Padre, must be a qualified person, and must possessed sufficient qualifications and must have training of such course for at least three years before received appointment of Padre etc.
4. A Padre or Bishop, must not marry more than 4 wives.
5. A Padre, must not marry a woman whom separated from the first husband, either married a widow, if he did so, he will be no more Padre etc.
6. He must be circumcised. None Circumcised not allowed to acquire the service of Padre or Bishop.
7. A Padre or member of N.L.M., should not Smoke.

- 
- (a) He should not Smoke the Bangis, (b) He should not eat the dead Meat. (c) He should not eat Oxen Blood - Blood. (d) He should not eat the animals killed by beasts animals. or a fauls killed by cats, or drink a deluting druggs etc, or some other things prohibited by Rules & regulations of this religion.

For instance, Sir, we have seen our Old member by Names, Sulemani Onyando, Gem., (2) Erasto Olwande, Sånaga - Gem, (3) and John Mboga, Asembo, whom have not been ordered, and Sulemani, who is expelled, or put off from conjunction with the members of this religion, after married a widow and a woman, who separated from her husband, now tried to Baptised the people on the way, without giving a proper training, and asks people to pay him monies towards their baptism, which is against the Rules and Regulations of our religion.

On requested to ceased doing this, Sulemani, said, I am baptised by the Rules and Instructions of Orthodox Church, whereas, he have no an communication with the members of the Orthodox in any way. This is the bad practice of cheating people in a manner of, and self pretention of earning money.

On or about 18th day of June 1942, a same dispute arisen during Mr. Douglas Mackean, and Sulemani, was warned to cease doing this, now he started the same trouble with our religion.

The such use of theory is not way of teaching proper religion. We shall therefore be much pleased, if you will be so kind to appoint a date and time enabling you to meet us at your Office, and have this matter settle, and have the above rules and regulations protected under your direct control

We trust Sir, the Rules and regulations above is a proper way and good teaching of God's Order and Rules by our religion. We requests, we may be readdressed to the granted of interview.

Yours most obedient servants.

Jona. Kamogi.....

Padre W. Obilo.....

Rev. S. Adoo.....

REPRESENTATIVES OF NOMIA LUO MISSION.

## Appendix 17 KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/55

24 AUG 1948  
ED 12/1/7

From: Bishop Yona Ramogi,  
Nomia Luo Mission,  
P.O. Luanda.

The District Commissioner,  
Kisumu.

Dear Sir,

I beg to submit that our above-named Mission owns two Sector Schools one at Sagam-Gem, and the other at Kijana-Seme, about which we find so many difficulties especially in paying the teachers' salaries. We have, I am sorry to note, very insufficient income to meet these schools' expenses. We, therefore, kindly request you to consider our case as soon as you find time to do so, for a grant to be given to our two mission schools in order to enable us to run these schools properly.

Thanking you in anticipation,  
Yours very sincerely,  
Yona Ramogi  
Bishop.

Yona Ramogi  
Nomia Luo Mission  
P.O. Luanda.

Dear Sir

I am in receipt of your undated letter asking for financial assistance for the Nomia Luo Schools, but would point out that there are about five times as many unaided schools in the district as aided ones, so if you wish one or more of your schools to be aided you must satisfy the Senior Education Officer that it ~~is~~ is more deserving than any of the other unaided schools.

Yours faithfully,

## Appendix 18 KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/56

Ref.ED.12/1/47

DISTRICT COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE,  
Central Kavirondo, Kisumu.  
24th August, 1946.

50

Mr. Yona Remogi,  
Nomia Luo Mission,  
P.O. Luanda.

Dear Sir,

I am in receipt of your undated letter asking for financial assistance for the Nomia Luo Schools, but would point out that there are about five times as many unaided schools in the district as aided ones, so if you wish one or more of your schools to be aided you must satisfy the Senior Education Officer that it is more deserving than any of the other unaided schools.

Yours faithfully,  
C. F. ATKINS  
DISTRICT COMMISSIONER, C.K.



## Appendix 19 KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/66

THE OFFICE OF THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER,  
CENTRAL NYANZA,  
K I S U M U.

REF. ED.12/1/4/7

30th May, 1950.

66

EXTRACTS FROM THE MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE RAMOGI  
AFRICAN WELFARE ASSOCIATION HELD ON 23rd FEBRUARY  
AND 16TH MARCH, 1950

MATTERS CONCERNING NOMIA MISSION The Secretary pointed out to the members that Bishop Petro Ouma together with his followers had submitted to me and the President and some members their grievance in that they have stated that the RAMOGI Association originated from our Ancestor RAMOGI, and that the "LUO NOMIA MISSION" originated from us we children of RAMOGI. It did not originate from foreigners. And therefore this Mission feel that the Ramogi Association does convene its meeting and to investigate the cause why there existed misunderstanding (differentiation) between Bishop Petro and Bishop Yona, Oyungu and Samson Magambo. The Secretary reiterated to state that he had explained it to them that they could reconcile their complaints by themselves and that the Ramogi Association had no sufficient fund to convene a General meeting including other expenses to be meet. In view of the question of fund raised, they produced M.30/-, approximately adequate for writing members, invitation letters for the meeting, stating in such letters that they (Bishop Petro and his people) had endeavoured to call these men (viz Bishop Yona and Samson Magambo) on many occasions yet they have never turned up.

The Secretary went on to address the members that ----- Ouma personally would point out the facts to ----- they should debate on them ----- (illegible) The Chairman and the members accepted. Bishop Petro Ouma pointed out to the meeting the misunderstanding between him, Yona Ramogi and Samson Magambo. Bishop Yona Oyungu at this stage begged the chairman and members to allow him time, the sole cause of the dispute between them and the Luo Nomia Mission because he was also a regular attendant of the Ramogi meeting, and that he was not aware that such matters concerning Nomia Luo Mission would so unexpectedly crop up.

The meeting members agreed that this matter be stood over so that Bishop Petro Ouma could come with his people, as well as Bishop Magambo.

The meeting was then postponed till 16/3/50, and the meeting closed at 2.30 p.m.

-----  
The meeting again commenced at 2.00 p.m.  
Resolution: "LUO NOMIYA MISSION" Leaders: Bishop Petro Ouma Bishop Yona Oyungu and Bishop Samson Magambo and all their Padres. Bishop Petro Oyungu started by saying that Bishop Yona Oyungu formerly was an Archdeacon to him. When at a time he went to a place called Kitwamba he was arrested there I came into agreement with the D.C. by making it clear that Yona was my padre and as such he was released. Petro stated as follows: "Yohana Owalo was the originator of this religion when he died he left it over to Petro Ouma, Ibrahim Odiyo and Yona Oyungu but Petro Ouma was elected by Yohana Owalo as the leader in the year 1920 in December. By then Yona Oyungu was at the old Samuel Otieno's house, at Manyata, in the same month he elected Ibrahim and they then excavated 2 holes for worshipping this was on the 25th December, 1919. In the year 1920 both myself and Yohana Owalo fell sick. When Yohana Owalo was overcome by sickness he called me and advised me that we should pay off all debts then due by Nomia. The next day he again sent for me and he showed me a cow telling me that "this cow should not be milked" having said that he died.

Cont'd

The reason for my complaint against Yona Remogi, he wants to become a Bishop without our knowing.

Old Samson Magembo has also separated himself - the question of separation had been discussed before the Chamber of Commerce in 1945, and we even appeared before Mr. Hunter - Mr. Hunter stressed that there was no need of 2 or 3 Bishops but one Bishop was enough.

Bishop Yona Remogi said: In 1937 I was elected Archdeacon by the Nomis Mission while I was in Nairobi. When I returned I went to Petro Ouma's village to enquire from him who the people were that elected him in my absence. I went and resided with Samuel Otieno in Menyata. And when the religion began to go into confusion ex-Chief Ogingo called a meeting at Kalandini Camp Asembo Location. At this meeting the members turned out Petro Ouma and I, Yona Remogi was given the Chair in succession to Yona Owelo and Meshak Onyango was next to me. The reason why people grumbled and turned out Petro Ouma not to be a Bishop, was that whenever we had our meetings and I was considered to be leading as Archdeacon and when we submitted to him our resolutions passed he, Petro Ouma was not in any way interested with our views and he failed to give us any advice. At the same time he used to have separate private meetings with some of his people planning to turn out some of the Padres he disliked. The Padres complained that Petro was wasting money belonging to the religion, for his own purposes, and he refused to produce the money. When I approached him with the feelings of the people and their desire to have the money for teaching children instead of wasting money he refused to listen to the people's wishes. And when asked to call a meeting he only gave the reply "If you like you may separate yourselves", stating that the money belonging to the religion was his money.

After separation I called about 94 (?) people - Asembo Oboch - and I asked people to go and enquire from him the reason why he had caused people to separate themselves. People complained against the ideas of Petro Ouma when in fact he had for long worried people and they protested to following him and they stated they would elect their own leader and the 94 people elected me a Bishop and elected Jakobo Okech as an Archdeacon.

I first became a Bishop in 1945 and ever since I was so appointed to satisfy the people's desires to have Schools I have so far the following schools available for the children:

- |  |                               |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. Sagem Primary School - GEM                  | 2. Kijana Primary School SEME |
| 3. ALUNGO " " Seme                             | 4. Oboch " " Asembo           |
| 5. Mabinju " " SEME                            | 6. Holo " " Nyskach &         |
| 7. Asego Sunday School - Kenya - South Nyanza. |                               |

This is an example of what work I have done. Indeed Petro was unable to do this.

The meeting asked Yona Remogi if Petro Ouma had ever paid visits to the schools and if at all he had any authority over the schools. Yona denied that he had any authority over the schools, and he has not even visited them except Holo School in Nyskach and Mabinju in Seme. He was questioned if those schools he had visited were every built by Petro Ouma? Yona states that after he had opened these schools then Petro went and persuaded them or rather went to convince them that he Petro had money belonging to schools and that these two schools become his. Even though he did not give them money. Now the money which is under my control is the money helping the schools mentioned above (7)

5.

Padre Sila - stated that they were responsible for the election of Yona Ramogi to be made Bishop in place of Petro Ouma. And not how Petro has stated that he took the Bishopric himself. The padres who are here are those who elected him Oboch Asembo Location. These are the names of those padres: Jacobo Okech, Sila Adera Ibrahim Odiyo, Wilson Clilo, Daniel Abaja, Jakobo Nyemita, Sila Okewa, Elijsh Ongong's, and the religion elders of NOMIA, and these are the behaviours why Petro Ouma had to be got rid of. Petro did not listen to us and the not understanding with them. He made a trade with Society money and whenever he likes one he make him padre and sack the other without consulting the Church's committee or council. The Rule laid in the Church's Council Constitution is that whosoever shall be a Bishop must pray at Johana Owelo's grave yard. Petro didn't listen to this and intimated that as the religion was his he could do as he liked. His religion's followers refused this, and asked him to resign as he did not abide by the rules and was spending religion's funds lavishly to suit his own ends. Petro Ouma told Padre Sila that as the latter was his Padre he had no say here and informed him (Padre Sila) that they had already had a religious clash in 1941, and he (Petro Ouma) didn't intend to have such a clash again.

Sila replied that it was he (Petro Ouma) who was barring him (Sila) from becoming his follower, telling him to start his religion.

SAMUEL OTIENO Said that Yona Ramogi was not a Bishop but an Archdeacon, taking orders from Petro. He did not know that Yona was a Bishop, but it was due to money which was causing this division.

MATHAYO ORWA LAY READER NOMIYA MISSION said that since Petro took over the leadership, cash accounts had not been kept up to date, no advancement has been made. Money collected by Church people to be deposited is not recorded, and when asked to make known the amount of money deposited in the name of the Society he replies that questions are silly - For that he did not wish Petro Ouma to remain, but should resign in favour of Yona Ramogi.

SPEECH OF BISHOP SAMSON MAGAMBO A brief speech by Bishop Samson Magambo was heard, in which he spoke of his ignorance that Petro Ouma was ever a Bishop. He spoke of one Meshak Onyango as being the man who ordained him and when he resigned he took over the Bishopric, which he still retains and strictly adheres to the rules of Nomiya Luo Mission.

Bishop Petro Ouma replied by stating that he didn't know who elected Samson Magambo as Bishop and went on to say that the controversy was between him and Yona Ramogi alone, and not Samson Magambo whom he describe as an interferer in the affair.

SAMSON DINGA from Peter Ouma's parish said he had not much to say but that both men, Yona Ramogi and Petro Ouma be removed and a new man be elected in their stead to put an end to the controversy.

DANIEL APAK From Samson Magambo's parish said he wished Peter Ouma to be Bishop, Samson Magambo Archdeacon, and Yona Ramogi removed.

WILSON CBILO denied the amount of Sh.38/- which Petro Ouma said he had given as a grant to schools. He said it was farce.

PADRE BENJAMIN OUNDO said he disliked to hear the mention of three names as Bishops in Nomiya Luo Mission, and said this was causing a split in the Nomiya Luo Mission. He stated that before Yona was elected to the Archdeaconate, one Suleman Onyando was the Deacon, and Petro Ouma Bishop.

MATHAYO AYUKO said he had been Petro Ouma's followed but left his because the latter refused and neglected to cement the 'TOMB' of Johana Owalo Founder of Nomiya Luo Mission. He stated that Jakobo Okech, Meshak Onyango, Ibrahim Odiyo and Sila Adero are who did cement the 'TOMB' with concrete at their own expense. I wish Yona Ramogi to be the Bishop of the Community because it is under him that progress is now taking shape and religious subscriptions properly deposited, and used to further the Nomiya Luo Mission's ways.

CHARLES ODHIAMBO said he remember Petro Ouma reported Bishop Samson Magambo before D.C. the then Mr. Low, who heard the evidence from both parties, and ordered that Petro Ouma is to rule his parish at Asembo and Samson Magambo to rule his Gem people. Asked by members what was his title in the Nomiya Mission, he said he was Padre of his father Bishop Samson Magambo. That he wish Magambo to remain Bishop as he is at present.

After Charles Odhisambo statement, the meeting was adjourned to 17.3.50, meeting closed at 7 p.m.

SOCIAL HALL KISUMU.

17.3.50 Present:-

Mr. John Paul Clola in the Chair  
 Ex Asst. Chief Mariko Otiende  
 Ex Chief Paulo Abuto  
 Mr. Neftali Owuor  
 Mr. Saleh bin Omar  
 Mr. Ibrahim Achola  
 Mr. Samuel Otieno  
 Mr. Eskiel Omore  
 Mr. John Ogawa  
 Mr. Alikana Okech  
 Mr. Jakobo Ochola  
 Mr. Benjamin Oundo  
 Mr. John D. Odele Gen. Secretary  
 Mr. Simion Usodho Asst. "

with many people crowded the Hall. Statements given by members of the Nomiya Luo Mission the previous day were read to President by the Secretary and the meeting confirmed.

MR. MESHAK ONYANGO said he was sorry to hear people swearing themselves to be Reverends (Padre) or Bishops without realizing how shameful it is to play about with such titles. If, therefore Samson Magambo addresses himself Bishop, may I ask how many padres he has? When a padre dies or is dismissed, will he describe to the meeting how his successor is appointed? When it is said that there are three Bishops I cannot believe and will never believe. Only two gentlemen are known to me namely Petro Ouma and Yona Ramogi but not Samson Magambo whose name should be set aside to give room for hearing of the dispute between Petro Ouma and Yona Ramogi.

MR. BARNABA ADUMBA (?) said he did not want Petro Ouma to be Bishop, but knew only Yona Ramogi as the rightful Bishop of the Luo Nomiya Mission.

SULEMAN ONYANDO: said that the cause of this confusion was caused by the sacking of two padres from Gem location by Petro Ouma. Yona Ramogi then recalled them including others from various locations, they elected him Bishop which post he has held for the last five years. It is my opinion that Petro Ouma should relinquish his Bishopric in favour of Yona Ramogi, under whose leadership great progress has been made during his short period as Bishop. He went on to say how Chief Zakayo Ochieng' had asked him to preside over a meeting to decide the dispute of the so-called Bishops Yona Ramogi and Samson Magambo with a view to

electing once and for all only one Bishop for the whole of Gem Location. When this had been done it was agreed that Yona Ramogi should remain Bishop. He concluded by saying that ten padres were pro-Yona Ramogi and only three pro-Petro Ouma.

MR. ELISHA OPIYO told the meeting that he wanted Petro Ouma to remain Bishop

ISAYA OLUANDE said that as Petro Ouma had served Nomiya Mission for over 30 years, no question of a vote should arise as some padres suggested but that Petro was the rightful Bishop.

FESTO ONGOLE said that Petro had been with N.L.M. for over 30 years and wanted him to remain Bishop

DEUDI ??JA said that for many years Petro Ouma has never convened a meeting of N.L.M. and as a result this Society has had great drawback both in the fields of progress and finance. For that I won't have Petro as Bishop.

JAKOBO OKECH Said he had been with Nomiya L. Mission for several years and preferred Petro as Bishop.

SEFENIA KUNGA said he wanted the old Bishop to remain. Here the President informed the meeting that he could not allow members of N.L. Mission to go on arguing endlessly, but would ask for vote. The meeting agreed.

The vote was then carried between NOMIA LUO MISSION members as follows:-

(1)	Petro Ouma	.....20	
(2)	Yona Ramogi	.....50	Majority 30 over Petro Ouma.

This done, the President went on to say that as Yona Ramogi got a large majority vote over his opponent Petro Ouma it was his opinion that many people wanted the former (Yona Ramogi), but he added that if Petro Ouma and his followers not satisfied, the minutes of the meeting would be sent to Government, who would make the last decision.

The meeting terminated at 11.30 a.m.

PRESIDENT Sgd. John Paul Clola  
Date 13/5/1950  
RAMOGI.

Sgd. JOHN ODELE  
GEN. SECRETARY  
Date 8/5/1950

## Appendix 20 KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/71

71

District Commissioner's Office  
 Coast Province  
 8 - NOV 1950  
 Ref. No. \_\_\_\_\_  
 KISUMU

Oboch Primary School,  
P.O. Akala, Kisumu,  
6th November 1950.

The Hon. Provincial Education Officer,  
Nyanza Province,  
c/o Education Office, Kisumu.

DC

Sir,

Re- Nomiya Luo Mission Education Committee.

I have been directed by members of the above committee to write and bring to your notice that the above Mission has now formed an education committee to run Primary Schools under their Mission.

The Composition of the Committee is as under:-

- (i) It consists of 31 members of which 6 are serving as office bearers; i.e. a chairman and his vice; a secretary and his vice; a treasurer and his vice.
- (ii) These members are elected from different Locations in the Province and from different church groups in the Province where Nomiya Luo Schools are existing; The constitution of the Committee:-
  - (i) to try to improve condition and state of schools and this Mission.
  - (ii) The appointment of teachers working under this Mission
  - (iii) To make a link between the Nomiya Luo Schools and the education authority.

It was agreed that this committee shall not interfere with anybody's public business or Government policy. It was also agreed that this committee shall not discuss or go into the matters concerning church affairs. The para refers to Mins. 2/10/50 of the meeting held October 21.1950 at Kijana Primary School.

It was also suggested that the following requests be brought before your kind consideration and approval.

1. That members would be very much obliged if you will allow them to have one representative from this committee to represent their views in the meeting of the District Education Board as other denominations have.
2. That the members of this committee were in favour of inviting you to come and meet them at Oboch School one day when it was convenient for you, but knowing that your times are all engaged in the office; it was therefore suggested and requested that your permission be asked to send you delegates from this committee to come and discuss with you and learn your opinion in matters with these suggestions and requests.
3. That your recommendation for registration of this committee after your kind consideration and approval will be much appreciated.
4. That as this Mission requests an aid of funds through your kind consideration and approval to pay the supervisor of their schools - 1951.
5. It was also requested and directed that all correspondents concerning educational activities be addressed to the secretary, Education Committee, Nomiya Luo Mission Schools c/o Oboch Primary School,

P.O. Akala, Kisumu.

Member's major intention of requesting you to come and pay them a visit as in para (2) above is that there are some of their improved schools which see they would like you to come and see such as Oboch Primary School, Asembo, 2½ miles South West from Akala Market; Kijana Primary School Same; about 2 miles from Awach by main the road from Kisumu.

- 2 -

Holo Primary School Nyakach. Amongst these schools only Kijana has been registered and both of them have standards up to V.

Lastly it was discussed and made clear to all members of this committee <sup>and marked in</sup> the minutes of the 2nd meeting of this committee <sup>at</sup> para 2/11/50 that ~~no~~ member from this committee or any church minister may bring any pety complains to your office without first of all discussing in this committee.

It was also discussed and agreed that the secretary and chairman of this committee be authorized to sign this letter.

Members remain with a sincere hope that their request will meet your kindest consideration and approval and an earlier reply shall be much appreciated.

I am, Sir,  
Your humble servant

*S. W. C. ...*

Hon. Secretary

(sgd) *Francis A. ...*

Chairman

Copy to the District Commissioner,  
Central Nyanza,

Appendix 21 KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/75

NOMIYA LUO MISSION,  
SAGAM GEM,  
P.O. YALA  
27th March, 1951

(73)

The Provincial Education Officer,  
Nyanza Province,  
Provincial Offices,  
KISUMU.

Sir,

RE: NOMIYA LUO MISSION EDUCATION COMMITTEE.

On the 16th March 1951 the Education Committee held at Oboch.

1. It was discussed and agreed by the Committee that special contributions will be made by people belonging to the Nomiya Mission once a year to aid the education in N.L.M. Schools.
2. Mr. Hezekiah Ojook, the secretary of the Education Committee was elected unanimously to be the Supervisor of the N.L.M. Schools instead of Mr. Wilson Obilo.
3. The Committee recommended to you Mr. Gilbert Odawa, a member of A.D.C. Asambu Location to represent the N.L.M. on the D.E.B. This would be appreciated if you could accept.

We hope our request will receive your sympathetic consideration.

*PA*  
*Impossible*  
*No room*  
*MW*  
*3/23*


We beg to be Sir,

Hezekiah Ojook

Yours faithfully,

*Wilson Obilo*  
MANAGER REV. WILSON OBILLO  
NOMIYA LUO MISSION NOMIYA LUO MISSION  
C/O SAGAM, GEM

Copy to: The District Commissioner, Central Nyanza, Kisumu.



*B/c on Friday*  
*Part*  
*at DEB.*  
*file*  
*Mar 27*



## Appendix 22 KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/85

85

Ref. DEB/CN/SS/8/272. DISTRICT EDUCATION OFFICE,  
CENTRAL NYANZA, KISUMU,  
15TH DECEMBER 1953.

The Bishop,  
Nomia Luo Mission,  
Asembo Bay.

15 DEC 1953

TEACHER'S SALARIES NOV. & DEC. 1953.

I am informed that teachers' Salaries for the months of November and December have not been paid to the teachers by your Manager, Rev. Sila Adera.

The matter has now been passed over to the Police for investigation.

In the meantime these teachers continue to be deprived of their lawful earnings, although that money has been paid to the Manager by the D.E.B.

Since Rev. Sila Adera was elected by you as your Manager and representative, I consider that you are normally responsible to make provision for these teachers pending the result of the Police investigation.

At the same time I wish to inform you that Sagam and Kijana Schools will not re open as aided Schools next year until the D.E.B. has discussed the situation.

W. F. PARKER

WWF/SPA. DISTRICT EDUCATION OFFICER,  
CENTRAL NYANZA.

Copies to: The P.E.O. Kisumu.  
The D.C. C.N. ✓

*M*

## Appendix 23 KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/91

Ref. EDUC/GEN/6/108.

DISTRICT EDUCATION OFFICE,  
CENTRAL NYANZA, KISUMU,  
27TH APRIL, 1954.

The Chairman,  
District Education Board,  
Central Nyanza,  
KISUMU.

MEETING WITH NOMIYA LUO MISSION EDUCATION COMMITTEE.

PRESENT: Mr. G. C. Owalo (Chairman) Mr. Musa Okura  
Mr. Jonah Ramogi (Bishop) Mr. Joshua Ogucha  
Mr. Mathew Orua Mr. Baranaba Agumba  
Mr. Andrea Ombewa The District Educ. Officer.

At a meeting between the District Education Officer and members of the Nomiya Luo Mission Education Committee, held in the District Education Office on Monday 26th April, the following points were discussed:

1. The function of the Nomiya Luo Mission Education Committee would be to assist the School's Manager and to help and assist School Committees in all school services.
2. Teachers for Unaided Schools:- It would still be the duty of the Mission to provide staff for these schools. These schools would, however, come under the District Education Boards' Management.
3. The question of Mr. G. C. Owalo's attendance at D.E.B. meetings was again raised. It was agreed to refer the matter to the Board for its consideration.
4. The District Education Officer agreed that the closest liaison was necessary between the School Committee and the Manager. This would be done.
5. It was explained to the Committee that all matters relating to school finances came under the direct and sole control of the Manager. An explanation of Provide-nt Fund Contributions procedure was given to the Committee.
6. For any school receiving Grant-in-Aid for the first time in 1954, the Committee wished it understood that the teacher's salary had been paid from January - April this year by the Mission. A refund, up to the Education Department method of calculation of the teacher's salary, would be made to the Mission. Any discrepancy between Mission and Education Department's rates would be paid to the teacher.
7. Standard V at one of Nomiya Luo Mission Aided Schools.  
The District Education Officer explained that this could not be granted as an Aided Class and pointed out the expense and futility of providing one further year for pupils. The committee was informed also, that pupils receiving the appropriate number of marks in the Competetive Entrance Examination would stand the same chance of entry into Intermediate Schools as pupils from other Managements.
8. The District Education Officer explained that the organisation would be:
  - (1) School Manager
  - (2) Mr. G. C. Owalo - Chairman of N.L.M. Educ. Committee.
  - (3) Education Committee.
  - (4) School Committees

The presence of Mr. G. C. Owalo as a "go-between" for the Manager and Education Committee would be most helpful.

- 2 -

The Manager agreed to meet and discuss Nomiya Luo Mission matters with the Education Committee twice a year.

9. The Manager will require:-

- (a) Full Statement of Finances for Nomiya Luo Mission Aided Schools as soon as possible.
- (b) Separate statement for each qualified teacher employed, of Provident Fund payments to date.
- (c) To inspect the present Grant-in-aid Schools of Sagam and Kijana before final agreement on the take-over is reached.
- (d) Statement of any Building of Equipment Grants paid to either of the above schools.

JH/AEO.

*J. Hanganj*  
DISTRICT EDUCATION OFFICER,  
CENTRAL NYANZA.

Copy to: The Provincial Education Officer,  
KISUMU.

Mr. G. C. Owalo (2)  
Oboch Primary School,  
Asembo Location,  
P.O. ASEMBO BAY.

.....

Appendix 24 KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/107

57 57  
VI  
D/C  
send report  
to District  
in early  
report

CHURCH HOUSE,  
P.O. Box 12052,  
NAIROBI.  
1st. May, 1955.

(187) (62)

DISTRICT  
EDUCATION OFFICE  
6-JUN 1955  
KISUMU.

The District Commissioner,  
Central Nyanza,  
P.O. KISUMU.

18/6

Dear Sir,

RE: OBOCH SCHOOL ON KORANGO SUB LOCATION.

The above site on which our local Muruka Headman NYADAA insists on putting up a school, to please his cousins "JO-KOCHING" of the Romiya Luo Mission, religious sect, belongs to me, by every right of custom and usage.

I made my first report to our Chief who, I know told the Headman to stop his high-handedness but without any avail.

Now this is to appeal to you, in the interests of justice, and to stop any breach of the peace, that you order a stop to the Headman's foolish and dangerous game.

I should appreciate it also, and in fact be very grateful if you will be good enough to arrange an interview, if convenient to you, with all the parties concerned in this matter, at the Chief's Camp or anywhere else convenient to you, at an early date.

The unauthorised building has in fact been started, and some "classes are being conducted there" hence my appeal to you for urgency.

Asaiting to hear from you.

Yours faithfully,  
ADONIJA OWICH

Copy to:- The District Education Officer, Central Nyanza.  
The A.D.C. Central Nyanza.  
Asebo Location Council.  
Headmaster Oboch P. School.

I have already made this suggestion to R. D.O.

I do not think this is true.

now  
JEO

IV Do Kamulla  
Full report please Adanija Owich  
Mrs 18/6  
G. J. ...

DC I  
This area is Asebo location  
Asebo Div:  
I understand D.O.  
Asebo is in the hands of the headman  
March 14/55.

II D.O.S  
Have you our letter  
Mrs 18/6

III DC I  
I cannot trace it & I do not know who sent it.  
JEO

## Appendix 25 KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/125

3/1  
on file. Ref. x 1000

Akala Market,  
P.O. Akala,  
30-12-55

(125)

The District Commissioner,  
Central Nyanza,  
KISUMU.

Dear Sir,

RE: LAND FOR OBOCH SCHOOL:

For your kind consideration and amicable settlement, we have to bring the above case before you. With the direction of the District Officer Bondo, the greater part of land belonging to our family was surveyed for Oboch School on 20th Dec, 1951 without our consent or any formal consultation. The D.O. gave 30 days within which to advise the two elders who supported the building of the school on our land; but we could not see our way through it; for the said land cannot justifiably be claimed by those two elders, as the land has for over 50 years belonged solely to our family.

It is true that at the demarcation of the boundary between Seme and Asembo in about the year 1922, the boundary shifted the whole of our land to Asembo location. But even though we were not notified on that occasion that our land would be forfeited by Asembo people, for if it were so, we should have lodged an appeal against the demarcation so committing us just then. We therefore cannot even now stand such injustice as taking only our land, the only one on which our livelihood depends, whereas not even an acre belonging to the people supporting the erection of the school has been taken for the purpose.

When Mr. Gideon Amolo who is one of the family wrote from Nairobi to your office, the reply was that his family at home had given consent to the effect that the land should be taken for the school. We as members of Mr. Amolo's family deny most emphatically our having made any

-2-

made any/

Such consent as alleged, and are prepared to take the necessary steps against any persons in connection with the allegation.

My humble request is that you should kindly take this matter into your hands and get it settled evenly, by coming personally to see the affairs on the spot, Hoping for a favourable response from you at an early date,  
& remain,

yours faithfully,

N. Atila  
(N. ATILA)

## Appendix 26 KNA: DC/KSM/1/10/45/137

**NOMIYA LUO CHURCH**

HEADQUARTERS, OBOCH, ASEMBO. Kisumu, Kenya.

P. O. Box 691,  
The Director of Education, East Africa  
Private Bag,  
NAIROBI.

137

9th October, 1958.  
11 OCT 1958  
CENTRAL NYANZA  
KISUMU

Through:-  
District Education Officer,  
Central Nyanza, Kisumu.  
Provincial Education Officer,  
Nyanza Province.

Sir,

RE: AUTHORITY TO MANAGE SCHOOLS.

1. I beg to repeat our humble petition before you. As humble citizens, all the members of our Church, had to abide by your ruling when we applied to be allowed to manage our own schools in 1954, although had been one of the recognized school managers as far back 1930, when such schools as Maranyona in Sakwa location in Central Nyanza was registered under our name in 1930. Its registration No. was ----- dated ----- 1930.
2. The Nomiya Luo Church was founded by my father in 1907 since that time the Church followers have given undoubted faithful Loyalty and support to her Majesty and the Government of Kenya.
3. Bearing in mind our Loyalty and our abstention from Politics or association with those who are not in accord with the policy of the Government, we would have thought that an application for such authority to manage schools should have been a pleasing example to the African Community that the Government is both ready to encourage and support any decent society irrespective of race, colour, or creed. I say so Sir for since your curt refusal we have been jeered at by both our politicians and their followers.
4. Surely, the Nomiya Luo Church, loyal and true, is entitled to some consideration after so many years of faithful support of the Government.
5. In conclusion, Sir, we would only say that such a grant of authority would only be one of the feathers in the Government's cap.

I beg to remain,  
Sir  
Thanking you in advance.

Yours faithfully,  
*G. O. W. A. L. O.*  
G. O. W. A. L. O.  
LEADER OF THE NOMIYA LUO CHURCH.

GCO/JHO.

Copy to:  
The District Commissioner,  
Central Nyanza - KISUMU.

*No. 0. I have not gone home ever since I met you due to the fact that I have been down with malaria.*

**APPENDIX: 27 FIELD WORK PICTORIAL DATA**

1. From right NLM secretary, Archbishop, researcher and research assistant



2. The researcher inside NLC at Oboch





3. Researcher heading to the headquarter of the Nomiya Luo Church



4. Rev John Owalos Mausoleum at the original church compound at Oboch



5. The researcher and NLM education secretary inside the Mausoleum of Rev John Owalo



6. The researcher at the headquarter of Nomiya Luo Church at Oboch



7. The researcher visited Oseno primary school established by NLM



8. Sign post leading to NLM Oseno Primary school



8. Picture showing ground breaking for establishment of St John's Oboch Mixed secondary school by Luo politician, trade unionist and Labour Minister T. J Mboya.



9. The Researcher with the Principal of Rapogi High School

**APPENDIX 28: ARCHBISHOPS OF THE NLM FROM ITS INCEPTION**

1. John Owalo:- Founder 1918-1920
2. Petro Auma 1920 – 1944
3. Benjamin Oundo 1944 – 1976
4. Gideon Charles Owalo 1976 – 2016
5. Moses Oketch 2016 - Present