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CRITIQUE OF STRATEGIES THE KENYAN GOVERNMENT IS USING TO ADDRESS ETHNO-REGIONAL INEQUALITIES IN EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

Introduction: Equal opportunities cannot be achieved without addressing inequalities in education. Consequently, the provision of equal opportunities in education is a step toward social equality. A constrained educational opportunity among the disadvantaged ethno-regions is cited as the root cause of this phenomenon.

Purpose: To investigate strategies employed by the Kenyan government in addressing ethno-regional inequalities in education in Kenya.

Methodology: This philosophical investigation utilized critique as a philosophical method of inquiry which is the intellectual disciplined process of actively and skillfully conceptualizing, applying, analyzing, synthesizing, and or evaluating information gathered from, or generated by, observation, experience, reflection, reasoning, or communication, as a guide to belief and action.

Results: The government has attempted to address ethno-regional inequalities in education through the constitution (2010), however, the culture of tokenism, which considers empowerment of marginalized groups and ethno-regions as one of the goodies to be dished to them as a favour still persists in Kenya. Most counties are inhabited by either one ethnic group or by dominant ethnic groups. This has, however, created a new problem of ethnic minorities within several counties. The government has also introduced FPE and FDSE, delocalization policy, the equalization fund, HELB however they have gaps that need filling to make them fully operational as tools of levelling down ethno-regional inequality. Regions where ruling elites come from have received more educational resources as compared to other areas.

Recommendations: Free Primary Education, Free Day Secondary Education and Higher Education Loans Board funds should be distributed equitably to address inequality, equalization fund should be made operational and managed by county governments.

Keywords: Critique, Ethno-regions, inequalities, education, strategies



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PUBLIC INTEREST STATEMENT

The study seeks to address ethnoregional inequalities in education as a step towards achieving consequent proportionate ethnoregional job opportunities in Kenya. The realization of ethno-regional equality in education and consequent ethno-regional opportunity is a sure way of creating a peaceful, cohesive and an economically prosperous country.

INTRODUCTION

Equal opportunities cannot be achieved without addressing inequalities in education. Consequently, the provision of equal opportunities in education is a step toward social equality. However, despite all efforts, inequality in education still remains one of the pressing issues in global education (UN, 2016). Equality is a desirable goal as expressed in the Universal declaration of Human rights (1948): (Article 1); no discrimination (article 2); right to work (article 23); and right to education (article 26) (UN, 2016). Education for this study is defined as the propagation of knowledge, skills, and values in a society from one generation to the other. The knowledge, skills, and values reflect the desirable way of life by a given group of people. Therefore, for a country like Kenya, there is a set of knowledge, skills, and value systems that influence people's way of life. Education thus is a process of ensuring that that way of life is common to all and that social, political, and economic development is even among all the ethno-regions that constitute the nation Kenya. The nation Kenya is divided into various ethno-regions (formerly provinces) which arguable has influenced distribution of educational resources with other ethno-regions benefiting more than others. This intones that other ethno-regions have been curtailed from participating effectively in social, political, and economic development of Kenya due to that skewed distribution of educational resources.

An ethno-region refers to the ethnic groups and their indigenous regions (former provinces). On the other hand, ethno-regional dynamics refers to the ethnicity and regionalism as properties that influence decisions, changes, and progress in a process or system. In this study, ethno-regionalism influences the process of education and consequent

opportunities in Kenya. Kenya as a nation is highly ethnic sensitive and any educational act of commission or omission by the government will receive ethno-regional interpretations. This means that education as a process envisaging to influence desirable progress, must be seen to be equitable to all ethno-regions. In so doing, the government must ensure that distribution of educational resources is free from any form of inequalities. Inequality is the intentional or unintentional distribution of resources unevenly. For the case of this study it is the uneven distribution of educational resources which eventually results to uneven distribution of opportunities among the ethno-regions that constitute the country Kenya. This brings us to two dimensions of the inequality manifested in Kenyan realities: Inequality in education (the extent at which supply of education as a good, and the benefits that accrue from it favour certain individual(s), ethnic group(s) or region(s)), and inequality of opportunity (the unequal access to employment, income, healthcare, social status and political power among other social goods). That being the case, the government since independence has endeavoured to develop ways of ensuring that there is even distribution of educational resources to enhance equity in access to education and opportunities. A strategy is an educational policy approach that seeks to influence educational decisions to take a certain predetermined course. For the case of Kenya, such strategies have gyrated around setting up of commissions and enacting policies. Many of the interventions have been designed to respond to the identified priorities of the poor (Stifling, 2012) because the cost of education is the most constraining factor in terms of ensuring that poor people send their children to school. As early as 1964 the Ominde commission recommended

the need for universal education and, therefore endorsed free primary education (Ominde Commission, 1964). It also recommended that more resources be put in areas whose enrolments were below the national average.

However, policy in the education sector continued being run under political fiat, where the government, through the Ministry of Education, emasculated the other institutions charged with responsibilities in education (Stifling, 2012). However, with time, policy making in education was increasingly separated from planners and professionals and often negated their advice, instead following the dictates of political leadership (Stifling, 2012). Although primary education is nominally free, it is estimated that at least 45% of the costs of education are borne by parents. Several specific interventions have been highlighted and carried out. These include: grants from the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology to poorer sub-counties and divisions; provision of bursaries to poorer children; revision of the pupil-teacher ratio upwards to allow for more efficient utilization of teachers; and related to this a more equitable distribution of teachers. It has also included targeting out of school children, child workers, and Aids orphans with non-formal education; rationalisation of the curriculum and reduction in the number of schoolbooks to be purchased; and intensification of school feeding programmes in poverty stricken ethno-regions (Stifling, 2012). Efforts have also been made in ensuring that there is better teacher management and a more equitable distribution of tutors in the country. More autonomy has been given to the schools and sub-counties in the recruitment of teachers (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2013). All of these initiatives have the effect of reducing the cost to the parent, in terms of facilities, books, equipment, and hiring of supplementary teachers. Under the World Food Programme (WFP) lead Emergency Operations Programme (EMOP) in the drought-affected Arid and Semi-Arid Land areas, the school feeding programme has been expanded. Furthermore, to ensure that bursaries are

well directed and that they benefit the poorest in society, the government has established the constituency bursaries scheme. In 2003, the government reintroduced free primary education as an initiative to address the plight of poor families and in its effort to achieve universal primary education. However UPE has not bridged the inequality gap.

The Koech Report (1999) indicated that the proportion of the population living below the absolute poverty line was lowest in Central Province, followed by Rift Valley, Nyanza, Eastern, Western, Coast and North Eastern provinces and that poverty incidence has been increasing over time in Coast. These disparities, while narrowing, continue today. The government has devised and implemented various strategies to address regional disparities. These have been articulated in the various national development plans and subsequent sessional papers (Stifling, 2012). These include: the Kenyanisation programme in 1960s, which resettled Africans on land previously reserved for European settlers (Republic of Kenya 1995 as cited in Stiftung, 2012); introduction of the basic needs programme where the government provided for education, health and housing in the 1960s (Republic of Kenya 1995 as cited in Stiftung, 2012); promotion of rapid growth and creation of employment opportunities in the 1960 and 1970s; Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP) and district planning in the early 1970s, through which the government directed an increasing share of resources towards rural areas to establish production centers; District Focus for Rural Development (DFRD) in the 1980s that provided for the involvement of stakeholders in project identification, resource mobilization and project implementation (Republic of Kenya 1995 as cited in Stiftung, 2012) and promotion of the informal sector as a high potential source for the creation of employment opportunities (Republic of Kenya 1995 as cited in Stiftung, 2012). These programmes were administered through the government branches to districts and communities. Despite the rapid expansion of higher education,

serious equity problems confront the public university system (Munene, 2002).

The three dominant ethno-regional groups (the central Kikuyu, Nyanza Luo and Western Luhya) dominate enrollment especially in prestigious programs like medicine, pharmacy, dentistry, law, engineering, and business. Mulongo (2004) investigated ethnic favoritism by Kenyan presidents and is that individuals who share an ethnicity with a president or minister of education acquire more years of schooling because they receive preferential access to critical educational inputs such as funds to create or improve existing educational infrastructure, hire skilled teachers, or purchase books and other educational materials. This practice has persisted with successive regimes (Simson and Green, 2019). The current education system in Kenya tends to promote ethno-regional inequality through admission to high schools (Taaliu, 2017). This system promotes ethno-regional inequality in that there are few national schools in the whole country, which means most of the students are admitted in extra-county and county schools, which are within their locality, limiting their chances of interacting with students from other parts of the country. Taaliu (2017) argues correctly that, there is disproportionate representation of ethno-regions in the University. The Kikuyu, Kamba, Luhya, and the Luo constitute 72.8% of the total number of students in the public universities and colleges while the remaining 38 ethnic groups have only 27.2% to share amongst themselves. Taaliu (2017) claims that senior members of academic staff supervising students make sure students who are from their ethno-regions graduate faster than students who come from other ethno-regions. Taaliu (2017) claims that the main dominant ethno-regions have more professors and senior staff in the academic departments and schools and also sitting in thesis examination panels. Fifty percent of the council members and their chairpersons in the universities come from the top four largest ethno-regions, namely; the Central Kikuyu, the Rift Valley Kalenjin, the Western Luhya, and the Nyanza Luo

(Taaliu, 2017). This means these communities have more eligible members appointed as council members, hence the dominance of the more educated ethno-regions in the university councils.

The location of universities and constituent colleges in Kenya, is mostly politically motivated (Taaliu, 2017). This means the government of the day will locate a university or a constituent college in particular region for political gain (Taaliu, 2017). In most cases, the counties inhabited by the ethno-regional group which supports the government of the day are rewarded with a public university or a constituent college (Taaliu, 2017). If a county is regarded as an opposition zone to the government in power, then a public university might be denied. In some instances, the ethno-regional group might be an opposition county and therefore be rewarded or promised a public university if they support the current regime in general elections. Of the 47 counties, 20 have a public university or a constituent college and 17 do not have a single one located there, like Wajir, Mandera, Marsabit, Isiolo, Lamu, and the Tana River. These counties are located in the arid areas which were originally marginalized by the colonial government because of lack of resources to exploit from there. The British colonial government concentrated on developing those areas that they considered economically viable in terms of agriculture. This development includes the establishment of schools and other institutions of learning, infrastructure development, and appointment or employment in top government positions. This trend of marginalization was entrenched further by the independence governments which were led by African presidents. All the five presidents in Kenya since independence have rotated from within the two majority Central and Rift-valley ethno-regional groups, because even voting in general elections is done on ethno-regional lines. With vast controls over parliament and the judiciary, executive officials have used state resources to reward supportive constituencies while excluding others (Muhula, 2009).

Successive regimes have attempted to address these inequalities with mixed results. Since independence, Kenyan policy makers adopted a laissez-faire development approach that did not concern itself with alleviating regional disparities in development, including education (Stifling, 2012). Cost sharing in education meant that certain communities had more access to education than others, thus increasing the marginalization of those without adequate schools. It also shifted the burden of meeting the cost of schooling to parents, which meant that education was increasingly becoming a preserve of the rich. In 1983, a quota system of admission was introduced at the district level to ensure that local students had access to district schools. However, by the 1990s, disparities in the education system continued, especially in the arid and semi-arid areas. The Kenyatta government was more interested in growth and economic development in general than in redistribution (Maupeu, 2021). Hence, although at independence the Kenyan economy grew at a fairly steady pace, the benefits of this growth were enjoyed by a small number of elites and ethno-regions.

The second president's redistributive policies saw the establishment of academies and schools comparable to national ones in different ethno-regions of the country. Moi also oversaw the expansion of the school system by increasing enrolments especially university admissions to levels that would not have been thought possible only a few years earlier (Mumiukha, Ngugi, Ndiga and Fedha, 2015). However, this came with accusations of a diluted education. On coming to power, the independence government adopted the colonial governance, development and investment policies that engendered and entrenchment of ethno-regional disparities. For instance sessional paper no.10 was a contradiction of what it was set to achieve. While its objectives was national unity and equal opportunity and social justice it zoned the ethno-regions hierarchically. The elites of the post-colonial government have used various ideologies to maintain the status quo.

These include the ethnic ideology to access and ensure the continuation of their privileged position (Carter, 2008). The tyranny of numbers to justify the exclusion of elites from opposing communities from positions of power and influence (Owiti, 2015). Politically, and the winner takes it all as an ideology of domination used by winners to exclude others (Nyabira & Ayele, 2016).

STATEMENT OF THE STUDY

Nations, including Kenya have committed to the promotion of social equality by attempting to remedy all forms of discrimination that deny their people access to and enjoyment of basic services such as education. Despite the Kenya's heavy investment in the sectorisation of marginalized groups, inequality in education between various ethno-regions remains a challenge more than fifty years after independence. In addition, Inequality in education among regions such as the Central and Coastal regions also relates to corresponding inequality in access to other opportunities such as government jobs. The strategies that the government has undertaken to solve the problem of uneven distribution of educational resources remains ineffective and thus subject to critique.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

1. To critique the strategies, the government of Kenya is using to address ethno-regional inequalities in education and to make them workable.

RESEARCH QUESTION

1. What are the gaps in the strategies the Government of Kenya is using to address ethno-regional educational inequalities and can be done to make them workable?

METHODOLOGY

Research design

The study adopted a qualitative research design that is the best tool for comprehending human and social problems from a subjective perspective. The study investigated ethno-regional inequalities in Kenya from a philosophical

perspective. Consequently, a philosophical approach is required to be the most appropriate. The study has used the critical method. There is an acute need to explicitly critique the strategies the government of Kenya is using to address inequality in education and consequent opportunity. This critique traditionally proceeds through a process of critical questioning involving intellectual skepticism. This means that it involves and maintains an attitude of mind that constantly questions things that would be taken for granted under normal circumstances.

By critically questioning and reinterpreting the facts and assumptions on why inequalities in opportunity and education persist, a clearer understanding of the phenomenon is achieved. This will lead to broadening of perspectives and to a sharpening of insight into its basic features. The critical function of philosophy aims at liberating man from narrow-mindedness by encouraging honesty of thought, thus protecting man from hypocrisy and fanaticism, intolerance and dogmatism, slogans and ideologies. In this study the critical method has been used to evaluate the government policies and strategies aimed at stemming inequality in education and consequent opportunity. Being a philosophical study, this paper cannot be subjected to scientific benchmarks such as sampling, population size and target group.

Procedure for data collection

The study relied on secondary sources of data collection to obtain information about past and current efforts at reducing ethno-regional inequality in education and opportunity by respective governments which were obtained through library study and the internet, journals, policy papers and reports of commissions of inquiry. These documents included the education commission report of 1964 commonly called the Ominde Report, Sessional paper number 10 of 1965, the Kamunge Report of 1988, the Constitution of Kenya 2010 and Kenya vision 2030. Journals from the Internet also provided various insights in the initiatives the government is using to

address ethno-regional inequalities and consequent opportunities.

RESULTS

Current efforts at reducing ethno-regional inequality in education and opportunity include: the constitution of Kenya 2010 which provisions for affirmative action and equalization fund, FPE and FDSE, delocalization policy, HELB, not more than one third act and quota system in admission to secondary schools.

The Constitution of Kenya 2010

The Constitution of Kenya (2010) has provided quite progressive mandates to ensure that marginalized ethno-regions are empowered, The Constitution also provides for election or nomination of marginalized groups. The Constitution, however, leaves the nomination of such members to political parties this also implies that the loyalty of those elected or appointed to these special seats will be to the appointing authority/political party and not to the interests of the organizations that the special member is a part of. The Constitution of Kenya (2010) has provided quite progressive mandates to ensure that marginalized ethno-regions are empowered, The Constitution did not, however, entrench the mechanisms for achieving this. It leaves the implementation of these measures to groups and institutions without incentives to implement the provision. At times, implementation is left to the same institutions or people who had marginalized them in the first place (Stifling, 2012).

In Kenya as elsewhere, appointees and nominees to any position owe their allegiance to the nominating parties rather than the ethno-regional groups they are supposed to represent. Since the nominating powers may not be the marginalized, the nominating parties demand it. For example, a member of a marginalized ethno-region might be forced to take positions that are unfavorable to their groups because the party that nominated them demands that they do so. The Constitution has definitely provided for the empowerment of the marginalized, however, the culture of

tokenism, which considers empowerment of marginalized groups and ethno-regions as one of the goodies to be dished to them as a favour still persists in Kenya (Stifling, 2012). Thus, despite the provisions in the Constitution, the old culture of marginalization and exclusion still continues.

Affirmative Action

The Kenyan Constitution (2010) mandates the two government put in place affirmative action programmes to ensure that minority ethno-regional groups participate and are represented in governance and have special opportunities in educational and economic fields, have special opportunities for access to employment, develop their cultural values, languages and practices and have reasonable access to water, health services and infrastructure. Affirmative action has to be considered within the context of historical perceptions of privileged and under-privileged ethno-regions. Affirmative action is a compensatory strategy that is informed by the ideology of the difference principle. However, the difference principle interventions may in the circumstances result in inequality unless benchmarks are established and achievements tracked to ensure that once the marginal or minor state is addressed, intervening measures are stopped before the perceived mainstream and majority become marginalized and minority,

The Equalization Fund

The Equalization Fund is established under Article 204 of the Constitution to improve the conditions of some of the marginalized ethno-regions and counties to the level enjoyed by the rest of the country. Allocation for the fund started fiscal year 2011/2012 and it has so far accumulated nearly 30 billion shillings which was to be shared among 40 counties in ethno-regions identified as marginalized. However this fund has been controversy ridden and is undermined by conflicting stakeholder interests (Oruko, 2019). According to Oruko (2019) the fund which was to begin in 2016/2017 has not been implemented to date.

Devolution

Devolution is intended to be an institutional mechanism for the political inclusion of ethno-regional communities. In order to implement the devolved system of government, the 47 County governments are entitled to not less than 15% of the audited national revenue in any financial year (Nyanjom, 2011). At present, the boundaries of the majority of the counties coincide with the territorial boundaries of ethno-regions considered to be the ancestral homes of certain ethnic communities. These communities make up the majority in these counties and, as such, smaller ethnic communities have been excluded from county politics and economic governance (Kenya Human Rights Commission, 2018). Reported cases especially in the media, however show emergence of intra-county ethnic minorities (Nyanjom, 2011). It creates new minorities at the devolved level (Kanyinga, 2016).

Free Primary Education and Free Day Secondary Education

In order to reduce the cost burden of primary and secondary education to parents, the government reintroduced Free Primary Education (FPE) as well as introducing Free Day Secondary Education (FDSE) with annual capitation per child of Ksh. 1,020.00 for primary and Ksh. 10,265.00 as tuition for day and boarding secondary schools (NESP, 2015). Kenya uses enrolment data alone as the basis for capitation (Education For All Global Monitoring Report, 2015). It does not account for disadvantages faced by ethno-regions, schools and families. . The capitation amount is fixed nationwide (FPE: Ksh1, 020, FDSE: Ksh10, 265). Although it can be said that these grants maintain equity in that the universally equal amount is distributed, there is an inequity among national, Regional and Sub-county secondary schools, since the national secondary schools receive huge amount of subsidy for their facility maintenance. The amount varies by the size of the schools. A national school visited in the field survey received Ksh 48 million. Thirty newly upgraded national schools receive a fixed amount of Ksh 25

million each (Basic Education Sector Analysis Report, 2012). The per capita allocation per pupil is not appropriate as it does not account for schools' differing needs (EFAGMR, 2015). There are large pupil/teacher disparities among ethno-regions. For instance, there are ethno-regions which meet the standard such as the Eastern region (38.7) and the Central region (39.4), whereas there are provinces that far exceed the standard such as the North-eastern region (63.1), the Coast region (53.2) (Basic Education Sector Analysis Report, 2012).

Besides FPE and FDSE, do not take into consideration the inequalities that exist within the schools themselves. The funds are therefore allocated equally instead of equitably, thus leaving inequalities intact. Even then various challenges face Free Primary Education and Free Day Secondary Education that include: diminished support by community following the misconstrued understanding of their role vis-avis that of the government and regional disparities. Ngaroga (2006) contends that non-fee charges of desks, uniforms, books, result in pupils being sent home. The funding of FPE is difficult to sustain. As sourcing of funds to sustain it is perceived to be impossible. Economic hardship militates against pupils remaining in school. Delays and inadequate capitation grants in FDSE and FPE initiatives placing educational managers in difficult situations with respect to the management of institutions.

Delocalization

The idea behind delocalization is to integrate teachers with other teachers outside their indigenous ethno-regions. Oduor (2021) explains that the policy according to the teachers' employer is part of the government's move to enhance national cohesion and bolster professionalism and commitment in the teaching profession. The overall objective of this policy is to deter over-localization of teaching profession so as to promote co-existence and cohesion among different communities. While integration may enhance some understanding between various communities from various ethno-regions it may not

necessarily lead to the inculcating of equality of opportunity in education and opportunity as values. Delocalization will not meaningfully address the challenges of ethno-regional inequality in education and opportunity if some ethno-regional communities lack the requisite qualifications (Stiftung, 2012). Unless inequality in education among ethno-regions is addressed equality of opportunity remains a pipe dream as other communities will continue missing out.

HELB

The main objective of HELB is to fund eligible applicants regardless of their geographical background. However, not all eligible persons from marginalized areas are awarded loans and bursaries. The national assembly's education committee has argued coherently that it is not possible to loan bursaries and scholarships to all students from marginalized areas due to the limited resources at HELB (Owino, 2019)

The one third ethno-regional act

The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) has advocated that universities and the civil service adhere to the policy of not recruiting more than a third of the total workforce from one ethno-region (Taaliu, 2017). However, these constitutional and legislative requirements have had little expected impact (KHRC, 2018). Successive governments, have been regularly accused of running an ethno-regional governments. The present cabinet is dominated by the Central and the Rift-valley ethno-regional communities cumulatively accounting for more than fifty percent (KHRC, 2018). How do we ensure that marginalized ethno-regions are represented in universities and civil service when they are also marginalized in education, thus do lack the requisite qualifications.

The Quota System of Admission into National Schools

The quota system was introduced in the 1980s and stipulated that national schools would admit 85% of students from their regions. The policy meant that a child

would be educated in a local primary school, secondary school and even university in his or her home region. Nderitu (2018) laments that while the quota system of admission was meant to ensure equity in terms of access to national schools, its application to county and extra-county schools has brought ethno-regional inequalities and Balkanized students.

DISCUSSIONS

The findings endorse (Thompson, 2015) study which maintained that education policies are a product of class interests and have been benefiting the elites, for instance, the education policies such as cost sharing and *harambee*. The elites use the ideology of meritocracy and equality in opportunity when the reality is that the schools themselves are stratified into national, extra-county. The findings verify the study by Ochola (2016), which lamented that the vision on equal opportunities has been distorted by the unbridled policy choices of rewarding political cronyism, particularly in the context of access to public offices and resources.

The findings corroborate the assertion (Nderitu, 2018) assertion that education policies imposed by the state authority are the outcome of political processes that must be analyzed in terms of class interests. The findings also confirm (Bogonko, 1994) study which concluded that in the age of cost sharing in the provision of education, richer areas or parents and better endowed schools had a head start. The findings also ratifies the (EFAGMR, 2015) study that FPE, FDSE funds are distributed equally to individual learners without regard to inequalities between individuals and ethno-regions thus maintaining the existing inequalities.

These findings are in tune with Karl Marx theory of economic determinism. Marx argued that the economy determines everything in human affairs. That is, those who control the economic base also control the super structure. This means that those who have wealth or economic power also have political power and control over everything in rest of the society.

CONCLUSION

The strategies the government of Kenya is using to address ethno-regional inequalities in education were critiqued. Despite FPE and FDSE ethno-regional inequality in education remains a mirage. This is because other school levies militate against the poor staying in school. Additionally, their funding does not take into account the inequalities that exist between individual learners and within the schools themselves. Delocalization, the equalization fund, affirmative action and the HELB have limitations that need addressing to make them well operational.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. FPE and FDSE funds should be distributed equitably and not equally. Challenges such as timely financing, payment delays should be addressed and grants should be indexed to inflation.
2. The equalization fund should be made operational and managed by county governments. The counties and marginalized communities would be directly involved in project identification. This will also allow for integration of its activities into county planning and implementation frameworks, and create synergies in the implementation of the projects.
3. **HELB:** - The government must ensure that no deserving case from the marginalized communities and regions misses out on HELB. It must devise a formula that the fund is allocated factoring the disadvantages faced by families, schools and ethno-region.

Conflict of Interest: The authors declare that they have no conflicts of interest.

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Disclaimer Statement

This work is part of a thesis submitted to Pwani University for the award of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) in Philosophy of Education. The title of the thesis is a Marxist analysis of ethno-regional inequalities in education and consequent opportunities in Kenya: the case of central and coastal regions. The amount of work in the thesis includes an introduction, background to the study, a review of the literature, a methodology, a conclusion, and recommendations.

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Authorship and Level of Contributions

Mr. Charles Lewa Chai conceived the idea, researching the past and current ways the Kenyan government has tried to reduce ethno-regional inequality in education and consequent job opportunities secondary sources from the library and the Internet, reviewing literature, making references and making references, writing the paper, editing and making sure its published.

Dr. Sammy Kipkemboi Rutto making sure that philosophical method and not scientific method of investigation is used in the study. Make sure the correct APA version and reference method are adopted.

Dr. Francis Gikonyo Wokabi making sure that the literature review is in line with the objective, insisting on the use of credible sources, aligning objective to research question.

Dr. Carolyne S. Mudeje Buya reviewed the paper, making sure all sources of crucial unsubstantiated claims or information is cited, realigning the method to the objective, proofreading.

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