

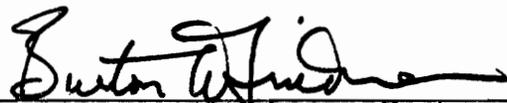
PUBLIC POLICY ALTERNATIVES FOR
SELF-HELP (HARAMBE) SCHOOLING IN KENYA,

by

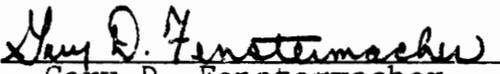
Adam J. O. Asiachi

Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION
in
Educational Administration

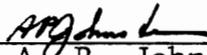
APPROVED:



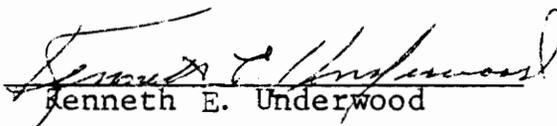
Burton D. Friedman, Chairman



Gary D. Fenstermacher



A. P. Johnston



Kenneth E. Underwood



Doreen Ellis

June, 1979
Blacksburg, Virginia

LD

5655

V856

1979

A852

0.2

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I wish to express my great appreciation to the Chairman of my doctoral committee, Professor Burton Friedman for his assistance and guidance in every stage of writing this dissertation. Without his patience and scholarly recommendations, not much could have been achieved. I also wish to extend my appreciation to Professor Gary Fenstermacher for his critical but constructive and suggestive views.

Many thanks and appreciations are indebted to committee members, Professors: A.P. Johnston, Ken E. Underwood, Doreen Ellis, who showed patience and sympathy for reading through the manuscript material at early stages of writing and made helpful and contributory comments in various ways.

May I express my thanks to the Kenya Teachers Service Commission for their kindness to grant permission for the extension of my study leave in the United States.

I am greatly indebted to my parents, Mr. Jason O. Asiachi and my mother, the late Omusiele Fani N. Asiachi,

my brother Mr. Silvano Asiachi and his wife Mary M. Asiachi for their kindness to shoulder our family's economic responsibilities while I was in the process of pursuing this study in the United States.

I am also indebted to all my relatives and friends in Kenya and the United States who helped to make this study possible in several ways.

Finally, I owe greatest indebtedness to my children who missed my presence while I was seriously engaged in the writing of this dissertation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
Chapter	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
PURPOSE OF THE STUDY	1
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	1
PROCEDURE AND ORGANIZATION	2
AN OVERVIEW	3
2. THE STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION IN KENYA	21
The Educational Structure	21
Teacher Education	21
Selection and Promotion	34
Harambe Schools	37
3. THE PHENOMENON OF SELF-HELP IN SECONDARY EDUCATION	47
Introduction	47
Self-Help in Other African Nations	49
Tanzania: Education for Self-Reliance	49
Senegal: Animation Rurale	55

	<u>Page</u>
Botswana: Young Brigades	60
Self-Help Education in Kenya	65
Self-Help Education: The Contemporary Harambe Schools	78
Salient Features of Harambe Secondary Schools	104
4. ISSUES IN HARAMBE SCHOOLING	120
Curriculum	125
Personnel	135
Finance	145
Governance	154
5. ALTERNATIVE POLICY RESPONSES TO THE ISSUES	172
Personnel	176
Finance	182
Governance	198
Curriculum	209
Need for Policy Alternatives	213
6. RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION	221
BIBLIOGRAPHY	233
APPENDICES	242
A. Definition of Terms	243
B. The Education Act of 1968	248
C. Tables	277
D. Kenya Junior Secondary Examination Syllabus and Regulations 1969-70	285
VITA	296

LIST OF TABLES

Table	<u>Page</u>
1. Primary School Enrollments 1961-76	23
2. Distribution of Aided Schools 1963	79
3. Distribution of Secondary Schools by Category and Province 1976	82
4. Subject Analysis of 1975 E.A.C.E. Results in Harambe schools	113
5. Subject Analysis of 1975 E.A.C.E. Results in Private schools	114
6. Subject Analysis of 1975 E.A.C.E. Results in Government schools	115
7. Staffing in Secondary schools 1976 - unaided . . .	138
8. Staffing in Secondary schools 1976 - aided . . .	139
9. Occupation of Chairmen and Treasurers of 214 Harambe Secondary schools 1967	158
10. Distribution of Secondary schools by Province 1976	191
11. Schools by Type 1965-74	277
12. Secondary School Enrollment 1961-76	278
13. Enrollment in Aided and Unaided Schools University and Teacher Education 1963-75 . . .	279
14. Enrollment in Trade Schools 1966-1974	280
15. Comparison of Enrollment and Teacher Supply in Unaided Secondary Schools by Province 1976 . . .	281
16. Comparison of Enrollment and Teacher Supply in Aided Schools by Province 1976	282
17. Staffing in Secondary Schools-Trained and Untrained Teachers by Grade 1969	283
18. Staffing in Secondary Schools-Trained and Untrained Teachers by Grade 1970	284

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	<u>Page</u>
1. The Structure of Education in Kenya	viii

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

There are three general purposes of this study. First, to examine the growth of the phenomenon of self-help education as a component of the educational system in Kenya, and its role in the promotion of educational expansion. The second purpose was to identify issues that confront self-help schools and how such issues inhibit the process of educational development in Kenya. The third purpose of the study was to analyze possible policy alternatives that could be employed by the government of Kenya in its efforts to bring positive changes among the majority of the rural communities through Harambe school programs.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The problem of this study was to examine the issues of Harambe schools and to identify the government's policies for dealing with such issues. To examine the government's policies and actions for Harambe schooling, the following problem questions were posed:

1. What is the response of the government of Kenya to the phenomenon of self-help education?
2. What policies have been formulated by the government of Kenya on the phenomenon of self-help education? How are such policies implemented?
3. How do Harambe secondary schools carry out the goals and objectives of education as stated by the government of Kenya?

PROCEDURE AND ORGANIZATION

This study is organized under six chapters. The first chapter is mainly an introduction to the study, and an overview of the issues examined in the following chapters.

Chapter 2 deals with the structure of the educational system in Kenya. It is organized into four main subheadings. Subheading one is the structure of the present formal education. It examines the nursery, primary, secondary, technical and higher education. Subheading two deals with teacher education. It examines primary teacher and secondary teacher education. Subheading three examines the selection and promotion in the educational system of Kenya. It examines the process of examination in the primary and secondary schools. Subheading four examines Harambe schools as a component of the formal education system in Kenya.

Chapter 3 deals with the phenomenon of self-help. It is divided into four main sections. The first section deals with self-help in other countries in Africa. It examines Education for Self-Reliance in Tanzania, Rurale Animation in Senegal, and the Young Brigades of Botswana. The second section deals with self-help education in Kenya. It is mainly an examination of the origins of self-help education in Kenya before independence in 1963. Section three examines the contemporary Harambe schools. It examines the emergence of Harambe school movement in Kenya. Section four looks at the features that are salient in Harambe schools.

Chapter 4 is mainly an analysis of the issues in Harambe schooling. Four basic areas of issues common to Harambe schools are examined: curriculum, governance, personnel, and finance.

In Chapter 5, alternative policy responses to the issues in Chapter 4 are analyzed. The policy responses are focused on government action on the problems of Harambe schooling.

Chapter 6 deals with the conclusions and recommendations.

AN OVERVIEW

Economic, social, and political changes are at issue in the "developing" nations of the world. Those nations and their people associate "development" with growth, adaptation,

change, and progress. They tend to believe that formal education is a basic and necessary agent for change, not only in the sense that it facilitates change, but also in the sense that it promotes and causes necessary and desirable change. These beliefs place serious strains upon the educational systems of developing nations. They place serious strains upon the governments which establish and maintain the formal educational systems. They place serious strains upon those who attend or have completed their formal schooling, and also upon their families, who make great sacrifices, foregoing other interests so that their children may attend schools. These several phenomena--not at all uncommon within the developing world--are readily observable in the relatively young Republic of Kenya and its system of education.

Kenya was established as an independent nation in 1963. Much earlier it had been a part of Britain's East Africa Protectorate and a British colony. At independence, Kenya naturally inherited the system of formal education that had developed under British direction. That system was limited in size and scope. It was "bookish" and "academic." It was segregated by race, with separate schools for white, black, Asian, and Arab students. Education had been promoted by various churches and church-related groups and, to some extent, by government.

With independence, the educational system became an object of great concern, great interest, and great growth. Segregation was eliminated. Expansion was sought. School graduates were in great demand. Kenyan citizens who were university graduates were in especially high demand, to replace foreign expatriates who decided to leave the new nation. The "Africanization" of government, education, and the world of business was sought. University graduates being in short supply, Kenyan high school graduates were in demand.

Kenyan well-qualified to teach school, for example, found themselves eminently employable in public and private bureaucracies. Educated people in general found it profitable to leave the countryside and move to the cities, where employment opportunities appeared to be numerous. One result, of course, was a weakening of the professional core of qualified people within the formal system of education. As well-prepared people left the schools to take other employment, the schools became less well-equipped to prepare the young. Simultaneously, the demand for formal education increased enormously.

In consequence, the existing educational system was weakened at precisely the time when its expansion was most vigorously sought. The government of the new nation

accelerated the growth of the school system, but demands for schools and schooling far exceeded its ability to construct new facilities or to prepare professional personnel qualified to operate those facilities, develop curricula, and teach or counsel students.

Comparable problems faced the Government of Kenya in fields other than education, of course. The processes of "nation-building" and "development" placed great demands on the government's resources with respect to roads, health, and the full range of other public services.

The Government of Kenya chose to place substantial reliance upon a long-standing tradition of various cultures of East Africa. It was the tradition of "self-help" or "Harambe" (also sometimes written "Harambee"). Harambe is a concept of community-based and voluntary cooperative endeavor. Harambe may be relied upon, for example, to produce a community's water supply or to perform other varieties of public works. Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya's first President, encouraged Kenyans to demonstrate that Harambe could help to build the nation.

In education, there began a surge in the establishment of Harambe secondary schools, so substantial that it may properly be termed a "movement." The movement has continued through the decade of the 1970's and shows no signs that it will abate. Even though the Kenya government has expanded

its governmental system of secondary schools very substantially, the most recent data available indicate that Harambe secondary schools and Harambe secondary school students far outnumber all other varieties of institutions and students within Kenyan secondary education.

The Harambe secondary school movement is a remarkable phenomenon and, indeed, a remarkable achievement of community-based, voluntary, cooperative self-help efforts. It represents a laudable and noteworthy record of community performance that is difficult to match.

Unfortunately, however, the Harambe secondary school movement also has been a remarkably ungoverned and perhaps ungovernable phenomenon. In critical respects, it has outstripped the capabilities of the nation to provide educational services. Harambe schools have been established and filled with students far more rapidly than the nation's entire educational system has been able to supply them with teachers, or with instructional materials, or with appropriate curricula, equipment, and other resources, or with supervision and guidance. The growth of the Harambe schools has been essentially uncontrolled and unsupervised. The results are not entirely gratifying.

Harambe schools outnumber other secondary schools in Kenya. Their students are more numerous than students in other categories of secondary schools. In all basic

respects, their curricula are essentially identical to those of other secondary schools. Their physical facilities, materials, and financial resources are markedly inferior to those of other secondary schools, however. Their teaching and administrative personnel are decidedly under-prepared for their duties, furthermore, as compared to those in other categories of Kenyan secondary education.

In common with other secondary school students attending better equipped and better staffed institutions, nevertheless, Harambe school students enter the uniform and nationwide testing programs offered by the Government of Kenya. The results achieved on the standard tests are major determinants of each student's future educational and other opportunities. Harambe school students enter the tests under great disadvantages. A few exceptionally bright youngsters among them do very well. In general, however, students from Harambe schools do poorly in the standardized testing programs. They obtain low scores. Many of them repeat a year's academic work, seeking to re-enter the examination in hopes of improving their scores. The tests are of such great significance for future educational opportunity and future employment opportunity--hence for social and economic status--that competition is intense and repeating is common.

For the hard-pressed Government of Kenya, these conditions and circumstances surrounding the Harambe secondary school movement, therefore, generate serious and potentially tragic problems and issues. On the one hand, the movement to create Harambe schools is the prime expression of the Harambe spirit of community self-help, of community cooperation, of citizen initiative, involvement, and participation. Kenya's leaders cherish the Harambe idea and spirit, and they have no wish to interfere with what they judge to be a remarkable and healthy, constructive tradition.

On the other hand, they observe that the spirit of Harambe as applied to secondary education is having disadvantageous consequences for contemporary Kenya, and that its consequences may turn out to be disruptive and even dangerous, in the light of the circumstances that surround "national development" and "education" in this developing nation. They observe that the Harambe school movement is based on eminently good intentions and praiseworthy unselfish efforts. They also cannot help but observe that the Harambe secondary schools are not good schools, as compared with other varieties of secondary schools in Kenya. They are poorly endowed with personnel, leadership, physical installations, materials, and financial resources. They

drain the resources of Kenyan families that sacrifice to support the schools and send their children to them. Their curricula do not prepare their students for life in or near the rural communities where they are located and which they purport to serve. Instead, their curricula are oriented to essentially urban patterns of living that exist in Kenya only to limited degrees and only in settings well removed from the rural community. And finally, their performance is weak, when judged by the results achieved by Harambe secondary school students in their attempts to compete in nationwide competitive academic examinations.

During the years of independence, the Government of Kenya has undertaken deliberately and systematically to expand and improve its own formal system of schools, technical institutes, colleges, and universities. It has neither encouraged nor discouraged the Harambe secondary school movement, but it has honored and praised the Harambe tradition. In essence, the government has tolerated the rapid growth of Harambe secondary schools, without formally encouraging it and also without formally policing, monitoring, guiding, or supervising it.

In this dissertation, the contention is advanced that the Harambe secondary school movement in Kenya is rapidly becoming (and may already have become) a major problem for

education and for government in Kenya. The movement has resulted in the establishment of many schools, the enrollment of many students, and the expenditure of large portions of the limited resources of many families. The movement has created great aspirations and expectations. Unfortunately, however, it has delivered inferior services and disappointing results. Those results may create popular disillusionment with not only the Harambe tradition but also the idea of education.

In this dissertation, it is presumed, furthermore, that the Government of Kenya intends to prevent such disillusionment. It is presumed that the Government (a) prizes education as an ingredient essential to national development, (b) prizes the tradition of Harambe, and therefore (c) wishes to devise public policies and to take public actions which will turn the Harambe secondary schools into national assets, preventing them from becoming a major source of nationwide disappointment, disillusion, and frustration.

In these pages, it is contended that the Government of Kenya in essence has been without an affirmative set of formal policy with regard to the Harambe secondary school. Government policies have applauded the Harambe tradition and idea, and government policies have applauded the merits of education. But government policies have been essentially

silent on the subject of Harambe secondary schools, and government actions essentially have ignored those schools, notwithstanding minor forms of attention to them.

Believing on the one hand that the Harambe secondary schools now constitute or shortly will constitute a major national problem, and on the other hand, that government policy has been neutral with respect to those schools, the further contention in these pages is that the time has arrived for the Government of Kenya to develop and consider policy alternatives available to it: (a) what posture might it, or should it, adopt toward the Harambe secondary schools? and (b) what actions might it, or should it, take with respect to those schools?

In the remaining pages of this document, these questions are explored. One chapter is devoted to a description of the entire system of education in Kenya, whether governmentally-operated or privately sustained; particular attention is devoted to the phenomenon of the Harambe secondary school, as a major component of the nationwide educational system. Another chapter is devoted specifically to the Harambe secondary school and the Harambe tradition of Kenya and of East Africa. Those chapters contain references to appropriate background concepts, with reference to historical, cultural, economic, political, and

educational factors. Together, those chapters elaborate upon the basic ideas expressed in this overview. Their purpose is to establish a basis for consideration of plausible and possible alternatives of policy and action suitable for adoption hereafter by the Government of Kenya and by the patrons and sponsors of Harambe schools. Several alternatives then are explored. In a final section, the author offers some conclusions and recommendations.

The Roles of Education in Kenya

Kenya is a developing nation in which social and economic change are rapid and evident. Education is intended to facilitate and smooth the way for change. It also is expected to promote and cause change. The role to be played by education has not been defined with precision, however, nor has the educational system been designed specifically to achieve stipulated ends. In consequence, it may be observed that education is influential in Kenya, but that its influence is not necessarily or invariably orderly and constructive.

Elementary education has been declared to be a government responsibility, and universal free elementary education--seven grades, beginning usually at age seven--is a stated goal. The elementary school system has grown

substantially since national independence was achieved in 1963; by 1973, for example, 65 percent of the appropriate age group was enrolled in elementary schools. The growth of elementary education produces significantly increased numbers of youngsters who have completed the elementary grades and are ready to continue. Those individuals are too young to enter the world of work, but too old to spend their time at play. They seek to continue into secondary schools.

Unfortunately, the government's secondary school system has grown at a slower rate. Its schools have insufficient space, hence can accommodate only a small fraction of the total number of youngsters who have completed elementary school and wish to proceed into secondary education. In 1971, of 170,000 candidates who had written the Certificate of Primary Education (C.P.E.) examination, only 14 percent could be admitted into the government's secondary schools. A like number entered the markedly inferior Harambe secondary schools. A prosperous few attended other high-quality private schools. Many, however, remained effectively barred from further formal education, and unemployment is quite high.

The growing elementary education system, accordingly, may be seen as a source of students ready and able to proceed

into secondary education. It also must be regarded as a source of very young people who may be presumed to be literate but unskilled, and who are forced by circumstance to consider how best to enter the difficult and crowded world of work rather than the world of further education, although some limited varieties of educational opportunity remain open to some of them.

With few exceptions, all varieties of Kenya's elementary and secondary schools are believed to be "academic" and "bookish" rather than "practical" or "occupational" in their orientation, concept, and practice. That is, schooling is seen as proper preparation for further schooling, not as preparation for gainful employment or self-employment. Agricultural education in secondary schools, for example, appears not to develop the motivation or the skills necessary to practice agriculture as a productive farmer or herdsman or in related agroindustry, but is perceived essentially as preparation for further academic study. Similarly, few secondary schools appear to prepare young people for remunerative self-employment in various crafts and skills, or for careers in trade and commerce.

In short, the educational system of Kenya may be described as bookish, academic, and highly competitive.

Competition is nurtured by the fact that aspiring students are in greater supply than schools are. Competition, therefore, is focused on the series of nationwide examinations utilized to select students for admission into the limited numbers of places available for them. The Certificate of Primary Education (C.P.E.) examination, administered during a student's final year of elementary school, is a major determinant of the student's opportunities to proceed into secondary school. Similarly, the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination (K.J.S.E.), taken two years later at the close of the ninth year of schooling, and the East African Certificate Examination (E.A.C.E.), the East African Advanced Certificate Examination (E.A.A.C.E.), the Higher School Certificate (H.S.C.), and the General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) all represent competitive hurdles placed in the path of a student aspiring to an academic future.

Elementary and secondary education, accordingly, inevitably are geared to preparation for the critical examinations. The acquisition of favorable credentials, rather than the acquisition of knowledge and skills usable in the non-school world, therefore, tends to become the prime criterion by which schooling and students are judged. The limited numbers and capacities of alternative institutions-

more intentionally "practical" and less academic, less bookish than the rest--serve to underscore the extent to which competitive examinations and school credentials are primary objectives and prizes in Kenya's system of education.

The Harambe secondary school typically is an imperfect carbon copy of a secondary school established and maintained by the government. Its staff and resources typically are less adequate than those of the other secondary school, but its curriculum and purposes are essentially the same. Its students pursue the same lines of study, in preparation for the same sets of competitive examinations. A fortunate few Harambe school students, by virtue of exceptional performance on the K.J.S.E. examination, may transfer into other and better schools after Form II (i.e., after the ninth year of schooling, at roughly age 16). A fortunate few Harambe school students may even proceed to earn college and university degrees.

For most Harambe school students, however, their secondary education closes the academic avenues. Its effect may be to produce young people who are ill-prepared for life in the rural communities from which they come, who are foreclosed from pursuing further academic studies, and who are not well prepared to pursue careers in the urban centers of the nation.

In general, the Harambe secondary school is a phenomenon of the rural community. It is community-sponsored and community-maintained. Only in rare cases, however, is it a "community school" in the sense of being oriented to the betterment of the community that nurtures it, or to preparation of students for life within that rural community, or to the study and teaching of the arts, crafts, trades, industries, and practices that might improve the rural economy and society.

It is quite true that the Harambe secondary school typically occupies rural space, is supported by resources of rural people, and draws its students from among the rural population. It is not, however, geared to achieve or pursue what might be termed the goals of rural social and economic development. A concept of "comprehensive and integrated rural development" would be foreign to the typical Harambe school. Typically, therefore, the Harambe school, in effect, may be foreign to the rural community in which it is located. It draws upon community resources, but is not capable of serving the community except in prescribed and possibly dysfunctional ways. It teaches the youngsters of the community, but it does not prepare them for life within their community, and it may be argued that neither does it prepare them for life elsewhere.

If this view is accurate, it may be said of the Harambe secondary school that it consumes the resources of the rural community, but that it does not convert and increase those resources. It does not return the resources, now reconstituted, so that the community may benefit from them. It provides an education to young men and women, but the education provided is most useful to those who decide to leave the community. Hence the school does not help to improve the commerce, the agriculture, the industry, the trades, or the life of the community from which it draws sustenance.

When the youth leave the community, furthermore, it is a moot point whether the Harambe school education constitutes a benefit either for them or for the urban centers to which they normally migrate.

The government's system of secondary education, of course, builds upon the same universal system of primary schools that feeds students into the Harambe secondary schools. The government's secondary schools, to be sure, also remain essentially bookish and academic and also are oriented to the system of competitive examinations. It is the government's secondary school system, however, which in fact does supply students to the colleges and universities that produce the cadres of professional, scientific,

technical, and administrative personnel necessary for the nation's social, political, and economic advancement. In common with the Harambe school, the government's secondary schools also may have the effect of causing rural youth to migrate from their places of origin to the urban centers of the nation. Unlike the Harambe secondary school, however, or at least to a far greater extent than the Harambe school, the government's secondary school and subsequent educational experiences do equip the student to lead a satisfying and productive life in the new and non-rural setting.

The "establishment" secondary schools, in short, clearly serve a useful and necessary role with regard to the national development of Kenya. It is at best moot whether the Harambe secondary schools do so, as presently constituted. Notwithstanding the fact that the growth of Harambe secondary schools represents a remarkable achievement of the self-help ideals and traditions that are integral parts of Kenya's cultural heritage, the people and the Government of Kenya rightfully may question whether the unencumbered growth of Harambe schools hereafter should be permitted to continue unchecked.

Chapter 2

THE STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION IN KENYA

Education in Kenya is organized into formal and informal systems. Formal education is offered at four levels: nursery, primary, secondary, and college or university education. Informal education consists of non-structured educational programs external to the regular school system. These programs are intended to provide a learner with skills needed for employment. Informal education is offered by government and private organizations.

The Educational Structure

Nursery or Day Care Centers

The Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services controls all nursery school education in Kenya. Well-established nursery schools and day care centers are found more in urban than rural areas. Nursery schools are regarded as part of the self-help effort. Financially, urban populations can afford more easily to pay for nursery education than can people in the rural areas. In any given rural area nursery schools may not exist and, if they do exist, they may be poorly supported.

In 1972, there were 5,000 nursery schools and day care centers in existence in various parts of Kenya. About

30,000 pre-school children were attending nursery schools during this period, and about 6,000 teachers were running the nursery schools and day care centers.

Nursery school teachers are recruited from among people who have completed primary education. They undertake a one-year comprehensive training program, available at various centers in each province. The Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services, the employer of the nursery school teachers, is also responsible for sponsoring the training program.¹ The teachers who successfully complete an organized training program are awarded certificates and are eligible for employment as nursery teachers in any part of Kenya.

Children may take two or three years in nursery schools before they enter primary schools.

Primary Education

Primary education in Kenya is organized into seven standards (grades). At the age of six or seven every child in Kenya is eligible to join any primary school. At age 13, most children are enrolled in standard seven (grade 7) and are expected to write the Certificate of Primary Education (C.P.E.) examination. With free primary education from Standard I to VII, many children now attend school. The effects of free primary education can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1
 Primary School Enrollment
 1961 to 1976

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>
1961	585,000	284,000	870,000
1962	625,000	310,000	936,000
1963	587,000	305,000	896,000
1964	658,000	357,000	1,015,000
1965	663,000	379,000	1,042,000
1966	646,000	380,000	1,043,000
1967	690,000	443,000	1,133,000
1968	725,000	485,000	1,210,000
1969	763,000	519,000	1,282,000
1970	836,000	591,000	1,428,000
1971	881,000	664,000	1,525,000
1972	957,000	712,000	1,676,000
1973	1,025,000	791,000	1,816,000
1974	1,499,000	1,235,000	2,734,000
1975	1,562,000	1,320,000	2,881,000
1976	1,554,000	1,340,000	2,894,000

Source: Ministry of Education

Total numbers in column IV do not add up to exact total because of rounding up.

Dramatic changes in primary school enrollments began in 1974 when primary education was declared free by the Kenya government. The increase in the enrollment at the primary school naturally has produced a marked rise in C.P.E. candidates.

Curriculum development in Kenya is centralized. The Kenya Institute of Education and the Jomo Kenyatta Foundation prepare the curriculum material for primary and secondary schools. Primary schools implement the curriculum to prepare children for C.P.E. examinations. The syllabus for primary schools includes English, Vernaculars in the lower primary, Mathematics, Science, Creative Arts, Home Science, Music, History, Geography, Religious Studies, Kiswahili, and Physical Education. In Standard VI and VII children concentrate on academic subjects in preparation for C.P.E. examinations. The standard of class size in primary is 1:40, i.e., one teacher for forty children. The actual class size depends on population. Classes of 50 to 60 students per teacher are quite common in parts of Western and Nyanza Provinces.

Teachers in government schools are employed by the Teachers Service Commission. A primary school offering the seven standards is expected to be staffed with a minimum of seven teachers, but may have more teachers and a headmaster. Staffing in primary schools became difficult after

the declaration of universal free primary education. High enrollments led to the massive employment of secondary school graduates as unqualified teachers. This trend has continued as the system of primary education continues to expand.

Teachers in Kenya are graded according to academic achievement. In 1965, only eight percent of primary school teachers had completed secondary education; 34 percent of the teachers were without any training beyond a primary school education; and the average primary school staff had seven teachers as listed below.²

One P1 teacher (four years secondary education with
two years training)

One P2 teacher (two or three years secondary education
with two years of teacher training)

Two P3 teachers (completed primary education with two
years teacher training)

One P4 teacher (incomplete primary education with two
years of teacher training)

Two Unqualified teachers (completed primary or secondary
education with no teacher training)

In heavily populated districts, expansion has been necessary to accommodate the increasing number of children in schools. A common method known as streaming (tracking)

is used in such areas to allocate children per teacher in every primary school. In 1966, a policy of one teacher per class was adopted following the change over from eight to seven years of primary education. A "single stream" consists of one class at each grade, standards I to VII; a double stream consists of two classes for each standard, I to VII; a triple stream consists of three groups in each standard. In the lower classes, teachers are strictly confined to one class per teacher where they teach all subjects for the whole year. In the upper classes (VI and VII) teachers may interchange subjects and classes. A mathematics specialist, for example, may teach mathematics for standards VI and VII, and a science teacher may likewise be scheduled to teach both standards VI and VII. There is much drilling in the upper classes to prepare children for C.P.E. examination. Children memorize previous years' C.P.E. questions and answers to acquaint them with what may be expected in their C.P.E. examination.³

Primary schools often are built on the self-help basis. Parents and members of rural communities are responsible for the establishment of physical plants, teachers' houses, and furniture. Local rural communities contribute both labor and material. In some districts county councils may allocate grants to subsidize local self-help efforts. In the urban

areas, primary education is still under the municipal or city councils; primary schools are built and maintained by municipalities or city councils.

The number of primary schools has been growing steadily. In 1965, there were 5,078 registered primary schools in Kenya. In 1974, the number of primary schools had increased to 7,905.

Secondary Education

Secondary education in Kenya is divided into six forms (U.S. grades). Students who complete seven years of primary education and pass the final examination (C.P.E.) become eligible to join Form I in any secondary school in Kenya.

However, few places are available in the still limited number of Form I classes in government schools, and competition for admission, therefore, is severe. In consequence, the majority of the students join Harambe secondary schools, for entry to those schools is comparatively easy.

Students from primary schools may be selected to join general academic secondary schools or vocational and technical secondary education. Programs in all secondary schools in Kenya are designed to prepare students for passing external examinations. At the end of Form II, for example,

students in Harambe and private schools are expected to write the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination (K.J.S.E.). Form IV students in all secondary schools write examinations for the East African Certificate of Education (E.A.C.E.). The few with good grades gain admission to the few places in Form V. Later, they are expected to write the East African Advanced Certificate of Education (E.A.A.C.E.) examination at the end of Form VI. Vocational and technical secondary students take similar examinations that test vocational and technical knowledge and skills rather more than academic ones.

Vocational and Technical Education

Vocational and technical education is offered under four categories:⁴

1. Industrial Education Program: There are about 29 secondary schools which offer industrial secondary education. The curriculum allows the first two years (Forms I and II) of the program to serve as the common core for years three and four (Form III and IV) of the Technical as well as the Industrial Education programs.
2. Commercial Education Program: 34 secondary schools were approved in the Development Plan 1974 to

1978 to offer programs in business and commercial education.

3. Agricultural Education Program: The program in agricultural education consists of two categories. A major category emphasizes mechanized agriculture and the knowledge and skills involved therein. The minor category is concerned with programs in small-scale agriculture, designed to serve the needs of areas where small-holder agriculture is predominant.
4. Secondary Technical Education Program: Students are selected at Form II to join technical education program at the start of Form III. All students who aspire to pursue technical education are expected to have completed the basic two-year program of industrial education courses. However, at the end of Form IV or VI they are expected to write E.A.C.E. and E.A.A.C.E., respectively, if they aspire to be admitted to a technical college for a diploma course or to the university for a degree program.

Higher Education (Tertiary Education)

Tertiary or post-secondary education is offered at the University of Nairobi, Kenyatta University College, Kenya Science Teachers College, Kenya Polytechnic, Mombasa

Polytechnic, Kenya Technical Teachers' College, and Egerton College for agricultural education.

The University of Nairobi was established in 1970 as a national institution of higher learning in Kenya. It was established primarily as a center for training the high-level manpower required for the general development of the nation.

Admission to the University of Nairobi is based on the results of the East African Advanced Certificate of Education (E.A.A.C.E.). With the increasing number of students with good passes in the E.A.A.C.E., the admission standards have been rising. In 1975, for instance, about 5,000 school candidates wrote the E.A.A.C.E. examinations in 1974, and only 1,702 were admitted to the university.⁵ This means that only very highly qualified students, especially in the physical science subjects, get preference for admission.

There is a mature age qualifying scheme for admission to the University of Nairobi. Mature candidates must be 25 years of age or older; they must have completed their full-time school at least five years before the date they are seeking admission. However, the number of years is not limited.

Under Statute XIV, the University of Nairobi was authorized to award bachelors, masters, and doctoral degrees in selected departments.⁶

Kenyatta University College is a constituent college of the University of Nairobi. It was formerly the Templer Barracks of the British Army which were handed over by Britain with \$2½ million in aid to convert them into a college for training secondary school teachers in Kenya.⁷ Initially, entry requirement was at both E.A.C.E. and E.A.A.C.E. levels. The increasing number of E.A.A.C.E. or Form VI candidates are nowadays preferred to E.A.C.E. or Form IV candidates.

Both undergraduate and graduate diploma courses are studied concurrently with other main degree subjects for three years. In 1975-76, there were approximately 1,186 Kenya government sponsored diploma students at Kenyatta University College.

The Kenya Science Teachers College was established in 1966 with the help in both recurrent and capital cost over a ten-year period from the Swedish government. It was intended to train non-degree science teachers for secondary schools. In 1968 the college officially admitted its first students for the science program. In 1976 the college was formally handed over to the Kenya Government by the Swedish

Government. The Kenyan Government assumed all financial obligations that year.⁸ Both Science and Industrial Arts teachers are trained at the college.

Kenya Technical Teachers' College was started in 1976. The college is hoped to meet the present and future needs for vocational and technical secondary school teachers. The first students were recruited in 1976 for training at the college in Business Education, Industrial Arts, and Industrial Training programs.⁹

Teacher Education

Teachers in Kenya are identified by the level of education at which they teach. They are grouped either as secondary or primary school teachers, depending on the type of training they received.

Primary Teacher Education Program

There are 17 teacher-training colleges which prepare primary school teachers in Kenya. The colleges vary in size. Students are selected after taking the K.J.S.E. and E.A.C.E. examinations, i.e., after Forms II and IV. They receive two years of training in any of the colleges. The teachers' education curriculum covers a general educational program which emphasizes the primary school syllabus and professional courses. After two years, all students take the Kenya

National Teachers' Examination. This examination determines the grade in which each candidate would be grouped.

Candidates are graded into P1, P2, P3, and P4 (P1 being the highest and P4 the lowest grade), based on their scores in the teachers' examinations.¹⁰

Enrollment in the teacher education program has been increasing rapidly due to the acute shortage of qualified teachers in primary education. In 1976, about 8,668 students were enrolled in all primary teachers' training colleges in the nation.¹¹

Secondary Teacher Education

The main institutions for training secondary school teachers in Kenya are (1) Kenya Polytechnic, (2) Egerton College, (3) Kenya Science Teachers College, (4) Kenya Technical Teachers College, (5) Kenyatta University College, and (6) the University of Nairobi. All except Kenyatta University College and the University of Nairobi offer an S.I. grade which is equivalent to a diploma in education. Kenyatta University College terminated the S.I. teacher program when a B.Ed. degree program was introduced. However, an equivalent diploma program is still being offered in business and commercial education.

In 1976, enrollments in secondary education programs were: Kenya Science Teachers College, 519; Kenya Technical

Teachers College, 123; Kenya Polytechnic, 61; Kenyatta University College, 1,116; and the University of Nairobi, 630.¹²

Lecturers in the government's 17 primary teachers colleges have in the past been recruited from degree holders and non-degree holders from Kenyatta University College and the University of Nairobi. Many expatriates, particularly from Britain and the United States, still staff the teachers training colleges, where local lecturers with the requisite expertise in certain disciplines are in short supply. In 1976, there were 545 Kenyans and 94 expatriate or non-citizen lecturers employed in the teacher education program.

Selection and Promotion

Every child enrolled in the formal education system of Kenya is expected to pass external examinations in order to be eligible for promotion within a school or for progression to a next level of schooling. Examinations, therefore, have become barriers to average students who would have hoped to continue with schooling. A large percentage of students who take public examinations and score poorly drop out or move to schools of poor quality.

At the end of seven years of primary education, students are required to write Certificate of Primary

Education (C.P.E.) examination. C.P.E. is an instrument for selecting students into various categories of post-primary education. Students who pass C.P.E. may be selected to join regular secondary education, vocational education or industrial education programs. C.P.E. also provides a certificate for standard seven (grade seven) students who leave school, testifying to the fact that they have completed seven years of primary education in Kenya. The examination is made up of three papers, in English, Mathematics, and a General paper.¹³

C.P.E. is a typical selection examination in Kenya's educational system. As soon as C.P.E. papers are marked, students who took the examination are selected to join Form I classes in various secondary schools. Students with the highest points are selected to join the prestigious top schools (National Schools). The second highest students may be selected to join the somewhat less prestigious (provincial) schools. Other students may join local secondary schools, usually located in the rural areas. Students who fail to be selected for any of the above categories may leave school at this point, but they may go to Harambe or other private schools which are not government supported.¹⁴

The Kenya Junior Secondary Examination (K.J.S.E.) replaced the Kenya African Secondary Examination in 1966.

It is a terminal examination for students in Harambe schools. The K.J.S.E. certificate later became an acceptable requirement for employment in the public and private sectors.¹⁵ A small number of students in Harambe schools who pass with high points may be selected to rejoin Form III classes in government secondary schools.

Students in their fourth year of secondary education are expected to take the East African Certificate of Education examination in order to be selected to join Form V classes, the primary teacher education program or vocational and technical education programs. Non-school (private) candidates may be allowed to write E.A.C.E. if they meet certain standards established by the examinations syndicate. The broad E.A.C.E. syllabus covers all academic and practical subjects taught in secondary schools in Kenya.¹⁶

The East African Advanced Certificate of Education (E.A.A.C.E.) is taken by all students who are in their sixth year of secondary education. Students who pass E.A.A.C.E. with acceptable grades in three papers at the same sitting may be eligible for selection to join university education, secondary school teachers education program, or vocational and technical training programs in the private or public sectors.

Harambe Schools

The evolution and growth of self-help secondary education in Kenya are based on three motives among the people and the government of Kenya. First, the wishes of parents for secondary schools after their children graduate from primary schools; second, a common fallacy that secondary school education would be an asset for economic benefit; and third, social and political motives for using education as an agent for unifying people for common goals.

Impact of Expansion. Before 1963, few children of school age attended primary schools. Tuition fees were high and, in some parts of the nation, people were not motivated to send their children to school. After the Addis Ababa conference (1961) many nations of Africa increased their educational budgets to provide schooling for most school age children.¹⁷ Kenya's government, like all others in Africa, embarked on a massive program of expanding primary school education. In 1961, about 870,000 children attended primary schools in Kenya. In 1964, the figures had increased to more than one million.¹⁸

Soon, however, so many children completed primary school education that they could not all be admitted to the few government and private secondary schools. In 1962, there were about 120 secondary schools in Kenya. In that

year, 27,373 students completing their primary education wrote the Kenya Preliminary Examination, hoping to join secondary schools. Only 10,214 students were admitted into Form I of secondary schools. Those admitted into Form I were, therefore, slightly more than one-third of the candidates.¹⁹ Parents were left responsible for the remaining two-thirds who were not accepted into Form I in either government or private secondary schools. In Central, Nyanza, Western, and Rift Valley Provinces, rural communities organized self-help secondary schools to enable those students to obtain a secondary education.

Employment Fallacy. Harambe schools were established because of a belief entertained by most people that education would be an economic asset, and that, in a developing country such as Kenya, employment opportunities for the newly-educated elites would be available in private and public sectors. At the time the population of primary schools was rising, however, the average age of youngsters completing their primary school was below the level being required for entry in the employment market. The employment opportunities open to those with only a primary education thus became limited.²⁰ Parents, therefore, began to seek ways to keep their children in schools until later in life. In many parts of the nation where

secondary school opportunities were poor, consequently, there began a new wave of self-help schemes to build secondary schools.

Government Motivation. Kenya's government indirectly encourages the establishment of self-help secondary schools in the nation. It has been the policy of government to take over some well-established Harambe schools each year, and to operate them as full-fledged official schools. Once one school is taken over by the government in one locality, however, another one springs up nearby; its founders hope that government will adopt it in the same way.

The government's policy of assisting selected established Harambe schools with teachers and equipment is a reinforcement for the Harambe movement. A community without secondary schools is motivated to start one, hoping to receive assistance from the government. New Harambe schools, therefore, multiply in areas where many children are completing primary school. Cabinet ministers and top civil servants become involved privately in promoting such schools in their areas, thereby implying government's official endorsement and encouragement. They donate funds, give advice, and pledge future support should communities need it.

Location. Harambe schools are generally located in rural areas. In most cases, they are entirely parasitic, depending for their facilities upon the primary school system.²¹ For instance, in many rural areas, a community without land and buildings may occupy the existing premises of a primary school. The occupation may be temporary, until the local school committee finds a site, but the premises may be retained permanently in use for the Harambe school. The obvious problem for the primary school increases, of course, as the Harambe school grows in size. Quite often primary schools have been forced to move to new locations, leaving the old campus for Harambe schools. In the prosperous districts of Central, Rift Valley, and Western Provinces, new sites are allocated for Harambe schools.

Harambe schools generally are organized on a clan or tribal basis. In different areas, influential people may instigate a project for establishing Harambe schools. A committee is chosen for the management and organization of the project within a community. Members of such committees are chosen to represent different local groups whose efforts are needed for the success of any self-help activity. The number of members varies. Generally, a committee may consist of ten to twenty members. Members may elect a

chairman, but sometimes he may be elected by all members of a community in a mass meeting known as a "baraza."

Catchment. Harambe schools clearly are of low quality as compared to government schools. Therefore, they do not attract the best students. Only students who fail to win admission into government schools opt to join Harambe schools. Enrollment in Harambe schools continues to increase because of the still limited numbers of Form I places in government schools.

In most Harambe schools, students belong to one or two ethnic groups where the school may be located. However, this does not mean that out-of-location or district students cannot be admitted. Students who can pay the required fees are always welcome to any Harambe school anywhere in the nation. With such wide catchment, it is common to find Harambe schools with 45 to 50 students in Form I class.²²

Curriculum. The curriculum for Harambe schools does not differ from that offered in government schools. During the first two years, children are prepared to write the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination (K.J.S.E.). Therefore, the focus of attention is on examinable subjects more than extra-curricular programs. Due to lack of equipment, laboratories and sufficient qualified teachers, Harambe schools emphasize the teaching of arts subjects than sciences.

In Harambe schools with Forms III and IV, students may continue with the regular East African Certificate of Education syllabus offered in government schools. They take the E.A.C.E. examination together with students in government schools. Their basically academic syllabus hardly prepares Harambe school students to function in a rural community.

Staffing in Harambe Schools. Teachers for Harambe schools constitute a major problem and a basic reason for the schools' lower quality. Unqualified teachers without teaching experience comprise the largest share of the teachers in Harambe schools. Overseas volunteer teachers make up a second category. Qualified teachers provided by the government form a third group. In 1976, there were 1,799 qualified teachers and 4,554 unqualified teachers in all unaided schools (a category which includes, but is not limited to, Harambe schools) in Kenya.²³ It is not now possible to obtain an accurate record of employment in Harambe schools alone.

Unqualified teachers may be recruited from among secondary school graduates who have earned the East African Certificate of Education (E.A.C.E.) or East African Advanced Certificate of Education (E.A.A.C.E.). Unqualified teachers are impermanent, hence always unreliable staff for

Harambe schools. After the E.A.C.E. or E.A.A.C.E. test results are announced, many of the candidates return to school, to complete Form VI or to enter a college or university. Only those whose test scores do not permit them to continue their own further training and who cannot find lucrative jobs elsewhere may opt to continue to teach in Harambe schools, even as they hope to find something better in the future.

Government assists a few well-established Harambe schools with qualified teachers through a program known as "Harambe Package." Teachers under "Harambe Package" enjoy the employment benefits of those in government schools and unlike other Harambe teachers, they receive their salaries from the government.

Volunteer teachers are assigned to Harambe schools by the Teachers Service Commission. Their salaries and other expenses are met, however, by the Harambe schools.

Resources. Financially, Harambe schools are essentially independent of direct government aid. Their main source of revenue is from local community contributions. Some donations may be solicited from those members of a community who work in urban areas or from local government employees. Other donations may come from philanthropic organizations, business firms and church organizations.

However, these cannot be relied upon when the number of rural Harambe schools increases. The schools have to rely basically on student fees to sustain the essential services. Fees vary, from \$75 to \$200 per year per child, and usually are collected on a quarterly basis.²⁴

Management and Control. Every Harambe school is run by a school committee or a board of governors. Chairmen of such committees are elected from among local influential people. Committee members are often chosen in accordance with their contribution to the growth of the schools. Quite commonly the public looks for people with the ability to win support for the school both locally and outside the rural areas: people with the interest and dedication needed to promote the school, to sacrifice their extra time to attend regular meetings, or to travel to urban areas to meet authorities in the Ministry of Education concerning their schools.

This chapter has examined the present structure of formal educational system in Kenya. Harambe schools were included in this section because of their relationship to the formal educational system rather than non-formal education.

End Notes

¹Gordon S. Bessey, A Study of Curriculum Development in Kenya (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1972), pp. 27-30.

²Ernest Stabler, Education Since Uhuru, The Schools of Kenya (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1969) p. 26.

³Ministry of Education, Statistics Division, 1974.

⁴Republic of Kenya, Development Plan 1974-1978 (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1974), pp. 68-95.

⁵Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education Annual Report 1975 (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1975), p. 52.

⁶University of Nairobi, Calendar 1976-77 (Nairobi: English Press, 1976), p. 53.

⁷O.W. Furley and T. Watson, A History of Education in East Africa (New York: Nok Publishers, 1978), p. 372.

⁸Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education Annual Report 1976 (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1976), p. 8.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education Annual Report 1976 (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1976), p. 7.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid., p. 8.

¹³H.C.A. Somerset, "Who Goes to Secondary School? Relevance, Reliability and Equity in Secondary School Selection," in Education Society and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya, by David Court and Dharam Ghai (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 150.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵John Anderson, The Struggle for the School (Nairobi: Longmans, 1970), p. 152.

¹⁶Ernest Stabler, op. cit., p. 124.

¹⁷Final Report of the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa (Addis Ababa: May 1961), pp. 9-10,

¹⁸Ministry of Education Annual Report 1976, p. 27.

¹⁹Ministry of Education Annual Report 1975, p. 12.

²⁰E.J. Keller, "Harambe," Educational Policy, Inequality and the Political Economy of Rural Community Self-Help in Kenya, in Journal of African Studies, Vol. 19, 1976, p. 211.

²¹S.H. Ominde, Kenya Education Commission Report (Nairobi, Republic of Kenya, 1965), p. 30.

²²Ibid., p. 31.

²³Ministry of Education Annual Report 1976, p. 60

²⁴E.J. Keller, op. cit., p. 102.

Chapter 3

THE PHENOMENON OF SELF-HELP IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

Introduction

The concept of self-help is common to several African countries and is not unique to Kenya. "Self-reliance" in Tanzania, "Young Brigades" in Botswana, "Animation" in Senegal, and "Harambe" in Kenya spell out closely-related ideologies of urging communities to develop on their own, using the resources available locally. Self-help projects in African countries range widely, from establishing primary and secondary schools or constructing vocational institutes to opening hundreds of acres of land for communal cultivation.

The level of emphasis on self-help for development varies, and depends greatly on political leadership. In areas where fear governs the relationships between political leadership and the common people, any self-help movement is threatened: any massive communal self-help program organized basically for the purpose of developing an area, often is viewed obviously as a move to subvert existing political policies.

Though there are underlying similarities in all self-help movements in Africa, there also are major differences. Mugo stated that differences in self-help movements can be found in their organization and structure, as well as in the degree of community involvement before, during, and after their initiation. The success of projects can be measured by their usefulness and ability to hold the interest of those who support them.¹ In Kenya, for instance, people tend to lose interest in supporting self-help projects as soon as government steps in to give aid, or when community organizations becomes weak due to mismanagement of funds or loss of loyalty to the leadership. In the African countries that have self-help projects, the most basic similarity is that all of them employ human resources rather than material investments alone. Human investment in self-help involves the contribution of free labor to projects of public interest, for instance, to the construction of roads, water systems, cattle dips, health and clinic facilities, schools, and churches.

Self-help projects in Africa are basically rural-oriented and revolutionary in outlook. Many of them are progressive in scope and often tend to be developmental in their mission. They all have developmental objectives based on the principle of meeting the needs of local

communities. All of them tend to focus on ways and means of achieving social and economic change for the rural and mainly peasant population.

Self-Help in Other African Nations

To illustrate the phenomenon of self-help in Africa, and as background to a close examination of its manifestation in Kenya, it is useful to look briefly at its employment in several neighboring nations.

Tanzania: Education for Self-Reliance

National policy in Tanzania is directed by President Julius Nyerere, who is head of State, head of the rural political party, and head of government and public services. He has been the spokesman and policy-maker for his country. Undoubtedly, the country's development will be guided by his philosophy.

President Nyerere's philosophy on Tanzania's development is expressed in several documents:

1. "Self-Reliance" was introduced in 1967 as the nation's economic policy statement. It calls for relying on resources within the nation instead of waiting for external aid. Self-reliance demands also that resources be used for the benefit of "the people," hence implies

an end to privilege. Along with a commitment to socialism, self-reliance has been a part of the influential force that has brought a great mobilization among the population of Tanzania.

2. The "Arusha Declaration" (1967) was an official document on African Socialism and Self-Reliance, and led to subsequent White Papers that year on its implications for education and rural development. The Arusha Declaration became a policy document of revolution in Tanzania's history.
3. "Education for Self-Reliance" was issued in March, 1967, and was followed by a subsequent paper on "Socialism and Rural Development." Both are by President Nyerere. They are believed to have been written because of the demonstrations of University students (at Dar-es-Salaam, in 1966, against the National Service Act) and of the growing crisis created by those who found neither further education nor jobs available to them at the completion of primary education.²

Tanzania has attempted to promote policies which rely on self-help. "Socialism and Rural Development" describes how African families lived according to the basic principles

of Ujamaa (familyhood): respect for others in accordance with age and family relationships; respect for shared property; and the obligation to work.³ The concept of self-help in the development policies of Tanzania is unique because it involves the government, the ruling party, and the people on an equal basis in the effort to revolutionize without much external support.

To carry out the policies contained in "Socialism and Rural Development," a program to regroup the country into "Ujamaa villages" was to be pursued. D'Aeth argues that the program to regroup all the countryside into Ujamaa villages lies at the heart of planned transformation.⁴ Villages vary in size. Some may have 3,000 inhabitants, who retain rights to their land, but develop as collective communities. During the initial periods, the whole organization of the ruling party was engaged in persuasion in order to achieve rapid change. D'Aeth confirmed that by 1973, two million of the population had been absorbed into new collective villages. The move toward progress was to be achieved through the spirit of self-help.⁵

The launching of "Education for Self-Reliance" was a milestone in Tanzania. The argument in this concept was based on four basic elements, found in the educational system, which Nyerere believed tended to undermine attempts to develop Tanzania along socialist lines. These were:⁶

1. Education in Tanzania was basically elitist, designed to meet the interests and needs of a very small proportion of those who enter the school system.
2. Education had tended to divorce its participants from the society for which it was supposed to be preparing them.
3. The educational system encouraged pupils in the idea that all worthwhile knowledge is acquired from books or from educated people, i.e., from those who have been through a formal education.
4. Our young and poor nation is taking some of its healthiest and strongest young men and women out of productive work.

The faults thus found in the education system in Tanzania could be corrected, Nyerere said. This could be done by focusing attention on the curriculum, the organization of the schools, and the entry age into primary schools.

Speaking directly about education, Nyerere holds that education must encourage socialist attitudes. He emphasizes that education has both economic and social functions in serving the intentions of Tanzanians. Its purpose is to prepare the young for their future membership in society and their active participation in its maintenance and development.

The purpose of formal primary and secondary schooling was to be restructured. Schools would be expected to serve as catalysts for community and national development in their locales and to promulgate the spirit and theme of Ujamaa (socialism). In "Education for Self-Reliance," the President said that, "All schools but especially secondary schools and other forms of higher education must contribute to their own upkeep."⁷ All schools were expected to possess farms where children would be taught agricultural practice for self-reliance. Good local farmers would be used as teachers and supervisors of the school farms.

An important aspect in Tanzania's development program is the utilization of human resources available in the country. When the scheme was started in the 1960's, volunteers were uneducated and unemployed youths. In May 1967, Nyerere issued directives introducing a gradual and progressive scheme of compulsory enlistment to include Form IV (grade 12) levels, university graduates, and trainees from teachers colleges and professional institutions. They were to serve for two years: three months training at the National Service Center; two months on nation building projects; and eighteen months rendering service in a substantive post for which the trainee was qualified and which he or she intended to take up as a career. At least one

National Service camp was to be opened in each region of Tanzania. Training in the National Service camp was to involve discipline, national defense, agriculture, principles of politics, and national socialism, the history of Tanzania and the ruling party, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), economics, and current affairs.⁸ Furley and Watson said that to some the scheme may seem merely of political indoctrination, but in practice the emphasis was very much on giving assistance in schemes of self-help and community projects such as road building, bridges, houses, and some of the Ujamaa villages, where volunteers were settled in new agricultural communities wherein collective farming and every other productive activity was a communal responsibility.⁹

Since the Arusha Declaration and "Education for Self-Reliance" were launched in 1967, many comments have been made by specialists in different disciplines. Griffiths (1968) stated that the chief educational objective is that education from primary school through university should contribute to improving the standards of life in the rural areas. This will mean not only providing rural development oriented education for school children, but also educating the school age population that never reaches the school.¹⁰ Wood (1974) supported the idea that a

reformed system of primary education would not in itself be sufficient to bring change. A supplementary system of training would be necessary, to build on the idea established in the schools and to implement in practical terms the pattern of developed rural society postulated by the President.¹¹

Senegal: Animation Rurale

Self-help schemes in some African countries seem to be organized through government machinery or party leadership. In Guinea, for instance, Parti Democratique de Guinee is a dominant force. When Guinea attained its independence from France, it embarked on a massive program of nation building. Hapgood (1965) wrote that the Guinean experiment was the social policy of the Parti Democratique de Guinea, the dominant force in a one-party state. Its aims are expressed by the term "animation"-- to stimulate people living within the bonds of traditional society to want progress, to take responsibility for their destiny, to demand their due from their rulers.¹²

The Guinean argument against traditional academic education introduced by Europeans is that the number of diplomas, from high school or university, should not be considered by the educated as a criterion of their

social utility. Hence the agents of Animation in a Guinean village are mostly people who have not been exposed to urban life.¹³

The term "Animation Rurale" is used to cover all forms of self-help schemes in Senegal. Aims of Animation Rurale were given by Hapgood as breathing life into the new institutions by changing peasants' attitudes and by changing the social environment in which both men and institutions work.¹⁴

Diejomaoh (1972) said that the concept of Animation Rurale originated in Morocco in 1956, and the Senegalese program was based on the Moroccan model. The programs developed in recent years have been geared to developing the country, particularly the rural areas.

Since its creation at the time of Senegal's dependence in 1960, Animation Rurale has reached nearly all the country's villages in some way. More than 60,000 individuals have passed through the program's various courses. After a period of experimentation, the program got underway on a fairly large scale in 1961. The technique of animation was worked out by a small international organization called L'Institut de Recherche et Application des Methodes de Developpement (IRAM). What the founders were seeking were methods of development that would avoid the human

costs of both Stalinism and laissez-faire capitalism.¹⁶ They were looking for economic progress in developing areas, without the sacrifice of human values.

Methods of Animation: The process begins with the choice of a small area, a group of villages which are similar in culture, language, and resources, and in which there seems to be the possibility of quick though modest economic progress.¹⁷ The local Director of Animation must know the workings of politics and the village society in the area. It is not always easy for a local director of animation to fulfill such requirements because of the diversity of villages. The director, usually an ex-school teacher, sets out on a tour to explain animation to the rural people. From then on, animation becomes a dialogue, very much in the African village tradition of palaver, an attempt to establish a two-way communication between peasants and elites.¹⁸

Due to lack of funds, activity by Senegalese Government is limited. There has been no massive infusion of goods and services into the countryside. Diejomaoh (1972) stated that Animation Rurale recognizes this and explicitly states that the peasant population must rely on its resources and initiative.¹⁹ M'Baye Diaw, who heads Animation Rurale in Senegal, has said, "We are not a

psychological or a propaganda device charged with conditioning the masses in order to facilitate the intervention of the state services."²⁰ Animation Rurale seeks to promote grass roots activity in the social and economic spheres, independent where possible of financial support from the government.²¹ This is true self-help activity where human resources are actually engaged. The program emphasizes the positive qualities of rural life that are often taken for granted.

Participants in Animation Rurale are young men of ages between 15 and 40. Hapgood (1965) has shown that, if the animateurs are younger, they will not command respect in society where age determines status, and if they are over 40 their minds are closed forever to new ideas.²² They must also belong to a tightly knit society and not just be outsiders who happen to live in the village but not within its culture. The young men must be chosen by the community itself. This is an indication of their trust in the person who will represent them and who will bring new ideas to the village. All persons chosen by different villages are picked by the Director of Animation Rurale and then taken to the Center d'Animation. Hapgood describes the Center as a dormitory-style building, deliberately rudimentary so that the peasant will not feel out of place. The group stays at the Center for three weeks.

The program of study at the Center begins with the elementary explanation of the nature of the nation and its government, its past and present, and its relation to the village, ideas that are foreign to the young peasants. This is followed by a study of economic problems commonly found in their own areas and an examination of what can be done to overcome them. Possible new techniques are discussed.

Directors encourage animators to develop village projects in cooperation with government technicians. Animators are innovators whose ideas are intended to bring change to villagers. The decision to accept the idea of change must be made by the village according to its rules and not by an outside agency.²³

Ben Mady Cisse, the director and architect of Animation Rurale in Senegal, indicated that Animation and the innovations it seeks to introduce "are not in contradiction with the values of traditional Africa, as a result, Animation works best in the remote areas."²⁴ Animation has made a great contribution to the organization of human investment. Human investment involves the contribution of free labor to projects of public interest. Hapgood wrote that the Sengalese see voluntary investment as the logical way to mobilize their available labor, for it draws from the

African tradition of community effort; collective cleaning of villages, for example, is still common.²⁵

Like any other self-help movement in Africa, Animation Rurale has had its shortcomings. Cisse's assistant, Ibrahim Sow, in a self-criticism, admitted the problems encountered, particularly with the elites who may have professional qualifications but do not have the necessary spirit and drive. He criticized particularly the intellectuals' mentality that views peasants with contempt. Cisse also admitted that there was a lack of necessary financial capital for development and also of revolutionary capital among the elites, who are so remote from the conditions of life of the rural mass.²⁶

Botswana: Young Brigades

The efforts that have been attempted to deal with youth training and unemployment in Botswana have been heavily dependent on what is called the "brigade" formula. The term "brigade" was first used in connection with Ghana's "builder's brigades," founded by the late Kwame Nkrumah in the late 1950s. The brigades of Botswana are less ideological than those in Ghana. They have attracted attention because they employ self-help effort in the provision of vocational training to school leavers.

Little or no cost to government is incurred, and in most cases, brigades make innovative use of scarce resources. Sheffield and Diejomaoh described them in the following words:

The Brigades Movement has taken on many attributes of religion; it has a creed, a talented and committed group of disciples and even a messiah, Patrick Van Rensburg, now largely removed from the day to day running of the brigade.²⁷

Patrick Van Rensburg moved to Botswana from South Africa and established Swaneng Hill School. The school was oriented towards the poor rural community. The first brigade training center in Botswana, this school was guided by the following principles:

1. Selection would be based on first-come, first-served basis rather than on academic examinations;
2. Students would contribute voluntary labor rather than pay fees;
3. Staff--at least during the initial years-- would be primarily recruited from overseas volunteer organizations;
4. Training would emphasize skills related to rural Botswana;
5. Academic subjects would not be neglected, but the school would greatly emphasize the development

of Botswana. A development studies course, a requirement, would focus on actual development problems of Botswana--economic, social, cultural.

6. Recurrent costs would be covered by self-help and income derived from work done for outside agencies.²⁸

Brigades in other parts of Botswana were founded on the Swaneng Hill School pattern. By 1971, there were 31 brigades with about 850 trainees.²⁹

Wood (1974) has identified three main areas of training in the brigade formula as follows:

1. Low-level industrial training, particularly for the construction industry, together with the organization of cooperatives;
2. Training in local crafts together with the organization of cooperatives
3. Training and settling young men as farmers.³⁰

The training provided by Builders Brigades is intended to produce people with only minimum skills in the construction business for local areas. The standard of training is, therefore, lower than what is provided in a government training center or in other countries. Different brigades have different programs for the training and education of the participants. Classes on various non-vocational

subjects are provided after working hours. These are conducted by regular school staff and take place in secondary school classrooms.

Serowe Builders Brigade in Botswana. The 1969 budget showed recurrent expenditures of \$17,654.80 and business expenses \$2,457.80. Thus expenses averaged about 92 cents per trainee per day for a five-day week and an 11-month year. Each trainee was charged \$1.04 per day in the job estimates. Trainees worked in the local areas while still living in the center.

Brigades in other centers are smaller than at Serowe and of more recent origin. Lobatsi brigade is an example based on the Lobatsi Youth Training Center. Community development personnel, both expatriate volunteers and permanent staff members, established a training group of 20 young people in order to meet expanding housing needs of Lobatsi Township. The idea was to make the program a self-supporting venture. Proceeds from building contracts carried out by trainees would cover the cost of vocational training, general education, and food and accommodation. Lobatsi brigade is organized by the Peace Corps.

The Francistown Builders Brigade follows the established formula faithfully. All trainees are selected from

applicants who have completed primary school. Before they are admitted into the brigades they are required to pass an admission test. Only 18 were selected from 116 applicants, when the program was started.

The program was established in 1967. Towards the end of the year, the brigade was not able to meet its cost by its own efforts. In 1968 the Francistown brigade ceased to operate.

According to the report by Wood (1974) many other brigades have flourished successfully. They have filled the vacuum of local construction using local material.³¹

Relationship of Brigades with Government. Brigades are, in essence, self-help programs. They utilize voluntary human resources and material obtained from non-government sources.

Many expatriates involved in privately-sponsored brigades are apprehensive concerning a possible government take-over of the brigades. They fear that bureaucratic regulations would stifle flexibility and innovations.

Diejomaoh states that the problem of institutionalizing and nationalizing localized projects is not resolved. Two basic problems have been identified: (1) a need to integrate various projects within an overall strategy and to minimize duplication of effort; (2) national governments

cannot keep up with changing local needs nor can they generate sufficient resources to support non-formal educational programs.³² To solve these problems, Botswana has set up the National Brigades Coordinating Committee (NBCC).³³ The NBCC consists of representatives from various brigade centers and government officials of the related departments. The Committee has a full-time secretary from the Ministry of Education.

Relationships between brigades of Botswana and local communities do not differ from those experienced in other countries where self-help programs have been initiated. In Animation Rurale in Senegal, Ujamaa villages in Tanzania, and other grass roots self-help programs, local initiatives do not always coincide with the aims of assisting institutions, both public and private. There is a fundamental conflict in any community development program between the policies identified by governmental or other funding agencies and the needs felt within a community.

Self-Help Education in Kenya

Several isolated factors contributed to the origin of self-help in education during the early period of British rule and missionary expansion of education in Kenya. Many of these factors are identified with particular

localities, the relationships of ethnic groups with missionary and government groups, and political developments in Kenya. The Harambe school movement emerged in the early period of Kenya's independence and has developed into a mass movement in Kenya today.

Origins of Self-Help in Education

Self-help in education did not involve Harambe or privately-owned schools alone. For the early missionary schools (village or bush schools), for example, local communities provided free labor, material, and equipment. Missionary organizations supplied the teachers and the necessary consumable items. In essence, village schools could not survive without the local people's support, initiative, and desire to sustain them.

Schools established out of missionary or government control appear first in Central, Nyanza, and Rift Valley Provinces. Historically, these areas experienced missionary influence and the impact of western education much earlier than other parts of Kenya. In Central Province, self-help in education started as an outcome of factors such as cultural and social conflict between Kikuyu people and missionary organizations in that area of Kenya.

However, the first recognized education reaction in Kenya occurred in Nyanza Province. Anderson (1970) stated

that in Nyanza Province, the importance of European education was recognized quickly by most people because of their link with Buganda in Uganda.³⁴ Anderson continued to state that the strikes at Maseno School in Nyanza Province in 1908, when students refused to take part in manual labor and pressed for more reading and writing, gave an early hint of the African students' desire to select their own curriculum.³⁵ It was also a beginning of the desire for local people to begin their own schools where children would learn what they considered to be necessary and vital.

Differences in the causes and patterns of development in the educational revolution in Central and Nyanza Provinces have been identified. Each area is discussed separately to illustrate the impacts the early self-help movements have had upon the present system of educational development. The Harambe school movement is a continuation of the early spirit of self-help, dominant in many ethnic groups of Kenya.

Reactions in Nyanza

Missionary organizations in Nyanza established schools explicitly to separate students from their traditional life, acculturate them to the philosophies of the churches, and to provide catechists and eventual church leaders.

Manual work and literacy were emphasized. Colonial Administration supported missionary organizations and their policies on African education, especially where sons of chiefs were concerned. These were intended to become a source of literate administration and to enlarge the supply of clerks and orderlies. The demand for literary education increased in Nyanza. By 1916, about 250 village schools were thriving under missionary control. These schools were all built by rural communities, and were run by African teachers.³⁶

Different groups were involved in the early self-help schools in various parts of Nyanza. Between 1908 and 1910, the Nomiya Luo Mission, under John Owala, a Luo by tribe, who had broken away from the Church Missionary Society (CMS), built its own schools in Nyanza. Later, the Mission demanded a secondary school for the area free from foreign missionary influence. John Owala, who had broken away from the Nilotic Independent Mission, set up several schools with the help of his adherents in Nyakach location in Nyanza Province. Despite the increase in the number of such schools in this area, their quality of education remained very low because of an acute shortage of resources and qualified teachers. Students from these schools were prepared specifically for membership in a particular sect.³⁷

During the period of the first World War, a group of independently run schools was in operation in Gem location in the northern part of Nyanza Province under the initiative of Chief Odera Akonḡo. After visiting Buganda, Odera Akonḡo became interested in formal education and its impact on development of an area. He called meetings in his area and asked his people to cooperate in building and maintaining schools. He used his office to campaign for independent schools in Gem location. Through his office, teachers were secured from Maseno. Wages for the teachers were kept low so that fees could be kept to the minimum in the schools.³⁸

Development in Central Province

The desire for education among the Kikuyu was deep-rooted. As early as 1920, it began to be expressed in many different forms. Kikuyu leaders began to seek more education, higher schools, and freedom from missionary control of education. Their demands were met with different reactions. Relations between missions and the Kikuyu deteriorated, as the missions sought to use the Kikuyu's thirst for education as a lever for promoting particular religious, social, and political ideas.

Popular opposition to missionary policies was expressed through student strikes and boycotts at mission-run schools.³⁹ In 1921, sixty apprentices at Thogoto school went on strike to protest disciplinary measures. In 1922, a group of students in the same school were dismissed by the mission. In 1926, a central school at Kahuhia was closed by the mission when students refused to participate in a Medical Department study program of Kikuyu dietetics.

According to Philip, the desire for education was so strong in Nyeri district that people would band together and start their own school if the mission was unable to supply them with teachers.⁴⁰

The Education Department Annual Report for 1928 revealed that there were 114 schools in the Kikuyu reserve areas and about 63 on European estates not registered. Reserve areas were secluded areas for Africans in the Kenya Highlands.

Early disputes between Kikuyu and missionary organizations in Central Province caused a breakaway and led to the establishment of independent schools. These independent schools, therefore, began as a revolt against the church policies in Central Province. The revolts expressed what people wanted in education. In summary, Kikuyu families wanted:

1. widespread elementary education
2. early training in the English language
3. enhanced opportunities to gain access to the higher education.⁴²

In 1929, the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (KISA) was formed to promote the interest of the Kikuyu and its members and to promote broad interests related to spiritual, economic, social, and educational uplift. The association was supposed to be open to all natives of Kenya. Many schools sprang up with only volunteer support. Most such schools were run by committees of elders who were given active backing by the Kikuyu Central Association which had been formed seven years earlier as a political vanguard to press for native rights.

Tignor states that the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association was a loose organization. Most of its schools were run by individual school committees. The schools were located mainly in Fort Hall (Muranga) and Nyeri districts.

The Kikuyu Karinga Education Association was formed later by dissidents from the Church of Scotland Mission (C.S.M.) in Kiambu district. It was affiliated with the African Pentecostal Church.

Both Kikuyu Independent Schools Association and the Kikuyu Karinga Schools Association were divided religiously.

The Kikuyu Independent Schools Association remained an independent organization affiliated with the African Orthodox Church.⁴³

Independent schools became popular because they aimed at developing Africans who would be proud of their culture and who wanted to be free. The popularity of independent schools could not be doubted, especially with reference to the numbers of students who attended them. The growth of such schools represents a remarkable achievement in self-help efforts. The self-help spirit was demonstrated by all parties that were involved in the development of native education in that area at the time. Anderson argues that the most impressive development of the 1930s was the explosion of self-help efforts on the part of local communities to build new schools. Those efforts were felt not only among the independent schools but throughout the whole field of missionary or government-controlled education.⁴⁴ The basis of missionary-related education expansion, for example, has been the self-help groups, which grew up affiliated with churches. These groups provided land for schools, built schools, and gave monetary contributions to missionary educational funds.

The spread of independent schools was enhanced by the increased contribution to schools by the people of

Central Province. Watson and Furley wrote that by 1933 about 34 independent schools were giving instruction to over 2,500 pupils. English was taught instead of Kiswahili in the independent schools. This was a considerable achievement for the Independent Schools Association movement.

A feeling among Kikuyu parents was that mission and government schools, by denying their children early instruction in English, were withholding full benefits of education from them.⁴⁵

In 1936, a large number of students from independent schools presented themselves for entrance examination to Kagumo. Seventy were eliminated as a result of a preliminary examination and only three reached the standard required to gain admission to Kagumo. In 1937, about 139 students from independent schools took the entrance examination for admission to Kagumo and only 13 gained admission. In 1938, about 199 students attempted the entrance examination and only 27 were successful, but this was a great improvement over the previous years.

Enrollment in the independent schools rose sharply in Central Province. Watson and Furley found that in 1937, there were 7,223 students attending independent schools. By 1937, enrollment had risen to about 12,964

students in Central Province.⁴⁶ Cowan (1970) indicated that according to an estimate of one participant in the movement, over 400 schools were created in Central Province alone and enrolled more than 62,000 children. Specific figures scarcely exist. It could be estimated that many unregistered schools existed at this period, particularly in the remote areas of Central Province, where children were taught by untrained teachers. Records about these schools did not reach the Education Department offices and often the standard was low.⁴⁷

Government could not use its powers to close independent schools. There was fear of straining relations with the founders. Government, therefore, tried to persuade the school authorities to conform to government standards in Kenya. In a meeting at Jeanes School in Nairobi, both the schools' authorities and the government agreed that the local Native Council should agree to pass a rule that no new schools would be opened until the old ones had been certified as efficient by the Education Department.⁴⁸ This policy was carried one step further by appointment of inspectors for independent schools and by the employment of itinerant teachers by the District Education Board to improve standards of teaching in these schools.⁴⁹ The Kikuyu Independent Schools Association teachers were

allowed to attend a refresher course at Kagumo and the Kikuyu Karinga school teachers were given special courses at Jeanes School. Because of the emerging cooperation between government and the independent school movement, the Vice President of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association, Hezekiel Gacui, was appointed to the Fort Hall (Muranga) District Education Board. The following forms of assistance from the Department of Education to independent schools were identified by Watson and Furley.

1. In 1936, Kikuyu Independent Schools Association agreed to follow government syllabus and to introduce English in standard 3 (grade 3) instead of standard 1 (grade 1).
2. In 1937, government appointed a special inspector of schools for independent schools.
3. Facilities were offered for training teachers from independent schools at mission institution and at the Jeanes School.
4. Agricultural advice was given to independent schools by government officials.
5. A grant of 430 (US \$3,440) was awarded to the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association from the District Education Boards in four Districts of Central Provinces.

6. Three African supervisors replaced government officers.

The greatest effort of self-help in educational provision in Kenya was demonstrated on January 29, 1939, when the Kenya African Teachers College was officially opened at Githunguri in Kiambu district. The college was financed by both the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association and the Kikuyu Karinga Education Association. The government, and all heads of departments, were invited to attend the opening ceremony, but only the Director of Education and the acting Chief Commissioner attended. The Teachers College at Githunguri was a response to a developing feeling that education was the key to political power, and that it was a critical weapon for overcoming many barriers to political and economic advances.

End of the Early Self-Help Movement

In 1952, a general state of emergency was declared by the Governor of Kenya. All Central Province and many parts of the Rift Valley were suspected to be areas with major anti-government elements. Opposition to government policies on land, education, equality of opportunity, and self-rule was escalating everywhere. Following a declaration by the Provincial Commissioner for Central Province, that

some Kenya independent schools were inefficient, of evil influence, and the chief breeding ground of the Mau Mau movement, government began systematically to close independent schools and to persecute Orthodox Church members. In the months which followed, 135 schools were closed in Central Province, about 100 in the Rift Valley, and another 100 in Nyeri, Fort Hall (Murangā), and Kimabu districts and in the Meru and Embu tribal areas.⁵¹

Rosenberg and Nottingham report that the land of many known terrorists was legally confiscated and their homes and shops pulled down. The Kikuyu Independent Schools Association and the Kikuyu Karinga Educational Association school buildings were razed or converted into mission schools. The Kenya African Teachers College at Githunguri was closed, and its campus was transformed into a Divisional Administration Center.

Many children who were attending such schools were allowed to continue schooling, either in the mission schools which were by then well-established or in the government schools in the province.

This period marked an end to education for Africans in Kenya provided outside the missionary- or government-controlled school systems. All children were to attend either mission schools commonly found in the rural areas or

government schools which existed mostly in urban areas and on European farms in the highlands.⁵²

It took approximately a decade before another move of self-help in education could start in Kenya. The current Harambe school movement should be considered rightly as a revival of the previous self-help episodes in African education.

Self-Help Education: The Contemporary Harambe Schools

As early as 1960, Kenyan parents were feeling the pressure of primary school graduates who could not continue with secondary education. A few wealthy parents could send their children to commercial secondary schools in the towns. Rural parents who could not afford the fees or the high costs of living in the towns found themselves stranded: their children could not readily find jobs because of their youth, but could not tend stock either because none existed in small peasant homes. The fortunate few could repeat standard seven of primary education, hoping to do better in a second attempt on the examination to win admission to cheaper government schools.

The newly independent government of Kenya in 1963 inherited the problem from the colonial government. With a scarcity of resources and a commitment to many developmental

Table 2

Distribution of Government Aided Schools in 1963

<u>Province</u>	<u>Schools</u>
Central Province	24
Nyanza Province	17
Western Province	16
Rift Valley Province	15
Eastern Province	12
Coast Province	3
North Eastern Province	0
Nairobi	22
Mombasa	11

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Report 1963

programs in the country, the problem of expanding secondary education could not be solved within a short period of time. Government, knowing the burden it was carrying, found itself caught in a dilemma: whether to curtail Harambe school activities and thwart the traditional spirit of self-help, or sanction the movement and face the consequences years later.

Government tacitly approved the idea that rural communities could provide secondary education for their children if they were economically able. Such a silent go-ahead policy was enough to motivate people to venture into possibilities of founding schools on the self-help basis in rural areas.

After independence in 1963, the earliest Harambe schools were established in wealthy and educationally-conscious provinces of Kenya. As Table 1 indicates, these wealthy provinces had more government schools even before the Harambe movement was started. In 1963, only 120 secondary schools existed in Kenya.

Enrollment figures for 1963 show that about 891,553 students were attending primary education and about 30,120 students attended secondary schools. In 1962, about 27,373 students had written the Kenya Preliminary Examination (KPE)

at the end of their primary education. In 1963, however, only 10,214 students found space in Form I of secondary school.⁵³

The population of primary schools was rising. At the same time, however, the age of students completing primary school had declined; it was below the level required to enter the employment market. Therefore, employment opportunities were very limited for those with only a primary school education.⁵⁴

Parents, therefore, began to look for ways of keeping the youth in schools. In many places where opportunities for secondary school education were poor, a new wave began of self-help schemes to build secondary schools. Furley stated that by 1964 self-help schools already had sprung up in several parts of the country. Fifty were opened in 1964, and thirty more in the first half of 1965. By 1965 self-help schools constituted one-third of all the secondary schools in Kenya.⁵⁵

One estimate for 1968 showed that of the total 369 non-governmental secondary schools available, 33 were religious schools, 70 were run on some private commercial basis, and 6 schools served the groups paying high fees in Nairobi, the national capital; the remaining 260 self-help schools were in rural areas.⁵⁶ Rural schools were expected to fill the gap for Form I places.

Table 3

Distribution of Secondary Schools
by Category and Province 1976

<u>Province</u>	<u>Government Maintained</u>	<u>Assisted</u>	<u>Harambe</u>	<u>Private</u>	<u>Total</u>
Central	98	-	226	36	360
Coast	26	3	22	11	62
Eastern	75	-	137	36	248
Nairobi	26	4	1	35	56
North Eastern	4	-	-	4	8
Nyanza	69	-	131	36	236
Rift Valley	63	-	73	32	168
Western	<u>52</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>171</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>245</u>
Total	413	7	761	210	1383

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Report - 1976, pp. 36-7

In 1968, Anderson reported there were 247 Harambe schools, 38 private schools, 45 "hidden" private schools (commercial or tutorial colleges, offering normal secondary school education), and 31 religious secondary schools, chiefly Catholic seminaries or fundamentalist mission schools.⁵⁷ Anderson admits that rural self-help schools were very significant in helping to meet the immediate needs for extended education for a large number of primary school teachers.

The two somewhat diverging reports of Harambe schools in 1968 are due to the fact that most of them were not registered with the Ministry of Education, and that some could have closed temporarily due to financial problems only to reopen later when enough funds had been collected.

The number of Harambe schools has been growing faster than the total of the government's secondary schools. In 1976, for instance, there were more Harambe schools than government and other forms of secondary schools combined. This is illustrated in the next table.⁵⁸

The Ministry of Education Annual Report of 1975 indicated that 214,970 candidates--students in the seventh and final year of primary school--sat the Certificate of Primary Education (C.P.E.) examination in 1974. For the following school year, however, only 26,540 candidates were

offered Form I places in government schools. Thus the "index of opportunity," i.e., the chance of gaining entry to those schools, actually fell from 13 percent in 1974 to 12 percent in 1975. More pupils, therefore, turned to seek admission to Harambe schools. Over 45,000 pupils obtained Form I places in non-governmental (Harambe and private) schools.⁵⁹ The remaining students either went back to repeat standard seven, joined the village polytechnics, or joined their parents for work on farms. The schools available were simply insufficient to absorb the largest share of primary school leavers in the rural communities; they could not secure Form I places anywhere.

Operation of Self-Help Activities

Cultural and social differences among Kenyans have been important factors in the distribution of educational opportunities. At independence, the concept of neighborhood was recognized and was strongly associated with village and ethnic composition. Organization of communal activities centered around clans or villages and, in some cases, around an entire ethnic group. There were some differences between groups on the structure of organizing communal self-help activities. One group might come together on a neighborhood basis to share heavy farm labor; another would do so to dig a community well or bridge a river.

All these were considered social services in which every adult in a community was obliged to participate.

As Keller emphasizes, the fact that rural communities have been mobilized in the spirit of self-help cannot be totally explained as a response to exhortation by government officials.⁶⁰ The roots of present communalism can be traced back to traditional work parties organized along lineage lines. These have their basis in the customary mutual assistance obligations which lineage members and particularly clan members have to each other.

This sense of community work is ingrained in the social fabric of most Kenyan ethnic groups. Among such tribes as the Kikuya, Kamba, Luyia, Luo, Kisii, and Nandi, the tradition of mutual assistance is well established. Among the Luyia, for example, the main obligation among members of a clan is to help one another. Clan members generally cooperate in social functions such as wedding ceremonies, funerals, and rituals. When need for secondary education became a problem in all communities, clan members or sometimes villages have responded amicably to find a solution.

It is sometimes hard to determine who actually instigates a self-help movement in a community. In some areas, churchmen or politicians do so to found a secondary

school. In others, local influential community members introduce the idea to parents whose children are preparing to write the C.P.E. examination. Quite often churchmen, politicians, and top local civil servants are brought in only for their status and prestige, to occupy important roles in fund-raising, soliciting approval of the school by the Ministry of Education, or helping to find teachers when the school gets ready. The advice of well-educated people in an area may be sought on matters related to procedures for registration and to plan programs for the school.

Procedures for organizing self-help projects in Kenya seem to follow similar patterns. Usually, the course of development involves a small group of personalities who live in the vicinity of the project. Notable people include chiefs, primary school headmasters, religious leaders, and councillors. A public mass meeting known as "baraza" may be convened for interested individuals to express their views and pledge support for the project. If a decision is reached to start a secondary school, more meetings are held to promote publicity, decide on a site, and fix the amounts and methods of collecting contributions. An interim school committee may be chosen to carry out all the intricate activities pertaining to the self-help project.

The success of a self-help project depends on the ability of the committee to influence the public on the project's importance. Therefore, communities safeguard against incompetent people by establishing their own criteria for selecting committee members. Leadership qualities and ability to work during odd times are important factors. Most committees in the country would include county council members, clan leaders, influential church leaders, and successful businessmen or farmers. There is no standard rule on the composition of a committee at its initial stage. Some places have committees with eight to ten people or more, depending on the amount of work involved. Another criterion important to a self-help education project is the qualification of members, but this criterion is apt to be overlooked in the absence of enough educated members.

According to Anderson, a majority of committee members usually have knowledge of English. Because Harambe schools are in rural areas, nearly all school committee members tend to be farmers. Others include retired school teachers, chiefs, or other local civil servants.⁶¹

Women play leading roles in the establishment of Harambe schools in rural areas, and their representation on school committees is necessary and essential.

The Role of Women. In many parts of Kenya, the role of women as a group, in the promotion of self-help education is well recognized. Women often become more conscious about the education of their children than men do. Anderson states that women attend Harambe meetings, particularly when labor and fund-raising are being discussed. In many cases, women play an important part in the actual process of raising money and contributing labor. They have considerable influence. In polygamous cases, mothers particularly press harder for formal education for their children than fathers, and they sometimes bring pressure to bear on elder siblings who may be working or possess some wealth and influence to offer.

Mugo suggested that Chinga women, for instance, who outnumber men, and who in some respects do more self-help than the men, have contributed more to the promotion of self-help in the area. They are sometimes known as "Harambe women," to distinguish them from other groups in the area, because of their ability to raise funds for self-help projects.⁶²

The Harambe women often form a strong, close-knit organization with an elected leadership. The group decides what project they want in their area, then estimate the cost of the project. If it requires money for buying stones

or lumber for school construction, or paying a carpenter to fix doors on a school building, they either contribute money directly from their pockets or perform tasks for anyone who would pay them. For instance, they may negotiate with a farmer to weed his land, pick coffee or tea, or perform other tasks for fixed amounts of money. The income from their labor is deposited into a local bank unless there is an immediate pressing need for cash. In areas such as Chinga, this money is used to support self-help schools. When money is not available within a specified time, the Harambe women sometimes perform manual jobs such as carrying stones on their back and transporting them to a site where a school block may be under construction.

In other parts of Kenya, such as Western and Nyanza Provinces, women perform similar tasks. They carry sand, stones, and water from streams for construction work. It is important to understand that coercion or payment to individuals for labor performed are not involved in self-help activities. Each activity is intended to be a communal undertaking which is voluntary. In areas where religion is strongly established, women are organized on church bases, according to their different faiths. In districts such as Kakamega, with outstanding records of numerous church groups, women groups are identified with either the

Anglican Church, Roman Catholic Church, Friends African Mission, Church of God, Salvation Army or Pentecostal Assemblies of God.

Naturally, women are also strong members of local rural development committees where their views on local matters are expressed.

Resource Acquisition for Self-Help Schools

Resources for self-help schools are derived from many sources. In the following paragraphs, material and human resources for Harambe schools are separately considered.

Material sources involve the use of local materials for construction, cash contributions from local people, donations, and levies on local residents and local businessmen. Levies may be extended to local families who now live in towns.

Most self-help school committees attempt to establish communications with agencies that can supply advice, cash, teachers, or equipment. The set of agencies varies from one district to another. Some agencies often contacted by members of self-help school committees are:⁶³

1. Central Government. The Ministry of Education provides some assistance, giving grants in aid.

It "assists" by completely taking over selected Harambe schools. Its policy has shifted to giving aid to Form I and II only.

2. Local Government. In some districts, county councils allocate land for construction of school buildings and playgrounds.
3. Church. In some areas, a school may involve missionary links. These connections have often been tapped to provide cash grants and teachers.
4. Aid Agencies or Diplomatic Contacts. Cash and equipment can be obtained from multilateral and bilateral aid agencies. Volunteer Service or Organization and Peace Corps are important suppliers of volunteer teachers to many Harambe schools.
5. Charities and Foundations. A number of these can be found in Kenya and overseas. They help by offering cash and construction material. Notable are the Kenya Charity Sweepstakes, the Red Cross, and Cooperative for American Relief to Everywhere (CARE).
6. Business Enterprises. Overseas firms and local business are approached for assistance. Many companies make contributions in cash or equipment.

7. Cooperatives. For self-help schools in areas with successful cooperative movements, cooperatives are important sources of cash and building material.

Human resources in the form of professional advice to self-help school committees are aids in promoting the growth of Harambe schools. Four sources of professional and technical advice are identified:

1. Teachers in local primary and secondary schools are in most cases involved in instigating self-help schools in rural areas. At an early stage, committees may turn to local teachers because of their family ties in an area. Teachers contribute helpful ideas.
2. University Lecturers. Committees in the few areas with university lecturers may seek their advice. Many university lecturers play a leading role in finding teachers and soliciting funds from cooperatives, individual people, and agencies in the cities. In some schools, lecturers are appointed as managers.
3. Civil Servants. This group includes education officers and other senior government officials.

4. Church. Contact with missionary organizations is important especially in areas with strong religious affiliations. A church is a great source of advice and assistance.

Fund Raising Strategies. As indicated earlier, funds or revenue for Harambe schools come from a variety of sources. One of them is public contributions and donations. Effort and wit are needed to start a secondary school and to sustain it. Committee members devise strategies of winning funds from any source available.

Funds are raised through public meetings (barazas) which all clan members and their friends are expected to attend. A baraza may be held on the site where a self-help school would be constructed as soon as funds become available.

Three categories of actors usually are involved in the fund-raising process. The first actors are the local community residents. They may belong to one or more of the neighboring clans. Harambe school committee members represent clans and serve to unify project activities with other community interests.

The second actors are chiefs and other local government civil servants who belong to local clans. In most cases they are called in for decision-making on land and allocation of property to the project.

However, the influence of local government civil servants is minimized because of their status as government representatives. Keller (1975) states that their advice is sometimes solicited, but how a community perceives its own needs is a much more salient determinant of action.⁶⁵

The third actors are politicians, e.g., constituency members of Parliament and County Councillors. Prominent politicians are invited to lead initial fund-raising drives for self-help projects. An M.P. is expected to use his influence to secure funds and teachers once a school gets started. An influential M.P. may use his position to invite government ministers or top government civil servants to a school's fund-raising drive.

Funds ranging from \$10,000 to \$25,000 can be raised at one such fund-raising meeting. In prosperous districts of Kisii, Central Province and Rift Valley, more money can be collected from farmers and cooperative union members. In such districts, schools are built of cement blocks or stones with corrugated iron roofs.

School Fees. In all Harambe schools, fees represent a major source of current operating revenue. Generally, Harambe schools do not receive regular assistance from government to meet recurrent expenses such as those for

salaries and supplies. Relatively high fees, therefore, are charged. Fees may range from \$75 to \$200 per year per child, payable quarterly. Usually, the school categorizes fees according to items: tuition fees, building fund, watchman's salary, repair and maintenance, and caution money (money paid for damages on school property by a student). Government has no control over Harambe schools, so that fees vary accordingly by school and location. Schools in prosperous districts actually may charge less than others because large parts of their recurrent expenses are subsidized by agencies or cooperative unions. Keller (1972) states that most families in rural areas find it hard to raise even the smallest amount, such as \$34 for a year's fees. In poor areas, parents find it difficult to raise fees at the beginning of every term.⁶⁶ The academic year in Kenya is divided into three terms of three months duration. Parents sell cattle, sheep, pigs, or even a piece of the family land in order to pay school fees for their children. In some areas, payments, therefore, tend to be irregular, depending upon the harvest of crops. Fees may sometimes be paid by relatives who are wage earners or salaried workers in urban areas.⁶⁷

The Government and Self-Help Schools

Government reaction to Harambe schools is either through regulations or assistance. The level at which regulations or assistance have been exercised as policy matters on education has shifted from time to time.

The influence of government on Harambe schools is mostly regulatory. Government standards and rules are intended to apply to all schools in Kenya. The level of enforcement of the established rules and standards has become controversial, however. The Education Act of 1968 of the Republic of Kenya, Part II, states that:

1. It is the duty of the Minister to promote the education of the people of Kenya and the progressive development of institutions devoted to the promotion of such education, and to secure the effective cooperation, under his general direction or control, of all public bodies concerned with education in carrying out the national policy for education.
2. For the purpose of carrying out his duties under subsection (1) of this section, the Minister may from time to time formulate a development plan for education consistent with any national plan for economic and social development of Kenya.⁶⁸

The statement in Part II of the Act is concerned with education in general, and the Minister of Education presumably has authority which encompasses all schools in Kenya. Part IV of the Education Act of 1968 makes it explicit that the scope of authority does include non-governmental institutions. The Act states that:

1. Any person who wishes to establish an unaided school shall first make application to the Minister for the school to be registered.
2. Any application for registration shall state the classification of the proposed school according to the prescribed nomenclature and the classes or forms to be provided in the school.

Rules such as the appointment of Board of Governors, inspection and control of schools and regulations which prescribe the standards with regard to qualifications of staff, the size of classes, the curriculum, syllabus, and other educational materials, are hardly enforced equally for all educational institutions in Kenya. Conditions in Harambe schools, in fact, suggest that the provisions of Parts II and IV are not fully applied. Political considerations often determine what actions if any are taken.

The operations of self-help schools in Kenya leave many questions unanswered. Complaints are common about Harambe schools' poor educational standards, poor quality of the staff, exorbitant fees, etc. Public complaints about mismanagement of Harambe schools sometimes bring government officials to intervene. However, without firm government policy concerning Harambe schools, government officials find themselves confronted with political challenges. To counteract charges of misappropriation of funds and mismanagement of Harambe schools, the Minister of Education on July 1, 1977 issued a circular to all Provincial and District Education Officers, requesting each to make a thorough inspection of all private or Harambe schools in their respective areas. Reports were to give information on each school regarding these topics:⁶⁹

1. Registration status (whether provisional or permanent) and size of the school.
2. Enrollment in each class, as seen by the officer of the Ministry of Education during the inspection, not as reported by the managers.
3. Staffing by grades and number, stating whether teachers were registered or licensed.
4. Subjects taught, indicating the efficiency of the staff as seen from 1976 K.J.S.E. or

E.A.C.A. results and also as seen from institutional inspection reports.

5. Facilities provided, e.g., tuition, equipment, classrooms, laboratories, textbooks, size of compounds, and nature and size of buildings.
6. Health conditions, for example, the provision of sanitation facilities for girls and boys.
7. Fees charged, separated between tuition and other fees.
8. Name of the manager or managers.

There is a legal basis for closing down or denying registration to any school which fails to meet established standards and regulations. However, legal pressure is rarely applied to even the poorest schools. Officials find it politically wise to accede to local pressure for recognition even where conditions of the schools do not justify approval. The demand for secondary education in the rural areas has created a tense situation. Politicians and government officials find it necessary to yield to local demands and initiatives. Politicians, for instance, find it expedient to support Harambe schools in their constituencies to ensure support for their political survival.

Assistance to Harambe Schools. Government assistance to Harambe schools may be seen in advisory assistance, staffing assistance, and takeover.

Visitation and advisory channels of the Ministry of Education operate concurrently. What is said and how it is said by government representatives has great influence. People look to the government for leadership and reinforcement for their own community efforts. It is customary in Kenya for cabinet ministers and civil servants to be invited to conduct fund-raising campaigns for self-help projects. At fund-raising meetings the views of government are expressed. The Minister of Labor, for instance, in a fund-raising drive in the Kisii District in Nyanza Province told local people that government financial aid to any Harambe project was a consequence of the people's own initiative.⁷⁰ In 1978, the Commissioner for Social Services for Coast Province announced publicly that the government was always ready to assist those who showed by action that they were ready to help themselves. The Commissioner urged the people to redouble their efforts to accelerate development in their area in order to attract more aid from the government. He urged parents to send their children to school because education was the pillar for development.⁷¹

The Minister of Education or his assistant ministers make regular visits to all schools in the nation. During such visits, the minister may attend a rally to deliver a

speech aimed at encouraging the local community to improve their schools if they want better education for their children. Decisions to assist a school financially or with qualified teachers may be made public at such meetings.

Members of Parliament or government civil servants make regular visits to rural areas where they become involved in fund-raising for Harambe schools. This practice has been encouraged by government to promote the spirit of self-help among all people of Kenya. The school does not necessarily have to be located in the same constituency or community of the member of Parliament or government official invited to visit an area. The headmaster and members of the school committee use this opportunity to show the visitor the school and to make him aware of their achievement and future needs. While addressing the committee, the visitor may elaborate on some of the problems presented to him by the school committee. This time may also be used to elaborate broader government policies on education in the nation, the role of Harambe schools in the achievement of government's goals of educational expansion at the secondary levels, and the need for the people to continue their efforts in self-help projects in order to promote progress.

The government policy of supplying Harambe schools with teachers was adopted in 1969. It was intended to raise educational standards in areas of need. The Teachers Service Commission began to assign qualified teachers to selected rural Harambe schools. The teachers thus assigned earned salaries and enjoyed fringe benefits approximately equal to those of teachers in government schools. Their salaries were paid by the Teachers Service Commission and they were enrolled in the free pension scheme. In 1977, 146 Harambe schools were reported to have received teachers paid for by the Teachers Service Commission, and another 126 Harambe schools received assistance from the government in the form of volunteer teachers from overseas countries.⁷³ Table 2 shows the distribution of teachers to Harambe schools, by province, between 1975 and 1977. The total number of registered Harambe schools in each province is also given.

The allocation of teachers to Harambe schools is not systematic. Keller (1972) found cases where schools were fortunate enough to have 50 percent of the teachers paid for by the Teachers Service Commission. Overall, however, the impact of a small number of trained teachers on many schools with high enrollment has not been established.

In the Development Plan for 1970-74, Kenya Government pledged to assist Harambe schools to improve the quality and efficiency of the education provided. One way to help was to supply qualified teachers. A scheme known as "Harambe Package" was launched as a channel for receiving and supplying teachers to selected Harambe schools.

The policy of "taking over" 25 to 30 Form I classes per year in existing Harambe schools was initiated in 1967-1968. It became a major part of the Development Plan for 1970-1974. This policy was not so much designed to help Harambe schools as it was to relieve the government of the expenses of establishing entirely new government schools in areas where none existed.

The "take over" is a gradual process by which government ultimately assumes full responsibility for and ownership of Harambe schools. It begins with a grant to a Harambe school, of money and material assistance fully sufficient to maintain one form (class) of students for a period of one year. A form is added each year. The process is continued for four years. At that point, all classes from Form I to IV have been taken over by government. The community then may withdraw its support and reassign its resources to a new self-help project in the locality. The Harambe school becomes entirely a government school.

However, in the Development Plan for 1974-1978, government made changes in this policy. It shifted from the full take-over of Harambe schools (Forms I-IV) to a new program. It would provide assistance only to Forms I and II of selected schools. However, government also promised to establish 20 new Form III classes yearly for Form II graduates from Harambe schools.⁷³

Salient Features of Harambe Secondary Schools

Harambe schools have features which differentiate them from other institutions, because of the ways they are influenced by social and economic factors. Some of the salient features generally observable in Harambe schools, students, teachers, and curriculum are discussed below. These features contribute directly to what must be regarded as their generally low educational quality.

Many Harambe schools exhibit similar characteristics. They are established in rural areas where the per capita income is comparatively low. Income influences the ability to provide for better education. A report on the supply of secondary level teachers in English-speaking Africa (1971) shows that Harambe schools obviously lack many of the features which make for a good education.⁷⁴

Many of them lack laboratories for practical subjects and sciences, well-equipped libraries, and updated current textbooks.

Very few Harambe schools are boarding schools, although several provide some accommodations for students. Where boarding accommodations are needed, of course, they create an extra, and often unbearable, burden for the parents (who can hardly afford the heavy regular school fees) and, thus, contribute to the inherently high rate of drop-outs in Harambe schools. Sometimes the hostel type of accommodation is provided, in which children provide their own food and equipment. Unfortunately, students may spend more hours preparing their meals than studying.

The role of teachers as agents to promote nationalism and selected social and cultural values cannot be overlooked. The questionable quality of Harambe school teachers raises doubts whether their roles as agents are well assigned. Not only are teachers expected to be representatives of society in the classroom, but they are expected also to be models of social behavior and effective conveyors of dominant socio-cultural and political values. Teachers are considered by communities to be agents of positive change, expected to assume roles in the process of socializing

youths to the task of national development in a rapidly-changing society. However, Harambe schools depend on untrained teachers, those who have completed only Forms IV, V, or VI. The assistance supplied by government, in the form of qualified teachers, reaches only a few selected Harambe institutions among the large total number of schools.

Generally, teachers employed in Harambe schools seem to possess norms which distinguish them from teachers in government schools. The majority of the teachers are Kenyan citizens, but they do not come from the same teacher education professional background as the teachers in government schools. The uniformity and organization of the secondary school curriculum, the monopoly of teacher education by government, and the personnel management functions performed by the Teachers Service Commission, all combine to form a basis for a common culture in government schools. That common culture does not extend to the Harambe schools, however.

Most untrained teachers in Harambe schools necessarily and correctly perceive their jobs as temporary.⁷⁵ They see their jobs as something to keep them busy until something better comes along, or maybe until something worse happens, for they may be dismissed when enough qualified

teachers become available. Employment as an unqualified teacher in Harambe schools thus is regarded as a short-term affair. Uncertainty is increased in Harambe schools by the irregularity in the payment of salaries for teachers. Other factors create that uncertainty. These include lack of unifying bonds which might join teachers in different Harambe school settings, as they do in the government school environment, and the basic lack of job security.

Teachers in government schools are unionized. They are protected and secured by the Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) which can present their grievances to the government. Untrained Harambe secondary school teachers are not members of an organized teachers union. Effective contribution by such teachers to their jobs is dubious.

The Curriculum. Education in Kenya is generally expected to have two basic socialization functions. First, consciously to change the attitudes and relationships of adolescents to prepare them for dynamic roles as adults in the country's development; second, to coordinate educational supply with the manpower needs of the nation. The school curriculum is expected to serve these two goals. To accomplish these goals, government is committed to the policy of "Africanizing" the curriculum and changing

it to be relevant to the needs of the nation by emphasizing vocational education. The condition of Harambe schools, however, does not make it possible for them to make creative or innovative changes helpful for introducing vocational education. They lack the necessary resources. Some Harambe schools may want to introduce more "practical" subjects to benefit students unlikely to pursue academic studies, but due to the pressures and high value put on academic subjects by society, they find it difficult to do so. They, therefore, continue the present academic curriculum and emphasize rote learning in preparation for public nationwide and competitive examinations.

Government schools are gradually moving towards curriculum change, though only a minority now benefit from such changes. Government schools have major advantages. They are better off in all matters related to the transmission of socio-cultural values. Such values are important for national growth, and can only be acquired through broad extra-curriculum programs. The curriculum in government schools enables schools to participate in various forms of interschool and intramural activities. Provincial and District Sports Associations, for example, coordinate school sports and games in the country. Tournaments are organized where all schools are expected

to take part. Other school activities, such as 4K Clubs, Young Farmers Associations, debating, and scouting form integral parts of the curriculum among well-organized government schools. Schools also are expected to participate in the annual Kenya Music Festivals and Drama and Arts exhibitions. All these events have social and cultural significance vital for cultural growth. Students from different cultural backgrounds come together to share their experiences with others.

Harambe schools tend not to share and participate in these cultural and social events. Only with great inventiveness could Harambe schools play their role as agents for transmitting the socio-cultural values that may be acquired through extra-curriculum activities. Harambe schools do not participate adequately in extra-curriculum activities because of a variety of factors, including the lack of funds, lack of qualified personnel with the requisite expertise and experience to promote extra-curriculum activities, and the allocation of more time to examinable subjects which are essential for the students' future aspirations.

Of course, government boarding schools have much more time to allocate to many activities in the curriculum. The non-residential Harambe schools have only their basic

and approximately eight-hour day, which typically starts at seven in the morning and may end between four and five in the evening. In some districts, students walk ten to fifteen miles daily to and from school.

Government schools are assured of a constant and reliable source of financial and personnel support for expanded programs. All government schools are allocated a special grant every year for activities. This is what is generally known as "Activity Funds." For Harambe schools, such funds come from student fees, and they have to rely on enrollments in their schools for getting more money. Even where the enrollments are high, however, the money may have to be reserved for recurrent expenses of essential items in the budget. Though some activity funds may be collected from all Harambe school students every year, the amount may be grossly insufficient to cover year-round expenses for extra-curriculum activities. Therefore, in most Harambe schools, such activities are conditionally abandoned. Students concentrate on academic subjects and ostensibly prepare for nationwide examinations. However, other intervening features tend to inhibit their ability to achieve highly in the national examinations, so that Harambe school students still lag far behind students in government schools. The teachers' quality in Harambe

schools presumably has less-than-admirable effects on student performance.

Harambe schools generally are expected to prepare students to pass the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination (K.J.S.E.) when they are completing Form II. Selected Harambe schools also prepare students for the East African Certificate of Education (E.A.C.E.).

In 1975 E.A.C.E. results reveal that students in Harambe schools did not do as well as those of government schools. Among Harambe school candidates who took English language in E.A.C.E., for example, 10 percent obtained credit pass, 36 percent got pass, and 54 percent failed; in Mathematics, 6 percent obtained credit pass, 10 percent pass, and 84 percent failed; in science subjects, 19 percent obtained credit pass, 24 percent pass, and 48 percent failed; and in applied subjects, 17 percent obtained credit pass, 28 percent pass, and 55 percent failed. The average performance in all subjects showed that 14 percent of Harambe school candidates got credit pass, 26 percent got pass, and 60 percent failed the E.A.C.E. examination in that year. In contrast, government school candidates had 39 percent credit pass, and 29 percent were awarded passes; only 32 percent failed.⁷⁶

To sum up, Harambe schools are poorly prepared. Established in rural areas that are economically poor,

they tend to be poorly equipped and staffed. In consequence, the curriculum has a bias for arts subjects and major weaknesses elsewhere. As college preparatory institutions which prepare students for nationwide competitive examinations in traditional academic and "bookish" subjects, the Harambe schools are less successful than the government schools. As instruments for developing nationalism and for advancing selected social and cultural values, they are believed to be far weaker than government schools.

Table 4

Subject Analysis of 1975 E.A.C.E. Results
in Harambe Schools

	<u>Percentages Awarded</u>		
	<u>Grades 1-6</u> <u>(Credits)</u>	<u>Grades 7-8</u> <u>(Pass)</u>	<u>Grades 9</u> <u>(failures)</u>
English Language	10	36	54
Other Arts Subjects	16	27	57
Mathematics	6	10	84
Science Subjects	19	24	57
Applied Subjects	17	28	55
All Subjects	14	26	60

Source: Ministry of Education Examination Sections

Note: (1)E.A.C.E. grades are given numerical ranking order

(2)Grades 1 to 6 are credit passes

Grades 7 to 8 are pass

Grade 9 is a failure

Table 5

Subject Analysis of 1975 E.A.C.E. Results
in Private Schools

	Percentages Awarded		
	Grades 1-6 (Credits)	Grades 7-8 (Pass)	Grades 9 (Failures)
English Language	18	35	47
Other Arts Subjects	19	27	54
Mathematics	11	9	80
Science Subjects	22	22	56
Applied Subjects	16	25	59
All Subjects	18	24	58

Source: Ministry of Education Examinations Section

Table 6

Subject Analysis of 1975 E.A.C.E. Results
in Aided Schools

	Percentages Awarded		
	Grades 1-6 (Credits)	Grades 7-8 (Pass)	Grade 9 (Failure)
English Language	37	39	24
Other Arts Subjects	41	30	29
Mathematics	30	18	52
Science Subjects	40	30	30
Applied Subjects	39	33	28
All Subjects	39	29	32

Source: Ministry of Education Examination Sections

End Notes

¹J.G. Mugo, "The Role and Impact of Self-Help Schools on Kenya Community of Chinga" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Buffalo, 1970).

²L.S. Kurtz, An African Education, The Revolution in Tanzania, (Brooklyn: Pegeant-Poserdon, 1972), p. 9.

³Richard D'Aeth, Education and Development in the Third World, (Westmead: Saxon House, D.C. Heath, 1975), p. 68.

⁴Ibid., p. 70.

⁵Ibid.

⁶J.K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance (Dar-es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1967), p. 9.

⁷Ibid.

⁸D.W. Furlley and T. Watson, A History of Education in East Africa, (New York: Nok Publishers, 1967), p. 383.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰L.C. Griffiths, "Education for Rural Development," in Revolution by Education, ed. Resnick N.I. (Arusha: Longmans, 1968), p. 181.

¹¹A.W. Wood, Informal Education and Development in Africa (Hague Paris: Morton, 1974), p. 193.

¹²David Hapgood, Africa: From Independence to Tomorrow (New York: Atheneum, 1965), p. 136.

¹³Mugo, op. cit.

¹⁴Hapgood, op. cit., p. 114.

¹⁵V.P. Diejomaoh and James R. Sheffield, Nonformal Education in African Development, (New York: African-American Institute, 1973), p. 13.

¹⁶Hapgood, op. cit., p. 114.

- ¹⁷Ibid., p. 115.
- ¹⁸Ibid.
- ¹⁹Diejomaoh and Sheffield, op. cit., p. 133.
- ²⁰Ibid.
- ²¹Ibid.
- ²²Hapgood, op. cit., p. 116.
- ²³Ibid., p. 119.
- ²⁴Ibid., p. 120.
- ²⁵Ibid., p. 123.
- ²⁶Ibid., p. 238.
- ²⁷Diejomaoh and Sheffield, loc. cit.
- ²⁸Ibid., p. 66.
- ²⁹Ibid.
- ³⁰Wood, op. cit., p. 24.
- ³¹Ibid., p. 26.
- ³²Ibid., p. 27
- ³³Diejomaoh and Sheffield, op. cit., p. 71.
- ³⁴John Anderson, The Struggle for the School, (Nairobi: Longmans, 1970), p. 112.
- ³⁵Ibid., p. 137.
- ³⁶Ibid., p. 115.
- ³⁷Ibid., p. 114.
- ³⁸Ibid.
- ³⁹Richard Tignor, The Colonial Transformation of Kenya, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), p. 256.

- ⁴⁰Ibid.
- ⁴¹Kiambu District Annual Report 1921, Kenya, p. 42.
- ⁴²Tignor, op. cit., p. 270.
- ⁴³W.D. Furley and T. Watson, A History of Education in Africa, (New York: Nok Publication, 1978), p. 270.
- ⁴⁴Anderson, op. cit., p. 138.
- ⁴⁵Furley and Watson, loc. cit.
- ⁴⁶Ibid.
- ⁴⁷Ibid.
- ⁴⁸L.G. Cowan, The Cost of Learning, The Politics of Primary Education in Kenya, (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1970), p. 3.
- ⁴⁹Tignor, op. cit., p. 270.
- ⁵⁰Furley and Watson, op. cit., p. 175.
- ⁵¹Rosenberg and Nottingham, The Myth of "Mau Mau," Nationalism in Kenya, (New York: World Publishing Company, 1970), p. 179.
- ⁵²Richard K.P. Pankhurst, Kenya: The History of Two Nations, (London: Independent Publishing Company, 1967), p. 89.
- ⁵³Ministry of Education Annual Reports, 1976, p. 12.
- ⁵⁴D.W. Furley, "The Struggle for Transformation in Education in Kenya Since Independence," East African Journal, Vol. 9, No. 8, 1972.
- ⁵⁵Ibid.
- ⁵⁶Anderson, op. cit., p. 54.
- ⁵⁷Ibid.
- ⁵⁸Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1976, pp. 36-7.
- ⁵⁹Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1975.

⁶⁰E.R. Keller, "Harambe Education Policy, Inequality and the Political Economy of Rural Community Self-Help in Kenya" Journal of African Studies, Vol. 19, 1976.

⁶¹Anderson, op. cit., p. 379.

⁶²Mugo, loc. cit.

⁶³Anderson, op. cit., p. 381.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Keller, op. cit., p. 213.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 102.

⁶⁷F.F. Indire and John W. Hanson, Secondary Level Teachers: Supply and Demand in Kenya (East Lansing: Institute for International Studies in Education and the African Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1971).

⁶⁸The Education Act 1968 (No. 5 of 1968), February 1968, Republic of Kenya.

⁶⁹Kenya Government, Ministry of Education Newsletter Sept./Oct., 1977, p. 5.

⁷⁰The Daily Nation, Nairobi, 1978.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Kenya Government, Ministry of Education Newsletter Sept./Oct., 1977, p. 5.

⁷³Republic of Kenya, Development Plan 1974-Part II, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1974), p. 69.

⁷⁴Indire and Hanson, loc. cit.

⁷⁵Keller, op. cit, p. 216.

⁷⁶Republic of Kenya, Report of the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1970), p. 140.

Chapter 4

ISSUES IN HARAMBE SCHOOLING

Introduction

It has been shown in preceding sections that the concept, the spirit, and the practice of Harambe represent a portion of the nation's cultural heritage that is honored, idealized, and perhaps even revered in Kenya. The people, the leaders, and the government of the Republic of Kenya applaud and encourage Harambe.

On the other hand, it also has been shown in preceding sections that the application of the Harambe spirit to education in Kenya has been a mixed blessing at best. After achieving independent nationhood in 1963, Kenya's government assumed full responsibility for elementary education, taking over the operation of primary schools, integrating the racially-segregated schools, and rapidly expanding the primary school system. The governmental secondary school system was expanded much more slowly. In consequence, the numbers of candidates for secondary education far exceeded the capacity of the government's secondary school system. Especially in rural areas, community-sponsored, self-help Harambe secondary schools began to grow like so many mushrooms.

Unfortunately, being ill-staffed and under-financed, Harambe secondary schools tend to be of poor quality. They consume community resources and are a serious drain on family finances, but they provide, generally speaking, no better than a second-class educational service to their students. The students, in consequence, compare unfavorably with their counterparts in government or private schools.

A profound and troublesome dilemma thus has been taking form in Kenya. On the one hand, the concept of Harambe is valued most highly, and a government in Kenya is unlikely to adopt policies or take actions that would tend to discourage community self-help initiatives. On the other hand, the same concept, as it has been manifested in the Harambe secondary school "movement," may fairly be adjudged to be dysfunctional for Kenya's people, wasteful for its economy, and perhaps even disruptive for its educational system.

The dilemma may be posed succinctly as follows: Can the Government of Kenya find one or more means whereby (a) to check and re-direct the hitherto uncontrolled growth of the extra-governmental and low-quality multitude of Harambe secondary schools, via appropriate public policies and governmental actions, and yet (b) honestly continue to praise,

encourage, and enhance alternative manifestations of the Harambe spirit and concept?

In this section, attention is turned to the consideration of possibilities that might profitably be considered by the Government of Kenya, for policy decisions and governmental actions that may be useful in meeting that dilemma.

Two main motives or purposes, of course, underlie the possibilities for policy and action that are outlined below. One purpose is to improve and enhance secondary education in Kenya, through governmental policies and actions that will remedy the ills of the Harambe sector of secondary education. That sector offers an inferior version of Kenya's established "standard" variety of secondary schooling, i.e., the Harambe sector offers the same curricular fare as government schools do, but they do so poorly, because they must rely on personnel ill-equipped for their assignments and because they have limited resources with which to support teaching and learning. The rate of growth of Harambe schools, nevertheless, continues unchecked, and continues to outpace the availability of qualified staff and related resources. In consequence, it engages the time of many young people, at significant cost to their families and communities, especially in the rural areas of the nation, but it does not reward them satisfactorily. They

emerge from their Harambe schooling ill-equipped for life within the communities that nurture them, and equally ill-equipped for life elsewhere.

The other main purpose, to be pursued simultaneously, is to honor and to preserve undiminished the cherished ideal, concept, and tradition called Harambe. In many other developing nations, governments confront situations in which local communities demonstrate little or no initiative and take on few or none of the possible "self-help" activities, because they wait for central government to solve all problems. Kenya enjoys the advantage of a deeply-ingrained tradition for self-help. It must be presumed that, in seeking to remedy the ills of the Harambe secondary school movement, Kenya's government will feel constrained not to damage the Harambe tradition in any way.

Several conditions or constraints also must be deemed to underlie the several possibilities for policy and action. One of these is economic: the Government of Kenya currently expends more than twenty percent of its annual budgets on education, and that demonstrates that major governmental interest, attention, and effort already are being addressed to education; only with great difficulty, it must be assumed, could the government accept proposed new policies or courses

of action that would require major and rapid increases in budgetary provisions for secondary education.

A second underlying constraint is the fact that Kenya faces an absolute numerical shortage of persons fully qualified to serve in secondary schools. Harambe secondary schools do not employ full complements of fully qualified teachers, for example, because those people are not available in the employment market, and not merely because the schools are without money with which to pay salaries (although that too may be the case). The government's system of secondary schools, moreover, is of limited size not because the government disdains to expand it, but because expansion is restricted by the unavailability of fully qualified personnel with which to staff additional schools if they were built.

In Chapter 4, four major issues that confront Harambe schooling are selected for inquiry. These issues are curriculum, finance, personnel, and governance. These are considered important for analysis because they dominate the present state of affairs in Harambe schooling. The illustrations given in the discussion on these issues should lead to a clear and coherent understanding of the arguments for the policy alternatives and government action presented in Chapter 5. There are subordinate issues,

such as the examination system for selection and promotion of students within the national educational system, that are examined as part of the major issues in this study.

Curriculum

The mission and functions of Harambe schools must be examined in the context of broader goals and objectives of Kenya's national educational system. Selected objectives that form the skeleton for examining the role of a curriculum in Kenya's educational system in general have been given by the Ndegwa Commission (1971) as follows:¹

1. Education must serve the needs of national development.
2. Education must assist in fostering and promoting national unity.
3. Education must prepare and equip the youth of the country so that they can play an effective role in the life of the nation, while insuring that opportunities are provided for the full development of individual talents and personality.
4. Education must assist in the promotion of social equality and train in social obligation and responsibilities.

5. The educational system must respect, foster, and develop our rich and varied cultural values.

An examination of the present curriculum as adopted by Harambe schools, and the state of affairs in such schools, indicate that the objectives and goals stated by the Ndegwa Commission (1971) are not being achieved adequately. The syllabus employed during recent years in Harambe schools is similar to that of government schools. It is divided into two sections both of which may be characterized as academic and bookish. The first section, covering the work for Form I and II, prepares students to enter the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination (K.J.S.E.). The second section of the syllabus covers the work for Forms III and IV, and prepares students to write the East African Certificate of Education (E.A.C.E.) examination at the end of Form IV.

The adaptation of the present curriculum to both the government and Harambe schools raises a major policy question: Should the curriculum of the Harambe schools be similar or identical to that of government schools? This question is important because it leads to examination of the state of affairs in Harambe schools and whether such schools are meeting the needs of the rural communities through the present form of curriculum.

Under the Education Act 1968, all institutions established in Kenya for the purpose of providing instruction to

the public must be registered with the Ministry of Education.² Once registered, a Harambe school is subject to the curriculum entailed by the national system of examinations. The Ministry of Education supplies a syllabus from which each school selects the subjects in which it would prepare its students. The school is then obligated to prepare its students for public examinations. Public examinations are similar for all schools. Examinations determine the choice of the curriculum and selection of subjects to be taught in each school. Examinations thus determine how well or poorly a school implements the syllabus. This may be revealed in examination results. The Kenya Junior Secondary Examination (K.J.S.E.), for instance, is based on the first two years of the government school syllabus. All schools that intend to present students for the K.J.S.E. are obligated to teach what would be expected to appear on the examination. Similarly, the East African Certificate of Education (E.A.C.E.) examination syllabus requires that students in all schools select and prepare in at least five or six subjects. Students who hope to obtain full certificates in E.A.C.E. examinations must pass in at least five or six subjects with credits or better. Such competitive and highly selective examinations require that schools adhere to the rules and instructions for implementing the

government syllabus. Deviation from the regulations often results in poor performance or elimination of students from E.A.C.E. examination completely. However, the syllabus for E.A.C.E. is broad enough for secondary schools in Kenya to make a wide choice of subjects to suit the conditions of individual schools. Schools with poor resources, particularly the Harambe schools, tend to select more arts subjects than science subjects from the E.A.C.E. list. Government schools may have the option to adopt a syllabus for vocational studies because they can afford the facilities to do so.

Harambe schools emulate the government school but, due to poor economic resources, they do not do well. The data in Chapter 3 shows that Harambe schools perform poorly on national examinations compared to well-equipped government schools.

In the preceding section, it was indicated that Harambe schools are established in the rural areas where the communities value secondary school education because they believe that it would provide an avenue for employment. The public in these areas puts a high premium on passage of public examinations and diplomas. Parents expect their children to pass E.A.C.E. examinations so that they could be selected for vocational training or obtain a job in the

urban areas. However, with the state of affairs in Harambe schools and the structure of the present curriculum, Harambe schools hardly fulfill the aspirations of rural parents. Consequently, Harambe schools divert their effort to drilling children for tests in few subjects selected from the broad government syllabus.

Ronald Dore (1975) states that the effects of schooling, the way it alters a man's capacity and will to do things, depends not only on what he learns, or the way he learns it, but also on why he learns it. That is the basis for the distinction between schooling which is education, and schooling which is only qualification, a mere process of certificating or credentialing.³

It should now be clear that the syllabi adopted in Harambe schools direct all students to the national examination. The first part of the syllabus covers work for Forms I and II; it prepares students to write the K.J.S.E. at the end of Form II. Students who pass K.J.S.E. and secure admission to Form III are expected to write the East African Certificate of Education (E.A.C.E.) at the end of Form IV. Selection of E.A.C.E. subjects is restricted to arts subjects due to lack of adequate facilities for science and practical subjects. Preference of arts subjects in Harambe schools may be also due to lack of qualified personnel. Science

and practical subjects' teachers are in short supply for government schools too. Students who pass E.A.C.E. in arts subjects only have limited chances for progress or selection for Form V. Preparation for college entrance or vocational training for an academically average student in Harambe school is hampered by the choice of subjects in the syllabus. The situation becomes most complicated for Harambe students, especially with increasing competition among well-prepared students from prestigious and elite government and private schools. Employers, for instance, have shifted their selective criteria; they look for certain skills or preferably for students with basic knowledge in the science subjects who could be trainable while on the job.

In the preceding section, it was indicated that some of the goals of education in Kenya were to serve the needs of national development, assist in fostering and promoting national unity, assist in the promotion of social equity, and foster and develop cultural values of Kenya's heritage. The curriculum in secondary schools is expected to accomplish these objectives. The government has a commitment to Africanize the present curriculum to meet the needs of the nation. Such changes are taking place rapidly in government schools and less swiftly in Harambe schools.

During recent years, Kenya's government has placed renewed emphasis on vocational education in the curriculum, and has increased the secondary school budget principally for that purpose. Its purpose is to provide students with skills that could enable them to secure employment. Vocational schooling as a cure for unemployment of the educated has been utilized in other developing nations with modest success. Dore has stated that vocational schools intended to produce technicians for industry have a problem everywhere, notably the problem of striking a balance between the specific and general skills. The specific skills taught by a vocational school may not be the ones in demand. The general skills taught may be relevant to many occupations, but may not assure sufficient competence to be seriously regarded.⁴ Vocational schools have difficulty in finding and retaining good teachers, because those who hold technical skills frequently are tempted to seek higher incomes, practicing their skills in private employment. Kenya also faces similar problems.

The present vocational and agricultural syllabus for Kenya's secondary schools has not yielded the results expected for it. The Report of the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies (1976) indicated that the study of agriculture has come to be regarded by students

as purely an academic exercise aimed at obtaining certificates rather than dealing with preparation for actual performance in agriculture.⁵ Students tend to take agriculture as an alternative to other science subjects, science being a requirement for selection into further schooling. However, the report says students who have studied agriculture are given less consideration than those completing traditional science courses for further schooling in agriculture.

Similar problems have been identified among students who complete technical and vocational educational programs in government secondary schools. Most of these students incur hardships in securing either employment or further education or training. In short, the employment prospects for students with agricultural or technical education scarcely differ from the prospects for the rest of the students who attend regular academic secondary schools.⁶ The evidence suggests that the curriculums for vocational and agricultural education do not meet the aims of the students or their communities. Students who complete two to four years of secondary education, but do not proceed further in education, tend to seek employment in towns. Failing to find work that satisfies their interests, they are ill-prepared for work in their rural communities except for menial jobs in agriculture.

Thus far, therefore, the secondary school curriculum does not strike a balance between the traditional "pure

academic" and the new vocational orientations in secondary schools, whether government or Harambe. The present curriculum does not focus on the large population who eventually would settle in the rural areas after leaving schools. Neither does it aim at developing prospects for their self-employment as well as for their employment in private or public sectors of the rural communities' economy.

The curriculum adopted in Harambe schools does not meet effectively the relevant needs of female students in such schools. Girls who would have interest in acquiring useful skills relevant to life in the rural areas are denied such opportunities. Lack of diversity in curriculum for Harambe schools is attributed to poor economic resources. The syllabus is narrowed to manageable arts subjects. Conditionally, girls find it advisable to concentrate on examination subjects. Second, the structure of the curriculum for government secondary schools tends to emphasize the sophisticated urban type of syllabus for Domestic Science. Such a syllabus requires modern facilities and equipment that may be beyond the resources available in Harambe schools. Local material, foods and facilities that would be relevant to the average rural farming communities are rarely attractive, hence they tend to be ignored in the present curriculum.

A third reason may be a lack of women qualified for teaching or implementing such curriculum in rural Harambe schools.

Not all girls who complete two years of Harambe secondary education proceed to Form III, and not all the few that proceed up to Form IV manage to secure admission to post-secondary education or vocational training. Callaway Archibald confirms that school graduates who migrate to towns for employment are more often boys than girls.⁷ Girls tend to remain with their parents on farms until some time when job openings or vocational training would be available. Other girls decide to get married and settle down as mothers. The curriculum adopted in Harambe schools thus ignores the special needs and aspirations of the largest population of female students who, therefore, graduate from schools without skills for either homemaking or vocations. Similarly, limited curriculum options for female students in Kenya schools was named an issue by participants of a panel of the Conference on Women in Kenya Society in August 1975 in Nairobi. The group stated that curriculum planners must be concerned with female options.⁸

Beverly Lindsay et.al. (1977) have recognized the potential of women in the process of development. They have pointed out failures of the structure of educational systems,

not only in Kenya but also in other parts of African states, to meet the needs of women and to integrate them into the modern economic system.⁹

Personnel

The situation of teacher supply is undoubtedly a critical issue in Kenya's educational development. The situation is worse in Harambe schools, where more than 75 percent of the teachers are untrained, than it is in government schools. The 1976 employment records from the Ministry of Education indicate that schools not aided by government in that year were staffed with 1,799 qualified and about 4,554 unqualified or untrained teachers.¹⁰

Harambe schools are staffed generally with teachers from three categories. The largest category comprises the untrained/unqualified teachers; the second category consists mostly of overseas volunteer teachers; and a small group of locally-trained teachers make the smallest category.

The issue of staffing Harambe schools has been experienced in Kenya as early as 1963 when these schools emerged on the scene. Harambe schools seemed to have no stated objectives and mission for the rural communities that built them. They apparently were simply weak carbon copies of the government secondary schools. No specific guidelines were

made regarding the quality and qualifications of the teachers that could be hired. This situation has not changed much, especially with the increase in the student population in such schools. As a result, teachers are hired as much for their ability to keep children at peace in schools as to teach them what would be considered necessary.

Policy questions that need to be considered in the issue of personnel in Harambe schooling evidently must include the following: (a) Should teachers for Harambe schools possess qualifications essentially similar to those of the teachers in the government schools? (b) What type of qualifications should Harambe school teachers possess, to implement a curriculum relevant for rural development? (c) Should teachers in Harambe schools come from the same teacher education institutions as the teachers in the government schools? These questions are examined in the following chapter on policy alternatives and government action.

This section contains an examination of the sources, quality, and qualifications of teachers in Harambe schools. Unqualified teachers are recruited from among students who have completed either Form IV or Form VI and a small number of university degree holders who do not possess professional training. In 1976, for instance, there were 2,428 unqualified teachers with the E.A.A.C.E. (Form VI diploma); 1,520 teachers

had E.A.C.E. (Form IV diploma); 341 university graduates were without professional training; and 264 others.¹¹ Table 10 gives a breakdown of teachers in the unaided schools according to qualifications and citizenship.

A small number of qualified teachers is supplied by the Ministry of Education under the "Harambe Package Scheme." Between 1975 and 1977, there were 146 such teachers staffed in selected Harambe schools in the nation.¹² Government pays the salaries of these teachers; they are entitled to a free pension scheme, as are teachers in government secondary schools; and they enjoy the services of the Kenya National Union of Teachers (K.N.U.T.). All these benefits are not extended to other teachers in non-government schools.

The service of expatriate teachers in the Harambe schools has increased more than in government schools. Expatriate teachers in the Harambe schools are supplied especially by the Volunteer Service Overseas (VSO), Peace Corps, and Vista. There are other teachers who come from the neighboring African countries and India who may be hired to teach in Harambe schools. Between 1975 and 1977, there were about 127 volunteer teachers in Harambe schools.¹³

The issue of the quality of teachers in Harambe schooling is still critical. As indicated previously a majority of the teachers employed in Harambe schools lack teaching qualifications and even experience. Many of them

Table 7

Staffing in Secondary Schools - 1976
Unaided Schools

	<u>Citizen Qualified</u>	<u>Non-Citizen Qualified</u>
P1	187	12
S1	481	36
Approved	23	247
Graduates	109	334
Others	<u>49</u>	<u>321</u>
Total	849	950
Total Qualified	<u>1799</u>	

	<u>Citizen Unqualified</u>	<u>Non-Citizen Unqualified</u>
H.S.C./E.A.A.C.E.	2343	85
C.S.C./E.A.C.E.	1377	143
Graduates	71	270
Others	<u>66</u>	<u>198</u>
Total	3857	696
Total Unqualified	<u>4554</u>	
Total National	<u>6353</u>	

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Report - 1976

Table 8

Staffing in Secondary Schools - 1976
Aided Schools

	<u>Citizen Qualified</u>	<u>Non-Citizen Qualified</u>
P1	20	3
S1	2089	103
Approved	87	268
Graduate	1166	530
Other	<u>64</u>	<u>334</u>
Total	3426	1238
Total Qualified	<u>4664</u>	

	<u>Citizen Unqualified</u>	<u>Non-Citizen Unqualified</u>
C.S.C./E.A.C.E.	9	40
H.S.C./E.A.A.C.E.	105	4
Graduate	79	116
Others	<u>19</u>	<u>49</u>
Total	212	209
Total National	<u>5084</u>	

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Report - 1976

are not trained to offer the skills that would be needed by the majority of students in Harambe schools whose lives are likely to be confined to the rural areas. The few trained teachers are prepared especially in the academic disciplines that emphasize memorization of facts for passing examinations. They are not, therefore, ready to implement a curriculum that would be related to the environment in the rural communities. Teachers tend to teach the way they were taught; hence teachers posted to Harambe schools from government institutions tend to reflect the image of a government school curriculum that prepares students for urban employment.

Studies by Beeby (1960) and Dore (1975) indicate that the quality of teachers is an essential asset to any educational system. The fact that teachers play the role of representatives and propagators of social and political ideologies should also be born in mind. Consequently, what teachers teach concerns the government and the executive bodies of the states, and makes them indirect instruments of the social control exerted on the children.¹⁴

Philip Coombs (1968) says that good teachers should be expected to play a major role outside the classrooms. They must become a major force for social development, participating in the important efforts to improve the

communities in which they work. Both the teachers and the classroom must become an integral part of the social process that is transforming their society.¹⁵ One would expect teachers in Harambe schools, especially in the rural areas, to perform all functions stated by Coombs. As stated, however, teachers in Harambe schools are not prepared to lead students and their rural communities to meet their relevant needs and promote national development.

An examination of the services of expatriate teachers in Harambe schools would reveal that they are no different from the academically-trained local teachers. Francis Cammaerts mentions some of the shortcomings of the expatriate teachers in government schools. The situation would be no different from that experienced in Harambe schools. He states that many excellent young men and women from overseas countries are fully aware of the needs of change, but both by judgment and by length of service, their contributions can be of only limited significance. Their judgment of what is needed is necessarily impaired by their own experience at home in a totally different situation; they can say 'this is all wrong,' but they cannot stay long to say 'this is what is right.'¹⁶ Overseas volunteer teachers have a limited time to stay in the country.¹⁷ Many of them are contracted

for two to three years. This period is too short even for those volunteer teachers who could develop a plan for change through schools in the rural areas. Cammearts goes on to assert that creative expatriate teachers may be more dangerous than those who do the best they can with the situation as they find it: the expatriate innovator is liable to introduce innovations which are totally foreign to the country, is likely to create disturbances by his innovations, and is very unlikely to be followed by any one who either wishes to or knows how to continue the trend of his innovation.¹⁸

The position of untrained teachers makes the issues of personnel in Harambe schools more complicated. Untrained teachers in Harambe schools perceive their jobs as something to keep them busy for a short time while waiting for better positions or advantageous vocational training to become available. Should such opportunities become available, such teachers usually leave at any time, leaving the school authorities to find replacements. It sometimes takes a long time before the vacant positions are filled by other untrained teachers. Some schools find it difficult to attract even suitable unqualified teachers in the middle of the year, when most students with good performance on

the national examinations have long since been selected for either college or vocational training. Experience has shown that many Harambe schools remain long understaffed, making it difficult for some subjects to be taught.

Economically, most Harambe schools are not able to employ sufficient qualified and experienced personnel. Experienced principals (headmasters) are rarely employed to run Harambe schools. Such principals command salaries and allowances equal to those earned by their counterparts in the government schools. Many Harambe schools in the rural areas may not afford to meet high salaries and allowances paid to principals in government schools. As an alternative, Anderson (1975) found that many Harambe schools prefer to employ less qualified administrative personnel whose salaries and allowances would be low, rather than accept the highly qualified principals whose salaries would drain the limited school budget. Therefore, many Harambe schools are staffed with principals who were formerly primary school teachers rather than university educated graduate teachers.¹⁹

In general, the staffing issue regarding teachers and the employment of other competent personnel to run Harambe schools remains critical. It contributes to the prevailing constraints in these schools.

The government of Kenya emphasizes uniform standards for all teachers in the nation. To ensure uniform application of the standards, only government institutions legitimately engage in the preparation of teachers for all schools. Government approves and awards diplomas to all qualified teachers through its institutions. This state of affairs leads one back to policy questions raised previously. Should teachers for Harambe schools possess qualifications virtually identical to those of the teachers in government schools? Should teachers for Harambe schools come from the same teacher education institutions as the teachers in the government schools? Such questions must be examined in considering the role of Harambe schooling in the process of national development.

If the present state of affairs continues to prevail in Harambe schools, three possible consequences would be inevitable. It is likely that:

1. Public resources would be consumed by Harambe schools without good return to the local communities;
2. Every year, Harambe schools would turn out a great number of young people who cannot find employment in the urban areas and who cannot become self-employed in the rural areas;

3. The transformation of the curriculum, making it relevant to the needs of the rural population, would be difficult to achieve with the present poorly prepared staff in Harambe schools.

Finance

In this section, attention is focused on the sources of revenue for Harambe schools in the nation. It should be remembered that finances for Harambe schools are generally regarded as private rather than public funds. How such funds are obtained and expended is entirely up to the communities and the members of school committees who manage the business of these type of schools. Government may come in only when there are possible issues emanating from mismanagement or misappropriation of funds in these institutions. Two major questions concerning financial matters in Harambe schools are asked: Should financial responsibilities in the Harambe schools be shared among the rural communities, local governments, and the central government? How should the financial responsibilities be shared among these groups?

The issues involving the finances for Harambe schools and the economics of rural Kenya are examined in this chapter. The purposes of the discussion on the economics

of rural Kenya in this study are two-fold. First, it helps to illustrate that the provision of secondary school education through self-help efforts in the rural areas depends largely upon the wealth of the people themselves. Second, it gives a clear picture of the basic sources of income of the average population of Kenya. Income distribution, whether from agricultural production, wage or salary employment, determines the ability of rural areas to establish and maintain Harambe secondary schools.

Kenya is primarily an agricultural country with about 90 percent of the population engaged in farming. Agriculture contributes about one-third of national gross domestic product, employs three quarters of the population, and supplies most of Kenya's exports. Because of the uneven distribution of rainfall, arable and stock farming are restricted to particular areas of the country. Other parts of the country are occupied by nomadic tribes.

Kenya's most important cash crops are coffee, tea, maize (corn), wheat, pyrethrum, horticultural products, sisal, and sugar cane. Coffee is the largest cash crop, employing approximately 200,000 full- and part-time workers. It has a well-developed cooperative movement through which produce is marketed and replacement seedlings, fertilizers, and insecticides are distributed to farmers.²⁰

Tea is produced on large-scale farms in the Highlands. However, small-holder farms have been developed through the Kenya Tea Development Authority. There are about 70,000 small-hold farmers presently growing tea for commercial purposes. Tea was a monopoly of the large-scale European farmers in the Highlands. African small-holders were recently allowed to grow tea when government credit loans were made available to deserving cases. The credit plan allows farmers to purchase planting material and fertilizers.

Maize is the staple food of the largest population of Kenya. Maize has received a great deal of attention in the past few years under a national program following successful research development.²¹ Hybrid species of maize seeds are distributed to farmers through the Kenya Farmers Association and other cooperatives. The seeds are distributed together with fertilizers. Government is encouraging many people to expand production of hybrid maize for commercial purposes.

Pyrethrum is grown in large quantities in the cool, high altitudes of Kisii district, the Rift Valley, and Central Province. It is used as a natural and non-toxic insecticide, and Kenya produces 80 percent of the world supply of this product.

Sisal is grown on large plantations in the drier areas of the country.

Kenya's livestock industry has been expanding since 1963. Cattle are kept on large farms for both beef and dairy products for export. The Kenya Meat Commission prepares beef for local and foreign markets.

Population growth in recent years is changing the pattern of land heritage and ownership. Families in recent years have been caught up in a situation where the small pieces of land that were acquired to support single nuclear families are no longer able to support the many families of the original owner's children. The landless families in all provinces have been moved to new areas set aside by government for settlement. The government-supported program to relocate the landless was begun in the early 1960s under the name "Land Settlement Scheme." By 1970, more than two thirds of the old European mixed farms had been occupied by approximately 500,000 African families.²² Such families are expected to cultivate the new land and produce enough for subsistence and revenue. These newly settled families comprise the largest group of small-holder farmers. Whatever they produce out of the small farm is shared. According to the International Labor Organization

report, small-holders earn \$480-\$800 per annum from farm produce.²³ In some areas where hired labor is plentiful, income from farms may be higher than this.²⁴

Large scale manufacturing industries are located in the urban areas. During the Development Plan period 1970-1974, the government estimated that manufacturing employment would grow from 106,000 to about 136,000. Though this figure would not solve the unemployment problems that are prevalent in urban areas, it would result in an increase in the main supplying sectors of the economy.²⁵

Small scale industrial programs in the rural areas are intended to encourage rural communities to participate in the industrial expansion. Such industries as milling, woodworking, shoe-making, leather processing, clothing, vehicle repairs, and the manufacture of elementary building materials are promoted through the Small Industrial Loan Schemes and Rural Industrialization.²⁶

Kenyanization of Commerce has encouraged African families to operate small businesses which were formerly monopolized by Asian and other non-Kenyan communities. Government provides loans and training programs for businessmen.²⁷

The unequal distribution of socioeconomic benefits in Kenya affects the distribution of educational benefits.

A review of the distribution of secondary education reveals that areas with a well-organized agricultural economy generally have more schools than poor areas do. Government encourages people to build schools on self-help basis. Communities that can afford to raise more money, consequently, build more decent schools. Since government's policy of take-over has been based on the principle that only schools that meet certain government standards would be eligible for a take-over, then only schools in wealthy areas tend to qualify. However, such a policy was suspended when it had already benefitted some areas more than others. In Central Province, some districts in the Eastern Province, Rift Valley, and Kisii district, Harambe schools are constructed well enough to attract government support. As a result, these areas naturally have more Harambe schools. Keller (1976) has noted that some schools in the less-developed areas of the country--such as Nyanza, Coast and Eastern Provinces--are hard-pressed merely to construct a building with a roof over it. The building may not have window panes or lights, and when it rains it becomes difficult for students to read or the teacher to teach.²⁸

Harambe schools are generally financed through three main sources. Most important are the contributions from

local communities. A committee responsible for the planning and promotion of a school may propose how contributions could be collected from members of a community that desires to build a school. In some parts of the country where opportunities for income are plentiful, contributions may be in form of a levy. Each member pays a prescribed amount of cash every month or yearly.

This system has been tried elsewhere with less success, especially in areas with high unemployment and an acute shortage of productive land. The smaller groups of the economically capable families become overburdened with more and higher contributions for Harambe schools. Sometimes local government administrative authorities have been called in to collect contributions from members of communities who do so unwillingly. Property could be seized from members of a community who attempt to evade paying their dues for Harambe schools. In many parts of Western Province, the seized property may be auctioned in public for the amount of cash required.

Donations form a second important source of revenue for Harambe schools. Anderson states that for a progressive self-help group contemplating the development of a secondary school, resources can be categorized. First, material assistance; second, cash; third, professional advice; fourth,

professional assistance.²⁹ Donations in the form of cash and material may be solicited from outside sources. Influential members of Harambe school committee approach aid agencies, charities and foundations for assistance. Kenya Charity Sweepstake, for example, has been notable for donating cash and material to many rural self-help schools. Such funds may be earmarked for construction of classrooms, library, or water systems for a school. Several business enterprises may be approached for donations. Anderson states that both overseas firms and local companies make contributions in the form of cash grants or equipment.³⁰ Church organizations play an important role in promoting Harambe schools. Church organizations may offer both advisory assistance and material donations. Many districts have well-organized cooperative movements. Harambe schools in such districts obtain donations in cash and materials from cooperatives. However, all such donors are not compelled to donate to particular schools. Sometimes the influence of committee members and the political environment of some areas may be conducive to more donations, but some schools may never benefit from donations. Such schools would rely heavily on local contributions and school fees from students.

Fees in all Harambe schools comprise a major source of revenue. High enrollment results in more revenues. Fees vary in Harambe schools. A common figure ranges between \$75 to \$165 per annum, with installments paid each three-month term. For operational purposes, some schools divide fees into such categories as tuition, building and maintenance, activity fund, and caution money (money for damages on school property).³¹

As stated before, financial matters in Harambe schools are a critical issue. They tend to affect both the standard of academic performance and the type of curriculum that Harambe schools may opt to adopt. Financial matters affect even the type of personnel that Harambe schools would want to utilize for accomplishing the intended missions. Consequently, Harambe schools are viewed as "second-chance" or "second-rate" institutions specifically for serving the rural communities. Questions asked early in this section were: Should financial responsibilities in the Harambe schools be shared among the rural communities, local governments, and the central government? How should such responsibilities be shared? These clearly are important questions because they are aimed at finding a route to an equitable distribution of resources for educational development in the nation.

Governance

The governance of Harambe schooling is discussed here under two main categories. The first category is generally referred to as direct control. Direct control of Harambe schooling encompasses all activities under the immediate control of local communities, boards of governors (school committees), and parents. These groups have considerable influence on local Harambe schools. The second category is indirect control. Indirect control refers to the influences and pressures exerted on Harambe schools by the government. Indirect control involves all the activities that are related to the regulations and maintenance of standards in these schools. The government does not tell a community where to build a Harambe school, when to build a Harambe school, or who should be the managers of such a school.

The question is asked in this section: To what extent should the governance of Harambe schooling be shared among the local communities, school committees, parents, and the central government? And why is this an important question? The importance of this question arises from the possibility that policy of the central government could bring Harambe schools under direct control of or the full

maintenance by the government. Such policies could alienate local communities and parents from the important affairs of the schools they have helped to build on the self-help basis. The excessive influence of government on the governance of Harambe schools could be a deterrent to the spirit of self-help and the cultural heritage among the people of the rural areas. Hence, this question focuses attention on what should be a proper balance of control that could obtain between the local communities, committees, parents, and the government.

A local community comprises all the people who reside within the precincts of a location where a Harambe school may be established. They share the burden of establishing a Harambe school because they are all confronted with a common problem of what to do with young children who graduate from primary schools but cannot find places in government secondary schools to continue their education, yet cannot become employable because they are too young.

Decisions about where to establish a school, how to acquire resources, the selection of small committees to manage the intricate business of the school, and the formulation of plans for future expansion are governed by local community members. Whether the school is supported by one or more villages or clans, the pattern of governance

is the same. The local people within the neighborhood raise funds for their own school; they lend labor for its construction, and most often without any government assistance, maintain the school in their locality.³²

The power of community members in the governance of Harambe schools becomes minimal once an elected committee takes over the operations.

School committees are viewed as the sole representatives of local communities and their interests in Harambe schools. What the committees do must, therefore, reflect the attitudes of the local people. For instance, committees are empowered to make decisions on the annual budgets, amount of resources needed for operational cost of a school, how much fees would be charged different categories of students, and how such fees would be paid. In some districts, students are charged fees according to place of residence. Non-resident students in some Harambe schools may pay more than residents of a locality. Building hostels, hiring teachers and making decisions on their salaries, increasing school fees to meet the inflationary expenses for operating schools, and expansion of premises are always sanctioned by parents and community members through their school committees. Sanctions, in the sense of approval and support, by parents are essential because they enhance

the efforts by the committee members to serve the school with confidence. Parents may be members of school committees as well as local community members. However, general parental involvement in the control may be limited in Harambe schools with strong elected committees. In such schools, parents may be called in only when new policies formulated by school committees have to be approved or when they have to participate in some work force to improve school facilities.

The power of governance vested in any Harambe school committee is reflected in the leadership of committees. Success or failure of Harambe schools is based on the leadership quality of the members of the school committee, and on the economic base of a community. John Anderson has presented some empirical evidence in a study of Harambe schools between 1967 and 1968. Anderson surveyed occupations of 214 chairmen and treasurers of Harambe schools in Kenya.³³ Table 9 indicates that 40 chairmen and 42 treasurers were teachers; 10 chairmen were members of Parliament; 24 chairmen and 14 treasurers were civil servants working with the district administration; 27 chairmen were church ministers; 36 chairmen and 42 treasurers were farmers; others were people employed in various responsible professions

Table 9

Occupation of Chairmen and Treasurers
of 214 Harambe Secondary Schools (1967)

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Chairmen</u>	<u>Treasurer</u>
M.P.	10	-
D.C. or D.O.	5	1
Chief or Sub Chief	19	13
Ed. Ag. Officer	10	16
County Area Councillors	5	3
County Council Officials	4	7
Teachers	40	42
Minister of Religion	27	-
Missionary Worker	4	17
Supervisory Level	6	5
Artisan	5	1
Laborer	1	-
Businessman/Trader	22	30
Farmer	36	49
Others	<u>20</u>	<u>30</u>
	214	214

Source: The Organization of Support and the Management of Self-Help Schools: A Case Study from Kenya by John E. Anderson, 1968.

in the country.³⁴ However, Anderson supports the view of this writer that these figures should be handled with caution because of the complex arrangement in the composition of Harambe school committees at the present time. In some areas, schools have large committees involving councils, boards of governors, and executive committees. Stability in most school committees may vary according to the complexity of the composition of such committees.

There is some evidence to support the view that unstable school committees become vulnerable to commercial exploitation. An example is given of businessmen who specialized in taking over failing Harambe schools between 1966 and 1967, to illustrate the point that instability in school committees would likely cause the demise of a Harambe school. The Kenya Education Guild was established by a businessman in 1966 to take over failing Harambe schools in various provinces of Kenya. The Guild managed to acquire seven Harambe schools. In some areas, Harambe schools were completely taken over by such Guilds and others were established in conjunction with the local people through the initiative of local politicians.³⁵ Most of these schools were turned into commercial ventures, intended to benefit the promoters and the Guilds. Guilds

could obtain teachers from neighboring countries to staff the acquired Harambe schools. Fees were high, at the same time academic standards were lower than the government. Students' performance on public examinations was poor. Parents with children in such schools became dissatisfied with the conditions and the outcome of the schools. Communities and parents had no power of governance of their schools anymore. The Guilds monopolized all the authority the parents once exercised over the Harambe schools. Government had to intervene to bring the activities of the Guilds under control. Many schools run by the Guilds were shut down and the students transferred to other local Harambe schools. In Western Province, for instance, where such schools existed, parents and the communities no longer wanted to salvage the closed schools. In some areas, the schools' assets were auctioned to defray the debts incurred by the Guilds.

The indirect governance of Harambe schools by the central government is mostly regulatory. Government has established standards and rules which apply to all educational institutions in Kenya. The standards and rules are intended to guide the operation of government supported and other schools. The level of enforcement of such rules and

standards in all schools has become a controversial issue in Kenya's educational system. The Education Act 1968 of the Republic of Kenya, Part IV states that:

1. Any person who wishes to establish an unaided school shall first make application to the Minister of Education for the school to be registered.
2. Any application for registration shall state the classification of the proposed school according to the prescribed nomenclature and the classes or forms to be provided in the school.³⁶

Government exercises control over Harambe schools at three different points.

First, government requires every proposed Harambe school to have an approved manager. The purpose is to ensure that only competent and responsible persons, groups of people, or corporations are authorized to enter the business of running Harambe schools as entrepreneurs.³⁷

The second control point involves registration of Harambe schools. Once a manager of a proposed Harambe school is approved, an application is made to the Minister of Education for the school to become officially registered. Every registered school is given a number which

remains permanent in the records of the Ministry of Education. However, such registration remains provisional for eighteen months if the Minister of Education is satisfied with the following conditions.

1. The establishment of the school is consistent with the needs of Kenya and the economical and efficient provision of the public.
2. The premises and accommodations are suitable and adequate, having regard to the number, ages, and sex of the pupils who are to attend the school, fulfill the prescribed minimum health and safety standards, and conform with the building regulations in force under any written law.
3. The manager is suitable and a proper person to be the manager of the school.³⁸

Most Harambe schools have been registered without fulfilling all conditions required by the Ministry of Education. Many Harambe schools might not afford to provide adequate premises and accommodations in advance before registration can be granted. In Chapter 3 of this study it was pointed out that in many districts, occupation of primary school premises and accommodation by Harambe schools during the initial periods have been common. Such temporary occupation may become permanent, should Harambe schools

become unable to secure new sites or funds for more buildings. The Education Act 1968 gives the Minister of Education a legal right to deny provisional registration to a Harambe school that fails to meet the necessary requirements. Under such circumstances, the Minister shall inform the person making application, in writing, of the grounds for refusal.³⁹ Though there is a legal basis for closing down or not registering Harambe schools which do not meet stipulated requirements, in some cases officials find it politically wise to yield to local pressures for recognition of a school that hardly meets the established standards. Politicians and even civil servants have to be cautious when dealing with local initiatives for promoting educational development. Politicians, for instance, find it necessary to support the initiatives of local people for a Harambe school in their constituencies. Government control of Harambe schools at this point is thwarted by pressures from both local communities who need a school for their children who fail to secure places in government schools, and politicians whose political careers depend upon the electorate.

The third control point of Harambe schools by the government operates in two ways. First, the Minister of Education makes regulations with respect to the conduct and

management of schools in Kenya. Generally, standards such as the number and qualifications of staff, the sizes of classes, and expenditure of educational material are prescribed by the Ministry of Education. Other regulations may involve the approval of curricula and syllabi, text books and other necessary educational material.⁴⁰ These controls tend to project Harambe schooling as an appendix of the government school system. At this point, however, standards tend to be less emphasized and sometimes not adhered to rigidly in these schools. Naturally, the qualification of teachers is low; class sizes are often not standardized; and the curriculum is mostly academic and irrelevant to the needs of the rural communities. Average Harambe schools may have class sizes larger or smaller than the standard size of 35-40 students in government schools. Harambe schools do not have the choice to determine their own relevant curriculum and syllabus based on the local needs. Government requires that all schools registered with the Ministry of Education adopt a centrally-prepared curriculum. The ultimate goal for such an academic curriculum is to provide an avenue for students in all schools to be rewarded with certificates and diplomas. Harambe schools emulate such a curriculum, and the government

supports the idea that academic achievement of students in poor Harambe schools be measured in terms of their performance on public examinations intended for students in the well-established government and private schools. Performances of students in Harambe schools on public examinations have never been encouraging.

Secondly, the Ministry of Education delegates its powers of inspection of schools to the Province and District Education Officers. These officers are appointees of the Ministry of Education. Under the Education Act 1968, they are authorized to inspect schools in their respective areas at any time with or without notice to the school. They may audit the school accounts, advise management of a school on the process and maintenance of accounting records, and may temporarily remove any books or school records for the purpose of inspection and audit.⁴¹ Public complaints about mismanagement of school funds may call for a ministerial probe. Such a case is illustrated in the following incident. In 1977, the Minister of Education issued a warning regarding the mismanagement of Harambe schools. On July 1, 1977, he issued a circular letter to all Provincial and District Education Officers requesting them to conduct a thorough inspection of all the unaided

schools in their respective areas indicating whether such schools were private or Harambe schools.⁴² A list of areas that were to be emphasized in this kind of inspection is presented in Chapter 3 of this study.

It should be remembered that the authority for governance of Harambe schooling is diffused. Parents, committee members, community, and the government each exert force on the governance of Harambe schools. Each group plays a significant role at different points of governance. Such an interplay of the roles, and the diffusion of powers in the governance of Harambe schools, tends to create a confusion in accountability. Parents, school committees, communities, and the government have legitimate rights to become involved in the affairs of Harambe schooling. The important question posed at the beginning of this section was: To what extent should the powers of governance of Harambe schooling be shared between the local groups and the central government?

Among the possible consequences of the system of governance of Harambe schools as it now exists are:

1. Central government would increase its influence on governance through the policies of assistance to Harambe schools.

2. The increase of government influence on the governance would minimize the power of local communities in the affairs of Harambe schools.
3. Harambe schools would continue to have no defined goals and objectives except to emulate what government schools do.
4. Inequality of educational opportunity would persist as a result of the unequal distribution of economic attributes (material, financial, and personnel) to all institutions in the nation.

Given the status quo and its possible consequences, what can be said about the sharing of authority for governance among the communities, committees, parents and the central government? It will be recalled that the critical question being dealt with here is the determination of that balance of governing authority that preserves local community and parents' interests in and concern for schools, while permitting central government the authority to allocate resources in support of equality of educational opportunity and in support of the nation's needs for development of human resources. The troublesome question, as always, is finding that form of shared power, properly balanced among the competing interests, which maintains

the enthusiasm, caring, and loyalty of the rich and poor citizens, while allowing the government to act in the interests of these citizens.

For instance, if the central government were to reform the examination system, a suggestion examined in detail in the next chapter, it may prove to be a means of enhancing local interest in the schools, even though such a reform would constitute a significant exercise of governmental authority. Government would still regulate and allocate resources and even approve of a curriculum that would strike a balance between the rural community and those who may want to migrate to urban areas.

End Notes

¹D.N. Ndegwa, Report of the Commission of Inquiry, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1971), p. 146.

²Republic of Kenya, The Education Act of 1968, Nairobi.

³Donald Dore, The Diploma Disease, Education Qualification and Development (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), p. 8.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Republic of Kenya, Report of the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies, (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1976), p. 63.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Archibald Callaway, "Identifying and Interpreting the School Leavers' Employment Problem," in The School Leaver in Developing Countries, ed. Peter Williams, (London: University of London Institute of Education, 1976), p. 42.

⁸Beverly Lindsay, John Harris, and Melanie J. Milner, "Women and National Development in Africa," The Western Journal of Black Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1 (March, 1977) p. 55.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Republic of Kenya, The Education Act of 1968, Nairobi.

¹¹Ministry of Education Annual Reports 1976, p. 19.

¹²Ministry of Education, Newsletter, Vol. IV, No. V, Sept./October, 1977.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴C.E. Beeby, The Quality of Education in Developing Countries, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).

¹⁵Philip H. Coombs, The World Educational Crisis, A Systems Analysis, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 179.

¹⁶Francis Cammaerts, "Priorities in the Preparation of Secondary Teachers," in Report on the Supply of Secondary Level Teachers in English Speaking Africa. ed. Fileman F. Indire and John W. Hanson. (East Lansing: Institute for International Studies in Education and The African Studies Center, Michigan, 1971)p. 58.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹John Anderson, "The Organization of Support and the Management of Self-Help Schools: A Case Study from Kenya," in Conflict and Harmony in Education in Tropical Africa, ed. Godfrey N. Brown and Mervyn Hiskett (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd, 1975), p. 380.

²⁰Dunstan, Irere; Judith Heyer and John Moris, Rural Development in Kenya (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971), pp. 49-52.

²¹Ibid., p. 54.

²²Colin, Leys. Underdevelopment in Kenya, The Political Economy of Neo-Colonialism (Berkely: University of California Press, 1975), p. 184.

²³Ibid.

²⁴_____. Employment, Income and Equality, A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya (Geneva: I.L.O., 1972).

²⁵Republic of Kenya, Development Plan 1970-74. (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1974), p. 318.

²⁶Ibid., p. 319.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Edmond J. Keller, "The Role of Self-Help Schools in Education for Development: The Harambe School Movement in Kenya," in What Government Does, ed. Matthew Holden and Dennis L. Dresang. (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1975), p. 215.

²⁹John Anderson, op. cit., p. 380.

³⁰Ibid., p. 381.

³¹Ibid.

³²Edmond J. Keller, op. cit.

³³Anderson, op. cit.

³⁴Ibid., p. 381.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶The Education Act of 1968.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ministry of Education, Newsletter, op. cit.

Chapter 5

ALTERNATIVE POLICY RESPONSES TO THE ISSUES

In searching for "solutions" to the Harambe secondary school "problem," the government and the educational leadership of Kenya will be well advised to acknowledge in their deliberations that the subject extends well beyond questions merely of schooling. The "issue" of the Harambe school is one which may be regarded as encompassing a wide range of concerns. These concerns obviously include those under the general heading "education," but they extend well beyond that basic heading.

The Harambe school is fundamentally an institution of the rural place. In Kenya, as in many other developing nations, the rural place per se is a major source of concern, because rural development tends to lag far behind urban aspects of development. The aspiration for development is nationwide, but its manifestations--tall buildings, paved streets, health facilities, cultural and recreational facilities, factories, television, and many others, including the amenities--are found principally in the urban place, not in the countryside. What may be termed the comprehensive and integrated development of rural Kenya, it may be presumed, is therefore a basic and underlying preoccupation. And the Harambe secondary school, accordingly, may be regarded as one integral component of the problems and the process of rural development.

To the extent that Kenya's government and leadership so regards the Harambe school, several significant thoughts must follow as the logical consequences of perceiving Harambe schools as parts of rural development. For example, a consideration of the Harambe schools' curriculum must be based partly upon ideas regarding the kinds of education that hereafter will be deemed most advantageous for life in the rural place, not for life in urban settings. Similarly, for example, a consideration of possible financial investments in Harambe schools must be based upon budgetary decisions regarding not only the general heading "education" but also the significant heading "rural development." Government might decide that it cannot increase budgetary allocations for "education," yet still be willing to invest further in Harambe schools because of a decision to expand allocations for "rural development."

Comprehensive and integrated rural development-- assuming that to be a major goal for Kenya--presumably implies development of social, cultural, economic, and even political aspects of rural life. It may involve credit systems, technical assistance, improved varieties of crops and livestock, and farm-related commerce. Certainly it must involve the nature, role, objectives, and performance of a secondary school--perhaps a Harambe school--that will purport to serve the residents of a rural town and its surrounding community.

Certainly a rural Harambe school appropriately may offer a program of instruction that might prepare rural youth for entrance into higher education, or for entrance into occupations that will draw some of them away from their rural origins. There is, after all, no reason to presume that the intelligence and talents to be required of future scholars, scientists, and professionals, artists, technicians, or other specialists will be found only in urban settings.

On the other hand, there certainly is every reason to believe that a rural Harambe school appropriately may offer in addition a program of instruction that might prepare rural youth for satisfying and productive lives in the rural place. That the schools do not do so thus far is clear, and that fact is an embarrassment and an error. However, it must be assumed that they can be reoriented so that they will do so in the future. How to accomplish that reorientation is a line of inquiry that merits serious study by government and by scholars.

One may visualize an idealized rural Harambe school of the future. (Or a government secondary school in a rural setting, built upon Harambe origins, perhaps, but now tax-supported). The school offers a college preparatory program. It also offers a diversified program of instruction, oriented to its local rural setting, and therefore,

differently manifested in each zone of the Republic. It may serve a dispersed population, hence be a residential school. Its clinic, needed for the health care of its students, is also constituted perhaps as the community health center, attending at least to matters of adult instruction in nutrition, maternal and child care, and related topics. Its shops contain tools for use in instruction, that are made available with technical assistance to adult members of the community. Its classrooms are sometimes used for courses in adult education, or for meetings of the extension agents with farmers of the surrounding community. Some of its grounds are under cultivation or in alternative uses, so that students participate in practical and productive exercises that are instructive for them and that help to supply the school's dining facilities or even contribute to the school's financial support. The school's library doubles as the community library, the school's other facilities, are employed from time to time for community social, cultural, and recreational activities, and the school in diverse ways is a major center of educational and developmental efforts affecting its own local "rural place."

If the rural secondary school of the future is conceived in such terms as these, whether it is a government school or a community-operated Harambe self-help school, the logic chosen by Kenya to guide "rural development" as well as the logic that guides "education" will need to be applied to the

reconstruction of Harambe secondary education. Perhaps the logic of "manpower and human development" efforts must be added to these considerations, for the nationwide educational system--governmental, private, or Harambe--certainly is a basic part of the social machinery whereby trained manpower is prepared for future productive employment or self-employment in agriculture, commerce, industry, and government, whether in science, arts, crafts, professions, trades, or other categorical designations. If the rural place is to be a satisfying place in which to live and work, and if the rural sector is to supply the nation with well-prepared talented people as well as with raw materials, educational efforts in the rural place will need to be developed far beyond their present state. Because secondary education in the rural place is mainly of the Harambe self-help variety, and because that variety suffers from major and fundamental defects, its reorientation and major renovation appears to be a fundamental and inescapable part of public planning and policies for rural development, manpower development, and educational development also.

Personnel

It was pointed out in Chapter 4 that personnel shortage contributes to critical issues in Harambe schools. Harambe schools find it hard to effect any curriculum change to meet the aspirations of the rural communities because

of the scarcity of well-qualified teachers. An effective program of curriculum change that would reflect the needs of the rural population could be achieved, only when the number of qualified teachers in Harambe schools could be increased beyond the existing level. In the following discussion, some possible policy alternatives that the government could employ to achieve an increase in the amount of qualified teachers for staffing Harambe schools are offered.

Regulate Teachers. The scarcity of qualified teachers for Harambe schools has remained a crucial problem affecting educational expansion. Government has shown its interest in giving Kenyan citizens good education. Parents are concerned about the quality as well as the type of education their children receive in such schools. Nevertheless, due to their limited resources and the limited supply of teachers, parents find themselves employing unqualified teachers in Harambe schools. Teaching positions in such schools undoubtedly remain temporary and even uncertain.

Most unqualified teachers in self-help schools fall basically into three categories. The first group consists of persons who have completed four years of secondary school. They may or may not have passed the East African Certificate of Education (E.A.C.E.) examination by the time they are employed. Many of them may be hired temporarily while

waiting to obtain better job opportunities in the urban areas or to join vocational training programs. Some schools may have more unqualified teachers of this type than qualified ones. The second group consists of Form VI graduates. Harambe schools employ this group soon after they have taken the East African Advanced Certificate of Education (E.A.A.C.E.) examinations. Most students in this category enter university degree programs. However, some do not pass E.A.A.C.E. with scores high enough to enter the university and they may teach in Harambe schools for some time while they await selection into vocational training programs.

The Ministry of Education Annual Report 1976 shows that in 1976 there were approximately 4,554 unqualified teachers working in non-government supported secondary schools in Kenya. Of these unqualified teachers, 2,343 had passed E.A.A.C.E.; 1,377 had passed E.A.C.E.; 71 graduate teachers were without professional training; and there were 66 others.¹ These figures indicate that unqualified teachers comprise somewhat more than 75 percent of all teachers employed in Harambe schools.

It is necessary for government to formulate policy alternatives that would improve the quality of teachers in Harambe schools. Three possible policy alternatives are suggested as follows:

Regulate Hiring Standards. Government could establish a ratio of qualified teachers to unqualified ones in all Harambe schools. For instance, for every qualified teacher there would be no more than two unqualified teachers with E.A.C.E. or three with E.A.A.C.E. diplomas. Schools with high enrollments would, therefore, hire more qualified teachers because they could afford to pay them. Unqualified teachers without either E.A.C.E. or E.A.A.C.E. should not be employed to teach.

Crash Program. A program could be introduced by the Ministry of Education for training all unqualified teachers currently serving in the Harambe schools. Facilities in the Teachers Colleges could be used during vacation periods for this purpose. Lectures in methods of teaching, principles of education, child development, social and cultural studies related to rural development, etc., could be taught to better equip the teachers to face different situations in the Harambe schools. Crash programs could extend for a period of two to three years before diplomas could be awarded to successful teachers. Successful teachers could be graded in the same way that unqualified teachers in government schools are graded after completing in-service programs. Students who enter crash programs with E.A.C.E. qualifications only could spend more time on subject content in the areas of their interest and specialization.

Crash program courses also could be offered during the school term for teachers who can travel to nearby Teachers Colleges for evening or weekends. College tutors could be assigned to specified teacher centers where they could deliver lectures. "Reinforcements" in the form of travel expenses could be paid to college tutors or university lecturers who may volunteer to help upgrade the unqualified teachers in Harambe schools.

Standards of competency among the students who complete such programs would be rather difficult to measure. Nevertheless, perhaps a centralized final examination system could be devised by the Kenya Institute of Education. The Institute's responsibility to develop a curriculum for the crash program could be extended to include the examinations for evaluative process.

In-Service Integrated Program. The Ministry of Education has an intensive in-service teacher education program for unqualified primary school teachers. Teachers are registered for this program by their District Education Officers.

If unqualified Harambe teachers could be integrated into current in-service programs every year for about three to four years, the number of untrained secondary teachers could be reduced and the standards of student

performance in Harambe schools alleviated. This, of course, would depend on other factors such as the availability of equipment and other amenities in the schools.

The curriculum for in-service education would need extensive readjustment. Transformation of the existing curriculum would entail writing new material specifically for training Harambe school teachers for practical subjects.

Restrictive regulations might have to be imposed to motivate all teachers in Harambe schools. Unqualified teachers could be licensed to teach for no more than two or three years without a teaching certificate. During this period, they would be required to undergo training for certification. A teaching license would be revoked for any teacher who fails to enroll in the crash program within the specified duration or does not complete the program. Hiring unlicensed unqualified teachers would be made illegal.

This policy would have two advantages. It would eliminate the tendency to employ unqualified teachers for long periods while paying them less. It would stabilize the employment situation in Harambe schools. Teachers undergoing training would be assured permanent employment at the completion of their programs.

Finance

Financial matters in Harambe schools have been discussed at length in previous chapters. As indicated, the major sources of financial support to Harambe schools are donations, contributions from local communities, and fees from students. In most schools, these do not suffice for the needs of schools located in the economically poor rural areas. Some schools in some districts have to close down when other assistance does not come; others become vulnerable to takeover by private enterprisers for commercial purposes. Some schools deliberately may employ many unqualified and poorly trained teachers to whom they can pay low salaries. All these are disillusion and desparations to local communities who sacrifice to establish such schools.

Poor academic performance is attributed to lack of resources. Four possible actions are outlined below that government might take to alleviate the financial issue and promote equal educational opportunity. Some of these policy alternatives could be implemented on a piece-meal basis, and they could even have a broad effect on the national educational system in general.

Selective Assistance. Two categories of selective assistance could be operated: monetary and non-financial assistance. All the existing Harambe schools could be

accepted as they are, and a ceiling could be put on the establishment of new ones. Conditional and unconditional financial subsidies could be established. This policy would enable government to permit a few new Harambe schools to be built only in areas with established need for more secondary schools to accommodate local primary school graduates. Opening new such secondary schools could be based on successful operation of the existing ones. It has been noticed that in districts with a great thirst for secondary education, rivalry in building Harambe schools is common. In some districts, competition between groups for establishing Harambe schools may be spearheaded by ambitious politicians.²

In recent years, most new government secondary schools actually were started as Harambe schools. Government took them over when they had reached a certain level of quality and completeness and when the founding communities alone could no longer sustain them. Government, thus, was spared the task of diverting its scarce resources into purchasing new school sites and into the construction of new buildings and equipment. Compensation often is overlooked when the government assumes full responsibility for this type of school. The assumption is that the community is being relieved of a heavy future financial burden.

Communities whose Harambe schools are not thus taken over by the government often remain hopeful for some assistance from the government or that a total take-over will occur in the near future.

One alternative to this pattern would be a system of subsidies. Subsidies could work in three ways. First, they presumably would be based on the needs of the Harambe schools. The questions that arise are how the needs of a school would be determined and who would determine them. Both questions could call for government intervention. However, there might be no necessity for government intervention. One uncomplicated method to establish "need" would be to adjudge each school's student enrollments on an established teacher-pupil ratio of perhaps 1:40 (1 teacher per 40 students). A second method would require that school authorities submit annual school budget estimates and financial reports for previous years to a budget and accounting office to determine how the subsidies would be used.

Second, government could base subsidies to Harambe schools on the history of particular schools. For instance, program expansion may be necessary in rural communities where local people need to learn some skills to make them more productive. A school may need a laboratory, library,

or hostel. School authority may apply for a subsidy from government on the basis of the school's previous accomplishments.

Third, a subsidy could be unconditional. Any Harambe school registered under the Education Act 1968 that has children enrolled in the first two forms could be eligible for subsidy. A school may plan how to utilize the subsidy to improve educational quality. Government might expand its auditing staff to include Harambe schools. Government could decide to have a program auditor and a financial auditor for Harambe schools. Auditing performance in Harambe schools would reduce chances for mismanagement of funds. The following are among the advantages of subsidies to Harambe schools:

1. Only established Harambe schools would benefit from such a system.
2. Fees presumably would be lower in Harambe schools because subsidies would cover the cost of major expenses.
3. Poor rural areas could manage to operate their own schools
4. Government would be drawn closer into controlling the quality of education in Harambe schools.

The following are the possible disadvantages of both a conditional and unconditional subsidy:

1. It might unduly increase government control of the self-help effort in rural communities, thereby denying self-determination.
2. It might exacerbate the present condition of inequality in secondary school education. Areas with more and well-established schools would continue to benefit from subsidies, and other areas might fall still further behind.

Loans and Grants. An alternative aid policy would involve loans and grants. Government could authorize local banks to give loans to Harambe schools that are well organized and managed. In some districts, rural communities put up decent buildings for Harambe schools but, after two or three years, they become financially unable to pay teachers' salaries or to maintain and improve the school facilities they have erected. Eventually, they may auction the school to private enterprisers who operate it for commercial purposes. Parents and members of the rural communities become frustrated after putting their resources into such a school project. To salvage the self-help effort, government could authorize banks to accept school property for mortgage. The Harambe school's committee

could receive cash from a bank for teachers' salaries, furniture, water system, library material or improvement of existing premises. Such items often pose problems for Harambe schools in areas where income for average members of society is low. The interest rate on loans to schools that qualify could be lower than for profit-making organizations. Such a system would keep Harambe schools out of government control, yet communities could expand or improve the quality of education to meet local needs. They may want to expand the educational programs to involve the adult members of the community or to orient existing programs more towards self-employment than exclusively to academic subjects.

Another method of financial support could be government grants to recognized Harambe schools. Up to 1968, the Ministry of Local Government in Kenya allocated a significant segment of local government revenue for education in every district. It allocated a block grant annually to local councils which spent a major portion on education.³ Similarly, grants could be established specifically for Harambe schools. Grants could be distributed to Harambe schools directly, through county councils, or through district education boards. Financial and program auditing for Harambe schools would be necessary. Such a procedure

would promote proper record keeping and accountability in Harambe schools.

Non-financial Assistance. Support in the form of non-financial assistance provided from government could include teachers, equipment, or material, and any other goods or services government might choose to offer to Harambe schools to promote the quality and quantity of education they offer.

Qualified teachers are in short supply in all Harambe schools. Government has admitted that the inadequate supply of qualified teachers contributes to the poor academic achievement in rural Harambe schools. During the Development Plan period 1970-1974, government began supplying qualified teachers to a few selected Harambe schools. Another source of teachers consisted of overseas volunteers in Kenya.⁴ The present numbers of qualified teachers in rural Harambe schools are not encouraging. Kenyan government could plan to increase its staffing of Harambe schools. One possibility would be for government to find a source of qualified teachers for Harambe schools. If qualified teachers should not be available locally, overseas volunteer or contract teachers could be recruited for such schools. Government could assume responsibility for paying or subsidizing salaries of all qualified teachers in all Harambe schools.

The Teachers Service Commission would become the sole employer for teachers in government and Harambe schools. Government school teachers could be allowed to transfer to Harambe schools without loss of fringe benefits or annual salary increments.

A second possibility would be for government to develop a plan for supplying Harambe schools with equipment, books, and other necessary supplies for conducting quality educational programs.

Government Direct Support. The Kenya Development Plan 1974-1978 states that the major change of secondary education programs would be a shift from the policy of take-over of Harambe schools (Forms I-IV) to a program of assistance to Forms I-II.⁵ This policy would be quite constructive if it could involve all Harambe schools in the nation. The program of assistance in this context does not commit the government to direct involvement in the operation of Harambe schools, but does supply government assistance to Harambe schools. Government could accept responsibility for all Forms I and II, and then define for parents and members of rural communities their role, in expanding Harambe schools beyond Forms I and II. Government support would be helpful to parents and the communities: for parents, fees would be reduced; schools

would receive necessary supplies; children would get better educational foundations for at least the first two years of secondary school; and, for members of the rural communities, expenses for teachers' salaries, equipment, material, and the maintenance of the physical plant, etc., would no longer be a burden.

Full Take-over. The current inequality in the distribution of secondary school places in Kenya cannot be remedied merely by increasing the number of Harambe schools. Adequate solutions to the problems of unemployed school-leavers have not yet been found. For over a decade, experience has shown that building many Harambe schools helps to create more unemployed school-leavers in the nation. Despite the possible problems, rural communities continue to build Harambe schools. In 1977, for instance, Harambe schools were distributed among the provinces as listed in Table 10.⁶

The number of Harambe schools has grown consistently faster than the number of government schools. Most Kenyan parents send their children to non-governmental schools. If Harambe schools are believed to be qualitatively lower than government schools, and if the standard of education in such schools is comparatively low, then it could be hypothesized that the largest share of Kenyan students must

Table 10

Distribution of Secondary Schools by Province

1976

<u>Province</u>	<u>Government Schools</u>	<u>Harambe Schools</u>
Central	98	226
Nyanza	68	131
Rift Valley	63	73
North Eastern	4	0
Western	52	171
Eastern	75	137
Coast	26	22
Nairobi Extra District Province	26	1

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Report 1976

be receiving low-quality education. Immediate policy alternatives for action would be necessary. One possibility would be full take-over of all Harambe schools by government.

Three possible policy alternatives for government take-over are outlined in the following paragraphs.

Integration. Government could accept all Harambe schools unconditionally as integral parts of the government's secondary school system. Government would then assume full support of such schools and promote them to the level of government schools. Rural communities would be relieved of the financial burden of sustaining Harambe schools. Many Harambe schools possess physical plants that are comparable to most government schools. Therefore, there would be little financial commitment by the government for physical improvement, certainly not as much as it would cost to invest in new construction.

Integration could be done in steps. The first step would involve government financial support to all existing Harambe schools in poor areas in order to boost their standards. Such financial support could be restricted to the improvement of physical facilities and equipment. The second step would involve equal staffing of teachers to all Harambe schools. Teachers could be allowed to move to

schools that need their services. Students also could transfer unconditionally to or from the ex-Harambe schools. The policy that requires students from Harambe schools to seek admission to government schools after completion of Form II and passing K.J.S.E. would be eliminated. Admission could be based on space and on the ability of a student to cope with school work. A third step would be to drop the name Harambe schools and refer only to Government Public Schools. The concept Harambe would be expected to find new expression outside the structure of the educational system. A fourth step would be regulatory. After integration, government could discourage further establishment of Harambe schools. Provinces or districts with few secondary schools could be assisted financially to build additional public schools where needed. The fifth step would be to transform the present curriculum. It could emphasize a secondary education that might be terminal, hence could not be tied exclusively to university or college entrance. The content of a new curriculum would give prominence to practical subjects, cultural studies, science and mathematics, and other subjects that could relate to skills and knowledge that would be relevant to the needs of students and their society.

Integration would not create chaos within the existing secondary education system. One needs to recall

that the present primary school system in Kenya was once privately managed by missionary organizations, social interest groups, and the government. In 1968, it was integrated into a centralized governmental education system. When county councils became incapable of paying primary school teachers' salaries, the Ministry of Education took over that responsibility and created the Teachers Service Commission as the sole employer of all teachers in government schools.⁷ Problems involving salaries, equipment, etc., have been minimized and standards of academic performance improved in both primary and government secondary schools.

. Incorporation with the Primary School System.

Government could choose to incorporate Harambe schools into the present primary school system. Such incorporation would employ both horizontal and vertical expansion.

Horizontal expansion would involve an increase both in number of class places and in the school facilities, especially for increasing enrollments. A primary school that runs one stream of standards I-VII could expand into facilities for Forms I and II to allow many students to be admitted after completing the primary level of education. An incorporated school would have seven primary classes and the first two forms of secondary level education on the same campus.

The purpose of horizontal expansion would be

1. to curtail any further expansion of Harambe schools.
2. to provide nine continuous years of schooling instead of the present seven for many children in the same school.
3. to provide many children with access to schooling within their own districts.

Vertical expansion would involve the addition of extra forms to the existing ones, beyond Form II level. It would be possible to break the school levels in three components on the same campus: the primary component, standards I to VII; junior secondary or intermediate component, Forms I to III; and the senior secondary component, Forms IV to VI.

The roles of parents, communities and the government would be altered once Harambe and primary schools have been incorporated into one system of education. Parents and communities would be responsible for building more classrooms and teachers' houses and for maintaining school campuses. Public primary schools generally are constructed by local communities, whereas government supplies teachers and teaching materials.⁸ Government could continue to perform its present roles: supply teachers and equipment, supervise, and regulate standards. Government also would

render advisory services to the incorporated schools. This would be one way to ensure that standards of performance at any level of schooling would not deteriorate.

Restructure Harambe Schools and School Finance under Local Government. Resource acquisition and utilization in Harambe schools is a major problem that threatens the quality of education in such institutions. Several methods of acquiring financial and other support for maintenance of Harambe schools were identified in the previous chapter. One solution for Harambe schools could be found by focusing attention on the roles of local people, local government, and the central government. Centralization of financial control for Harambe schools could be one way of coordinating all parties involved. District Education Boards (D.E.B.) could be empowered to shoulder financial responsibilities. Board control could involve regulation of fees charged, auditing all financial records, application for grants from the central government and the distribution of such grants to needy Harambe schools, and the establishment of salary guidelines for teachers in Harambe schools.

Before Kenya's independence in 1963, each D.E.B. had a wide range of powers over primary education. Under the chairmanship of District Commissioners, and with District Education Officers serving as secretaries and executive

officers, the boards were empowered to prepare estimates for submission to the county councils and the Director of Education, to receive subventions from central government and local authorities, and to plan for new school development. The D.E.B. had two other significant roles. First, each D.E.B. was a link between the central government and local authorities in matters related to education. Second, the D.E.B. was advisory, designed to give its local community some means of expressing an opinion on educational issues.⁹ The D.E.B. now might be assigned similar roles and powers over Harambe secondary schools.

A second alternative policy would call for the establishment of an educational tax levy in every district. County councils could be authorized to establish a mechanism through which such taxes could be collected. The levy could be a flat rate that poor rural communities could afford to pay, or might be based on the income of eligible tax payers in districts. However, each D.E.B. still could be empowered to assume the role of overseers. They could audit and control the financial expenditures in Harambe schools. The D.E.B. could be empowered to control the uneconomical expansion of small Harambe schools too close together. They could authorize the establishment of new schools in areas with need and resources.

Such a policy would be an advantage to rural communities, parents, and students. The chances of closing down a school due to insufficient resources would be minimized. The D.E.B. as a link between local authorities and the central government would ensure that schools offer the public what would be necessary and relevant. The D.E.B. would control the temptation of individuals or interest groups to use Harambe schools for personal gain or profit-making.

Harambe secondary schools could be designated D.E.B. secondary schools, under the direct control and supervision of the local government in every district.

Governance

The governance of Harambe schooling now is shared by local communities, school committees, parents and the central government. The powers of governance of such schools are diffused. The question asked in Chapter 4 was: To what extent should the governance of Harambe schooling be shared among the local communities, school committees, parents, and the central government? The response to this question is given in this section under three different alternatives that could be taken by the government.

Moratorium. Government could create a moratorium on the creation of Harambe schools. No more could be established within a specified period of time. The existing schools

could be required to terminate at Form II level. K.J.S.E. could be retained as a terminal examination for all students who attain Form II level. A certain percent of students from Harambe schools could be permitted to enter government secondary schools at Form III. Admission would be unconditional so that students could have the option to select the type of schools they would prefer.

Under a moratorium, communities could be allowed to improve or expand the existing Harambe schools horizontally into double or triple streams. This would make room so that many students who complete primary education could continue with secondary education.

A moratorium on Harambe schools could have many consequences. For instance, many students with the two-year post-primary education still would remain unemployed in the rural areas. At age sixteen, students would still be too young for self-employment. Resistance to such a policy would come from parents and students who would be cut off at the end of Form II. A moratorium could create a good atmosphere for exploitation by poorly-run commercial colleges that may be expected to spring up to cater to unemployed youths in the rural areas.

One alternative solution for massive numbers of unemployed post-primary school youth could be to improve

and expand informal education programs. Programs in the Kenya National Youth Service (K.N.Y.S.), Kenya Harambe Institutes of Technology, Village Polytechnics, and Industrial and Vocational Training Centers could be recognized as integral parts of the government education programs. Direct governmental control over all vocational education in the nation would be necessary. Such programs could be reorganized to become more relevant to the needs of the people and the nation. A reorganization could include the expansion of facilities and personnel. Students could be encouraged to move to vocational and technical centers where they could spend two to three years beyond Harambe secondary education.

Yet another alternative would be to increase the number of Form III places in existing government schools. Students who complete two years in Harambe schools would then have the broader option, to join either Form III or the vocational and technical training centers.

Consolidation. Small Harambe schools could be grouped together into larger school units with specific objectives. To implement such a policy would require efforts from parents, communities, and the Ministry of Education which would necessarily serve as coordinator.

In districts with large populations, it is common to encounter three or four small Harambe schools with enroll-

ments ranging from two to three hundred students, or even fewer, within the radius of one mile. Many such schools were promoted on religious grounds or by local interest groups. Planning of such schools is both uneconomical and haphazard. They are uneconomical because they fail to raise enough resources to provide good quality education to their students. Others tend to exploit parents and communities in the poor rural areas. An examination of such small scattered schools reveals that they charge high fees compared to government schools.¹⁰ Many Harambe schools which operate in a competitive atmosphere fail to serve their legitimate purpose.

Small Harambe schools existing in close proximity within the same location or community could be consolidated into larger and more comprehensive school units. Geographic location of such schools within a district could be considered in consolidating schools in areas with poor transportation, scarcity of water supply, and limited medical centers, etc.

Many poor districts are among those with inadequate government schools. They also have fewer Harambe schools compared to other parts of the nation. In such areas, consolidating Harambe schools would not solve their problem. It would be inconvenient to consolidate the two or three

scattered Harambe schools that may exist. In such situations, comprehensive schools would be a better alternative than consolidation. One or two Harambe schools could be expanded to accommodate many students within the district. Poor districts inhabited by pastoral tribes would be served better with a comprehensive school which offers many varied programs that meet the needs of such areas.

In more prosperous districts, with many Harambe schools and students, consolidation would be an economical plan. There, Harambe schools could be consolidated into a few large school units. A location with eight to ten schools, for instance, could group them into a few large units, using geographic factors to determine the pattern of consolidation. Enrollment in the primary schools within a district could influence the process: high enrollment in its primary schools would indicate probable high demand for secondary education. Expansion of Harambe school places would be inevitable should demand for secondary education increase in such districts.

Consolidation of Harambe schools would affect school committees drastically. Committees responsible for the operation of various Harambe schools could be merged into large school boards with more powers and responsibilities. The survival of Harambe schools always depends on the

influence of members of school committees. Their loyalty is instrumental for promoting the growth of such schools. Merging various school committees could be one way to retain influential members and transfer their loyalties to the new school unit. Some of the powers of the new school committee or board would be;

1. Formulating policies for the schools.
2. Setting school goals and objectives.
3. Determining curriculum and program of study.
4. Control and management of school finances.
5. Representing school management on the District Education Board.

These powers could be tentative. Each school unit would determine how powers could be shared based on local conditions and such factors as the national educational development plans and government's policies with regard to educational expansion.

The policy of consolidation could have advantages for both rural communities and the government. First, government would assume responsibility for supplying required teachers. Teacher shortage is a major obstacle in the achievement of quality educational standards among Harambe schools. It is a problem in many other African countries, too. The services of expatriate teachers have

become indispensable. Robert D. Loken (1969) states that a stop-gap has been used by some countries with considerable success: many university graduates are employed in government offices and other similar institutions; it is sometimes possible to permit some of them to teach one or two hours each day. Although this plan imposes hardships on both sides, it provides a temporary solution to the problem.¹¹ Such expedients could be employed by government to relieve the manpower shortage in Harambe schools.

One basic aim of large and comprehensive school units is economic. Large school units could offer varied and better programs to many students under one roof. The few specialized teachers would be used to teach many students. Qualified teachers in mathematics, sciences, and practical subjects could be used to train unqualified ones. Programs could be developed to meet the needs of teachers who need to increase their competency on the job.

Administratively consolidated school units could be much cheaper than the existing small Harambe schools which cannot afford the salary of a qualified director.

Large school units could reduce the temptation of course duplication. Harambe schools are often accused of doing wrongly whatever they imitate from government schools. This is true, especially with their limited resources.

Girls do not benefit much in Harambe schools. Most girls who attend Harambe schools may not be interested in urban employment. Other girls may have no hope of entering salaried jobs out of their home villages. The entire life of such girls would be in the rural areas. Small Harambe schools do not have the ability to offer balanced curricula that could enrich the aspiration of girls in Kenya. Home Science, for example, is rarely taught due to the scarcity of qualified women teachers and, where it could be introduced, facilities may not be adequate. The few women teachers available prefer to work in government schools or in other jobs with higher salaries and improved terms of service.¹² By consolidating schools, curricular expansion would be restricted to selected schools with enough facilities for Home Economics/Science or Nutrition which would be ideal to accommodate programs for girls. Students would choose a school which offers programs that interest them, knowing how much would be required of them.

This policy would impose some limitations on the process of development. First, it would pull government into direct participation in self-help activities. It was mentioned earlier that government would be responsible for manpower supply, grants for improvement and regular maintenance, advisory services, and regulatory tasks for self-

help schools. However, participations by government could be a deterrent to self-help. Second, such schools could end up producing more school-leavers than there are job market opportunities available. Maybe self-employment could be emphasized in the curriculum.

Quotas. An alternative policy would be to introduce a quota system for Harambe schools. Two types of quotas would be needed.

1. A district quota. Some districts now have more secondary schools than others, largely because they could afford to establish many Harambe schools. Predominantly day schools, it is difficult for students from other districts to attend these even when space is available. The existing imbalance in the distribution of secondary school opportunities could be remedied by allocating a quota for Harambe schools to each district in the nation.

The idea of district quotas presupposes, however, the essential incorporation of Harambe schools within the government secondary school system. Assistance could be given to poor Harambe schools for improvement of facilities and equipment. Once absorbed into the government school system, Harambe schools could be required to operate at Forms I to IV levels only.

Second, regulations could be introduced limiting the expansion of existing Harambe schools. Such regulations would also prohibit their further random establishment in the rural areas. Not all Harambe schools fulfill the needs of the communities that initiate them. Some schools produce negative results and Kenya's government, naturally, is well aware of the fate of a majority of the students who attend them. Essentially, however, government has limited its regulatory authority to its own schools. For instance, government schools contemplating expansion of programs must seek approval from the Ministry of Education.

The Ministry of Education could carry out a needs assessment in every province to determine where more secondary schools would be needed. Quotas could be allocated based on each district's needs. Districts with many school-age children but scarce secondary school spaces could be authorized to establish new Harambe schools during a specified period. "Need" for secondary schools might be based on the number of primary schools in a district and the overall enrollment in grade seven. Distribution of secondary schools often overlooks local needs and student population. It is common to find areas within a radius of twelve miles in some districts without a secondary school, but it also is possible to find two or more

secondary schools clustered within short distances in some wealthy districts. District quotas could reduce imbalances and, at the same time, encourage poor districts to progress at normal rates in establishing Harambe secondary schools.

2. Local quotas. A rural community that plans to establish a new Harambe school could make application to a District Education Officer. The District Education Officer would examine the application and make final recommendations based on the proposed site of the school, sources for revenue, and other essential resources for running the school once it is established. A locality that exhausts its quota may not be authorized to establish more schools.

Economically, some rural areas can initiate and support a school without external aid. Other communities may not be able to put up a decent teachers' house or classrooms. Areas with truly limited resources may not provide enough secondary schools for their children even if the quota system permits. This fact raises the question of what would become of such areas. If ignored or left to struggle on their own without government intervention, their future is bleak.

Major questions arise with the quota policy plan. Could quotas involve direct government assistance to Harambe schools? If so, how would self-help effort among rural

communities be affected? Quotas with assistance would be advantageous for both rich and poor rural areas. First, poor communities in need could start building their Harambe school with the assurance of later assistance from government. Such areas would have the option to start whenever they feel able and ready. Second, competition for establishing Harambe secondary schools among wealthy rural communities would be limited. Their self-help efforts could be channelled to the establishment of few and well-equipped schools that could fulfill the needs of rural communities. It would be possible for wealthy areas to expand the existing Harambe schools instead of establishing new ones close together.

Quotas without assistance could reduce the numbers of Harambe schools to be established in any district within a period of time. Any such school built in excess of the quota could be denied registration by the Ministry of Education under the Education Act 1968.¹³

Curriculum

The standard secondary school curriculum is applied in Harambe schools essentially as it is in government secondary schools. That curriculum is susceptible to the charges that it is excessively traditional, academic and bookish. It is held to be excessively oriented toward

preparation for entrance into competitive nationwide examinations and insufficiently oriented to those aspects of life style and work that are characteristic of rural Kenya.

Parallel curricula exist, and these are oriented toward agricultural and other vocational subjects. However, such curricula are offered in the very few agricultural and technical schools or other vocational schools in the nation. Youngsters in Harambe schools are relatively untouched by those alternative and parallel curricula.

Chapter 3 contains a detailed account of the route Harambe school students now must take to enter the curriculum offered in vocational or agricultural schools. The Harambe schools only prepare their students to pass public examinations. In Chapter 4 the question was raised whether the curriculum in Harambe schools should be similar to that of government schools. This question called for an examination of existing issues in the curriculum adopted in Harambe schools. Issues examined were poor academic preparation, high rate of failures on the public examinations, and lack of preparation in skills for employment in the rural and urban areas. These issues form a basis for contemplating possible alternatives for action by the government.

If the curriculum were to be redesigned with a focus on the needs of students and of local communities in rural

areas, then the pattern of evaluating students' achievement and competencies would have to be reformed. Some possible reform alternatives in the examination system are discussed in this section.

Reform the Examination System. The effects of present achievement tests on schools and society cannot be over-emphasized. Effects such as student repetition of classes, cramming facts for passing examinations, and narrowing the curriculum to examinable subjects, are apparent. A reform in the examination system would be a necessary and rational step to be taken.

First, separate evaluative systems for Harambe and government schools could be designed. Aptitude tests could be used instead of the popular attainment examinations.

Second, examinations could be decentralized. Examination centers could be developed and staffed by qualified personnel in every province or district. When students might be ready to take the examination, they could do so at any nearby center. This system could provide incentives for teachers to teach subject matters that would be relevant to the needs of local areas and not just to passing examinations. It would also encourage students to master necessary skills, instead of merely concentrating on examination subjects.

Other alternatives have been proposed by Ronald Dore (1975) and John Anderson (1975). For instance, Dore has suggested encapsulated tests that could be based specifically on the field of study.¹⁴ Such tests could be arranged yearly for different areas of study in different school units. Records could be kept of the individual students' performance on every test taken each year. At the appropriate time, the students' records could be aggregated and a final certificate could be awarded indicating completion of all specifics of a planned program of study.

Several advantages are envisaged in such a system. First, it could allow economically poor students to suspend studies temporarily to take up jobs, and then to resume schooling whenever they could be ready. Second, it could allow academically weak or slow students to seek assistance from teachers on an individualized basis before they take encapsulated tests. Teachers could have the opportunity to counsel students to make study choices based on students' needs and ability. Third, memorization of facts for passing examinations could be discouraged. Fourth, teachers would be discouraged to teach for examinations. Teachers would focus on the needs of students and relevancy of the syllabus to rural communities. Fifth, students could transfer to any school and take the test at particular times of the year.

Anderson has proposed a scheme of "phasing out." Instead of giving students final examinations which end school and start employment, an alternative method would be to build up a record of students' work ranging from the assessment of long term practical tasks to a series of standardized aptitude tests.¹⁵ Students' work could be evaluated by teachers whenever and wherever it is done and not restricted to classroom or schools. Projects on farm production or nutrition of farm animals, for example, cannot be evaluated in classrooms only. Projects on home-making and nutrition would need constant follow-up. Records of work accomplished in such areas could be kept over a period of one year before final evaluation could be made.

Need for Policy Alternatives

Previous sections contain references to problems which have been encountered in the process of establishing and maintaining the mushrooming Harambe secondary schools in the Republic of Kenya. With these problems in mind, along with national goals and other pertinent information, it becomes possible to make some conclusive comments on the Harambe school situation and what might be done about it in the future. Lack of adequate qualified teachers, insufficient resources, and a curriculum that is unrelated to the needs and aspirations of rural people, for example, do not

give grounds for optimism that the goals of the communities who built these schools are being met now or that they will be met in the future. If the situation is to be remedied, therefore, some form of government intervention is needed.

In the Development Plan period 1970-1974, the Government of Kenya expressed its expectations for Harambe schools. Harambe schools were expected to peak and thereafter to decline, not to expand, in number and in enrollments. This assumption was based on the expectation that explicit prohibitive factors would deter rapid expansion of Harambe schools within the period 1970-74. The government assumed: that many areas had sufficient numbers of Harambe school facilities; that many communities would be discouraged from opening more Harambe schools because of the expense involved; and, with the high volume of secondary school students, that employment opportunities for the average school leaver would decline sharply. The government also thought that economic motivation for acquiring secondary education had diminished. All these factors made the government expect no more than a slow increase in the near-term enrollments in Harambe schools. The enrollments were expected to increase only from 45,000 to 50,000 within the period 1970-74. Instead, however, by the end of this period, the enrollments in all unaided schools already had

grown to about 93,000; at the time, enrollment reached about 95,000 in government aided schools.¹⁶

During the period 1974-78, the enrollments in unaided schools were increasing even faster. More Harambe schools got started in the rural areas. By the end of 1976, the enrollments were about 160,806 in unaided schools and approximately 109,751 in government schools.¹⁷ The trend of starting Harambe schools has continued and seems likely to persist.

Government promised (a) to assist Harambe schools in ways that would enable them to improve the quality and efficiency of the education they provide, and (b) to pursue a policy of consolidating such schools, so that instead of scattered and numerous Harambe schools close together, large units would emerge. Assistance from the government has not been sufficient for the great number of Harambe schools in the country. Their standards are still low, yet still more schools are being established.

Keller (1975) found that the Harambe school movement exacerbated inequalities in educational opportunity in several discernible ways. The education system perpetuated a form of elitism whereby only a selected few were rewarded. The prestige accorded a Harambe school education was negligible. Even the majority of those who got through the Harambe schools

were looked upon as failures. The better education one is exposed to, the better are his chances for future success. The mass of people looked at education as a right, and the government encouraged them to do so. In reality, however, the fruits of education were for a chosen few.¹⁸

Government encourages people to build schools in their communities on a self-help basis. Only those communities which can meet government standards have their schools taken over by government or receive significant assistance from the government. Thus to reward communities based on their ability to establish better schools may be regarded as a form of inequality. Economically prosperous areas inherently are more able than the others to build better schools, employ more of the qualified teachers, and furnish their schools adequately. Academic performance in their schools is predictably higher than in Harambe schools of poor communities. Government policy and action do not equalize them.

Inequalities can also exist within communities. Contributions for establishing Harambe schools cut across the poor and rich members of the communities. Fees in Harambe schools are generally high as compared with those of government schools. Fees in Harambe schools may be as high as \$120 compared with \$65 for government boarding

schools and only \$28 in government day schools. In progressive areas, school fees and donations appear to be the largest charge against most families. In other areas of the country, children from homes where parents find it hard to afford fees may remain out of school for one or two quarters, until some money becomes available, thereby stretching their educational years. Some youngsters remain home after attending school for part of the year, and others drop out completely.

Studies by Kinyanjui and Shepard indicated that a Harambe school student experiences more difficulty in finding employment after he has left school than does his counterpart from government schools. Evidence presented by Kinyanjui and his associate shows that the labor market is biased against students from Harambe schools, regardless of their examination results. What employers look for is the "educational background" of each student. The Harambe school student is believed to have a comparatively low educational background, based on the real or presumed quality of the school attended.¹⁹ Generally speaking, of course, the employers are correct in that belief.

Thus there are two separate but related problems present. One is that of unequal educational opportunity, the Harambe school being adversely compared to the public

governmental school. The other is that of unequal employment opportunity, a Harambe school graduate being compared adversely with the government school graduate. The Government of Kenya presumably is interested in equalizing matters in both respects.

There are alternatives of policy and action that the Kenya government could employ in efforts to solve the recurrent problems arising from the multiplication of Harambe schools in rural areas. Several possible alternatives have been discussed in the previous chapters.

Some of the strategies that were tried successfully during the pre-independence period in Kenya's history, for example, might be considered once again. For instance, District Councils were authorized by the central government to levy taxes which could be used for social services including primary education. Each District Education Board (D.E.B.) had power to authorize the opening of new primary schools in communities that had need for them, and also had authority, through the District Education Officers, to close any poorly-functioning primary schools in the district.

End Notes

¹Kenya Government, Ministry of Education Annual Report 1976 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1976), pp. 58-59.

²Edmond J. Keller, "Harambe Educational Policy, Inequality and the Political Economy of Rural Community Self-Help in Kenya," Journal of African Studies, Vol. 19, 1976, p. 98.

³Gray L. Cowan, The Cost of Learning, The Politics of Primary Education in Kenya, (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1970), p. 68.

⁴Republic of Kenya, Development Plan 1970-74, (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1970), p. 460.

⁵Republic of Kenya, Development Plan 1974-78, (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1974), p. 40.

⁶Ministry of Education, Newsletter Vol. 4, No. 5 (Sept./Oct. 1977), p. 8.

⁷Gray L. Cowan, op. cit., p. 70.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Edmond J. Keller, op. cit.

¹¹Robert D. Loken, Manpower Development in Africa, (Washington: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1969), p. 63.

¹²Gordon S. Bessey, A Study of Curriculum Development in Kenya, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1972), p. 55.

¹³Republic of Kenya, The Education Act 1968, Nairobi.

¹⁴Ronald Dore, The Diploma Disease, Education Qualification and Development, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975), p. 159.

¹⁵John Anderson, "What Can Schools Do About the Unemployed School Leaver?" in The School-Leaver in Developing Countries, ed. Peter Williams, (London: University of London Institute of Education, 1976), p. 54.

¹⁶Republic of Kenya, Development Plan 1970-1974, (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1970), p. 68.

¹⁷Ministry of Education Annual Report 1976, p. 43.

¹⁸E.R. Keller, "The Role of Self-Help Schools in Education for Development: The Harambe Movement in Kenya," in What Government Does, ed. Matthew Holden, Jr. and Dennis L. Dresang (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1975), p. 226.

¹⁹K. Kinyanjui, "Education Training and Employment of Secondary School Leavers in Kenya," in Education, Society and Development, ed. David Court and Dharam L. Ghai, (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 60.

Chapter 6

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

Governmental policy and actions now employed actually might be construed as tending to create much disappointment and disillusion, it may be noted. Government policy has been to "take over" relatively mature and well-developed Harambe secondary schools, and to turn them into regular government-supported, government-operated schools. By so doing, to be sure, the government applauds the self-help efforts of the "founding fathers" of the Harambe school being taken over, and it commends and recognizes the resulting quality of their work. It also relieves the local community of the substantial burden involved in the continuing support of a secondary school of reasonable quality.

On the other hand, the very act of the applause and the takeover also effectively deprives the founding community of a local asset. The chairman of the Harambe school committee, for example, who lives only a few meters

down the road from the school, may have children who are reaching secondary school age. If they and other children of the neighborhood do not score sufficiently well on the standard nationwide C. P. E. examinations (taken during the final year of primary education), those children may not be admitted as students in the secondary school their parents conceived and built. Thus the "reward" for a community's self-help, Harambe endeavor - i. e., a government takeover to relieve the community of a burden - may be simultaneously a source of disappointment, disillusion, and frustration. It is a bitter-sweet reward, obviously.

For such reasons, it is a moot point, accordingly, from the point of view of public policy for the Government of Kenya, whether the Harambe secondary school genuinely can be regarded as anything more than a temporary phenomenon, a stop-gap device acceptable for the moment but not a realistic or acceptable idea for the longer run of national development. Difficulties inherent in the Harambe secondary schools are serious and profound. They do tap the well of the cherished and deep-rooted self-help tradition and heritage of tribal cultures of Kenya, and they do constitute an effective temporary expedient whereby to satisfy the

urge of Kenyan parents that their children shall receive more than a primary school education.

However, the Harambe schools exacerbate the shortage of qualified teachers and other educational personnel, for they do not contribute to the preparation of such personnel. By concentrating on an ostensibly college- or university-bound course of study, when in fact their graduates rarely are enabled to enroll in a college or university, the Harambe secondary school probably can be said fairly to be building a source of present and future dissatisfaction. The schools' graduates have little chance to proceed to university-level study; they are ill-prepared, and possibly have been taught to be disinclined to accept the prospects for living and working in the rural place in which they have grown and been educated.

In the short run, it is clear, the condition of Harambe secondary schools may be assisted in various ways by appropriate policies and actions of government. Some forms of governmental monitoring, supervision, advice, or assistance could prove to be useful. Some degree of consolidation of small and nearby schools within confined areas might be useful. Fundamental improvement in these secondary schools, however, would appear to be contingent

upon basic improvements in the conditions affecting all of secondary education, and it appears to be likely that such improvements will affect the government-operated schools before they can be made extensive to the Harambe secondary schools. Basic improvement, in this sense, is intended to mean (a) an increase in the availability of well-prepared educational personnel seriously attracted to careers in education and (b) a revision in secondary school curriculum (and in public attitudes related thereto), such that rural and occupational aspects of education are elevated to dignified status fully equal to that assigned parallel urban and college-preparatory components of secondary education.

One must assume, moreover, that the Government of Kenya intends to adopt policies and to take actions that will be conducive, not in the short run alone, but for the long pull into the future, to basic, fundamental, and substantive improvement along lines that may legitimately be termed those of "development". Development, furthermore, in all major respects, including educational development, rural development, and national development in social, cultural, and economic respects, must be presumed to be the government's underlying aspiration.

The self-help "Harambe" initiatives of rural communities, the initiatives of the private sector, and the initiatives

of government all presumably are relied upon for contributions to the several aspects of development. In a developing nation, government's concern is to stimulate and orchestrate the various sets of initiatives so that maximum utility is derived from all of the limited resources that are available.

Evidence presented in this paper suggests several conclusions. One is that secondary education in Kenya is oriented excessively to bookish and academic lines of study, and that the system of standardized, competitive, nationwide examinations reflects, encourages, and disadvantageously exaggerates that orientation. Another is that the Harambe secondary school, following the established orientation, is a weak and non-competitive imitation of the government's secondary schools; i.e., that the Harambe school is not effective and, in general, of limited value, as an additional college-preparatory instrument of education. Parental aspirations as well as the examination system have the effect, unfortunately, of encouraging or requiring Harambe schools to persist in their predictably unsuccessful attempts to act as college-preparatory institutions. A third conclusion is that Kenyan secondary schools--whether governmental or Harambe--strongly tend to emphasize urban rather than

rural aspects of living and of employment. Given that the bulk of the Republic's population is rural, and presumably will continue to be rural, that characteristic of secondary education may be regarded as being to some substantial extent out of harmony with the developmental requirements of the nation. A case clearly can be made in defense of the academic and urban orientation of some portion of the secondary school system, but that case cannot effectively be extended to include the Harambe secondary school as well as the essentially superior governmental school.

The conclusion, therefore, emerges that the Harambe secondary school effort, as presently conducted and oriented, consumes more attention, effort, and resources than its services to society justify investing. As it stands, the Harambe school effort appears to prepare adolescents for entry into society at age 18 or 19 who have been encouraged to anticipate urban living and further education. Their road to further education is blocked, however, because their preparation to date has not been of a quality that enables them to compete successfully in the examination system. Their road to urban living, furthermore, also is blocked because their preparation

to date has not been of a character that enables them to compete successfully in the urban employment market.

Evidence presented in this dissertation suggests further that neither government secondary schools nor Harambe secondary schools now address significant attention, effort, or resources to other important matters, specifically to rural rather than urban living, and to employment rather than to further study. Most secondary school students will live in the rural place. Most secondary school students will not continue on the road toward university education. For most secondary school students, accordingly, a secondary education oriented toward rural living and employment presumably would be highly functional. Present secondary education, oriented as it is toward urban living and higher education, presumably may not be.

At least the outlines of a general posture that might be adopted regarding the Harambe school, if not the details of comprehensive public policy on that matter, may be seen in the evidence cited and in the several conclusions thus drawn. There is a need in Kenya for education beyond the primary school. For most young Kenyans, both primary and secondary education, in order to be functional for them and for their society, presumably should emphasize orientation to and preparation for

employment (including self-employment) opportunities in those developing rural areas. This being so, it would appear to be highly desirable that the orientation and conduct of Harambe secondary school education be modified accordingly.

An orientation toward "rural life and employment" naturally may include some degree of attention to agriculture, viewed in its complexity as a trade or craft, an applied science, a business, and a producer of raw material for industrial processes. It also may include some degree of attention to a wide range of farm and non-farm crafts, trades, businesses, services, and problems that now do--or in the future will--provide employment opportunities in rural areas of Kenya. Technical, industrial, clerical, and commercial skills and talents are required in rural employments just as they are in urban occupations. The terms "agribusiness" and "agroindustry" represent numerous and varied enterprises, technologies, and employments, many of which necessarily are made available in rural settings close to the source of agricultural produce.

If reoriented toward rural life and related employments or pursuits, it can be maintained, the Harambe secondary

school would chart new directions in Kenyan education, would develop a unique and necessary role in Kenyan society and education, would cease to compete unsuccessfully with the established variety of governmental secondary schools, would provide a satisfying outlet for releasing the energies of the Harambe self-help tradition, and would become a productive and functional component of the forces at work in favor of educational, rural, and national development in Kenya. The national government would be justified in deciding to invest technical, professional, material, and financial resources in this line of development of the Harambe secondary school.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The preceding chapters of this study addressed critical issues that are prevalent in Harambe schooling. Policy alternatives that could be employed by the government in dealing with Harambe schooling were examined at great length. Policy alternatives that require the reformation of examination systems, for instance, are quite broad and undoubtedly would touch on the whole structure of curriculum and the system of education in general. Policy alternatives that focus on governance of Harambe schools would impinge on various interests that form part of the Harambe cultural heritage.

The problems and issues discussed in this study are summarized in the form of recommendations in this section. These recommendations are made in the areas of curriculum, governance, finance, and personnel.

Changes in Educational Policy on Curriculum

Changes in the educational policy on curriculum would be expedient and necessary in alleviating the problems of self-help education. It is recommended that:

1. A special and separate curriculum for Harambe schools be established. Such a curriculum would address specifically the needs of the students in the rural areas. Emphasis in the programs in such a curriculum should be on the teaching of practical subjects, mathematics, and work ethics to the youths.

2. The present examination system should be reformed. A decentralized examination system could be adopted. Evaluation of students' competencies would be based on work completed rather than annual public examination systems.

3. Evaluation of students' work by teachers should be emphasized for promotion or transfers of students from one institution to another.

4. Harambe school curriculum should constitute programs of rural development. Such programs would focus on the needs of adult populations in the rural areas.

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

6. The modern methods of teaching adult members be introduced and teachers be instructed in the use of the new techniques. Harambe schools' facilities could be used for teaching the rural adult learners.

7. Programs in Harambe schools could be made flexible enough to use local material, ideas from students, and communities at large, the teachers and other personnel that could be obtained for promoting the achievement of the intended objectives.

Policy Recommendation on Personnel

Personnel has been identified as one of the crucial problems affecting performance in Harambe schools. Recommendations for curriculum change cannot be implemented without competent personnel. It is recommended that:

1. All unqualified teachers should be licensed by the Ministry of Education for two to three years.

2. Special programs for training the unqualified teachers in the Harambe schools should be undertaken by the Kenya Institute of Education with the collaboration of the University of Nairobi and Kenyatta University College.

3. Successful candidates be awarded diplomas for teaching in Harambe schools. Such diplomas would indicate what area a candidate would be competent to teach in Harambe schools based on a reformed syllabus.

Policy Recommendations on Finance

1. Government should increase the assistance to Harambe schools to 65 percent of the operating costs.

2. Government assistance should be allocated to all registered Harambe schools. Such assistance should not involve complete take-over.

3. D.E.B.s should be empowered to advise and audit Harambe school programs.

Policy Recommendations on Governance

1. Government should encourage voluntary consolidation of small Harambe schools into large school units.

2. Local communities, committees, and parents should retain full direct control over the Harambe schools, but government could also exercise indirect control.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. BOOKS

- Adams, Don and Bjork, Robert. Education in Developing Areas. New York: David McKay Company, Inc, 1975.
- Adamson, Joy. The Peoples of Kenya. New York: Harcourt Brace and World, Inc., 1967.
- Anderson, John. The Struggle for the School. London: Longmans, Ltd., 1970.
- Anderson, John. Organization and Financing of Self-Help Education in Kenya. U.N.E.S.C.O., H.E.P., 1973.
- Anderson, John. "Organization and Management of Self-Help Schools," in Conflict and Harmony in Education in Tropical Africa, ed. Brown, N. et.al. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1973.
- Beeby, C.E. The Quality of Education in Developing Countries. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Brownstein, L. Education and Development in Rural Kenya, A Study of Primary School Graduates. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972.
- Cameron, John. The Development of Education in East Africa. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1970.
- Castle, E.B. Growing Up in East Africa. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Castle, E.B. Education for Self-Help: New Strategies for Developing Countries. London: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Cowan, Gray L. The Cost of Learning, The Politics of Primary Education in Kenya. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1970.

- D'Aeth, Richard. Education and Development in Third World. Westmead: Saxon House, D.C. Heath, Ltd, 1975.
- Diejomaoh, V.P., and Shifffield, J.R. Non-Formal Education in African Development. New York: African American Institute, United Nations Plaza, 1972.
- Dore, Donald. The Diploma Disease, Education Qualifications and Development. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975.
- Du Pre, Carole E. The Luo of Kenya, Annotated Bibliography. Washington, DC: I.C.R. Studies, 1968.
- Furley, D.W. and Watson, T. A History of Education in East Africa. New York: Nok Publishers, 1978.
- Griffiths, L.C. "Education for Rural Development" in Revolution by Education, ed. Resnick, N.I. Arusha: Longmans of Tanzania, 1968.
- Hapgood, D. Africa: From Independence to Tomorrow. New York: Atheneum, 1965.
- Harlow, V., Chilver, E.M. and Smith, A. A History of East Africa. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.
- Hayer, J., Ireri, D., and Morris, J. Rural Development in Kenya. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971.
- Heyman, R.D., Lawson, R.F., and Stamp, R.M. Studies in Educational Change. Montreal: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Ltd., 1972.
- Indire, F.F. and Hanson, J.W. Report on the Supply of Secondary Level Teachers in the English Speaking Africa Secondary Level Teachers: Supply and Demand in Kenya. East Lansing: Institute of International Studies in Education and African Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1971.
- Keller, E.J. "The Role of Self-Help Schools in Education for Development: The Harambe Movement in Kenya," in What Government Does, ed. Matthew Holden and Dennis L. Dresang. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1975.

- King, Kenneth. "Primary Schools in Kenya: Some Critical Constraints on their Effectiveness," in Education Society and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya, ed. David Court and Dharam Ghai. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- King, Kenneth J. The African Artisan, Education and Informal Sector in Kenya. Nairobi: Heineman, 1977.
- King, Kenneth J. Pan Africanism and Education, A Study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.
- Kinyanjui, Peter. "Education by Correspondence" in Education, Society, and Development. ed. David Court and Dharam Ghai. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Kurtz, L.S. An African Education, The Revolution in Tanzania. Brooklyn: Pageant Poserdon, Ltd., 1972.
- Leonard, K.D. Reaching the Peasant Farmer, Organization Theory and Practice in Kenya. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Ltd., 1977.
- Lindsay, Beverly, Harris, John and Milner, Melanie J. "Women and National Development in Africa," The Western Journal of Black Studies, Vol. 1, No. 1, March, 1977.
- Lewis, L.J. Education and Political Independence in Africa. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1962.
- Leys, Colin. Underdevelopment in Kenya, The Political Economy of Neo-Colonialism. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975.
- Lombard, H.E. Kikuyu Social and Political Institutions. London: Oxford University Press, 1956.
- Makulu, H.F. Education, Development and Nation Building in Independent Africa. London: S.C.M. Press, Ltd., 1971.
- McPhe, A.M. Kenya. New York: Frederick A. Praeger Publishers, 1968.

- Moock, J.L. Pragmatism and the Primary School: The Case of Non-Rural Village, in Education, Society and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya. ed. David Court and Dharam Ghai. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Nyerere, J.K. Education for Self-Reliance. Dar-es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1967.
- Oxlade, D. "A Study of the English School Tradition in the Former European Secondary Boarding Schools in Kenya and its Influence on other Secondary Schools," in Education in Developing Countries of the Commonwealth. London: The Commonwealth Secretariat, Marlborough House, 1973.
- Pankhurst, Richard, K.P. Kenya: The History of Two Nations. London: Independent Publishing Company, 1967.
- Prewitt, Kenneth. Education and Political Values, An East African Case Study. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1971.
- Rosenberg, C.G., and Nottingham, J. The Myth of "Mau Mau," Nationalism in Kenya. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1966.
- Rothchild, D. Racial Bargaining in Independent Kenya. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- Somerset, H.C.A. "Who Goes to Secondary School? Relevance, Reliability and Equity in Secondary School Selection," in Education, Society, and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya. ed. David Court and Dharam Ghai. Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Sheffield, J.R. Education in the Republic of Kenya. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974.
- Sheffield, J.R. Education in Kenya: A Historical Study. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1973.
- Sheffield, J.R. Education, Employment and Rural Development. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967.
- Spencer, Paul. Nomads in Alliance. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.

- Tignor, R.L. The Colonial Transformation of Kenya.
Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976.
- Stabler, Ernest. Education Since Uhuru, The Schools of Kenya. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1969.
- Weeks, Sheldon. Divergence in Educational Development: The Case of Kenya and Uganda. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1970.
- Weve, G.S. A History of Abaluhya of Western Kenya C 1500-1930. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967.
- William, Peter. The School Leaver in Developing Countries Report of Workshop held in March 1974. London: University of London Institute of Education, 1976.
- Wood, A.W. Informal Education and Development in Africa. Paris: Mouton, 1974.
- _____. Employment, Income and Equality, A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya. Geneva: International Labor Office, 1972.

B. JOURNALS/PERIODICALS

- Beck, A. "Colonial Policy and Education in British East Africa, 1900-1950." The Journal of British Studies, Vol. 5, No. 2 (May 1966), 15-138.
- Court, David. "Inequality in Tanzania and Kenya." The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 14, No. 4 (1976) 661-690.
- Evans, E.B. "Secondary Education, Unemployment and Crime in Kenya." The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1975), 55-66.
- Foster, Philip. "Dilemmas of Educational Development: What We Might Learn from the Past." Comparative Educational Review, Vol. 19 (1975), 375-392.

- Furley, O.W. "The Struggle for Transformation in Education in Kenya Since Independence." East African Journal, Vol. 9, No. 8 (1972), 14-24.
- Gould, W.T.S. "Secondary School Admission Policies in Eastern Africa: Some Regional Issues." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 18 (1974), 374-387.
- Kabiru, Kinyanjui. "School Strikes, The Art of Blaming the Victim." in The Kenya Teacher, No. 33 (Sept. 1977), 13.
- Keller, E.J. "Harambe, Educational Policy, Inequality and Political Economy of Rural Community Self-Help in Kenya." Journal of African Studies, Vol. 19 (1976), 211.
- Maxwell, Robert. "Teaching Agriculture in Secondary Schools." East African Journal (June 1965), 25-29.
- Olson, J.B. "Secondary Schools and Elites in Kenya: A Comparative Study of Students in 1961 and 1968." Comparative Education Review, Vol. 19, No. 11 (February 1972), 44-53.
- O'Meara, Father John. "Catholic Contribution to Kenya Education." Kenya Educational Journal, Vol. 1, No. 5 (May 1960), 25.
- Rado, Emil R. "The Relevance of Education for Employment." The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1972), 459-75
- Ronald, D. "The Protestant Contribution to Kenya Education." Kenya Educational Journal, Vol. 1, No. 6, (November 1960), 16-19.
- Wheating, Beatrice. "Changing Life Styles in Kenya." Dadalus (Spring 1977), 213.

C. OTHER SOURCES

- Bessey, B.S. A Study of Curriculum Development in Kenya.
Nairobi: Government Printer, 1972.

- Gachathi, P.J. Report on National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1976.
- Ndegwa, D.N. Report of the Commission of Inquiry: Public Service Structure and Renumeration Commission. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1971.
- Ominde, S.H. Kenya Education Commission Report Parts I and II. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1972.
- Kiambu District Annual Report, Kenya, 1921.
- Kenya Government, Ministry of Education Annual Reports 1963-1972. Nairobi, Kenya, 1972.
- Ministry of Education, Annual Report. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1975.
- Ministry of Education Annual Report. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1976.
- Ministry of Education Annual Report. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1974.
- Ministry of Education, Statistics Division. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1971.
- Ministry of Education, Newsletter, Vol. 4, No. 5, September/October 1977. Nairobi, Kenya.
- Ministry of Education, Report of the Annual Administration Conference. Nairobi: Government Printers, 1973.
- Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Kenya: A Land of Contrasts. Nairobi: General Printers Limited, 1974.
- Republic of Kenya, Teachers Service Code of Regulations for Teachers. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1966.
- University of Nairobi, Calendar 1976-1977. Nairobi: English Press, 1976.
- Republic of Kenya, Development Plan 1970-1974. Nairobi: Government Printer, 1969.

Republic of Kenya, Development Plan 1974-1978. Nairobi:
Government Printer, 1974.

D. DISSERTATIONS

- Keller, E.J. "Education, Manpower and National Development: Secondary Schooling and Socialization in Kenya." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1974.
- Mugo, Gachuhi J. "The Role and Impact of Self-Help Schools on Kenyan Community of Chinga." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, SUNNY, Buffalo, 1970.
- Githara, H.K. "The Development of African Secondary Education in the Republic of Kenya 1924-1968." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1969.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

DEFINITION OF TERMS

DEFINITION OF TERMS

1. Assisted Schools. All schools that are affiliated to religious organizations or any private group, but receive 80 percent of their support from Kenya government in the form of teachers' salaries.
2. Certificate of Primary Education (C.P.E.). An examination written at the end of the year by all students in their seventh grade (standard) of primary school education in Kenya. The examination is used to select students who would be admitted to government secondary schools.
3. Educational Development. The concept of educational development in this study is used to refer to the expansion in schooling and expansion in educational provision.
4. East African Certificate of Education (E.A.C.E.). A public examination written by all candidates who have completed Form IV. Non-school (private candidates) are allowed to take E.A.C.E. if they fulfill certain regulations. This examination replaced the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate.
5. East African Advanced Certificate of Education (E.A.A.C.E.). A public examination written by all candidates who have completed Form VI. Non-school (private candidates)

are allowed to take E.A.A.C.E. if they fulfill certain regulations. It is a selection examination for students who would join higher education. This examination replaced the Higher School Certificate (H.S.C.) of Cambridge University.

6. Expansion in schooling. (1) An increase in the number of places offered by government or private organizations to children who choose to continue with formal education at any level. (2) Also an increase in the enrollment at all levels. Hence, everything that involves increasing places for learning, including teachers, other school personnel, facilities, and equipment.
7. Expansion in educational provision. Used to refer to curriculum and its contents. Any expansion in education provision, therefore, will indicate either an increase in programs by introducing new ones that are intended to achieve desired goals or a modification in the existing ones by using modern teaching technology.
8. Form. This is a term in the present educational system of Kenya which refers to secondary and high school grades. Form I to VI would be equivalent to grades 8 to 12 of the U.S. Educational system.

9. Government Aided School. Any school that receives support from government.
10. Harambe. Literally translated from Kiswahili, the term means "let us pull together." It is conventionally used to describe self-help efforts in community or group initiated activities of various types of Kenya.
11. Harambe secondary schools. All schools that are established by communities in any part of Kenya on self-help basis, without government support. They are sometimes referred to as self-help schools.
12. High School. A number of the present secondary schools have two years post-secondary education level which runs from Form V to Form VI, ages 19 to 20. It is sometimes referred to as high school to differentiate it from secondary school level.
13. Kenya Junior Secondary Examination (K.J.S.E.).
A public examination specifically for Harambe secondary school candidates after completing Forms I and II of secondary school syllabus. At present K.J.S.E. is used to select a few students to join Form III at selected government secondary schools and for joining vocational training.
14. Local Secondary schools. All secondary schools that were founded on self-help basis and later taken over

by government. Such schools comprise the largest group of government secondary schools. Local school's catchment is restricted within districts or local areas.

15. Maintained schools. Any schools that receive all support from Kenyan Government.
16. Mission schools. Non-government schools that are supported by mission organizations. Mission related schools may be subsidized by government but not frequently.
17. National schools. Prestigious schools that accept children from all parts of Kenya who pass C.P.E. highly. National schools are sometimes referred to as extra-provincial schools. There are high-cost and low-cost national schools. High-cost national schools are the former European schools in the urban areas. Low-cost national schools are predominantly schools that were established by religious groups.
18. Primary schools. Equivalent to elementary schools in the United States. Under the present system of education, primary school education in Kenya lasts for seven years, starting at age 6 or 7.
19. Provincial schools. For the purpose of this study, provincial schools consist of secondary schools which restrict their catchment within a province.

20. Rural Areas. Any section of the country that is out of municipal, urban or city boundary limits. Rural areas in this study also refers to all parts of the country where agriculture comprises the mainstay of the largest population.
21. Secondary school. Second level of education after seven years of primary schooling. Secondary school level normally lasts four years.
22. Standard. A term applied to primary school classes in the system of education in Kenya. Classes in primary schools run from standard one to standard seven. Standard is the equivalent to grade in the United States educational system.

APPENDIX B

The Education Act of 1968

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

THE EDUCATION ACT 1968

No. 5 of 1968

Date of Assent: 6th February 1968

Date of Commencement: By Notice

An Act of Parliament to provide for the regulation and
progressive development of education

ENACTED by the Parliament of Kenya, as follows:--

Part I Preliminary

1. This Act may be cited as the Education Act 1968 and shall come into operation on such date as the Minister may, by notice in the Gazette, appoint.

2. In this Act, except where the context otherwise requires--"advisory council" means an advisory council established under section 4 of this Act;

"assisted school" means a school, other than a maintained school, which receives financial assistance from the Ministry or assistance from the Teachers Service Commission established by the Teachers Service Commission Act 1966;

"board of governors" means a board of governors established under Part III of this Act;

"curriculum" means all the subjects taught and all the activities provided at any school, and may include the time devoted to each subject and activity;

"the Institute" means the Kenya Institute of Education established by section 23 (1) of this Act;

"institution of higher education" means a university or a constituent college or institution of a university;

"local authority" means a county council or a municipal council constituted under the Local Government Regulations 1963;

"maintained school" means a school in respect of which the Ministry or a local authority accepts general financial responsibility for maintenance;

"manager" means any person or body of persons responsible for the management and conduct of a school and includes a board;

"principal" includes headmaster;

"public funds" means the public funds of the government or the public funds of a local authority;

"public school" means a school maintained or assisted out of public funds;

"pupil" means a person enrolled as a pupil or student in a school;

"qualified teacher" has the meaning for the time being assigned to it in the Teachers Service Commission (Qualifications for Registration) Regulations 1967;

"register" means the Register of Unaided Schools established under Part IV of this Act;

"school" means an institution in which no less than ten pupils receive regular instruction, or an assembly of not less than ten pupils for the purpose of receiving regular instruction, or an institution which provides regular instruction by correspondence, but does not include--

- (a) any institution or assembly for which a Minister other than the Minister is responsible; or
- (b) any institution or assembly in which the instruction is, in the opinion of the Minister, wholly or mainly of a religious character; or
- (c) any institution for the purpose of training persons for admission to the ordained ministry of a religious order;

"school committee" means a school committee established under section 9 of this Act;

"syllabus" means a concise statement of the contents of a course of instruction in a subject or subjects;

"the Teachers Service Commission" means the Teachers Service Commission established by section 3 of the Teachers Service Commission Act 1966;

"unaided school" means a school which is not receiving grants out of public funds.

Part II Promotion of Education

3.(1) It is the duty of the Minister to promote the education of the people of Kenya and the progressive development of institutions devoted to the promotion of such education, and to secure the effective cooperation, under his general direction or control, of all public bodies concerned with education in carrying out the national policy for education.

(2) For the purposes of carrying out his duties under subsection (1) of this section, the Minister may from time to time formulate a development plan for education consistent with any national plan for economic and social development of Kenya.

4.(1) The Minister may, by order, establish an advisory council to advise him on any matter concerning education in Kenya or in some part of Kenya, and may establish different councils for different areas or for different aspects of education.

(2) An advisory council shall consist of not less than ten and not more than twenty persons, each appointed by the Minister, and the Minister shall appoint one of the members to be chairman.

(3) The First Schedule of this Act shall apply with respect to advisory councils.

5.(1) Subject to this Act and to any regulations made thereunder, the Minister may, by order, entrust any of his functions with respect to education to a local authority on such terms, conditions or restrictions as he may think fit.

(2) The Minister may, by order, revoke, suspend, vary or amend an entrustment made under subsection (1) of this section.

(3) Where an entrustment of a function to a local authority is revoked or suspended under subsection (2) of this section, the Minister may recover from the local authority the whole or any part of the expenditure incurred in the performance of the functions:

Provided that, where the estimates of expenditure to be incurred by the local authority in the performance of the function are subject to the approval of the Minister for the time being responsible for local government under Part XV of the Local Government Regulations 1963, such recovery shall be subject to the agreement of the Minister for the time being responsible for local government.

(4) Where functions have been entrusted to a local authority under this section the local authority shall appoint an education committee in accordance with

regulation 91 of the Local Government Regulations 1963, and shall consider a report from such education committees before exercising any of the functions;

Provided that, notwithstanding that regulation, an education committee shall consist of ten councillors and five other members appointed by the Minister, and those five other members shall include not more than three persons to represent any sponsor or sponsors appointed by the local authority under section 8 (1) of the Act.

(5) The principal education officer of a local authority shall attend all meetings of an education committee appointed under subsection (4) of this section, and shall advise the local authority on all matters concerning education in the area of the local authority.

Part III Management of Schools

General

6. Subject to section 7 of this Act--

(a) every primary school maintained by a local authority shall be managed by such local authority; and

(b) every maintained or assisted school other than a primary school maintained by a local authority

shall be managed by a Board of Governors,
or as the Minister may otherwise direct,
in accordance with this Act and any regulations
under this Act.

Primary Schools Maintained by Local Authorities

7.(1) The manager of every primary school maintained but not managed by a local authority before the commencement of this Act shall within six months of such commencement choose either--

- (a) to transfer the management of the school to that local authority, which shall thereafter manage and maintain the school (hereinafter called a transferred school); or
- (b) continue to maintain the school as an unaided school.

(2) The manager shall notify his choice in writing to the local authority maintaining the school within six months after the commencement of this Act and the choice shall take effect on the 1st January next following.

(3) Where the management of a school is transferred to a local authority under this section, the service of any teacher in the establishment of the school immediately before and immediately after the transfer shall be deemed to be

continuous service for the purpose of regulation 16 (1) of the Pensions Regulations.

8.(1) Where a transferred school was managed by a church, or an organization of churches, and it is the wish of the community served by the school that the religious traditions of the school should be respected, the former manager shall be appointed by the local authority to serve as the sponsor to the school.

(2) If the former manager, or any ten citizens belonging to the community served by the school, are aggrieved by the decision of a local authority to appoint, or to refuse to appoint, or to revoke the appointment of, the former manager as sponsor to the school, they may appeal in writing to the Minister, who shall make such inquiries as appear to him desirable or necessary, and whose decision shall be final.

(3) Where the former manager of a transferred school has been appointed by the local authority to serve as the sponsor to the school--

(a) The Teachers Service Commission, or any agent of the Teachers Service Commission responsible for the assignment of teachers to schools on behalf of the Teachers Service Commission, shall assign teachers to the school after consultation

with and, so far as may be compatible with the maintenance of proper educational standards at the school and the economical use of public funds, with the agreement of the sponsor;

- (b) the sponsor shall have the right to use the school building free of charge, when the buildings are not in use for school purposes, after giving reasonable notice of his intention to do so to the headmaster of the school;

Provided that any additional expenses and the cost of making good any damage incurred during or in consequence of the sponsor using the buildings shall be defrayed by the sponsor; and

- (c) religious instructions shall be given at the school in conformity with a syllabus prepared or approved under regulations made under section 19 of this Act after consultation with the sponsor.

- (4) In determining what are the wishes of the community served by a school, the local authority or the Minister shall give due weight to the wishes of the parents of the children at the school.

9.(1) For every primary school maintained and managed by the local authority there shall be a school committee, established by the local authority, to advise the local authority on matters relating to the management of the school.

(2) The members of a school committee shall be appointed by the local authority in the prescribed number and manner, and the members of the committee shall include persons to represent the local authority, the community served by the school, and, where a sponsor to the school has been appointed under section 8 of this Act, the sponsor.

Other Schools

10.(1) The Minister may, by order, establish a Board of Governors for any maintained or assisted school, other than a primary school managed and maintained by a local authority, or, if the manager of any unaided school applies to him, for that unaided school, and the Minister may--

- (a) establish one Board of Governors for two or more schools; or
- (b) establish Board of Governors for two or more schools by means of the same order.

(2) The Minister may, by order, declare a Board of Governors to be a body corporate under the name of the Board

of Governors of the school or schools, and such Board of Governors shall have perpetual succession and a common seal with power to hold both movable and immovable property, and may in its corporate name sue and be sued.

(3) Where a Board of Governors is established, the Minister shall exercise all the functions of the Board during the interval of time that may elapse between the establishment of the board and the first meeting of the board.

11. An order establishing a Board of Governors shall provide for--

- (a) the exercise by the Board of the duty of management of the school or schools, subject to this Act, the Teachers Service Commission Act 1966 and any regulations made under this Act and to any limitations or restrictions that may be imposed by the order;
- (b) the membership of the Board, which shall be not less than five persons;
- (c) including among the members of the Board representatives of the communities served by the school, of persons representing any voluntary body which was the founder of the school or its successor, and of any other persons or representatives of bodies or

- organizations that, in the opinion of the Minister, should be included;
- (d) the appointment and resignation of members and the continuity of the membership of the Board,
 - (e) a person or persons representing the Minister to attend at meetings of the Board;
 - (f) in the case of a Board of Governors which is not a body corporate; vesting the movable and immovable property of the Board in trustees incorporated under any law or in the Public Trustee:
 - (h) any other matters which the Minister considers it necessary or desirable to provide for with respect to the status functions, constitution or procedure of the Board.

12.(1) Where in the opinion of the Minister, a Board of Governors has behaved irresponsibly or has failed to exercise properly its functions under this Act, he may in writing--

- (a) suspend the Board from the exercise of and performance of all its powers and duties, and appoint an administrator to exercise and

and perform all the powers and duties of the Board for such period not exceeding one year as the Minister specifies;

(b) require the resignation of all or any members of the Board, and appoint or require the appointment of new members of the Board.

(2) The Minister shall make regulations providing for the manner in which an administrator appointed under subsection (1) of this section shall exercise all the powers and perform the duties of a Board of Governors.

Part IV Registration of Unaided Schools

13. The Minister shall cause a register of unaided schools to be established and maintained, and the register shall be open to public inspection at all reasonable times.

14.(1) Any person who wishes to establish an unaided school shall first make application to the Minister for the school to be registered.

(2) An application for registration shall state the classification of the proposed school according to the prescribed nomenclature and the classes or forms to be provided in the school.

(3) In this section, "establish," in relation to a school, includes--

- (a) providing any additional class or form not included in any previous registration; or
- (b) providing any type of education not falling within the classification in which the school was previously registered; or
- (c) changing ownership or management of the school; or
- (d) transferring the school to a new site; or
- (e) reopening a school that has been closed under section 16 of this Act.

15.(1) Where application is made for the registration of an unaided school, the Minister shall cause the school to be provisionally registered for a period of eighteen months, if he is satisfied that--

- (a) the establishment of the school is consistent with the needs of Kenya and the economical and efficient provision of public education; and
- (b) the premises and accommodation are suitable and adequate, having regard to the number, ages and sex of the pupils who are to attend the school, and fulfill the prescribed minimum requirements of health and safety and conform with any building regulations for the time being in force under any written law; and

(c) the manager is a suitable and proper person to be the manager of the school:

Provided that, where the establishment of the school consists only of one or more of the acts specified in paragraphs (a), (b), (c), (d), and (e) of section 14 (3) of this Act, the Minister may, at his discretion, register the school at the outset instead of first registering it provisionally.

(2) If, at the end of one year from the provisional registration of a school the Minister is satisfied that efficient and suitable instruction is being provided at the school, he may cause the school to be registered.

(3) The Minister may, as a condition of provisional registration or registration, require the manager of an unaided school to apply to him for an order establishing a Board of Governors for the school, and such a requirement may be made at any subsequent time.

(4) Where the Minister refuses to provisionally register or to register an unaided school, he shall inform the person making the application in writing the grounds of refusal.

(5) All unaided schools which immediately before the commencement of this Act were registered under Part X of the Education Act (now repealed) shall be registered in the

register forthwith upon such commencement.

16.(1) Where the Minister is satisfied that an unaided school which has been registered under this Part is objectionable because the school--

- (a) fails to comply with paragraphs (a), (b) and (c) of section 15 (1) of this Act; or
- (b) is a place in which efficient and suitable education or instruction is not being provided; or
- (c) is being conducted or managed in a manner which is, in the opinion of the Minister, prejudicial to the physical, moral or mental welfare of the pupils of the school, or to peace, good order or good government in Kenya; or
- (d) is a place in which a person is teaching who is not registered in the register of teachers kept under section 7 of the Teachers Service Commission Act 1966 and is not exempted under section 22 of that Act from registration; or
- (e) fails to conform with regulations made under section 19 of this Act; or
- (f) has not complied with a condition imposed under section 15 (3) of this Act.

The Minister may serve on the manager of the school a notice in writing specifying the respects in which the school is objectionable and requiring him to remedy the said matters within a specified period not exceeding six months:

Provided that if, in the opinion of the Minister, there are urgent reasons for the immediate closure of the school the Minister may order the manager of the school to close the school forthwith.

(2) If the manager of an unaided school fails to remedy the matters specified in a notice served on him under subsection (1) of this section within the period specified therein, the Minister shall order the manager to close the school.

(3) An unaided school which has been ordered to be closed under this section, and any unaided school which has remained closed for a period of six months or more, shall be removed from the register.

17. The Minister may make regulations with respect to registration of unaided schools and in particular such regulations may--

- (a) prescribe the particulars to be entered in the register;
- (b) prescribe the manner in which application for registration shall be made and the particulars,

proof or evidence to be supplied by the applicant;

- (c) prescribe with respect to any application for registration, the procedure to be followed, the forms to be used, and the fees to be paid;
- (d) prescribe the conditions which may be attached to provisional registration, beyond that mentioned in section 15 (3) of this Act;
- (e) provide for the issue, variation and revocation of certificates of provisional registration and certificates of registration;
- (f) require the submission from time to time, or at any time, of any particulars, information, documents or returns by the manager of registered unaided schools;
- (g) provide for any other matter that the Minister may consider necessary or desirable to provide for the purposes of this Part.

Part V Inspection and Control of Schools

18.(1) The Minister shall appoint officers with authority to enter and inspect any school, or any place at which it is reasonably suspected that a school is being conducted, at any time, with or without notice, and to report to him with respect to the school or any aspect thereof.

(2) The Minister shall appoint officers with authority to enter any school at any time, with or without notice, and inspect or audit the accounts of the school or advise the manager of the school on the maintenance of accounting records, and may temporarily remove any books or records for the purpose of inspection or audit.

(3) On being so requested by an officer appointed under this section, the principal of the school shall place at the disposal of the officer all the facilities, records, accounts, notebooks, examination scripts and other materials belonging to the school that the officer may reasonably require for the purpose of the inspection of the school or the inspection or audit of its accounts.

(4) An officer inspecting a school under subsection (1) of this section shall have special regard to the maintenance of educational standards and to compliance with any regulations made under section 19 of this Act.

(5) In this section, "school" includes--

- (a) any part of the school and any buildings used in connection with the school, including workshops, dormitories, kitchens, sanatoria, hostels, ancillary buildings and any other buildings on the site of the school; and

- (b) except in subsection (2) of this section, an institution or assembly for which a minister other than the Minister is responsible.

19. The Minister may make regulations with respect to the conduct and management of schools and such regulations may--

- (a) prescribe standards with regard to the numbers and qualifications of staff, the size of classes and the expenditure on educational materials;
- (b) provide for the preparation or approval of curricula, syllabi, books and other educational materials;
- (c) prescribe minimum standards for the health and safety of pupils and for a satisfactory environment for education;
- (d) provide for the keeping of registers and records and the submission of returns;
- (e) provide for the admission, suspension, punishment and dismissal of pupils;
- (f) prescribe the minimum number of days in a year on which instruction shall be given;
- (g) prescribe how schools shall be classified and the name to be attached to each class of school;

- (h) make different provisions with respect to different classes or kinds of schools, impose conditions and make exceptions;
- (i) provide for or prescribe such other matters as the Minister considers it necessary or desirable to provide for or prescribe.

Part VI Examinations and Diplomas

20.(1) The Minister may provide for the conduct of public examinations, and may issue certificates or diplomas to pupils who have been successful in a public examination for the conduct of which he has provided.

(2) The Minister may issue certificates and diplomas to pupils who have successfully completed an approved course of education or training.

21. No person except--

(a) the persons and institutions named in the Second Schedule of this Act; or

(b) a person who has received the consent of the Minister, given by notice in the Gazettes,

shall issue a certificate or diploma to any person indicating, or purporting to indicate, that a person has successfully completed a course of education or training, or has attained a particular education standard, or possesses any skill, knowledge or professional competence.

22. The Minister may make regulations--

- (a) prescribing the manner in which certificates or diplomas may be issued under section 20 of this Act;
- (b) prescribing the manner in which public examinations shall be conducted, and the conditions of entry and the fees to be charged;
- (c) concerning the submission of applications for the Minister's consent to the issue of certificates and diplomas, and the revocation of such consent.

Part VII The Kenya Institute of Education

23.(1) There is hereby established the Kenya Institute of Education with responsibility for the coordination of institutions devoted to the training of teachers, the conduct of examinations to enable persons to become qualified teachers, the conduct and promotion of educational research, the preparation of educational materials and other matters connected with the training of teachers and the development of education and training.

(2) The Minister may, by order, prescribe--

- (a) the duties, powers and functions of the Institute;
- (b) the manner in which the Institute shall be

managed and controlled by a council including persons representing the Minister, the University College, Nairobi and the maintained training colleges of Kenya;

- (c) the constitution, duties, powers and functions of an Academic Board responsible to the Council for the academic management of the Institute;
- (d) that the movable and immovable property of the Institute may be vested in the Public Trustee and the manner in which they shall be so vested; and
- (e) any other matters with respect to the conduct and management of the Institute which the Minister considers it necessary or desirable to provide for.

Part VIII Miscellaneous

24. The Minister may, at the request of any local authority or otherwise, by notice in the Gazette, prescribe the area to be served by a public school.

25. The Minister, or the manager of a school, may require any person attending the school, or applying for admission to the school, to undergo medical examination by a medical practitioner.

26.(1) If the parent of a pupil at a public school requests that the pupil be wholly or partly excused from attending religious worship, or religious worship and religious instruction in the school, the pupil shall be excused such attendance until the request is withdrawn.

(2) Where the parent of a pupil at a public school wishes the pupil to attend religious worship or religious instruction of a kind which is not provided in the school, the school shall provide such facilities as may be practical for the pupil to receive religious instruction and attend religious worship of the kind desired by the parent.

27.(1) Where the Minister is satisfied, upon complaint made by any person or otherwise, that a local authority, or the Board of Governors or manager of any school, or a sponsor, or the Institute, or the Teachers Service Commission, has acted or is proposing to act unreasonably or in contravention of the policy of the government with respect to education as approved from time to time in Parliament, in the exercise of any functions entrusted to it by or under this Act, or the Teachers Service Commission Act 1966, he may give such directions as to the exercise of such functions as appear to him expedient.

(2) Where the Minister is satisfied that a local authority, or the Board of Governors or manager of any school,

or the Institute, or the Teachers Service Commission established as aforesaid, has failed to discharge any duty imposed upon it by, or for the purposes of, this Act, or the Teachers Service Commission Act 1966, he may give such directions as may be necessary for securing compliance with this Act or the Teachers Service Commission Act 1966;

Provided that, where the estimates of expenditure to be incurred by any local authority in the performance of any function entrusted to it under section 5 of this Act are subject to the approval of the Minister for the time being responsible for local government under Part XV of the Local Government Regulations 1963, any direction given under this subsection to a local authority shall be subject to the agreement of the Minister for the time being responsible for local government.

Part IX Financial

28.(1) The Minister may from time to time from public funds--

- (a) establish, maintain, assist, make grants-in-aid of or make advances on loan in respect of--
 - (i) schools;
 - (ii) establishments or provision for the boarding and feeding of pupils;

- (iii) organizations or establishments responsible for educational development and research, or the promotion or coordination of education or the welfare of students;
- (iv) organizations responsible for the conduct of public examinations;
- (b) make grants-in-aid to any institution of higher education;
- (c) provide for the conduct of such public examinations as are held under the supervision or control of the Ministry;
- (d) make grants-in-aid to local authorities for the purpose of any functions entrusted to them under section 5 of this Act;
- (e) provide in whole or in part for the transport of pupils to or from any public school;
- (f) provide for the medical inspection of pupils;
- (g) provide scholarships or bursaries to assist in the education, maintenance and transport of pupils who are undergoing, or proceeding to, or returning from courses of instruction at an institution approved by the Minister;
- (h) provide for the reimbursement of the expenses of any body constituted under this Act.

- (i) provide for, or make grants-in-aid of, educational conferences, exhibitions, displays, dramatic or film presentations, sports or other occasions of an educational character or purpose;
 - (j) make such other provision for the carrying on of education as may be consistent with this Act.
- (2) Grants-in-aid may be made for either capital or recurrent purposes.

29. The Minister may make regulations prescribing--

- (a) the conditions upon which grants which may lawfully be made out of public funds for the maintenance or assistance of schools, organizations or establishments may be made;
- (b) the fees to be charged or remitted at any school which received a grant out of public funds, and the liability of parents for the payment of such fees;
- (c) the manner in which scholarships or bursaries may be granted, increased, reduced or withdrawn;
- (d) the manner in which and the conditions under which grants are made to any institution of higher education;
- (e) any other matter with respect to public funds relating to the submission of estimates, the

maintenance and submission of accounting records, the use to which grants may be applied and the disposal of surpluses and reserve funds.

30. Any person who--

- (a) establishes, manages, maintains or conducts an unaided school which has not been provisionally registered or registered, or whose provisional registration has expired, or which has been removed from the register in accordance with section 16 (3) of this Act; or
- (b) issues a certificate or diploma contrary to section 20 (1) of this Act; or
- (c) hinders or obstructs any officer of the Ministry acting in the course of his duty as such, or any person exercising any powers, or performing any duties, conferred or imposed by or under this Act,

shall be guilty of an offense and liable to a fine not exceeding five thousand shillings or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or to both such fine and such imprisonment.

31. Without prejudice to the other provisions in this Act, for the making of regulations for particular purposes, The Minister may make regulations generally for the better carrying out of the purposes of this Act.

32. The Education Act is repealed:

Provided that the following Orders made under that Act, namely--

- (a) the Education (Hospital Hill School Governors) Order;
- (b) the Education (Boards of Governors) Order 1964;
- (c) the Kenya Polytechnic (Board of Governors) Order 1965; and
- (d) the Mombasa Technical Institute (Board of Governors) Order 1966, shall continue in force as though made under this Act, and accordingly the Boards of Governors established by those Orders shall upon the commencement of this Act--
 - (i) be deemed to have been established and incorporated under section 10 of this Act; and
 - (ii) hold the same property and be subject to the same obligations as they held or were subject to immediately before such commencement.

Table 11

Schools by Type
1965-1974

	<u>1965</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1967</u>	<u>1968</u>	<u>1969</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>	<u>1973</u>	<u>1974</u>
Primary Schools	5078	5699	5959	6135	6111	6123	6372	6657	6932	7905
Secondary Schools	336	400	542	601	694	783	809	949	964	987
Teachers Colleges	33	33	28*	27	27	27	27	25	21	18
Technical Schools	8	7	11	10	10	10	10	9	10	10
Total	5455	6140	6536	6775	6842	6943	7218	7640	7927	89200.

277

Source: Ministry of Education

*The drop in number of schools was due to amalgamation of several schools.

Table 12
 Secondary School Enrollment (All Schools)
 1961 to 1976

	<u>Boys</u>	<u>Girls</u>	<u>Total</u>
1961	14,800	7,400	22,200
1962	17,700	8,900	26,600
1963	20,600	9,600	30,100
1964	25,200	10,700	35,900
1965	34,700	13,300	48,000
1966	46,800	16,400	63,200
1967	66,400	22,400	88,800
1968	75,200	26,200	101,400
1969	83,100	32,200	115,200
1970	89,300	37,500	126,900
1971	98,000	42,700	140,700
1972	111,300	50,600	161,900
1973	117,200	57,500	174,800
1974	128,700	67,100	195,800
1975	138,700	78,700	217,400
1976	176,700	103,600	280,300

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Report 1976

Total numbers of column IV do not add up to exact total due to rounding up.

Table 13
 Enrollment in Aided and Unaided Schools
 University and Teacher Education
 1963 and 1975

	<u>Enrollments</u> 1963	<u>Enrollments</u> 1975	<u>Average Annual</u> <u>Rate of Growth</u> <u>per year</u>
Primary Education	892,000	2,881,000	10%
Secondary			
Education-Aided	23,200	106,300	13½%
Unaided	7,000	111,100	26%
University	370	5,140	24½%
Teacher Education	<u>4,610</u>	<u>9,510</u>	<u>6%</u>
	927,000	3,113,050	10½%

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Reports, 1963 and 1975

Table 14

Enrollment in Trade Schools
Secondary Technical Schools and Polytechnics

1966 to 1974

	<u>Trade Schools</u>	<u>Secondary Technical</u>	<u>Kenya Polytechnic</u>	<u>Mombasa Polytechnic</u>
1966	-	-	1540	-
1967	620	860	1810	870
1968	650	1380	1900	990
1969	320	2020	2040	1040
1970	290	2520	2860	880
1971	-	3050	2810	950
1972	-	3210	-	-
1973	-	3530	2710	1010
1974	-	3800	3300	1020

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Reports

- Note: (1) In the late 1960s trade schools were phased out, and were replaced by institutions offering technical education courses parallel to secondary education
- (2) Mombasa Technical Institute became a second Polytechnic in 1971.
- (3) In the Development Plan period 1974-78, Kenya's government increased the budget on vocational and technical education. More government secondary schools have been approved to offer vocational and technical educational programs.

Table 15

Comparison of Enrollment and Teacher
Supply in Unaided Secondary Schools
by Province 1976

<u>Province</u>	<u>No. of Classes</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>Pupil Teacher Ratio</u>
Central	1096	40,098	1617	1:30
Coast	202	7,442	333	1:10
Eastern	698	27,202	1021	1:26
Nairobi	348	12,587	637	1:19
North Eastern	-	-	-	-
Nyanza	759	28,017	1022	1:27
Rift Valley	430	17,425	649	1:27
Western	<u>717</u>	<u>28,982</u>	<u>1075</u>	<u>1:27</u>
National Total	4250	161,753	6353	1:25

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Report 1976

Table 16
 Comparison of Enrollment and Teacher
 Supply in Aided Schools
 by Provinces 1976

<u>Province</u>	<u>No. of Classes</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>	<u>No. of Teachers</u>	<u>Pupil Teacher' Ratio</u>
Central	706	26,583	1178	1:23
Coast	241	9,066	396	1:23
Eastern	458	17,938	707	1:24
Nairobi	454	15,461	811	1:19
North Eastern	17	638	25	1:25
Nyanza	454	18,050	734	1:25
Rift Valley	434	17,089	713	1:24
Western	<u>334</u>	<u>13,810</u>	<u>521</u>	<u>1:26</u>
National Total	3098	118,635	5085	1:21

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Report 1976

Table 17

Staffing in Secondary Schools 1969 and 1970
Trained Teachers by Grade 1969

	<u>Citizens</u>		<u>Non-Citizens</u>		<u>Total</u>
P1	75	6.6%	13	0.7%	88
S1	633	55.5%	184	9.5%	817
Graduate	226	19.8%	1189	61.5%	1415
Principal and Tech. Master	1	0.1%	5	0.3%	6
Technical Inst.	9	0.8%	2	0.1%	11
Asst. Tech. Inst.	6	0.5%	8	0.4%	14
Other	25	2.2%	84	4.3%	109
Total	975	85.5%	1485	76.9%	2460

Untrained Teachers by Grade 1969

	<u>Citizens</u>		<u>Non-Citizens</u>		<u>Total</u>
Graduate	60	5.3%	390	20.2%	450
H.S.C./E.A.C.E.	72	6.3%	26	1.3%	98
C.S.C./E.A.C.E.	25	2.2%	5	0.3%	30
Other	8	0.7%	26	1.3%	34
Total	165	14.5%	447	23.1%	612
Total Trained and Untrained	1140	100.0%	1932	100.0%	3072

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Report 1969-70

Table 18

Staffing in Secondary Schools 1969 and 1970
Trained Teachers by Grade 1970

	<u>Citizens</u>		<u>Non-Citizens</u>		<u>Total</u>
P1	64	3.8%	13	0.7%	77
S1	985	58.4%	229	12.4%	1214
Graduate	338	20.0%	1101	59.8%	1439
Principal and Tech. Master	1	0.1%	9	0.5%	10
Technical Inst.	15	0.9%	12	0.7%	27
Asst. Tech. Inst.	2	0.1%	7	0.4%	9
Other	24	1.4%	68	3.7%	92
Total	1429	84.7%	1439	78.2%	2868

Untrained Teachers by Grade 1970

	<u>Citizens</u>		<u>Non-Citizens</u>		<u>Total</u>
Graduate	80	4.7%	368	20.0%	448
H.S.C./E.A.C.E.	145	8.6%	24	1.3%	169
C.S.C./E.A.C.E.	26	1.5%	-	-	26
Other	7	0.4%	9	0.5%	16
Total	258	15.3%	401	21.8%	659
Total Trained and Untrained	1687	100.0%	1840	100.0%	3527

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Report 1969-70

APPENDIX D

Kenya Junior Secondary Examination
Syllabus and Regulations 1969-70 .

REGULATIONS

The examination will be held at selected centres once every year.

2. Entry to this examination is open to all candidates who have studied for at least two years beyond the primary school course.

3. In particular, this examination will be offered to: —

(a) Pupils who have completed at least two years' course in a recognized secondary school.

(b) Pupils in Form 2 who wish: —

- (i) to be considered for entry into a P2 Teacher Training Course, or
- (ii) to obtain a certificate.

(c) Any P3 teacher who holds a P3 Certificate or its equivalent, who wishes to qualify for promotion to P2 grade.

(d) Private candidates who wish to obtain qualification for entry later to the E.A.C.E. examination and who are qualified to enter for the K.J.S.E. in accordance with paragraph 2 above.

4. Subjects open to all candidates for this examination are: —

- (i) English Language.
- (ii) Swahili.
- (iii) Mathematics.
- (iv) General Science (including Biology).
- (v) Biology.
- (vi) Geography.
- (vii) History.

(New (S.M.P.) Mathematics and Technical Subjects are available to authorized school candidates only.)

(a) Candidates may offer five, six or seven subjects. The Kenya Junior Secondary Examination Certificate will be awarded to those candidates who pass in at least five subjects, at one and the same sitting.

(b) P3 teachers *only* may enter for 2, 3 or 4 subjects as a part examination in 1969, and in subsequent years add to any subjects passed until a full qualification for promotion is obtained.

(c) P3 teachers who, while failing to obtain a certificate in the 1968 examination, nonetheless obtained one or more subject passes, have had those passes credited to them and may in the 1969 and subsequent K.J.S.E. examinations add to those 1968 passes until a full qualification for promotion is obtained.

NOTE: Only subject passes in the 1968 K.J.S.E. may be accumulated as credits for the 1969 and subsequent Kenya Junior Secondary Examinations.

5. The examination will be based generally on the first two years' work of a normal School Certificate Course.

6. Examination fees, which are not refundable, are:

(i) Pupils attending recognized secondary schools	...	...	...	Sh. 20
(ii) Private candidates (full examination)	...	...	...	Sh. 40
(iii) P3 candidates taking part examination	...	...	...	Sh. 20

7. In all matters relating to this examination, the decision of the Chief Education Officer will be final.

8. P3 (T3) teachers who are in possession of their P3 (T3) Certificates are to quote their Certificate Number only. Original P3 (T3) Certificates must not accompany entry forms.

9. The closing date for all entries is normally 31 May each year. This date may be changed from year to year and no late entries are accepted.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE

There will be two papers of one hour each.

The examination will assess the readiness of candidates to carry on their studies using texts in normal English. Completion of Form II marks the end of the progress from simplified to normal English.

Candidates will be expected to write accurately and fluently in straightforward, normal English on topics within their experience, with a range of structure and vocabulary obtainable from a sustained reading experience in Forms I and II.

Candidates will be expected to answer comprehension questions, vocabulary questions involving word and phrase selection and substitution, structure questions involving transforms of structure, on a passage or passages at the 3,500 word level, or thereabouts, i.e. the fringes of normal English.

Candidates who have done little or no reading will be at a clear disadvantage in sitting this examination.

No knowledge of grammatical terminology will be required for answering the questions, but a fluent acquaintance with ordinary idiom and usage will be required. Rare, exotic, archaic language will not be required. Style will not be tested.

The Examination will consist of two papers each of one hour, as follows:—

English 1. Composition. One hour.

Candidates will have to write two short compositions. Time should be equally divided between the compositions each of which will be assessed out of a maximum of 50 marks. Suitability of facts and ideas, mechanical accuracy of language and arrangement of material will be important factors in assessing compositions.

SECTION "A"

Candidates will write on one topic out of a choice of six. Topics will deal with life in Kenya today, with particular reference to the interests of school boys and girls. Topics included will be suitable for boys and girls, town and country candidates, and coast and up-country candidates.

SECTION "B"

Candidates will answer one question out of a choice of three or four. Each question will consist of data outlining a common situation or experience. Candidates will use the data to write a letter, of which the purpose and target will be explained in the question. Letters will be of various kinds, formal, informal, official, business, friendly, etc.

English 2. Comprehension, Vocabulary, Structure. One hour.

Candidates will be allowed 15 minutes reading time before starting to write. Thus the total examination time will be $\frac{1}{2}$ hour. The paper will consist of about 1,500 words of prose at the 3,500 word level or a little higher. No rare, exotic or archaic words will occur.

The 1,500 words (approximate) may consist of one long passage or two or more shorter passages.

On the passage or passages the following types of questions may be set:—

- (a) Objective type comprehension questions on meaning, vocabulary and structure, although questions may be limited to one or more than one of these areas.
- (b) Questions involving word and phrase substitution.
- (c) Questions requiring a change in sentence structure without any change in meaning.
- (d) Questions involving a change in the form of the passage or part of a passage. Such as for example: shifting dialogue into reported speech or vice versa, or giving main points in note form. However, summary will *not* be tested.

The length of the paper will be such that ease in comprehension and fluency in using normal English will be a significant factor in candidate performance.

MATHEMATICS

There will be one paper of 1½ hour's duration.

Addition, subtraction, multiplication and division of ordinary fractions.

Problems involving fractions set out in words.

Ratio and proportion.

Percentages—including their applications in every day life, e.g. profit and loss, taxation, etc., simple interest.

Decimals.

British and metric units of weights and measures.

Averages.

Presentation of statistical data graphically.

Elementary mensuration of the triangle, the rectangle, the circle and the three-dimensional figures derived from these.

Letters for numbers. Addition and subtraction of like and unlike terms.

Solution of simple linear equations.

Solution of linear simultaneous equations in not more than two variables—using the methods of elimination and substitution.

Simplification of elementary algebraic fractions, e.g.:—

$$\frac{a - 2d}{m} + 2 ; \quad \frac{a + b}{x} + \frac{a - b}{y}$$

Factorisation of $ax + bx$; $a^2 - b^2$; $a^2 \pm 2ab + b^2$.

The fact that $xy = 0$ means that either $x = 0$ or $y = 0$; leading to solutions of quadratic equations—by factors only and with cases where the coefficient x^2 is one.

Graphs of linear and quadratic expressions.

Squares and square roots—including the use of squares and square root tables.

Rational exponents and operations on them ($x^0 = 1$ for all $x \neq 0$).

The use of set square, ruler, protractor and a pair of compasses to construct geometric figures given certain data. Congruence of triangles. Scale drawing. The tangent, sine and cosine ratios of an angle—using right-angled triangles—and simple applications reducible to right-angled triangles.

N.B.—For the examination, no questions will be set requiring the reproduction of formal proofs of theorems.

The syllabus is adequately covered by the two books:—

Certificate Mathematics, Vols. I and II, by C. V. Durrell, published by Bell. It should be noted that the books themselves DO NOT constitute the syllabus. There are topics in the books which are not required by the syllabus.

Other books of equivalent level, e.g. Channon & McLeish Smith, *General Mathematics Books I to III* (Longmans) also cover the syllabus.

MODERN MATHEMATICS

To be studied by Approved Schools and Private Candidates specially prepared for this syllabus.

The emphasis will be on the understanding of basic Mathematical concepts and their application rather than on skill in performing lengthy manipulations. Importance will be attached to clear expression and careful reasoning.

The syllabus is divided into two parts. It is expected that Candidates will have covered all the work in Section A, but they need not cover more than about three-fourths of the work contained in Section B.

Slide rules or three-figure tables may be required in answering questions from Section B.

SECTION A

1. The ordinary processes of arithmetic. Simple calculations involving the ideas of approximations and rough estimates, significant figures, decimal places.
2. Simple fractions; decimals. Ratio and proportion.
3. The important metric units of length, area, volume and capacity, mass, including :— centimetre (cm), metre (m), kilometre (km), square centimetre (cm²), cubic centimetre (cm³), litre, millilitre (ml), gram (g), kilogram (kg).
Length, area and volume. Mensuration of the rectangle, triangle, parallelogram, cuboid, prism.
4. Number bases other than ten. Addition and subtraction of numbers in binary (base two) and octal (base eight).
5. The idea and notation of a set; membership of a set, subset, intersection. Number of members in a set. Venn diagrams and their use in simple logical problems.
The symbols ϵ , \cap , \subset , $\{\}$, \emptyset , $n(A)$.
Listing and describing the members of a set,
($x : x$ satisfies the condition P)
6. Cartesian coordinates. Linear relations and their graphical representation. Number patterns. Sequences and relations.
7. Simple factors and identities. Simple inequalities and equations.
8. The transformations of reflection, rotation and translation. The description of a translation by a vector. Addition and subtraction of vectors. Direct and opposite congruencies. Symmetry — rotational and bilateral in two and three dimensions.

SECTION B

9. Polygons — angle properties — tessellations — area. Nets of simple polyhedra including cube, tetrahedron, pyramid with a square base. Simple oblique and perspective drawing.
10. Enlargement and similarity.
11. Topology. The ideas of node, order, and invariance. Topological equivalence.
12. Elementary statistics. Graphical representation of numerical data by bar chart, pie chart, frequency polygon, pictogram. Calculation of mean, estimation of mode.
13. Sine and cosine. Simple applications.
14. The graphical representation of simple inequalities, involving one or two variables.
15. Pythagoras theorem. Simple applications.

* * * * *

The syllabus is covered by Books 1 and 2 of the *School Mathematics of East Africa*.
Other useful books are :—

Modern Mathematics for Schools. Books 1 and 2 of the Scottish Mathematics Group (Blackie and Chambers)

Mathematics — A New Approach Books 1, 2 and 3 Mansfield and Thomson. (Chatto and Windus).

Some Lessons in Mathematics — T. J. Fletcher, Ed. (CUP)

Contemporary School Mathematics — First series (Arnold).

SWAHILI

INTRODUCTION

There will be one paper of 1½ hours duration.

The syllabus in Swahili for Cambridge School Certificate and General Certificate of Education examinations is:—

- (a) Translation into Swahili.
- (b) Translation into English.
- (c) A passage in the language with questions designed to test comprehension; the questions to be answered in Swahili.
- (d) A choice of subjects for an essay in the language. The essay subjects will be of interest to secondary school pupils in Africa but will not be of exclusively local significance. Candidates will be advised to devote about forty minutes to the writing of essay.

Candidates offering Swahili in C.S.C. or in G.C.E. should have acquired within the four years a wide vocabulary and should be able to speak and write the language correctly.

As far as teaching is concerned, it will depend, to a very large extent, on the teacher's knowledge of Swahili and his ability to teach, in order to make the course more effective. The teaching of Swahili leaves much to be desired and teachers will have to make what use they can of the material and books available at present, especially for those schools whose pupils' knowledge of the language is very limited.

It must be remembered that the whole aim of teaching Swahili is to enable pupils to talk and write Swahili correctly and so the students' need and desire to communicate in this language should be encouraged at all times, even though they lack facility. This will help to develop the correct usage of sentences.

In drawing up a scheme of work, teachers will have to take into consideration the standard of Swahili reached by the pupils admitted to Form I. The present situation is that the majority of pupils will have gained little Swahili from their primary education, whereas a small number will have begun Swahili as early as Primary I but their ability is more or less in spoken Swahili rather than in written Swahili.

But even though pupils enter Form I with a good knowledge of Swahili, there will be much corrective work to be done in grammar, in pronunciation and in building up their vocabulary. To make them more fluent teachers will have to give them as much oral work, reading and written work as possible, using the Direct Method.

Teachers of Swahili will have to regard this syllabus as a guide, to help them to draw up a Scheme of Work, suitable to their own requirements, remembering that the most important guide is their pupils' reactions. The syllabus is based on a minimum of three periods a week: one for language work, one for composition and one for translation and vocabulary work.

The suggested list of books is not meant to be strictly adhered to. Those schools which have suitable other readers in stock can use them provided they are written in "Standard Swahili" and the content of which is suitable to the class in which they are to be used.

It is important to establish and make use of class libraries for extra reading, which keen pupils will want to do; others may need some encouragement to do so. Only two or three copies of each title are necessary and the library can be gradually built up as funds become available.

In teaching Swahili, the teacher should try and keep to the language and not mix it with English.

FORM I (three periods a week)

1. LANGUAGE

- (a) *Speech Training*.—Here, the emphasis should be on fluency and correct pronunciation with special drills on sounds of Swahili which particular groups of students have difficulty with through contamination from their vernacular.

Exercises will be designed in the form of group and class discussions; listening to and making short speeches; dialogues; playlets; reading aloud; short plays written and presented by a group of other pupils in the upper forms.

- (b) *Grammar*.—Formal grammar should be reduced to a minimum and should be taught in context as an integral part of oral work, reading, writing and comprehension. The study of vocabulary and the grammatical use of these words in related sentences should also be included. This is the technique of intensive reading. The teacher should be familiar with the principles involved in teaching of grammar, especially noun classes, by referring to such books as:—

Swahili Grammar—Ashton (Longmans).

Teach Yourself Swahili—D. V. Perrott (E.U.P.).

Tusome Kiswahili, Books I to IV—A. F. Bull (O.U.P.).

Much useful grammar can be taught by referring to examples and constructions given in the course books.

- (c) *Reading*.—For extensive reading students should be encouraged to read the more worth-while books from the recommended list in addition to the suggested course books. For this purpose a variety of suitable books should be made available in the class library. The following is a list of suitable class Readers:—

Kisima Chenye Hazina (Longmans).

Hekaya za Abunywaa (Macmillan).

Uhuru wa Watamwa (Nelson).

Masimulizi ya Mamba Leo, Books I to VIII (Sheldon).

Nakupenda Lakini (E.A.L.B.).

Jizoeze Elimu ya Kiswahili, Books I and II (Sheldon).

Mazoezi na Mafumbo (O.U.P.).

Mzungumzo ya Efu-lela-Ulela, Book I (Longmans).

Hadithi za Wanyama, Book I (Sheldon).

Hadithi za Esopo, Book III (Sheldon).

2. COMPREHENSION

This is one of the essentials of language teaching. The teacher should be capable of selecting suitable passages which should not be written in very difficult language. Students should be encouraged to arrive at the meaning of words from the context as much as possible. To test comprehension the teacher could ask oral or written questions.

Multiple choice type questions to test both comprehension of ideas and of the vocabulary of a passage are highly recommended. Factual questions which can be answered by direct quotation from the passage should be as few as possible.

GENERAL SCIENCE

There will be one paper of 1½ hour's duration.

The syllabus will cover that part of the Cambridge Overseas Certificate General Science which can be reasonably expected to have been covered in the first two years of secondary school general science course.

The paper shall be in three parts, Chemistry, Physics and Biology. In order to pass the paper as a whole a pass must be obtained in each of the three sections.

The examiners will assume that candidates will at least have seen some experiments carried out.

Detailed Syllabus: Physics Section

1. Measurement of length and of volume; the use of the measuring cylinder.
3. Densities of solids and liquids.
The experimental determination of densities, e.g. liquids by density bottle and solids by weighing and displacement should be treated.
4. Pressure in liquids and gases; transmission of fluid pressure, the hydraulic press.
Quantitative questions may be set.
5. Mercury and aneroid barometers.
6. Bicycle pump.
7. Principle of Archimedes.
The application of the principle to the determination of densities of solids and liquids is included.
8. Flotation; the common hydrometer.
The treatment should include ships and balloons. Nicholson's hydrometer is NOT required.
12. Velocity ratio, mechanical advantage and efficiency of machines.
Levers, inclined plane, hydraulic press and single-string pulley systems (e.g. block and tackle) are included.
13. Work, energy, power transformation and conservation of energy applied to the conversion of energy into its different forms (mechanical, electrical, thermal, etc.).
15. Mercury and alcohol thermometers; centigrade and fahrenheit types.
Maximum and minimum thermometers, including the clinical thermometer, should be described.
16. Thermal expansion of solids, liquids and gases; effects and applications of expansion.
Coefficients are excluded, but the effects and applications of expansion, e.g. expansion of railway tracks, pendulums, thermostats, riveting, should be discussed.
18. Quantity of heat; calories, B.T.U., therm; specific heat.
The determination of the specific heat of a solid, and of a liquid by a simple method, e.g. using a heavy vessel, is required.
19. Change of state; evaporation and boiling; latent heat of fusion and of vaporization and their evaluation for water by simple methods.
The work should include cooling by evaporation.
24. Transfer of energy by conduction, convection and radiation.
The phenomena should be illustrated by simple experiments. Related topics should include: the conductivities of common materials in relation to their uses, e.g. cotton and woollen clothing; the Davy lamp; heat insulation; motor car cooling systems; ventilation; land and sea breezes; the thermos flask.
26. Rectilinear propagation of light; shadows; eclipses.
The pin-hole camera should be included.
27. Reflexion of light: laws of reflexion.
28. Formation of images by plane mirrors.
29. Refraction at a plane surface.
Examples such as the apparent reduction in the depth of a pond are included.
31. Converging and diverging lenses; real and virtual images.
Include the magnifying glass, the camera.
36. Dispersion of white light by a prism; the spectrum.
The recombination of the spectrum colours to form white light is included.
38. Production of sound by vibrating systems; its transmission in a material medium.
Descriptions of vibrating sources, e.g. tuning forks, and of experiments to demonstrate the necessity for a material medium are expected.
40. Reflexion of sound.
Include echoes.
41. Frequency and its relation to pitch.
Experiments with a siren or a toothed wheel might be given as examples.
45. Simple phenomena of magnetism.
Include: the properties of magnets; magnetic induction, magnetic screening; distinction between magnets and unmagnetized magnetic materials; methods of magnetization and demagnetization; magnetic fields and lines of force. Questions involving a knowledge of molecular theories of magnetism will not be set.
46. Magnetic properties of iron and steel.
Simple experiments illustrating the use of these materials should be given. A knowledge of hysteresis is not required.
47. The magnetic field of the earth; the magnetic compass.
A qualitative treatment of declination (variation) is expected.

General Science: Chemistry Section

The numbers refer to the paragraphs in the Cambridge General Science Syllabus.

Wherever possible, questions will be set to test the candidates' experience of the more important experimental work of the syllabus. When commercial processes are asked for no technical details of industrial plant are expected.

2. Proportion of oxygen in air; laboratory preparation of oxygen; its commercial preparation from liquid air; properties and uses of oxygen; acidic and basic oxides; nitrogen as a diluent in the air.

The proportion of oxygen should be shown by burning phosphorus, or by using alkaline pyrogallol.

3. Water; natural waters, sea water—its economic importance; water an oxide of hydrogen; the liberation of hydrogen from water by sodium, calcium and iron.
4. Preparation of hydrogen from steam and from dilute acids; the properties and uses of hydrogen; oxidation in terms of addition of oxygen.
6. Water as a solvent for gases and solids; evaporation, distillation, crystallization, filtration, and the use of these processes in preparing pure substances; deliquescence.
10. Preparation, properties and uses of carbon dioxide.
Mention should be made of the uses of carbon dioxide in fire extinguishers, effervescent drinks, aerated waters and refrigeration.
19. Elements, compounds and mixtures; chemical change and physical change.
20. Atoms, molecules, use of symbols, formulae and chemical equations in so far as they assist in giving a mental picture of a chemical action.

Equations in either words or symbols will be accepted.

21. Simple study of atomic theory; Dalton.
22. Characteristics of acids, bases and salts; general properties of acids.
Reference should be made to acids in every day use, e.g. citric, tartaric and acetic acids, but candidates are not expected to deal with the chemistry of these acids. Refer to soap as an example of a salt.
23. Methods of preparing salts.
Candidates should be familiar with the experimental details of the following methods: (i) neutralization and crystallization, (ii) action of acid on metal, (iii) action of acid on insoluble base or carbonate.
24. The phenomena of electrolysis of solutions such as cupric chloride and of acidified water; electrolytes and non-electrolytes.

General Science: Biology Section

The numbers refer to the paragraphs in the Cambridge General Science Syllabus.

Personal observations on living organisms should be made wherever possible. Great importance is attached to experimental work. When the cellular structure of particular animal or plant organs is being considered this should, wherever possible, be demonstrated by means of the microscope or a microprojector.

For most purposes a hand lens is sufficient; a detailed knowledge of cell structure will not be required except where specifically indicated in the syllabus.

2. External features, habits, movements, and life-history of a fish (including gills), an amphibian (e.g. toad) or a lizard, a bird, and a small mammal.

Candidates will be expected to study living examples, and to make records from their own observations. They should consider how the animals are adapted to their environment and type of life. No more detail is expected than can be seen with the aid of a hand lens.

3. Insects. Outlines of the life history, the mode of life and the economic importance of: butterfly (or moth), gnat (or mosquito), house-fly, green fly or locust.

Candidates should make their own observations on the insects in their natural surroundings, and these should be supplemented by records made from living specimens kept in the laboratory.

4. Flowering plants.

Stem, root and leaf to be treated with reference to their functions and to experiments in plant physiology (see section 5 below).

A hand lens only is needed for the study of roots and stems, but the internal structure of a leaf should be studied by means of a microscope or a microprojector. Details of secondary thickening in a stem are not required.

5. Plant physiology.

The whole of this section should be treated experimentally with sufficient theory to explain the phenomena and their importance to the plant.

- (a) The process of diffusion and osmosis; the absorption of water and mineral salts; the importance of turgor.

These processes should be shown with an artificial cell and with living material.

- (b) The rise of water up the xylem vessels.

The path should be demonstrated by the use of dyes. Questions will not be set on causative forces.

- (c) The process of transpiration.

Experimental work should include the loss in weight of a potted plant or of a leafy shoot in a test tube, the use of cobalt chloride paper, and the effect of external conditions on the rate of water loss. When a potometer is used; its limitations should be stressed.

- (d) Photosynthesis: the nature of the process itself, and the use of the manufactured food; the great importance of photosynthesis to life in general.

The candidates should be able to show by experiments the necessity for light carbon dioxide and chlorophyll and also the formation of starch and the output of oxygen.

- (f) Growth and its relations to external stimuli.

This should include the regions of growth in root and shoot, geotropic response of primary roots and shoots, phototropism of shoots and hydrotropism of roots.

- (g) Conditions of seed germination, and further conditions for subsequent healthy growth of seedlings into mature plants.

- (h) Soils, their constituents, and their characteristics.

Candidates will be expected to have carried out simple experiments on the physical properties of soil. They should know how to determine the amount of air, water and humus (by ignition), and how to compare capillarity and porosity of different samples of soil.

BIOLOGY

There will be one paper of 1½ hour's duration.

The syllabus will cover that part of the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Biology syllabus which can be reasonably expected to have been covered in the first two years of secondary school biology course.

Personal observations on living organisms should be made wherever possible. Great importance is attached to experimental work. When the cellular structure of particular animal or plant organs is being considered this should, wherever possible be demonstrated by means of the microscope or a microprojector. For most purposes a hand lens is sufficient; a detailed knowledge of cell structure will not be required except where specifically indicated in the syllabus.

Detailed Syllabus

Numbers refer to paragraphs in the Cambridge Biology Syllabus.

1. Nutrition. Proteins, carbohydrates and fats, mineral salts, vitamins. Importance of water.

Tests for protein, starch, reducing sugar and fat should be carried out by the candidate himself (see also p. 67).

Nutrition of green plants: (a) photosynthesis; the form and internal structure of leaves in relation to photosynthesis; (b) mineral nutrition.

(a) Experiments should be performed to show the necessity for light, carbon dioxide and chlorophyll, and the formation of starch and oxygen.

Nutrition and structure of a common mould, e.g. *Mucor* or *Phisopus*, or *penicillium*.

Nutrition of animals: ingestion, digestion, absorption and assimilation of food in (a) amoeba (or paramecium).

(b) The transport of materials in higher plants: the internal structure of roots and stems in relation to transport. Diffusion, osmosis and turgor in relation to absorption of water and solutes. The transpiration stream in plants.

Diffusion and osmosis should be shown with an artificial cell and with living material. Experiments on transpiration and transpiration rates should be performed both by weighing methods, and by using cobalt chloride paper (or cobalt thiocyanate paper). The rise of water in the system should be demonstrated by the use of dyes.

Food storage. Food storage organs in plants, including vegetative structures and seeds.
4. Growth. Increase in size: regions of growth in stems and roots. Change of form in plants: germination of seeds. Change of form in animals: metamorphosis of the toad (or frog) and a butterfly or moth.

Experiments should be performed to show regions of growth in stems and roots. The structure of the cell should be considered simply (cell wall, cytoplasm, nucleus, vacuole). Details of cell and nuclear division are not required. The germination of a cereal grain and at least one other type of seed should be studied from dormancy to the unfolding of the foliage leaves.
5. Response. Responses to stimuli exhibited by amoeba (or paramecium).

Tropic responses to light, water and gravity exhibited by plants.

Experiments on phototropism and geotropism in shoots, and geotropism and hydrotropism in roots should be performed.
6. Locomotion. Locomotion in amoeba (or paramecium).

Locomotion in a bony fish. Reference should be made to the action of the muscle blocks on either side of the body and to the vertebral column as a flexible but incompressible rod.

Flight in birds. Adaptations to flight and an elementary treatment of wing action. Structure and functions of feathers.

Reference should be made to gliding, soaring and to flapping flight.
7. Asexual reproduction in amoeba (or paramecium) and a mould, e.g. *Mucor*, or *Phisopus*, or *penicillium*.

Soils: soil formation. Composition of the soil: sand, clay, organic matter, mineral content. Physical and chemical properties of soils: water-retaining properties of clay and humus, flocculation of clay, soil acidity. The soil as a medium for plant and animal life.

Candidates should make an elementary study of the physical and chemical properties of soils supported by simple experiments. When considering soil as a medium for life, attention should be paid to the effect of differing physical and chemical characteristics of soils on soil animals and plants, and to their agricultural properties. These should include the importance of air and water; capillarity, porosity and drainage. The depletion of soil resources, e.g. by erosion. Soil conservation and maintenance of fertility should be discussed.
8. Relationships beneficial to man: showing the role of green plants, animals, saprophytic and parasitic organisms.

Relationships harmful to man: disease organisms, e.g. fungi, protozoa. Transmission of disease organisms and methods of control.

Diseases of both plants and animals should be mentioned. Reference should be made to two invertebrate vectors of disease and methods of control. Candidates should have detailed knowledge of the life history and control of two vector invertebrates.

HISTORY

This syllabus which covers a vast period of time aims at selecting specific topics for study whenever it is possible suitable characters associated with the historical events under discussion have been introduced. The selected topics are intended to form a guide to candidates; it is not the intention that candidates should be restricted in their search for a general understanding of the thought and behaviour of peoples covering the span of time from the Ancient Civilisations to the Modern Age.

Specific Objectives of the Syllabus:

- (i) To provide candidates in Secondary Schools who will complete no more than two years study with a suitable wide survey of world history which includes Africa.
- (ii) To provide candidates in Secondary Schools who will proceed to Form 3 and Form 4 with a suitable background to the concentrated study of African History which they are required to undertake for the Certificate Examination.
- (iii) To provide all Secondary Schools with a suitable basic History syllabus for use in Form I and Form 2 regardless of whether or not they have candidates for the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination.

There will be one question paper to be written in 1½ hours.

SECTION I

1. PRE-HISTORY

- (a) Its meaning. The reliance on non-written sources.
- (b) Leakey's discoveries and theories. Olduvai Gorge and Oldoway.

2. THE ANCIENT CIVILISATIONS

(i) EGYPT and MESOPOTAMIA

- (a) The importance of Rivers: early agriculture and trade.
- (b) Writing: hieroglyphics and papyrus; cuneiform and clay tablets.
- (c) Religious ideas and practice. Pyramids and Ziggurats.
- (d) The day to day life of the people.
- (e) Famous rulers: Menes; Hammurabi; Cyrus the Great.

(ii) THE ANCIENT EAST

- (a) Gautama Buddha.
- (b) Confucius.
- (c) Zoroaster.

(iii) GREECE

- (a) The City States: a comparison between life in Athens and Sparta. Government, religion; education; the Olympics.
- (b) Great Greeks: Leonidas; Socrates; Pericles; Archimedes; Alexander the Great.

(iv) ROME

- (a) The foundation of Rome: legend and fact. Aeneas; Romulus and Remus.
- (b) Expansion and rivalry with Carthage: Hannibal.
- (c) The rule and work of Julius Caesar and Augustus Caesar. The Roman army.
- (d) The system of Roman Government. Roman Law. Roman roads and buildings.

3. THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH

- (a) The teachings of Jesus Christ.
- (b) The growth and spread of Christianity.
- (c) Christianity and Empire: Charlemagne.
- (d) The influence of Christianity: monasteries; education. Benedict and St. Francis.

4. ISLAM

- (a) The Prophet Mohammed and his teachings.
- (b) The spread of Islam to the West and east of Arabia with particular reference to Africa.
- (c) The influence of Islam: mathematics; astronomy; navigation.
- (d) Relationship between Islam and Christianity.

5. THE RENAISSANCE and REFORMATION

- (a) The meaning of the Renaissance. Its outstanding characters: Michael Angelo; Leonardo da Vinci; Machiavelli; Gutenberg; Copernicus.
- (b) The causes and significance of the Reformation. Its outstanding characters: Luther; Calvin; The Counter-Reformation: Loyala and the Jesuits.

6. THE VOYAGES OF EXPLORATION

- (a) The reasons behind these voyages: Henry the Navigator.
- (b) Significant voyages by the Portuguese: Bartholomew Diaz and Vasco da Gama.
- (c) Significant voyages by the Spaniards: Columbus and Magellan.
- (d) The consequences of the Voyages of Exploration:

1. The new Geography Syllabus for the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination will be examined for the first time in 1970. This means all Secondary School candidates should start studying the new syllabus in Form I 1969. All Private Candidates intending to sit the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination in 1970 should study the new syllabus.

All candidates for the 1969 Kenya Junior Secondary Examination will be examined on the old syllabus.

2. Time Schedule.

The regions to be covered allow for alternatives so the order of study of the regions will be different. The order that follows is only an indication of how the syllabus can be tackled and individual teachers may wish to teach the regions in a different order.

Schools not Graded A or B

Form I Term I Mapwork and Local Geography.

Form I Term II Asia.

Form I Term III Africa.

Form II Term I East Africa.

Form II Term II N. America and part of Europe.

Form II Term III, rest of Europe and revision.

Schools not Graded A or B

Form I Term I Mapwork and Local Geography.

Form I Term II South and Central America.

Form I Term III South and Central America.

Form I Term III Australia and New Zealand.

Form II Term I Asia.

Form II Term II North America and part of Europe.

Form II Term III rest of Europe and revision.

3. This syllabus is primarily an Examination Syllabus but schools which do not enter candidates for the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination are recommended to use the syllabus as a basis for the work in Form I and II as it has been planned as a foundation for work to be covered for the East African Certificate of Education.

OBJECTIVES OF THE SYLLABUS

(a) To be of the greatest possible assistance to the citizens of Kenya in the development of appropriate attitudes and skills related to the accepted value concerning national unity, identity and cultural development.

(b) To provide a training in the methods of Geographical concepts which have a bearing on the positive and appropriate approaches to life in general.

(c) To make the pupil aware of his immediate environment, as part of the continent in which he lives.

(d) To give a wide knowledge of the world in which Kenya and Africa exist.

(e) EITHER To provide for the numerous students, who may come to the end, at least temporarily, of their formal education upon completing Form 2, a sound knowledge of Kenya, East Africa and the rest of Africa.

OR To provide a foundation for further studies in Form 3 and 4 where East Africa and Africa are studied in more detail.

VITA

Adam J. Asiachi was born in 1938 in East Bunyore, Kakamega District, in Kenya. He got his early education in the Church of God schools in East Bunyore, Kakamega District, the Roman Catholic School at Aluor Mission, Gem, in Siaya District, and Mvihila secondary school in Kakamega District. After completing teacher training education, he was awarded a teaching certificate by the Ministry of Education.

In 1970, he attended Kenyatta University College, Kenya, in preparation for teaching in secondary schools. He was awarded a diploma (S.I. teachers certificate) in teaching. He taught at Chakol Girls' Secondary School in Busia District.

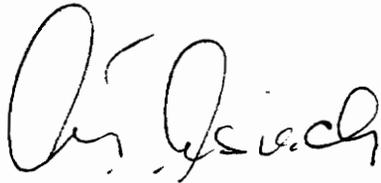
In 1971, he attended an advanced study for the teaching of Geography in secondary schools in Kenya, sponsored by the Kenya Institute of Education, Nairobi, Kenya.

During the academic year 1973-74, he entered Spring Arbor College, Michigan. In 1975, he earned a B.A. degree in Economics. In 1976, he was awarded an M.Ed. degree in Education after completing the requirements for the degree at the University of Toledo, Ohio. In the Summer of 1976, he completed an intensive program titled "Competency Based Teacher Education" at the University of Toledo, Ohio.

In the Fall of 1976, he enrolled in a doctoral degree program in the College of Education at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Blacksburg, Virginia.

His professional experiences include assistant headmaster (principal), career advisor and headmaster (principal).

He is a member of the Kenya National Union of Teachers.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "O. J. J. J. J.", is centered on the page below the typed text.

PUBLIC POLICY ALTERNATIVES AND
SELF-HELP (HARAMBE) SCHOOLING IN KENYA

by

Adam J. O. Asiachi

(ABSTRACT)

The emergence of self-help education phenomenon was analyzed by examining the documents available in the Ministry of Education. The records indicate that self-help education was started in Kenya earlier than 1963, particularly in the Central Province under the name, Kikuyu Independent Schools; and in many locations of Nyanza Province.

The largest movement of self-help education started in 1963. Records show that such schools have grown in magnitude and have contributed to the increase in the number of secondary school places in most parts of the country. The government has accepted that Harambe schools have been a blessing to the rural people. The government has encouraged the traditional efforts of self-help in the rural communities of Kenya.

Harambe schools have increased in number more than the government schools. They enroll more students than the government schools; however, the quality of education offered in both systems of schools remains unequal.

Two major government policies on Harambe schools were investigated. The first one was the take-over of the well-established and mature Harambe schools. Such schools are assimilated into the government school system. They are accorded all the benefits that government schools get. The second policy was assistance to selected Harambe schools. The assistance could be in the form of qualified teachers from government institutions or overseas volunteer teachers.

It was indicated in this study that these policies have contributed to the expansion of Harambe schools in the rural communities where children who complete primary education cannot find enough places in government schools. Initiation of such schools is based on the notion that once started, the take-over or government assistance would be available. However, records have shown that most of these type of schools have remained poorly maintained especially in economically poor rural areas. Poor conditions have contributed to low educational standards in these schools. Consequently, the needs of the students and the rural communities are not met.

Four issues that affect Harambe schools were selected for analysis and some policy alternatives and action by the government examined. Issues in Harambe schools were those that involve the curricula, governance, personnel, and finance.

Harambe schools employ a curriculum that is designed for well-established government schools. Such a curriculum is basically academic, bookish and prepares children to pass the public examination, but it hardly equips them with functional skills. It was demonstrated in this study that students who attend Harambe schools do not benefit from such a curriculum,

Governance of Harambe schools is shared between the government and the local communities, parents, and school committees. The question that was asked in this study was: Should the governance of Harambe schools be shared among the different groups? Government exercises indirect control. It regulates the curriculum and requires all students to participate in public examinations. Local communities, parents, and school committees exercise direct control by making school policies, rules, and organization of the operation of such schools.

Direct control extends to personnel and finance in Harambe schools. Rural communities contribute cash, labor, and material for establishing Harambe schools. Poor economic resources in many rural areas contribute to the utilization of poorly-qualified staff to teach in Harambe schools.

In view of the observations of the issues in Harambe schooling, several policy options and actions by the government were offered as possible means of seeking improvement in the Harambe schools. Alternative policies were specifically confined to the areas of curriculum, governance, personnel, and finance. Many options advanced in the policy alternatives in this study focussed on Harambe schools as an institution of the rural place which must be structured and organized to meet the needs and aspirations of the rural communities.