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A PHILOSOPHICAL STUDY OF TEACHING AS A PROFESSION WITH
SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO KENYA

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I must wish to thank the valuable contribution by Mr. ... who helped me to ... and give shape to the thesis topic.

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Thanks also to the ...
Margaret ... who did the arduous task of typing this thesis.

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A B S T R A C T

The teaching occupation is central to any education system. This thesis wants to look at the phenomenon of teaching with special reference to Kenya. In doing so, it wants to critically evaluate the various views held on teaching and notably teaching as a profession.

The thesis starts by examining different views held on teaching in Kenya. It begins with the traditional society, then moves to the colonial era, and from the colonial era to the contemporary era. It looks at the traditional notion of teaching which was gradually replaced by one in the colonial time that saw teaching as a vocation. This eventually led to the idea of teaching as a profession. Currently, teaching in the formal sense in Kenya is viewed as a profession. This has some direct practical and theoretical implications.

To understand the implications of holding teaching as a profession, the thesis starts with a historical perspective. It attempts to unearth certain historical data and fundamental concepts assumed to be related to teaching. It looks at the formalization, and westernization of teaching and the growth of professions. It also looks at the modern development of the idea of a profession. Within this context, it evaluates the various definitions of a profession. Eventually it takes Jackson's definition of a profession as most representative. Jackson's definition is reduced into a number of criteria that an occupation must fulfil so as to qualify as a profession.

Using Jackson's criteria of a profession, the thesis attempts to apply them to teaching in general and to teaching in Kenya particularly. After a critical analysis it arrives at the conclusion that certain dimensions of a profession are not accounted for in theory and in practice - within the teaching occupation. It finds that present day practice and theory hold teaching as a technique. The idea of a technique which arises out of specialisation, itself is a new dimension of a profession that is receiving great emphasis today. Evaluating this trend the thesis finds there is no way we can go back to the ideal of the past, but concludes there is urgent need to reconsider

and re-examine the idea of teaching as a profession. It states that rather than look at the specialisation (technique) aspect as the only criterion of a profession we should look at what the thesis considers as a more fundamental aspect of a profession. Thus, we should focus our attention on one dimension that was implied in the traditional view of a profession, which is the idea of truthfulness and altruism, but which in recent times has lost significance. The thesis finds this would lead to the human dimension of teaching, which it considers ought to form an essential part of teaching, if a teacher is to act as a guide - a pointer in life.

The thesis ends by stating some implications of this "new" view or dimension of teaching.

between education and development, education has become a highly sensitive area and has attracted attention from all quarters. Most central in the educational process is the teacher. The quality of education highly depends on the quality of teachers. Education thus, to be an effective instrument of change and development, would not only depend on the availability of teachers but also on the quality of those teachers. The teaching force in this country and elsewhere forms a relatively highly educated occupational group that reaches the population perhaps more than any other group. For since parental socialization is very limited nowadays, as the parents have left this task of preparing their children for the adult life to the teachers, it has therefore become very important to look at this occupational group for it is the group that shapes to a great extent our destiny. This makes the teaching profession a suitable worthy of serious study.

This study hopefully will contribute

(a) Towards a philosophy of teaching

I hope this thesis will be a contribution to the general thinking on teaching and to the practice of teaching. For at the end of this study it is hoped a philosophy of teaching will emerge that can be put into practice.

(b) Teacher Education

With the increase of the school population over the years it is very important to consider the quality of the teachers. This thesis will help to identify the requirements for teacher education and the standards

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDYPURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this thesis is to offer a philosophical study of teaching as a profession in the light of existing philosophies, and with an aim of arriving at a new existential philosophy of teaching with specific reference to different views held in Kenya.

Development in the third world has so often been closely associated with education, that very few people, if any, can think of development taking place without education as a precedent. As a result of this close association between education and development, education has become a highly sensitive area and has attracted attention from all quarters. Most central in the educational process is the teacher. The quality of education highly depends on the quality of teachers. Education thus, to be an effective instrument of change and development, would not only depend on the availability of teachers but also on the quality of those teachers. The teaching force in this country and elsewhere forms a relatively highly educated occupational group that reaches the population perhaps more than any other group. And since parental socialization is very limited nowadays, as the parents have left this task of preparing their children for the adult life to the teachers, it has therefore become very important to look at this occupational group for it is the group that shapes to a great extent our destiny. This makes the teaching occupation a subject worthy of serious study.

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(b) Teacher Education

With the increase of the school population more importance is now attached to teacher education in this country. This thesis will have definite implications for teacher education and for classroom teaching.

(c) Teaching Profession

It is hoped that the paper will throw light on the relationship between the teacher, his employer, and his client, and on the amount of control the teacher should hold over the instructional activity and on the requirements that one should have to join this noble occupation

(d) History of the Teaching Profession

The thesis will review ideas underlying the history of the teaching profession in Kenya - and will show the different stages of growth and the implications at each stage.

I hope finally that this thesis apart from providing further understanding of the teaching occupation in Kenya, it will also provide clues to the understanding of this phenomenon elsewhere.

THE PROBLEM OF THE STUDY

For a long time, until fairly recently, the idea of a profession was almost exclusively restricted to certain church activities, to the practice of law and of medicine. Due to the early close association between the church and teaching, the latter started also to be regarded as a profession in Western Europe during the 19th century.

The word profession which is derived from the Latin word Professio (profess) in its earliest use referred to a declaration of promise or vow made on entering a religious order, and it was only later that it was applied to the fields of medicine and law whose prime purpose as in the case of church activities was the rendering of public service. As teaching was by the 18th and 19th centuries very much a church activity in Western Europe, it was almost inevitable that it came to be considered in similar terms.

But when the occupation of teaching went beyond the control of the church it became more secularised, as people stopped viewing it as a church activity. Thus in its modern expression, teaching as a profession has been affected by views of professionalism in other areas especially law and medicine. Thus, to understand teaching as a profession today, one has to study the more established professions of law and medicine and in this context examine the credentials that

qualify teaching as a profession. There are some characteristic features of these long established professions against which claims of teaching as a profession should be judged. Thus, if one views teaching as a profession then he should see it in the light of these peculiar characteristics.

In Kenya, teaching in its institutionalized modern sense, was introduced during the colonial era. The early missionaries undertook the major educational responsibilities in East Africa. The missionaries' emphasis was on reading and writing since literacy was seen to be the high road to conversion. Those who got literate often became catechists and were in turn expected to teach writing and reading. Teaching in this context was primarily considered as a church activity, and so for that matter was teacher education. Cameron emphasizing the missionary's involvement in the teacher education in his book, The development of Education in East Africa, says¹

..... The teacher education began with that "pitiable reflection of Western bigotry."

This was so because the teachers were not only to spread christianity but also Western civilization. The churches then attached great importance to the training of their teachers. The teachers had to be models of a christian way of life; teacher education was, therefore, designed to produce this type of teacher. The missionaries in emphasizing teaching as a vocation prepared thereby the ground for teaching as a profession. After independence this view was although in modified form officially encouraged by the Ministry of Education in its reports.

With the greater increase in the number of teachers during the 1950s and 1960s the bureaucratization of the education system gained significance. This resulted eventually in the formation of Teachers Service Commission (T.S.C.) and the Kenya National Union of Teachers (K.N.U.T.) with the former acting as the employer of the teachers and

1 Cameron, J. The development of education in East Africa (1970), p.51.

the latter being a trade union fighting for the welfare of the teachers. As this employer-employee relationship became more defined with most of the teachers coming under the umbrella of T.S.C. the utilitarian dimension of teaching began to receive special emphasis. This is indicated by the number of strikes the KNUT called in its early days all of which were aimed at asking for better salaries and conditions of service for the teachers. Thus a different view, namely of teaching as a job became prominent.

The critical question now is: Should teaching be seen as a profession or simply as a job, or as a combination of both? Internationally there is a trend that is trying to emphasize the job aspect of teaching, that is, teaching as a technique. This is in accordance with one widely accepted definition of a profession. Carr-Saunders and Wilson in the book "The Professions" defines a profession as

..... "Anybody or persons using a common technique who form an association the purpose of which is to test competence in the technique by means of examination."²

This definition further complicates the problem since it qualifies teaching as a profession by using the definition of job as the definition of profession leaving out the original essential characteristic of a profession. In Kenya, the view of teaching as a job has been prominent for some time now considering the behaviour and views of teachers, KNUT, T.S.C. and the administration. In actual fact, very few teachers seem to know what being a professional really entails.

At this moment of crisis, some thinking is necessary. In philosophical terms what do we mean by teaching? Is the professional or job aspect a necessary condition or not; if both are not, what is fundamental to teaching? Currently a new school of thought has been viewing teaching differently viz. as human action, as

2 Carr-Saunders, "The Profession", Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., London: (1964), p.3.

significant action with the teacher being or acting as a guide. This new view of teaching, sees it in human terms of dialogue and intersubjectivity. Teaching is no longer only a technique rather it is a dialogue between the teacher and the student. This new vision seems to be related to the views on teaching by some of the great teachers that the world has known in history e.g. Socrates, Gandhi, etc.

At present there exists dissatisfaction both with teaching as a profession and as a job either on utilitarian or idealistic grounds. Thus there is a definite need to reconsider what teaching should be. If for all practical reasons teaching cannot be a profession, and if teaching should not be seen as a technique for human reasons, then we are bound to ask ourselves what teaching should be. Perhaps by looking at the traditional views, and the contemporary thinking on teaching we may come to a new view of teaching that may imply innovations and improvements both at the training and service levels.

Not surprisingly the role of the teacher is often defined in diverse and contradictory terms. We have already seen that there are different views of the teaching occupation. While some of these views are age-old others are very contemporary. All seem, however, to be either directly or indirectly concerned with the professional status of the teacher and teaching as a profession.

A profession, according to the literature presupposes specific characteristics that apparently are not shared by other occupational groups. Attempting an evaluative analysis of the most accepted professions like medicine, law, accountancy, etc. most writers present us with certain major defining characteristics of a profession that appear in all their studies of the profession.

It is questionable how far the teaching 'profession' in the Kenyan situation, but also elsewhere, does fulfil these defining characteristics.

During the colonial period, most of the schools were under missionaries, teaching was not yet bureaucratized and no special arrangements existed to regulate entry. Due to the low level of literacy, for one to teach he was primarily required to have

sufficient literacy to teach reading, writing and basic arithmetic.

Apart from that, those who taught were expected to be men of high moral standard and to conduct themselves in a religious manner. Thus, there was a close association between teaching and religious moral concerns. Those who chose this occupation were expected to place a relatively low emphasis upon economic (utilitarian) values. They were not expected to fight for better conditions of work, monetary or otherwise. Religious motives were to be held as the main source of their inspiration and motivation to work rather than material rewards; this is what Etzioni calls a 'dedicatory ethic' which elevates service motives and denigrates material rewards as the proper motivation to work. After independence, teachers faced a different existential situation, and reacting to the realities of the day we find them forming a Trade Union in the late 1950's with its first objective being to struggle for more monetary benefits and better conditions of work. For it is clearly stated in the Kenya National Union of Teachers Constitution Article I Section (a) as relating to the Name, that Union stands for Trade Union. Section (a) reads.

RECAPITULATION OF THE STORY

"The trade union constituted by these rules shall be known as the "KENYA NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS" hereinafter referred as the Union."

While the original and basic objective of KNUT was more or less utilitarian, recently the KNUT officials have been heard making statements that imply a serious concern with teaching as a profession. Early last year the Secretary General of KNUT as the Chief Executive of the Union said that,

----- "The National Executive Committee wishes to make it clear that our union which is considered to be one of the most professional organizations in this country also continues to condemn very strongly the few teachers who are guilty of anti-teaching profession practices."³

3 Ambrose A. Adongo, "Union to Achieve more in 1978" The Kenya Teacher (1978), April, No. 24, p. 30.

This statement does indicate that KNUT holds itself to be a professional organisation, thus its members are professionals. This is vis-a-vis the view held by the T.S.C. that the teachers are primarily employees. This raises confusion as to whether teachers are merely employees or professionals.

Having observed these different views of teaching, I have found that the human dimension of teaching has been under-emphasized. After a critical analysis and a serious philosophical reflection of the traditional and contemporary views on teaching, I conclude there is an urgent need to re-emphasize the human dimension of teaching. For it to be re-emphasized, I have highlighted the need for critical consciousness amongst the teachers and the students, and also the need for true dialogue between the teacher and the student based on true existential thinking. Having done so, I have suggested some definite implications pertaining to teacher education and teaching in the classroom if the human dimension of teaching is to be applied both in theory and practice. The implications particularly apply to the Kenyan situation.

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

This is a philosophical study of teaching as a profession with specific reference to Kenya. So as to understand the teaching profession in general I have made an attempt to study teaching as a profession starting from the Kenyan situation, both past and present. In presenting the situation I have made an attempt to unearth the philosophical foundations underlying the 'systems' of education that have been in existence in past and present Kenya. This consists of seeking the fundamental notions upon which education was based during the indigenous, colonial and the contemporary systems of education in Kenya. This I have done by highlighting some general characteristics of these systems and also by an attempt to analyse fundamental concepts underlying historical data related to education in Kenya. It is my hope by doing this my thesis will become truly philosophical and not merely historical.

From the Kenyan situation I have looked at the general thinking on teaching as a profession. It should be noted that the general

thinking on teaching as a profession is more based on the western world thinking mostly due to the close relationship of our Education system to the British system of education. Again I have attempted to arrive at a descriptive analysis of views and concepts on teaching in general. Having analysed these different concepts pertaining to the Kenyan situation and to the overall thinking on teaching, I have made an attempt to formulate a normative view of teaching, within the existential sphere of thinking.

In elaborating my normative view of teaching, much of my thinking has been based on philosophical resources, (literature), especially those offering an existentialist view of teaching. The information gained from these philosophical resources has been used thus as supportive material in my philosophical reflection on teaching as a profession.



- I Teaching in the Independent era
- II Teaching in the Colonial era
- III Teaching in the Contemporary era.

TEACHING IN AFRICAN INDEPENDENT SOCIETY

When talking about teaching in African Independent Society one is bound to be faced by various historical and political, that would hinder the task of giving a comprehensive account of teaching. The historical and political in Africa are bound to be very interesting and complex. As usual therefore, there are no clear problems, they do arise in the light of these problems that we have seen were helpful discussion on teaching in African Independent Society.

The following historical and political are considered as basic and will be further clarified in the subsequent paper

1. G. Kibaki "African Independent Education" Preliminary Report, unpublished paper, Kenyatta University College, Oct., 1976. This paper has been used extensively to analyze the problem indicated

CHAPTER 2

TEACHING IN KENYA

INTRODUCTION

This is a philosophical study of teaching as a profession with specific reference to the Kenyan situation. Before anything is said about teaching as a profession, we would like in this chapter to look and describe teaching as it has evolved within the Kenyan situation. We shall thus be looking at the phenomenon of teaching in the Kenyan situation hoping to find out some general characteristics. These characteristics will be compared with ideas elsewhere on teaching, particularly in relation to teaching as a profession, in the next chapter.

Looking at teaching in Kenya we can distinguish three different periods, each of which may provide us with deeper understanding of the growth and development of teaching in Kenya. The three periods are:

- I Teaching in the Indigenous era
- II Teaching in the Colonial era
- III Teaching in the Contemporary era.

PROBLEMS OF AFRICAN INDIGENOUS EDUCATION

When talking about teaching in African Indigenous Society one is bound to be faced by certain limitations and problems, that would hinder him from giving a comprehensive account of teaching. The limitations are similar to those one would face when considering indigenous education. We should therefore, first look at these problems, for it is only in the light of these problems that we can have meaningful discussion on teaching in African Indigenous Society.

The following limitations and problems are considered as basic¹ and will be further clarified in the subsequent pages:

1 G. Bennaars "African Indigenous Education": Preliminary Notes, Unpublished paper, Kenyatta University College, Oct. 1976. This paper has been used extensively to analyze the problems indicated.

- a. The problem of meaning
- b. The problem of analysis
- c. The problem of scope.

(a) The Problem of Meaning

This refers to the problem of definition, of what we mean by the term 'Indigenous'. The term 'indigenous' has been used synonymously with other terms like 'traditional', 'pre-colonial' etc. The term 'indigenous' refers basically to anything that has originated from a particular place or region; something is called 'indigenous' when it is not alien, but belongs naturally to a particular place. Thus, we talk of indigenous people of a place, animals, plants, etc. Used this way, the term refers to a place, not to a specific time, e.g. past or present. Yet, African Indigenous Education is often understood as African Traditional Education, implying an equation of 'indigenous' and 'traditional'. Traditional refers to time. We speak of our traditional customs, beliefs, ideas, art, etc. When we want to imply that they have been transmitted from generation to generation; as such, it usually stresses the element of time. The term 'Education' presents a problem also when we look at the type of education which was conducted in the Indigenous Societies. Most people have equated education with schooling and as a result have said there was no education in African Indigenous Societies since there were no schools. However, we should distinguish formal education, viz. schooling from informal and non-formal education. The fact that there were no well organized institutions in which transmission of knowledge went on does not mean that there was no education going on. One would be in danger to limit education to institutionalized learning. If we define education as the process whereby the accumulated wisdom and knowledge of a society is transmitted from one generation to the next, then despite the lack of schools, education still went on in the African indigenous society.

(b) The Problem of Analysis

That indigenous education did exist in the traditional societies of Kenya is a historical fact; this fact refers to the pre-colonial situation. Education in the pre-colonial days was non-literary; in

other words, traditional education was generally oral in character. The problem now is; how far can we trace old history or the methods used which differed from place to place, and from time to time? The problem is even further complicated when we ask ourselves, how far can we re-capture this educational process, in it's oral form? In other words, when do we start to analyse this process? Traditional education is seen by most authors to start from time immemorial up to the middle of the nineteenth century, where colonial education starts. How to re-capture what happened before 1850 is the problem. Since it has been hard to re-capture the whole of this tradition, much of traditional education remains, at least for the present, hidden in the obscurity of the past.

The first written accounts of traditional education only appear after 1850s written by people who themselves were outsiders (in terms of indigenous education). These were mainly missionaries and explorers. Hence what they wrote was what they thought indigenous education was. These writers being products of their age, an age of 'Colonial mentality', could not avoid to be partial in their assessment. And unless there is careful assessment of these sources one is bound to get a very distorted image of traditional education.

Even though after 1930s we get more scholars mainly anthropologists writing detailed accounts of traditional societies in Africa, they too were faced by one problem. Being social scientists they were primarily interested in the social dimension of traditional life, hence their accounts of indigenous education were largely written in terms of education, defined as 'socialization'. Thus, the observations of these authors often represented their anthropological perspective. Even with recent scholars we find them too limited by the lack of direct access to original sources, unlike their predecessors.

(c) The Problem of Scope

Education in the African indigenous society was mainly a process of socialisation. It was community-oriented, and its content was determined by the socio-economic and political situation existing at a particular time. It was purposeful education, aimed at preparing the individual to live a community life.

The methods used were mainly informal, though formal instructions were at times held. Learning was mainly through apprenticeship. It was learning by doing.

Since indigenous education was education for life, it covered very many aspects of life, hence its scope was very wide. It is this wide coverage of indigenous education that present the problem of scope, for it is hard to come up with a detailed description of it.

In view of the above limitations we should realize that when one talks about African Indigenous Education one cannot avoid generalization and over-simplification. As a result no comprehensive account of indigenous education is easily available.

EDUCATION AND TEACHING IN AFRICAN INDIGENOUS SOCIETY

However, despite these three problems, education went on in African indigenous society. Furnival observes that, education dates back to the emergence of mankind and that "during the long ages of pre-history man survived because he was capable of learning, by example and experience, to adapt his way of life to his environment; succeeding generations learned new lessons in the School of life."² Kenyatta in his book Facing Mount Kenya says in the traditional society "education begins at the time of birth and ends with death. The child has to pass various stages of age-groupings with a system of education defined for every status of life. The parents take the responsibility of educating their children until they reach the stage of tribal education."³ The first educational responsibility was with parents, and the homestead was the school.

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- 2 J.S. Furnival Colonial Policy and Practice
(London: Cambridge University Press,
1948), p.402.
 - 3 Jomo Kenyatta Facing Mount Kenya (London:
Secker and Warburg, 1938), p.99.

The children learned by living and doing. In the home and on the farm they were taught the skills of the society and the behaviour expected of its members. In the field they learned how to weed and how to care for the animals. This was through joining their elders at work. They learned about the tribal history, values and customs through listening to stories narrated by the elders. "The methods used were 'moral' tales, folk-lore and proverbs, combined with on-the-job training until puberty when initiation rites took place."⁴ Education was for life and throughout one's life. The curriculum was common for all with only a few cases that were exceptional. For example, Raum writing on the Chagga says "the Chagga heirs of rulers received special courses in statecraft."⁵ In some other tribes certain clans had the exclusive monopoly over certain specialized skills.

African Traditional Society did not have a group of organized teachers in the present day terms. The parents and elders acted as teachers.

"Throughout traditional education great emphasis was placed on correct behaviour and respect towards parents, relatives and elders. The aged were the repositories of knowledge the 'talking libraries', for there were no written records."⁶

The daughters would learn certain aspects from the mothers and the word 'mother' was extended to almost every woman of her mother's age. The boy did likewise: he learnt from his father and men of his father's age. Sometimes there were formalised classes during ceremonies and initiation rites. Teaching as I stated earlier was

4 G.N. Brown Conflict and Harmony in Education in Tropical Africa (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1975), p.355.

5 O.F. Raum Chagga Childhood (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 372-373.

6 Ibid, G.N. Brown Conflict and Harmony in Education in Tropical Africa, p.355.

mostly through apprenticeship. The boy observed his father ploughing, building a hut and learnt through participation how to carry out these functions. Other methods used were stories, proverbs, riddles and music etc. Every elder was expected to play his role as a teacher.

One thing to be noticed is that the Africans had a fusion of theory and practice in their education. For where there is practice based on a reflection of one's experience in life there must necessarily be a theory behind it. The Africans had formulated a theory or theories of how to bring up their children and their educational practices were no doubt based on these theories. It is only through careful reflection upon the practice, that one may be able to see the main ideas behind the indigenous education. The theory may be explicit or implicit. John Adams summarizes this problem of theory and practice as follows:-

"where there is practice, there is implied theory, though by the very nature of the case theory cannot become explicit till there has been some reflection upon the process implied in the practice. It would seem that theory arises naturally out of practice, for though nothing practical can be done without some previous knowledge of the end to be attained, it is usual at the earliest stages to give most attention to the practical and leave a later period the consideration of the reason for our action. We are not to suppose, however, that our progress consists in uninterrupted advance from practice to theory. The two, are continuously reacting upon each other."⁷

If we accept John Adams' statement on the evolution of educational theory, then without prejudice we can assume various philosophies of indigenous education, to have existed. These were no

7 John Adams The Evolution of Educational Theory
(London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1972), p.5

doubt the basis of the philosophy of teaching as it was practised then.

We do not and cannot come out with a comprehensive philosophy of teaching in the traditional society, but can attempt to indicate or highlight some general characteristics that characterised education then. Teaching in the indigenous society started with the concrete situation. It helped the individual to solve his problems as they arose. It was situation-action-centred. It was teaching in the manner of Dewey.⁸ Teaching was also a life-long process. It was a continuous process as we saw earlier, it started with birth and ended with death. Since education was community-oriented, teaching too had to reflect this. It had to be relevant to the needs of the community. The content had to be concerned with the problems and ideals of the community life. It had to give guidance to community life. It had to acquaint one with the values and needs of his community. Though teaching is said to have been informal by most writers, it was mainly non-formal,⁹ for the transfer of knowledge took place along well established patterns. It was known who was to teach what, and whom to direct his teaching to. The knowledge transferred could be categorised as knowledge-how and knowledge-that, therefore, it was not purely academic. It was knowledge for existence. The ethereal or "spiritual" part of life was more stressed than the rational part of life. Religion was used to explain some of the mysteries of life, especially, all evil was attributed to the spirits e.g. disease, famine, flood, drought etc. This made the indigenous man not face reality directly and reasoning was limited. However any knowledge acquired was to be used for the existence within one's own community.

8 George F. Kneller Introduction to the Philosophy of Education (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1964), pp. 47-49.

9 For further explanation of the term 'non-formal' see P. Coombs, et. al. New Paths to learning - for rural children Youth, Unicef, 1972, p.10.

With the above characteristics in mind we find that teaching in traditional society went on as a social-action, everyone especially members of the adult-society acted as a teacher. Man's development to full humanity was largely the result of interaction with other persons and communication with other human beings. Like Nyerere they believed man is man because of men. It was human. Education was purposeful and intentional. It covered all aspects of life. It was broad in conception. Hence, it was flexible and adaptive. It was not rigid in the bureaucratic style. Although broad in conception, limitation did occur, in that, it was limited to a particular community. It was inward-looking for it was limited to a single community's needs and affairs. Rarely was there any contact or interaction with other societies. Teaching as a result took a conservative character. It was never intended to be liberating. It was intended to "mould" and "conform" the individual to the standards of the adult society. And individual creativity was limited to a certain framework, the framework of the community. However, one has to note education took place in a conflicting situation. In this sense education was more than conformity. The individual had to choose between conflicting possibilities: the conflict of existence of evil and good; the conflict of individual interest and societies. There was lack of internally generated change. Problems of epidemics, famine, floods etc., went on and little was done to try and control this. However, there was externally generated change; for even though we have said there was no contact with outside communities often, different communities were at war with each other and this often brought creativity in the area of weaponry.

The indigenous societies were thus not completely isolated.

From the above we can conclude that teaching in the indigenous era took both a conservative and progressive attitude. It was conservative when it limited the individual to the framework of his society and the norms and values of his adult society. It was progressive in as far as it allowed guided-creativity where conflicting situations arose.

TEACHING IN THE COLONIAL ERA

To understand teaching in the colonial era it is necessary

that we have some idea of the colonial education. To understand the colonial education itself, we have to understand the colonialist view of the African. For it was on the basis of this view that he formulated his educational policies and objectives for the Africans. Education is not planned or administered in isolation, rather it is influenced by all the forces interacting within the society. All the ideas conceived by the planner affects how he administers the education system. According to Mutua the colonialist viewed the African in the following context:

- (a) "Religiously the Africans were said to be morally depraved, fetish and devil worshipper or, at better atheist.
- (b) Culturally the Africans were said to have no history, tradition or culture.
- (c) The African was said to be of inferior intellect. The ordinary European regarded the Africans as retarded children, incapable of intellectual effort and deficient in constructive power."¹⁰

The belief by the colonial masters on the low intellect of the Africans is further underlined by the Director of education Annual Report of 1926. The report stated:

" A study of the examination results attached to this report show how few of the Africans have at present the power of thought which is required for a high standard of literacy education. Generally speaking, the African mind in Kenya has reached the stage of sense perception. The imagination and the emotion are both highly developed but the development of the reason faculties must be low. Just as handwork has been found useful in the training of mentally defective children, so the most useful training which the African can receive in his present condition is continual

10 Rosalind W. Mutua Development of Education in Kenya (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1975), pp. 1-3.

contact with material processes. The discipline imposed by the exactness required in joinery, carpentry, building, smelting etc., increases the power of perception and gradually develops the process of thought. Increasing emphasis therefore is being placed in education in Kenya on contact with material processes such as agriculture, handicraft, hygiene, sanitation, housework, the management of money, clothing etc., and the classroom will become more a place where the ideas and thoughts arising from practical experience can be co-ordinated and re-applied."¹¹

"No doubt it was this general outlook of the Europeans on the Africans that determined his educational policies. If people within whose power it lay to plan education believed that the educable capacity of the Africans was below that of Europeans, this would be and indeed was a basis for separate educational development between the races."¹² It will be noticed that education in colonial time was organised on racial basis with different curricula for the three main races, the Europeans, the Africans and the Asians. However, we are concerned with African education and teaching.

African education during the colonial era started with the missionaries. The first missionaries came into Kenya in 1846 but their educational efforts and influence were not felt until the last decade of nineteenth century. This was because their earlier efforts were concentrated on exploration and the opening of new grounds for their later work of proselytization. It is therefore,

11 J.C. Ssekamwa A History of Education in East Africa (Kampala: Uganda Bookshop Press, 1973), p.6.

12 Rosalind W. Mutua Development of Education in Kenya (Nairobi: East African Literature Bureau, 1975), p.6.

not until the end of the first decade of twentieth century that we find the different missionary groups having established their own schools. The success of these schools depended on the facilities and initiative of each missionary society for they formulated their own policies, curriculum, engaged their teachers and dismissed them as they liked. There was no interference by the Government until 1911 when the Government established a Department of education, and this was the first time the colonial Government showed any interest in Education. The department of education was to provide financial assistance on a grants-in-aid basis to the missionaries. But the running of schools was wholly left in the hands of the missionaries. Thus, initially in Kenya and East Africa as a whole education was in the hands of the church. The colonial Government adopted this policy for it was in accordance with the British Home System where education was highly organized on denominational basis or by private institutions. "Infact it was not until 1902 that state responsibility was fully accepted in Britain."¹³ Despite the extension of financial assistance in Kenya which was the first step towards secularization of the education system, the church influence had to remain for many more years.

The missionaries saw literacy as a means of accomplishing their mission - which was the proselytization of the Africans, and hence, they opened schools. They realised those with literacy could read the bible for themselves and could also become catechist and help to spread Christianity. Pope Pius XI expressed the conviction that "a mission without schools and catechists was a mission without a future."¹⁴ To the missionaries the perfect man,

13 A. Holland The Transformation of the African Teaching Profession in Tanzania (Ann Arbor: University microfilms, A xerox Co., 1972), p.27.

14 Mary Knoll Priest "Roman Catholic Agencies", The Education Year Book (New York: International Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933), p.566.

that is somebody who followed and upheld the biblical principles, could only be a christian. To them the Africans were uncivilized and pagans as they were not Christians. This is why they put a lot of effort in education as this was the best means they could use to lure the Africans into Christianity. Those who became christians had to teach biblical principles as well as offer basic education to the non-christians so as to proselytize them.

At this point it would be better for us to start looking particularly more at teaching in the colonial era. During the colonial period the status of teachers was highly affected by a number of factors. These were:

(a) MISSIONARY DOMINATION

The attitude towards teachers as a class with jurisdiction of practice and authority was barely evident, as teachers were sternly controlled by either the missionaries or the colonial Government. As we stated earlier, mission schools were wholly controlled by the missionary societies, they engaged their own teachers and dismissed them as they liked. Cases are even known of teachers having been beaten and whipped in front of the school if they misbehaved by the School Inspectors. Fear existed among the teachers for there was no security as far as their jobs were concerned. "It was also early recognised that a bush school-teacher was a dedicated man to whom salary was not the sole consideration."¹⁵ Even during training, teachers were made to understand they were to remain subservient and salary was not to be of great interest to them. The vow taken by students training as teachers at St. John's School, Kabaa was a good evidence of this. Their promise thus stated:

"For the Glory of God and for the redemption of our brethren, we promise before God and before our Priest to follow this three year course

15 Anthony Smith "The Missionary Contribution to Education Tanganyika to 1914," Tanganyika Notes and Records, No. 60 (March, 1963), p.94.

(without a salary receiving only clothes and food) - and after that serve in the schools as our Priests shall direct for five years."¹⁶

Devotion to duty had to come first before any other consideration by the teachers. Devotion to duty was enforced by fear of God's authority and of the Priest. If the teacher was not devoted to his work, he was made to understand that he was offending God.

Before 1922 the Colonial Government had very little to say over the teachers. However, in 1922 for the first time the Department of Education issued rules governing the classification of Native teachers.¹⁷ They were classified into pupil teachers and certified teachers. "A pupil teacher was classified as a boy or girl selected and engaged by the manager of an elementary school, under a binding contract in writing, to assist the teachers of the school in maintaining discipline and imparting instruction. He would regularly receive adequate instruction in the subjects of general education."¹⁸ The certified teacher must have qualified as a pupil teacher or had been trained at least one year in some training institution for teachers recognized by the Education Department. In 1924 there was an Education Ordinance which established District Education Committees and these Committees among other things had

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- 16 J.N.B. Osogo The History of Kabaa - Mangu and the Contribution of the Holy Ghost Father to Education in Kenya (Makerere: Faculty of Education, 1970 M.A. Thesis, University of East Africa), p.51.
- 17 Departmental Instructions Governing Native Education in Assisted School, 1922, p.7.
- 18 F.F. Indire and D.N. Sifuna A History of the Development of Teacher Education in Kenya (Nairobi: University of Nairobi, 1974), p.7.

to carry out the work of registration of all schools and the issuing of licences to all teachers in the colony. The District Committees were to be composed of Government officials, the missionaries and the settlers. This meant there had to be co-operation between the Government and the missionaries. This move by the Colonial Government to be in control of teachers did not succeed in the initial stages due to a number of things. Firstly, the missionaries were highly suspicious that this was the first direct control by the Government over their teachers. Secondly, there were no Government teacher training institution as such and what the Government did was to train most of the students in the Government Secondary Schools to be teachers e.g. upto 1932 all students in the Secondary Section at Kabaa, studied the theory and methods of teaching in the out-schools whenever time could be found, even if it was during the holidays.¹⁹ This situation where most of primary and secondary school graduates had to take teaching regardless of whether they were interested or not gave a low morale to the teachers and caused resentment of the teaching occupation and thus in no way did it help the professionalization of the teaching occupation.

It should also be noted that during this period the number of Africans interested in education was increasing at a faster rate than the output of teachers from the few training institutions that existed. The missionary and the few Government schools were often forced to engage untrained teachers. This situation worsened further during the second world war when most of the qualified teachers were attracted to the war front by the lucrative salaries paid to the soldiers, a situation which left primary schools with no other alternative except to engage unqualified men and women to teach. Such a situation did not in any way help to promote the status of the teaching occupation.

(b) FOREIGN CULTURE

Another factor that affected the status of the teachers was the fact that the teachers were considered as agents of a foreign culture and there existed a conflict between this culture and the

19 Ibid., p. 39.

indigenous peoples' culture. The lack of clear goals for education often resulted in creating tension between the culture and values of the local people, and the foreign school. It should be realised that the colonial masters and the missionaries in order to suppress the African cultural values made sure literacy, christianity, civilization and education were equated. The ideal man had to be a christian. Only christians could achieve literacy and literacy led to economic progress. At the beginning, this caused a lot of bitter sentiments amongst the Africans and anyone who was an agent of this policy was looked down upon, and the majority of this group were the teachers. The Europeans imposed new ideals and values for the Africans; and these values and ideals were very alien to the African. The European stress on the acquisition of knowledge as the dominating objective of teaching technique in African could not be accepted by the Africans. The Europeans just like Plato saw knowledge as a virtue. To them given the knowledge and right ideas, proper character formation would follow. However, they did not understand proper character formation grows out of personal relations among the Africans, a fundamental practice in African indigenous system of education. This was what Jomo Kenyatta refers to when he says, "To the Europeans individuality is the ideal, to the Africans the ideal is the right relations with, and behaviour to other people."²⁰ No doubt educational philosophy should offer a higher synthesis in which these two great truths could be one, but the fact remains that while the European placed emphasis on one side, the African placed it on the other; and any agent of this European ideal could not be looked at by the Africans with due respect. As will be seen here below this situation changed later as the Africans started to appreciate the foreign ideals. T.R. Batten referring to the several factors that affect the status of the teacher summarized the above situations as follows:

"The power and prestige of the external contacting society, the attitude of the tribal society towards

20 Jomo Kenyatta Facing Mount Kenya (London: Secker and Warburg, 1938), p. 122.

it, the status of the teacher in the external society, and in the case of indigenous teacher, the tribal status that is accorded him operate together to determine the status of the teacher in the tribal community."²¹

Batten, identified two categories of teachers; "One, the alien (alienated) or external teachers representing another culture; Two, the indigenous teachers who are members of the tribal society."²² The alienated teacher is distinguished from the indigenous teacher in that both the idea and content of education is foreign. The content differs in that the knowledge, skills and modes of behaviour have their roots in alien culture. "The idea is alien because it (education) is oriented to change, whereas the tribal idea is traditional and conservative."²³

The status of the alien teacher was highly determined by the indigenous peoples' attitude towards the foreign society which he represented. But as time went on the indigenous society started placing a higher value to certain aspects of the contacting culture i.e. an interest in christianity, for example, changed the role for the teacher, although perhaps the African was hypocritical as he saw christianity to be just a means to his ends, in that the acquiring of literacy and skills of the Europeans which one achieved only if he was a christian, were to help him raise his standards of living through acquiring a better job. "The fact that the tribal community began to value this knowledge base was slowly becoming a deciding element of a teachers' professional status."²⁴

21 T.R. Batten "The Status and Functions of Teachers in Tribal Communities", Year Book of Education, Status and Position of Teachers (New York: World Book Co., 1953), pp. 76-94.

22 Ibid., p. 86.

23 Ibid., p. 78.

24 A. Holland The Transformation of the African Teaching Profession in Tanzania (Ann Arbor: University microfilms, A xerox Co., 1972), p.35.

So, as time went both the alien and indigenous teachers received a certain status based on the fact they possessed certain special skills or knowledge. But even though the indigenous Africans were starting to appreciate the teachers knowledge base and skills, it should however be noted that teachers in the colonial period were not yet professionals however defined.²⁵ His scanty education, even though exceeding most other people's was far from what can be said to constitute a secure knowledge base that could qualify him as a professional. At the same time there were no strict rules as to who should become a teacher, and there was nobody to control entry into teaching. The approach in the teacher training colleges was highly academic, and even poor student-teachers could get a pass. There was no uniform curriculum for the different colleges and this remained as the situation until recently (1975). Before this any student entering a teacher training college was almost assured of a pass - a situation which made the student-teacher relax very much. This also deprived the student the theory that could be the guide to their practice. The use of theory as a guide to practice is perhaps one of the criteria of a professional; as in accordance with Weinstock remarks:

"One way an occupation can attain professional status certainly is through using theory as a guide to practice. This theoretical knowledge is one major way to differentiate between a trade and a profession."²⁶

TEACHING IN THE CONTEMPORARY ERA

The Binns Education Report (1952) stated that the dignity of the teachers was low due mainly to the structure of the teachers'

25 "Professional" This word is used here to refer to a person working in an occupation that would qualify to be called a profession according to Jackson's definition.

26 Henry R. Weinstock "Professionalizing Teaching" The Clearing House, Vol. 45, No.1 (Sept. 1970), pp. 5-7.

Institutions. The Report argued, as long as teacher education continued to be carried out at a very large number of small scattered training centres, sometimes little more than annexes to schools, the profession could not achieve the dignity it should be accorded. The Commission criticized the way teacher institutions had developed:

"Institutions in which teachers are trained have, in the past usually been called training centres or Jeanes Schools. If the training of teachers is to acquire new status and dignity, the title 'training college' should always be used; those who teach in training colleges should be termed lecturers and those studying in them termed students, rooms should be termed lecture rooms not classrooms and the atmosphere should be that of a University rather than a school."²⁷

The Binns Report continued stating:-

"The best immediate means of raising the general standards of teaching would be for every territory to have one training college which is staffed and equipped on an extra generous scale so as to have facilities for research and be a guide and help to other Colleges."²⁸

The Report pointed out three main factors that affected recruitment of teachers:

27 African Education "A Study of Policy and Practice in Tropical British Africa" (The Binns Report, H.M.S.O., 1952), p.118.

Ibid., p. 163.

1. The unequal treatment of teachers in training in comparison with other professions.
2. Unsatisfactory terms of service.
3. Unsatisfactory salary scales and pension schemes.²⁹

Disparities in terms or conditions of service existed between the teaching occupation and other occupations as well as within the teaching occupation. Within the teaching occupation the European teachers were on different scale of salary from the Africans. There was generally lack of control, coordination and uniformity, as teachers were still under the different bodies mentioned earlier. And also after the Second World War the African soldiers after coming back from the war front and joining the teaching occupation felt they should be accorded the same benefits as their white counterparts as they underwent the same treatment in the war front. The salary scale however, as we noted earlier has ever since affected the status of the teaching occupation. Willard in his book Teachers Salaries says

"If the level of teachers salaries fall too below wages in comparable occupations, the quality of the individual who enter educational position will deteriorate. There may still be a plentiful supply of candidates who can meet formal training and examination requirements but they will be of an inferior calibre."³⁰

29 A. Holland The Transformation of the African Teaching Profession in Tanzania (Ann Arbor: University microfilms, A xerox Co., 1972), p.53.

30 Willard S. Elsebree Teachers' Salaries (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1931), p.15.

There is usually competition from more attractive and well paying occupations and teachers often move to these other fields of work. A field report conducted in 1963 in Tanzania by W.C.O. T.O. found that "In 1963 for example out of 800 applicants for 25 posts of District Officers 500 were teachers."³¹ This observation affirmed the above observation by Willard. The same seems to have happened in Kenya where teachers have become highly dissatisfied by the terms of service given to them and hence are on the alert to get hold of any opportunity that could allow them to escape to other occupations. Indeed there exists a puzzling paradox of the status of teachers. For in the daily talk the teacher is a beloved leader and a neglected public servant. He may enjoy a prestige that approaches veneration and yet starve unnoticed by the parents of the very child entrusted to his care. It is indeed high time the society questioned itself whether the functions assigned to the teachers can infact be discharged by persons of low social status. This is true in Kenya where the authority and the power of leadership that one commands is greatly judged by the amount of material wealth one possesses. Due to the poor salaries of the teachers the public has no more trust on the teachers and has even stopped looking for leadership from them. Would really a preacher despised by his hearers be accepted as a moral guide?

As a result of the Binns Education Report pointing out the failures of the teaching profession, an ordinance cited as the Institute of Education Ordinance (1958) was passed. The Ordinance empowered the minister of education to establish Institutes of Education as considered necessary. They were to be administered in accordance with the provisions of the ordinance with the following aims:

- (1) To coordinate and improve the training of teachers.
- (2) To advance educational research.

31 "World Confederation of Organisation of the Teaching Profession,"
Field Report on the Survey of the Status of the Teaching Profession in Africa, (Washington D.C., 1963), p.111.

(3) To develop services of an educational or professional kind to members of the teaching profession.³²

The Kenya Institute of Education was formed in March 1964. One of its Sub-committee (The Professional Committee) was to be concerned with the professional aspects of the teachers. This Committee had the power to appoint a specialist Sub-committee to deal with such subjects as the Curriculum, conduct of teachers, examinations etc. It had to look at the professional matters of the teachers in general.

Meanwhile the teachers themselves noting the disparities that existed within their occupation attempted to form their own teachers Union. In 1940 they formed the Kenya African Teachers Union (KATU) but the union collapsed after its formation, due to tribal, religious and other conflicts.³³ In 1952 another attempt was made and the Kenya African Teachers Organisation (KATO) was formed but with the declaration of emergency by the Colonial Government in 1952 it was banned. In 1957 The Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) was formed which is up to the present day the sole teachers union. The aim of the KNUT was to fight for unified terms of employment, and better terms or conditions of service as well as improving the professional qualifications of their members.

The Kenya Government also after independence saw the need for a unified teaching profession, and as a result the Teachers Service Commission (T.S.C.) was formed in 1967 to act as the employing body of all teachers in the Government schools and Teacher Training

32 F.F. Indire and D.N. Sifuna A History of the Development of Teachers Education in Kenya (Nairobi: University of Nairobi, 1974), p.119.

33 J.C. Ssekamwa A History of Education in East Africa (Kampala: Uganda Bookshop Press, 1973), p.44.

colleges on behalf of the Ministry of Education. With the formation of Teachers Service Commission several inequities of the past were eliminated. The teaching occupation became more formalised with the formation of the T.S.C.

Despite the establishment of Kenya Institute of Education, the formation of Teachers Service Commission and the Kenya National Union of Teachers, problems continued to plague the teaching occupation. With the rapid growth of school going population especially after the Addis Ababa Conference of 1961 where the participating countries pledged for compulsory free primary education by 1980, the required number of qualified teachers could not match this increase. The teaching occupation continued to have very many unqualified teachers. Again after independence most of the teachers joined other sectors especially the civic service which were well paying or had better future prospects - again leaving the teaching occupation with only a few qualified teachers.

On the case of the freedom of practice, the teachers in Kenya though having an ethical code to guide them in their conduct, feel it is externally imposed on them. This is because, the ethical code is composed of rules and regulations laid down by their employer and in which they did not participate in laying down. It should also be noted that the teachers have very little say on the formulation of the curriculum, the syllabuses and even the setting of the national examinations. This means the teachers have little say on what their students should do as their work is reduced to that of implementing already set up policies.

The teacher training colleges have had their failures, as mentioned earlier, and even today with the introduction of a unified curriculum and examination fear still exists that these institutions may be stressing the academic studies at the expense of the professional studies. "From experience we know that as soon as the Teacher Training College becomes a place dominated by examination requirements, the real professional interests slacken off and the place becomes just an extension of Secondary education."³⁴ In Kenya the teachers have had a status rather lower

34 Franken, J.D.M. "Holy Ghost Teachers Training College, Morogoro," Teacher Education, Vol.2, No.1, (May, 1961), pp. 4-6.

than the other professionals and this has made their association play a role similar to that of a trade Union rather than that of a professional association.

So far we have seen teaching in the traditional society was community-action-oriented. It was a social-activity, it was supposed to expose one to the norms of his community. It was human though conservative. However, teaching in the colonial era implied a new concept. It was formalised as well as institutionalized. Teaching was alienating, knowledge-centred and it neglected the person it was directed to. This was however, a transition period to teaching in the contemporary times. In the present time teaching has taken a new dimension while it has further become more formalised it has also become more knowledge-centred. But some people have attempted to classify teaching as a profession. The idea of teaching as a profession is a completely different way of looking at teaching and hence we shall try to elaborate this relationship of teaching and professionalism in the next chapter.

It was the colonial masters who introduced the idea of the school in India. In the early years of the colonial era we find teachers attempting to organize themselves into a group of people with specialized skills. Due to their claim of the possession of special skills as a group, they started to regard themselves as a professional group. This is because the possession of specialized skills has been used by some people as a criterion of a profession. As in the colonial era we find formalization and greater specialization of the teaching occupation, we also find the teachers starting to claim a professional status.

TEACHING: WESTERNIZATION, FORMALIZATION AND PROFESSIONALIZATION

In the previous chapter we looked at teaching in Kenya in the Traditional era, the Colonial era and in the Contemporary era. We found that in the traditional society the education system was not institutionalized, hence learning was informal and there were no organized schools or classes as we have them today. We found that learning was a life-long process involving the development of the whole person. We also found that every adult as in the traditional society acted as a teacher and there were no organized groups of teachers as we have them today.

In the Colonial era we find the beginning of the formalization and institutionalization of the learning process. It was in the Colonial era that schools were formally established and anyone who did not go through the school system was considered uneducated. The Colonial era represented a definite break from the informal or non-formal system of education in the Traditional era. Education in the Colonial era was formalized. As a result of this we also find that teaching becomes more and more formalized in the colonial period. One point however, we should note is that formalization of teaching was mainly a western idea. And when we talk of formalization of teaching in Kenya during the colonial period, we are mainly referring to the British System of education.

It was the colonial masters mainly missionaries from Britain who set up most of the first schools in Kenya. In the later period of the colonial era we find teachers attempting to organise themselves into a group of people with specialized skills. Due to their claim of the possession of special skills as a group, they started to assert that they were a professional group. This is because the possession of specialized skills has been seen by some people to be a criterion of a profession. So in the colonial era we find formalization and greater specialization of the teaching occupation. We also find the teachers starting to claim a professional status.

The Contemporary era was nothing more than just a continuation of this trend in the colonial period. We still find more emphasis on the claim to professional status, on formalization and bureaucratization of the teaching occupation. But the general claim by teachers to professional status sprang from an idea that was copied from the western world, especially Britain and U.S.A., just like formalization and bureaucratization. To understand the Kenya situation, we must then in this chapter examine in more detail the growth of formalization, and professionalization within the western context.

THE GROWTH OF FORMALIZATION IN TEACHING

Teaching has been going on as long as man has been on this earth. Presently, there are mainly two forms of teaching; there is the formal teaching which is associated most commonly with organized schools that employ salaried, professionally prepared teachers. Secondly, there is the informal manner of teaching which permeates our entire life from birth to death. Examples of the latter range from parents teaching their children to care for their clothes, cross streets safely and respect the rights of others, in addition to an endless variety of other skills, attitudes and ideas. We also have children teaching others to play, Boy Scouts' leaders teach boys about plant and animal life, arts and crafts, and habits of good citizenship and also we have clergymen engaging in teaching religion. Both formal and informal teaching are accepted widely. "This sometimes unconscious urge to teach formally or informally, by precept or by example - is one of the most persuasive and compelling human motivations."¹

Thus education for the young has always been going on in one form or another even before the establishment of institutionalized learning and teachers as a distinctive occupational

1 Encyclopaedia International, American Book Stratford Press Inc., New York: Vol. 17, 1969, p.534.

category. Parents, elders, priests and wisemen have traditionally seen it as their duty to pass on their knowledge and skills to the next generation.

Formal teaching as encouraged in the western world does not date very far back in history. One of the first attempts in the western world to establish formal schools was made in Athens, which was one of the ancient Greek city states. And even then, the role of the school was limited, for Curriculum was very simple consisting of Music, Athletics, Mathematics and Literacy. Going to school was a leisure and one attended school during his free time. This is clearly indicated by the origin of the word school - which, originates from the Greek word Schole' which meant leisure or free time. The organisation of the education process was far from the modern system where students meet in a classroom with desks and a blackboard with the teacher sitting in front, for in those days they met often informally.

The idea of institutionalized learning expanded during the Roman Empire and all over Europe during the middle ages especially with the growth of Universities and those institutions which were advocated by the Roman teacher called Quintilian. He envisaged the entire educational process from infancy onward in formal terms. He saw education in a systematized form, going from one stage to the next. However, all this time there were no bodies of organized teachers. Most of those who acted as teachers or instructors were volunteers and consisted of wisemen who were after seeking knowledge as an end by itself and who were ready to share their knowledge and skills with any interested parties. Teaching was not organised as we know it today.

We should also note that the church in Europe in middle ages dominated learning and teaching. And throughout the middle ages the occupations that were grouped as professions were mainly in the hands of clerics who had indeed almost a monopoly of Latin, in which all professional work was carried on with manifest advantage in respect of universality throughout christendom. The medieval clergy constituted almost exclusively the class of intellectuals, and this was a small specialised, learned elitist class. There was complete

division of labour between the intellectual disciplines and the practical disciplines. Just like the Hindu Brahmin Caste the clergy monopolised the intellectual disciplines. The professionals who were mainly clergymen were supposed to be highly learned and devoted to their work. This was in accordance with the original meaning of profession which was derived from the Latin word professio which meant a public declaration to belong to a particular religious order: to profess therefore was to take vows through which one consecrated oneself to special religious service. According to the New Webster Dictionary the word "profession" implied "a public avowal or acknowledgement of one's sentiment or belief. A calling superior to a mere trade or handicraft."²

There was then a close association between the church and teaching in Europe during the middle ages. As time passed the State also became interested in the education of its citizens. The church and the State began to be involved in the preparation of the teachers but often for different motives. Already in the 16th century in Britain the State showed a definite interest in the preparation of teachers but the church influence still existed. The main aim of the state was to have uniformed teaching instructions. But the influence of the church on teaching is clearly shown by an injunction issued in 1559 by Queen Elizabeth I of England that prohibited anyone from teaching without a licence from his Bishop, which was granted only after an examination of the applicants "learning and dexterity in teaching, sober and honest conversation, and right understanding of God's true religion."³

Later during the early part of the 18th century we find the first Teacher Education Programme started in the German States. The systematic training of teachers was linked to an equally syste-

2 The New Webster Dictionary of the English Language
(New York: Processing and Books, Inc., 1969).

3 Encyclopaedia Britannica, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.,
London: Vol. 18, 1974, p.4.

matic process of certification, control of teaching conditions and in-service study. During the 19th century development of Teacher Education began in Britain, United States, France and Belgium. During this growth of teacher education, the church remained as one of the institutions closely associated with teachers and teaching. With this growth of teacher education, mass education also started. The state was gaining more control over teaching and with the growth of mass education we also see growing formalization and secularization of teaching. This led to the formation of teachers associations and unions which were to cater for the welfare of the teachers.

The teachers' associations were also much influenced by the church. Gosden, writing about these associations in Britain says:

"The elementary school system had been entirely organized on a denominational basis before 1870; the schools themselves were established by the different religious bodies with the aim of forwarding - or at least maintaining the position of the particular denomination. The Government Inspectorate was recruited and organized on a similar denominational basis. It is not surprising, therefore, that the earlier associations of teachers were also denominational and quite often patronised by the denominational society or its leading members."⁴

As a result the earliest teachers' associations grew up based upon units of church organisation such as the diocese or the deanery, sometimes with the clergy as members and possibly with the Bishop of the diocese as patron. This explains to a great extent how teaching came to be regarded as a profession, due to its close association with the church for a long time. Until fairly recently, the idea of a profession was almost exclusively restricted

4 Gosden, P.H.J.H. The Evolution of a Profession Basil Blackwell Oxford: 1972, p.2.

to certain church activities and to the practice of Law and Medicine. Due to this early close association between church and teaching, the latter began to be regarded as a profession in western Europe during the 19th century. Musgrove and Taylor, in their book Society and the Teachers' Role, writing on the teacher's role in America, state clearly that even to this day the teacher is still closely associated with church activities. They say ----

"The teacher is firmly regarded as the agent of the local community which she serves. As such she is 'hired' - the word itself is significant - not infrequently for a year at a time and is required to comply in not a few cases with rigid conventions governing her off-duty life. These may include, in rural areas (although her school duties are wholly secular), church attendance and Sunday School teaching, besides abstinence from alcohol and tobacco. Similar, though less passively accepted restraints are imposed on men teachers."⁵

Though the duties of the teachers are wholly secular, at least the public expects the American teacher to behave in a religious manner, and in the case of America where the teaching occupation is dominated by women they are supposed to behave so more than men.

But when the teaching occupation went beyond the control of the church it became more secularized, as people stopped viewing it as a church activity. As a result of the above development the teaching occupation became highly formalised and very bureaucratic in the western context. Thus there were two interrelated trends in the teaching occupation: formalisation of teaching and a move towards professionalisation.

In the following pages we are going to look at the second trend

5 * Musgrove and Taylor Society and the Teachers' Role,
Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.,
London: 1969, p. 83.

that is, professionalization in general, the growth of the concept of professionalization in the western world especially British and how it affected the teaching occupation.

THE GROWTH OF THE IDEA OF A PROFESSION

As stated earlier the idea of a profession was originally a church oriented idea. Looking at the origin of the word, we found that the word implied voluntary devotion to offer service. To join a particular religious order one had to profess (take a vow) that he had a calling to offer service in accordance with that order. Some religious orders were devoted to teaching for example, such as the Dominicans, Jesuits excetra. The word profession therefore implies a calling to a particular vocation. It was only later that the word was extended to other vocations like Medicine and Law. Those who practised these disciplines were supposed to do so not with an utilitarian motive but with a service motive.

Up to the latter part of the 18th century in Britain the word profession, used without qualification, was usually understood as extending only to four main groups - the clergy, lawyers, the army and doctors. The three - Medicine, Theology and Law were considered to be classical learned professions as far back as the first half of the 17th century. However, even though the term was said to apply to these groups, it should be noted it had limitations in its use; for according to Chamber's Encyclopaedia "the word was closely associated with the idea of a gentleman and no one was regarded a professional unless he were also a gentleman merely because he practised in some form in one of the four great professional spheres."⁶ Thus physicians were 'gentlemen' but surgeons and apothecaries, who included the bulk of the medical men, were not so regarded. Barristers, were professionals, but most Attorneys and Solicitors were not. Neither teaching nor the civil Service was commonly regarded as a profession; gentleman among teachers

6 Chamber's Encyclopaedia Vol. XI, International Learning System Corporation Ltd., London: 1973, p.240.

ranked as gentleman by being in holy orders or by holding a University degree.

To be a professional in the British Context one was to possess the virtues of truthfulness, courage and independence. This is what was also expected of a gentleman. Chamber's Encyclopaedia says, "He should not be called a gentleman that doth his diligence and business to keep his good name."⁷ Thus a gentleman had to possess certain moral qualities - he had to be brave, loyal to his leaders or his friends, behave kindly to those beneath him and courteous to all. These qualities of a gentleman were then also supposed to be the qualities of a professional. Frank and Wagnall's New Standard Dictionary of English Language defines Profession as "An occupation that properly involves a liberal education or its equivalent and mental rather than manual labour."⁸ This definition further stresses the idea of a professional being a gentleman - a man with liberal education, whose work is mental rather than manual. This remained the main criterion of a professional upto the end of 1870's.

In 1881 and 1921 respectively, Architects and Accountants started to be recognised as professionals in Britain due to their specialisation. This means with the development of new techniques of production and commercial organisations and structures, we find new professions called into being. This in turn meant that a new dimension of profession began to emerge to in as far as techniques, organisation and the structure of production were also considered as defining characteristics of a profession. Emphasis was no longer on liberal education but on specialised education.

The Webster's Third New International Dictionary indeed defines a profession in terms of this new dimension, for it defines a profes-

7 Ibid., p. 205

8 This quotation appears on a Memorandum written by Uganda Teachers Association on the Teaching Profession in Uganda Kampala: April, 1971, p.1.

ssion in terms of the period of preparation, level of knowledge and technique. It defines a profession as

"A calling requiring specialised knowledge and often long intensive preparation including instructions in skills and methods as well as in the scientific, historical or scholarly principles underlying such skills and methods, maintaining by force or organisation or concerted opinion, high standard of achievement and conduct and to a kind of work which has for its prime purpose the rendering of a public service ... a moral code being the basis of a profession."⁹

This definition includes the aspect of the amount of knowledge a professional should have, the period of preparation and like the previous definition at last stresses the moral aspect by saying that moral code (code of ethics) should form the basis of a profession. The code of ethics consists of a system of rules and principles that govern fair practices and are binding upon a member of a profession. Thus a physician has to take the Hippocratic Oath which forbids him from advertising his work; and the clergyman has to give service when requested for burial of the dead whether or not a fee is promised. In case of the profession the duties of which are not prescribed by law, the code of ethics amounts, as a rule, to a gentleman's agreement and is strictly not enforceable. This definition brings out another important aspect of a profession for it asserts that there must be an organisation which through "coercive" means enforces the code of ethics. This forms an important stage in the modern development of professions. The idea of professional associations is closely linked with the emergence of contemporary views of professionalization as we are going to see below.

9 Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language, Springfield: G & C. Merriam Company, 1966.

MODERN VIEWS OF A PROFESSION

The Encyclopaedia of Education defines a profession as "a field of economic activity requiring academic preparation above the high school level."¹⁰ The Encyclopaedia continues to state that in modern times a professional must keep abreast of new developments in his field. It continues to assert that a professional degree becomes obsolete after a period of time, and to this end, there have been suggestions that degrees from Universities should have limited validity for a certain period of time and that the graduate should be required to take additional formal courses after that period in order to retain his degree. Thus professionals must be conversant with changes occurring in their professions in order to be able to practise their professions with the highest level of competence. In order for the professionals, to keep upto date with the rapidly increasing knowledge they have always tended to come together in professional associations, which can more easily supply them with the recent developments in a particular field.

The professional group is an occupation group which can only be entered into by those who have qualified by a training that includes higher education and also a special test by members of the profession. This tends to make the two main characteristics of a profession to be the possession of specialised education and the existence of a professional association. After the formation of an occupational association the group tends to seek state recognition. This at least has been the case in Britain. The physicians won recognition as a distinct profession, superior to other medical men, mainly through the college of physicians formed in 1518 and were given statutory recognition and powers in 1522. This also applied to engineering which became a profession through the Institution of Civil Engineers formed in 1818 and recognised as a chartered institution in 1828.

10 "The Encyclopaedia of Education" The Macmillan Company and The Free Press; U.S.A., Vol. 7, 1971, p.237.

J.A. Jackson talking on the role of the professional association says:

..... "The process of professionalization can thus be seen in part, as a process of increasingly protective measures to define the boundaries between the sacred company of those within the walled garden and those outside."¹¹

Generally speaking, professions attain recognition by becoming conscious of themselves and creating some form of professional association to assert their claims, and then achieve a defined professional status usually with some aid from the state. The associations act as protective guilds and institutionalize a given position in the occupational structure and further serve to define their relationship to the wider social structure. The association develops a culture of its own: a set of rules of craft, learning modes and disposition that pertain to that particular profession. The association acts as the initiating body, that is, the body that offers certification on entering the profession. The association guards the craft and the ideology as well as the esoteric knowledge that goes with a particular profession. The professional association establishes the boundaries that distinguish it from other professions. It establishes the standards and norms for the conduct of professional activities. The formation of an association for a particular occupation formed then usually one of the first stages into professionalization of an occupation in modern times.

Another factor which was closely related to the professionalization of occupation was association of an occupation with the University. Though most of the traditional professions, such as Medicine and Law, have not always been found within the Universities, they later began to see the Universities as a means whereby they could perpetuate the characteristics of their professional

11 J.A. Jackson Professions and Professionalization
(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,
1976), p.10.

wisdom as being based on the generalized learning of human disciplines, rather than just learning of techniques and skills. Though certification by the University did not form the criterion of professionalism, it at least formed one of the first stages of qualification into a profession. The University had to provide the abstract intellectual training - good for its own end - in terms of human values of education. This association of the professions in their development through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with the Universities and higher education generally acts as a demonstration of the relationship that had to be there between a profession and some specialized branch of learning.

Some analysts have provided a natural or logical history of professionalization; they say there is a sequence of steps through which an occupation aspiring to be a profession has to go. A.M. Carr-Saunders and P.A. Wilson in their book The Professions clearly aim at establishing such a sequence; they say any occupation is transformed into a recognised profession through a sequence of steps in its interaction with the society. However, the point to be noted is that such an assumption cannot be empirically proved, nor do they have a very convincing theoretical base. Harold Wilensky suggests, in his context, the following steps:

1. Ideally "Full-time activity at the task;
Establishment of University training.
2. National professional association.
Redefinition of the core task, so as to give
the dirty work over to subordinates.
Conflict between the old timers and the new men
who seek to upgrade the job.
3. Competition between the new occupation and
neighbouring ones.
Political agitation in order to gain legal
protection of code of ethics."

12 Harold Wilensky "The Professionalization of Everyone?"
16 American Journal of Sociology, Vol.70,
September, 1974, pp. 142-146.

Etzioni comments that, "most of these social processes go on simultaneously, so that it is difficult to state whether one actually began before another."¹³ The question however, that we should ask ourselves is whether an occupation can still go through these steps and yet remain without much recognition as a profession? Etzioni, answering this question says; "It is unlikely that a list of the specific historical events in the structuring of a profession will yield the organic sequences in its development."¹⁴ One may however also be justified to say with Etzioni that these steps miss the essential elements in professionalization of an occupation, because an occupation to qualify as a profession must have:

1. A basic body of knowledge.
2. The ideal of service.

These characteristics are not stipulated clearly in the aforementioned steps. Etzioni believes that these may form the core characteristics of a profession, but he finds them actually containing many other dimensions. Thus, with respect to the first qualification namely, knowledge, he states that seven major characteristics affect the acceptance of an occupation as a profession. He enumerates them as follows:

1. Ideally, the knowledge and skills should be abstract and organised into a codified body of principles.
2. The knowledge should be applicable, or thought to be applicable, to the concrete problems of living (note that metaphysical knowledge, however well organised, may have no such applicability).
3. The society or its relevant members should believe that the knowledge can actually solve these problems; it is not necessary that the knowledge actually solves them, only that

13 Goode, J. In Etzioni's The Semi-Professions and their Organisation (New York: The Free Press, 1969), p. 275.

14 Ibid., p. 276.

people believe in its capacity to solve them.

4. Members of the society should also accept as proper that these problems be given over to some occupational group for solution (thus, for example, many do not as yet accept the propriety of handing over problem of neurosis to the psychiatrist) because the occupational group possesses that knowledge and others do not.
5. The profession itself should help to create, organize, and transmit the knowledge.
6. The profession should be accepted as the final arbiter in any disputes over the validity of any technical solution lying within its area of supposed competence.
7. The amount of knowledge and skills and the difficulty of acquiring them should be great enough that the members of the society view the profession as possessing a kind of mystery that it is not given to the ordinary man to acquire by his own efforts or even with help.¹⁵

The second qualification, viz. the ideal of service, is seen in a similar manner by Etzioni. He says it is the "norm that the technical solutions, which the professional arrives at should be based on the clients' needs, not necessarily the best material interest or needs of the professional himself or, for that matter, those of the society."¹⁶ Unlike Wilensky, who sees a natural history of growth in a profession through defined steps, Etzioni thinks there is more than that: there must be generating traits which must accompany these steps so as for an occupation to qualify as a profession.

Etzioni brings a new development in the growth of occupations into professions by calling some occupations semi-professions. By doing this he narrows the definition of a profession. He says there are some 'aspiring occupations' (aspiring to become professions) that will not move far into achieving the generating characteristics

15 Ibid., p. 277.

16 Ibid., p. 278.

stated earlier that qualify an occupation into a profession. He classifies Nursing, Pharmacy, Advertising, Business Management, Librarianship and School-Teaching as semi-professions. However, Carr-Saunders and Wilson have a more inclusive way of looking at a profession. They give a definition of a profession that is so wide, that it would make most of these occupations to qualify or be categorised as professions. The definition stresses specialisation of skills, and anybody or a people using such skills is to be considered as a professional group. They define a profession as

"Anybody or persons using a common technique who form an association, the purpose of which is to test the competence in the technique by means of examination."¹⁷

This definition qualifies some of these occupations as professions. We have many divergent views but for our purpose we propose a synthesis as advocated by J.A. Jackson.

Attempting an evaluative analysis of the most accepted profession like Medicine, Law, Accountancy etc. J.A. Jackson presents a more synthetic view of a profession. He gives five major defining characteristics of a profession which appear with great regularity in almost all studies of the professions. These he has summarised as follows:

1. "Practice is founded upon a base of esoteric knowledge.
2. The acquisition of knowledge requires a long period of education and socialization.
3. Practitioners are motivated by an ideal of altruistic service rather than the pursuit of material and economic gain.
4. Careful control is exercised over recruitment, training, certification and standards of practice.

17 Carr-Saunders The Professions (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1964), p.3.

5. The colleague group is well organized and has disciplinary powers to enforce a code of ethical practice."¹⁸

In its modern expression the teaching occupation has been expressed in diverse terms. Some people have referred to it as a profession, others a semi-profession, while others have taken it as a job. But, to understand teaching as a profession today, one has to study the more established professions of Law and Medicine and in this context examine, the credentials that qualify teaching as a 'profession.' As Jackson has put it, there are characteristics of these long established professions, against which claims of teaching as a profession should be judged. Thus, if one views teaching as a profession then he should see it in the light of these peculiar characteristics. In the following pages we are going to look at this claim of teaching as a profession in relation to these peculiar defining characteristics as enumerated by Jackson.

PROFESSIONALIZATION AND TEACHING

Teaching as a 'profession' is related to the developments described above, but has its own peculiarities. Earlier we found that teaching was recognized as a profession because of its close association with the clergy who themselves were professionals. But with the state control of education the teacher-clergy association came to an end. Teaching was no longer a monopoly of church clergy. As a result, teachers were no longer recognized as professionals. This lack of recognition led to the formation of Teachers' Associations and Unions. In Britain in 1870 the Teachers formed the National Union of Teachers (NUT) whose aim was to attain professional-unity for all teachers in Britain.

Even with the formation of Teachers' Unions teaching has however failed to achieve and sustain the status enjoyed and

¹⁸ Leggat, T. 'Teaching as a Profession' in J. A. Jackson's Professions and Professionalization (Cambridge: University Press, 1970), p. 155.

consolidated in monopolistic organisational frameworks by both Medicine and Law. And with the growth of mass education teaching failed to be exclusive. Teaching remains the most profoundly contaminated (secularized) profession because with the rise of mass education, its mystique is compromised by the fact that in general the tasks it performs are within the general competence of all who have been taught themselves, and since those on who it practices are children, many of these functions are seen as substitutes for parental role in any case. Lack of exclusiveness made teaching deficient of one of the main characteristics of a profession as we shall see later.

Earlier, we said professionals attain to recognition by becoming conscious of themselves and creating some forms of professional associations to assert their claims, and then achieve a defined professional status usually with some aid from the state. Professional groups all over the world organise for collective action to do two quite different things. One objective of a professional organisation is to improve the economic status and working conditions of its members. A second broad objective is to improve service that the profession performs for the society. Teaching as an occupation claiming professional status has been no exception. In the latter half of 19th century, we find elementary and secondary-school teachers all over western Europe forming teachers' organisations.

In most countries there is one major National Teacher's Organisation to which all teachers subscribe. Sometimes membership is obligatory and sometimes voluntary. There are, to mention a few examples, the National Union of Teachers in England, The Japanese Teachers Union, the relatively young Federation Generale D'Enseignement in France, The Australian Teachers Union. Although all these associations started with an aim of achieving the two objectives we mentioned, in most cases they have found themselves only emphasizing the first objective. This have been the result of the low level of the socio-economic standing of teachers as compared to the classical professions like Medicine and Law. In the United States of America, for

example, occupational status is largely measured in terms of economic standing. If economic status is low social status is also held to be low. And an occupation whose social-status is low is not normally held to be a profession. Since teachers' salaries usually do not equal those in Medicine, Dentistry or Engineering, this has diminished the professional status of teaching. We should however note that in the traditional societies, particularly in European and Oriental countries, the teachers were accorded higher social-status, regardless of their economic position in life, for in these countries they considered primarily the service ideal of teachers. Also in the developing countries the teachers in the rural areas have been highly honoured also in most cases they have been surrounded by an illiterate population whose economic-standing is relatively below the standard of the teachers. But recently, with the urban elite group going back to the rural areas the status of the teachers has diminished as they cannot be compared with this high income earning group. That is, to say the economic-status has been a great determinant of the professional-status of any occupational group. The teachers in their struggle to improve their economic status have been reduced into salaried employees and their association into Trade Unions.

Due to the state control of the education the system of education has been formalized and bureaucratized further. This has made teachers employees working within bureaucratic organisation. As a result, there has been a tendency to evaluate teachers by how far they are competent in applying special skills in teaching. This is what Bowers, in his book Cultural Literacy for Freedom calls competency based teaching. "It attempts to make teaching into a technique that increases efficiency in attaining prespecified learning objectives."¹⁹ It reduces teaching to a matter of training people to perform skills. This makes teaching a job. This however complicates the whole issue. As we saw earlier, Carr-Saunders and Wilson took the definition of a job

19 C.A. Bowers Cultural Literacy for Freedom
(Eugene: Elan Publishers, Inc., 1974),
p.91.

and adopted it as the definition of a profession; following this, a different notion of a profession is proposed according to which teaching could qualify as a profession.

Because of all these complications and limitations mentioned before, it is not surprising that at present there exists dissatisfaction both with teaching as a profession or as a job either on utilitarian or idealistic grounds. This makes us to have a definite need to reconsider what teaching should be. Etzioni, expressing the afore mentioned dissatisfaction in his book "The Semi-Professions and their Organization" says: school teaching will not achieve professionalism. He rates the teacher with the nurse and the social worker. He refers to these occupations as 'semi-professions.'

The role of the teacher is very often defined in diverse and contradictory terms. Etzioni says

.... "As an 'employee' the teacher is a salaried worker subject to the authority of the public body which employs her. Continued claims to 'professional' status presume the existence of a unified occupational group with a system of collegial controls. The rhetoric of 'teaching as an art' however, projects autonomy rather than control to use the artist as prototype is to stress individuality rather than standardization through bureaucratic or collegial controls."²⁰

Again Etzioni is stressing the lack of co-ordinate control by the teachers' organisation of their members. By being public employees no doubt teachers cannot have control over their occupation. For by nature bureaucratic organisations do not allow individual control. There is then a conflict when one calls teaching a profession. Since in the western sense a profession is elitist in nature: it is individualistic and the members have full control

20 A. Etzioni The Semi-Professions and their Organisations
(New York: The Free Press, 1969), p.2.

of their occupation.

Presently the most general view held is that the true profession is not only work oriented but also implies commitment to the highest possible degree. This is often considered to be the basis of professionalism: the profession code of ethics and ideology cover not only the work situation but extend beyond to define one's status and life style. The professional is always on duty - his work is a vocation. And one can justifiably ask, Is this true of teaching today?

Maleche, asking whether teaching is a profession says -

"The concept of a profession assumes a body of knowledge and skills accessible to individuals through a defined period of training. These individuals must satisfy certain requisite qualifications. They are protected by a code of conduct normally made by them and which they publicly confess. Violations of the code often results in known disciplinary action or even loss of license, as is the case of Law or Medicine for example."²¹

It is questionable however how far the teaching occupation in the Kenya situation and also elsewhere fulfils these conditions. While Maleche's view may be held as a moderate view, one would ask whether this view is realistic. Like J.A. Jackson, Maleche is also pinpointing at certain conditions that occupations must fulfil so as to qualify as a profession.

In the next chapter we shall try to see how far teaching as an occupation meets these defining characteristic of a profession as outlined by Jackson, with special reference to Kenya.

21 Albert J. Maleche "Why Join Teaching" East African Journal, Vol. 9 No. 10, p.10.

TEACHING AS A PROFESSION IN KENYA: A CRITICAL REVIEW

We have seen in Chapter Two that the teacher's role has been conceived in different terms in different eras of Kenya's history. Beginning with the indigenous society we found that every member of the adult society was regarded as a teacher of the upcoming young generation. Teaching as such often did not give one a social status; this was fixed by one's social position, and in turn one's social position depended on how one was held within the society. The adult society expected their children to learn through apprenticeship and through dialogue with the adults in the society. During the colonial era however, teaching came to be seen in a different way. When the colonial masters came they did not recognize any form of systematic education within the indigenous society. To them there could be no education system without schools. As a result they started to establish schools. In these schools they employed local and foreign teachers. For the first time the learning process was highly formalised. The teachers found themselves employed by the different educational bodies that were existing in the country, that is, the different missionary groups and later the colonial Government. Since the local teachers' academic knowledge tended to be low, the colonial Government did not regard them as professionals, and at the same time they could not imagine finding professional teachers in the indigenous society as to them there was no education system. Being employed like clerks the teachers regarded teaching as a job like many other jobs. They went into teaching so as to earn their living. Later in the early 1950s we find teachers attempting to form a common union that could bring them together as one unified group so that they could be able to fight collectively for better conditions and terms of service. To them their greatest grievances were economical, in that they were asking for better salaries and conditions of service, and little did they mention of the professional aspect of teaching. In the late 1950s and early 1960s the KNUT officials could be heard

making pronouncements about the professionalism of teaching, although as Wangombe, writing in 'The Kenya Teacher' editorial in 1972, implies the main emphasis was utilitarian; he says

"Uppermost in the minds of those of us who founded the KNUT in the mid 50s, was the improvement of the then intolerable conditions of service of teachers under the colonial government. Since independence, however, teachers' conditions have greatly improved. This is far from saying that there is nothing or not much to do in this respect. But possibly there could be a change of emphasis. Instead of the stress in the teachers' salary, the teachers' houses, the teachers' treatment by the Ministry officials, the Union may change priority to the students' lot: the type of education he does and should receive, the curriculum which lays down his studies, his ability to learn; the environment about which he is required to study, and even the type of people he gets to teach him."¹

One could wonder what change of emphasis there has been since Wangombe wrote his comments, for even to this day it would be true to say that the emphasis is still very much on the teachers' lot. At present there exists dissatisfaction both with teaching as a profession or as a job either on idealistic or utilitarian grounds. Thus there appears to be a definite need to reconsider what teaching should be. Perhaps by looking at contemporary thinking on teaching we may see why teaching should not be considered as a job or a profession. Having seen this, we may be in a position to suggest a new view of teaching that may imply innovations and improvements both at the training and service levels.

1 Thoithi Wangombe "The role of the Kenya National Union of Teachers in development", The Kenya Teacher, No. 14 (December, 1972), p.2.

IS TEACHING A PROFESSION?

We have seen that the role of the teacher is often defined in diverse and contradictory terms. We have already seen that there are different views of the teaching occupation. While some of these views are age-old, others are very contemporary. All seem, however, to be either directly or indirectly concerned with the professional status of the teacher and teaching as a profession.

Any occupation which claims professional status, according to the literature, presupposes certain specific characteristics that a profession should possess. For any occupation to qualify as a profession, there are necessary conditions that it must fulfil. These conditions are the defining characteristics of a profession. Some of these characteristics may be more developed than others in a particular occupation, but at least, all of them must show themselves to a certain degree. Therefore, it is in relation to these defining characteristics of a profession that we have to weigh whether teaching is a profession.

J.A. Jackson, as we have seen, attempting an evaluative analysis of the most accepted professions like medicine, law, accountancy etc. has presented us with five major defining characteristics of a profession which appear with great regularity in almost all studies of the profession. These he has defined as follows:-

1. Practice is founded upon a base of theoretical, esoteric knowledge.
2. The acquisition of knowledge requires a long period of education and socialization.
3. Practitioners are motivated by an ideal of altruistic service rather than the pursuit of material and economic gain.
4. Careful control is exercised over recruitment, training, certification and standards of practice.
5. The colleague group is well organized and has disciplinary powers to enforce a code of ethical practice.²

2 Leggat, T. 'Teaching as a Profession' in J. A. Jackson (London: Jackson's Professions and Professionalization (Cambridge: University Press, 1970), p. 155.

It is questionable how far the teaching 'profession' in the Kenyan situation as well as elsewhere does fulfil these ideal characteristics. Measured by the standards of the well-organized professions:- law, medicine, the clergy and a number of others, it is apparent that the teaching occupation may not display all of these defining characteristics. Let us now consider these characteristics in relation to the Kenya situation.

A. PRACTICE IS FOUNDED UPON A BASE OF THEORETICAL, ESOTERIC KNOWLEDGE

The primary and secondary school teachers in Kenya cannot really point to any form of knowledge that is highly peculiar to them and that they can use to assert professional status. Whatever is taught in the primary schools is almost known by most of the adults who have gone through the School System. Indeed most feel they could master the knowledge base of the school teacher (primary and secondary) within a relatively short period. When we come to the techniques and principles of pedagogy the teacher still is not the final arbiter for most students who have gone through College life believe they can do as good as an average teacher even without professional training. This is in contrast with the client of a professional who is regarded as a layman who cannot adequately evaluate the services he receives, let alone determine which services he requires. Even when it comes to the application of his knowledge the teacher unlike a professional, has the ultimate justification of his acts based on whether he acts in accordance with laid down rules and regulations and whether they have been approved by one of his seniors. The pure professionals (full-fledged professionals) are concerned with the creation of knowledge and application of it; they also have a guaranteed privilege of communication and they have facilities and room for further research in their areas. The 'Semi-professionals'³ are more concerned

3 Semi-profession: is a term used by Etzioni in his book. "The Semi-Professions and Their Organisation" to refer to a group of new professions whose claim to the status of profession is neither fully established nor fully desired.

with communication and to a lesser extent in the application of knowledge. At present the teacher's role (especially the primary school teacher) is largely to communicate rather than to create or apply knowledge. From the above account it appears that teaching in Kenya does not fully fulfil the first defining characteristic of a profession.

B. THE ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE REQUIRES A LONG PERIOD OF EDUCATION AND SOCIALIZATION

When we talk of teaching as a profession we should realise that a good number of Kenyan teachers are not exposed to any professional training and that for those who have had any professional training it has often been limited to a short period of one or two years. The same case applies in other countries especially in the developing countries where there is urgent demand for teachers to support the rapidly expanding need for literacy education. The same could be said about the 'developed' countries when you compare the period of training for teachers vis-a-vis that of well established professionals like medical doctors. This situation where teachers have been receiving very limited professional training is not new in Kenya. As we saw, from the beginning when the missionaries came, there were no special arrangements to regulate entry into the teaching career and due to the low level of literacy, for any one to teach the necessary requirements were to have sufficient knowledge to teach reading, writing and elementary arithmetic. Cameron, writing in his book, The Development of Education in East Africa, on the nature of teacher education during colonial days says that, primary teacher's education was in the eyes of too many education officials and expatriate teachers regarded as an inferior form of activity as compared with secondary education. It was too readily pointed out that most of the students admitted to teachers colleges, were those who had failed to secure entry to a secondary school.

Knowledge gives the professional a strong sense of competence upon which he basis his authority. Since the teacher is trained for a relatively short period he does not acquire the necessary knowledge

base upon which he can claim autonomy over his area. In other professions even after a long period of training, the members are exposed also to a long period of internship. The new-comer is subjected to a long period of scrutiny and indoctrination by the already qualified members. Though the student-teacher during his teaching practice enjoys the supervision of his superiors (and this may be limited to 4 "Supervisions" within a period of 6 weeks of teaching practice), little supervision or follow-up goes on after he graduates and he is exposed to real full-time class teaching. The new teacher (neophyte) is left to master his new role alone. Even the other teachers have no time to help him as they are also pressed by the heavy load of work on them. And even in the staff-room there is little time for socialization for the teacher throughout the day is involved in running from one class to the next after each lesson and there are few or hardly any organised sessions when teachers meet and share their experiences. It is a fact that, occupational cultures, no less than other types, grow through protracted interaction and communication among members of the group. This is highly hindered in the teaching occupation. Sometimes because of the great increase in the number of school-going children which does not match the output of teachers, the Ministry of Education has been forced to engage untrained teachers or even sometimes to start crash programs for teachers who are trained for a short period and then posted into the schools, for example: the S₁-Secondary-School teacher program and more recently as announced by the Ministry, a 2-year Diploma of Education course for Secondary-School teachers, with form six leavers who did not get an entry into the University. This existence of a large percentage of untrained and underqualified teachers in the education system has greatly prevented the teaching occupation in East Africa from being a united professional body possessing a recognisable entity. Another factor that has affected the knowledge base of the teacher is the strong emphasis on subject-matter as opposed to professional-studies emphasis. In Kenya little emphasis is laid on the professional qualifications of the teacher and this is emphasized by the fact that, until very recently promotion of teachers has been based on academic performance. However, it is a known fact that an emphasis on professional studies underlies the

importance of the teachers knowledge of his pupils, the recognition of the social roles of the school, the knowing of the aims of education in his society, and the knowledge of how to teach. These qualifications can only be acquired through professional studies and practice in the classroom; a situation to which the student-teacher is not exposed to in Kenya, since during the short period of his training the greatest emphasis is on academic subject-matter.

C. PRACTITIONERS ARE MOTIVATED BY AN IDEAL OF ALTRUISTIC SERVICE RATHER THAN THE PURSUIT OF MATERIAL AND ECONOMIC GAIN

Professionals are motivated by an ideal of altruistic service rather than the pursuit of material and economic gain. Service motives are to be held as the main source of inspiration and motivation to work rather than material rewards, this is what Etzioni calls a 'dedicatory ethic' which elevates service motives and denigrates material rewards as the proper motivation to work. Unfortunately teachers in the developing countries are faced with a different existential situation. With the low level of income for teachers, the teachers have first to meet the basic needs of life; as a result the professional aspects only come second. The teachers derive their chief rewards from their organisational position and from task performance. The higher one is placed on the administrative hierarchy, the more his remuneration. In Kenya teachers especially those in the rural areas, are always in search for supplementary employment so as to add to their earning. Most of those who join teaching do so not because they have call or hold teaching as a vocation, but, rather because there is no alternative employment. The graduate teachers often look for opportunity to join other occupations that are well-paid and not surprisingly one finds a high rate of mobility from teaching to other occupations. This same problem has made the KNUT to stress more on its Trade Union objectives rather than its professional objectives. Again, the great increase in the number of teachers has caused the bureaucratization of the education system. This in Kenya has resulted in the formation of TSC and the KNUT with the former acting as the employer of the teachers and the latter being a Trade Union fighting for the welfare of the teachers. As this employer-employee relationship has become

more defined, the utilitarian dimension of teaching has been receiving more emphasis. As a result the service ideal as a characteristic of a profession does not characterise teaching in Kenya.

D. CAREFUL CONTROL IS EXERCISED OVER RECRUITMENT, TRAINING, CERTIFICATION AND STANDARDS OF PRACTICE

In the classical professions careful control is exercised over recruitment, training, certification and standards of practice. During the colonial period no special requirements were set up to regulate entry into teaching. The necessary credentials for entry were limited to sufficient literacy to teach reading, writing and arithmetic. Teachers were often supposed to carry out other duties besides teaching, as teaching was not seen to be demanding enough. To most teachers teaching was just one of the occupations they had to go through on their way up the ladder to better paid jobs. The designation of a teacher as an employee describes at least a part of the teachers relationship to the school order. Etzioni says, "The role of the elementary teacher is defined in diverse and contradictory terms. As an employee the teacher is a salaried worker subject to the authority of the public body which employs her."⁴ Employee status denotes subordination, which implied some control from above, although it does not specify the amount of control. Teachers working under bureaucratic organisation finds themselves being controlled from without. The teachers are employees without any powers of governance. The formal and legal allocation of authority in the education institutions is hierarchical and concentrated, powers are concentrated at the top. Those at the top set goals and policies, and see to it that they are carried out; in reality success or failure should be largely accountable to them. The role of the Kenyan teacher is mainly to execute with little prescription and intimate supervision (supervision by syllabus and examinations that cannot allow him to express his own creativity) what has been planned from a central office by experts. As a result,

4 A. Etzioni The Semi-professions and their organisations (New York: The Free Press, 1969), p.2.

the teacher turns out to be just like an industrial worker, working on a section of the assembly line. This is the area of scientific management. There is no arrangement for collective participation by teachers in the overall operation of the organization. The KNUT has little say on the training and certification of teachers. A limited licencing system is recognised in the classical professions. But in Kenya the private school teacher does not need a licence and in the public schools if there is a shortage of teachers licencing requirements are set aside and temporary licences are given. One would be justified to question whether the licence really indicates competence in teaching, or whether it is more in the nature of a Union card that attempts to limit competition for the available jobs? The teaching licence fails to define a profession. Etzioni writing on the issue of membership in the American situation says:

"Whereas most fields claiming professional status manifest great concern with the clarification of membership qualifications, the exact boundaries of colleague-group membership remain unclear within public school teaching."⁵

The KNUT has not yet challenged this situation whereby persons outside the occupation govern the teachers technical affairs (control of instructional affairs); instead the KNUT seems to have accepted the present relationship where the teacher is regarded as an employee of the TSC and hence it has reduced its main task to welfare issues of money and working conditions.

The lack of self-control (autonomy) in teaching necessitates supervision from higher ranks. Supervision is not a characteristic of the mechanism of control found in full-fledged professions.

5 Ibid., p. 19.

Etzioni says:

"Inspectors are not widely used to drop in on a professors' classroom to check his teaching.... No doctor will be asked to report to an administrative superior on why he carried out his medical duties in the way he did or stand corrected by him. External examinations used in schools to check on teachers as well as students are very rare in Universities."⁶

The supervision of the teachers itself is done by people who are professionally qualified, that is, most of the head teachers have themselves been teachers; so is the Inspectorate Staff. The inspectorate or supervisory staff is rarely child-oriented and they do little teaching if any as most of them are organisation-oriented. Unlike the administrative or bureaucratic control which emanates from hierarchial position, professional control is exercised from within by an internalized code of ethics and special knowledge acquired during a period of prolonged training and by insiders qualified to make professional judgement. In reality we can say the teacher in Kenya due to the nature of organisation of his occupation has little say on the recruitment, certification and training of the members of his organisation. Thus the bureaucratic rules and authority infringe on the professional's (teacher's) freedom to apply his knowledge and skills according to his judgement and convictions.

E. THE COLLEAGUE GROUP IS WELL ORGANIZED AND HAS DISCIPLINARY POWERS TO ENFORCE A CODE OF ETHICAL PRACTICE

Teachers being employees of a public body are governed by the conditions and terms of service of their employer. As a result

⁶ Ibid., p. 14 (Etzioni's preface).

the terms of service serve as a code of ethics to the teachers. For example the KNUT has little disciplinary powers over its members and all it can do is to strike a member out of its register but it cannot stop him from teaching even when he has behaved unprofessionally. Indeed very few teachers are familiar with the code of ethics propagated by KNUT. This means that the KNUT is a loosely organised colleague group that lacks the necessary disciplinary powers to enforce its own code of ethics. The KNUT itself as a colleague group is loosely organized and is mostly dominated by primary school teachers, with only a few secondary school teachers. The question of who should belong to the teachers organisation also arises, especially in Kenya where the Heads of Schools and other administrators involved in the organisation of teachers have their own association. Often for bureaucratic reasons an organisational position is more important than being a professional. The question is, should we not include all those involved in the organisation of the teaching process in the same association? - the teachers, administrators, and guidance and counselling personnel etc.

A PHILOSOPHICAL CRITIQUE

From the above points it can be seen that teaching as a profession represents an ideal. But for all practical reasons we have seen we cannot call teaching a profession. Even though teachers call themselves professionals today, it may be in a different sense like that of professional sportsmen and singers whose main motives are utilitarian. Today teaching is an industry under state responsibility. It has been formalised hence it would be difficult to talk of it as a profession in idealistic terms. This has reduced teaching to the level of a job.

Teaching as a job refers to the use of classroom skills and techniques by the teacher for effective transfer of knowledge. It stresses efficiency. To be able to carry out his unit of work, which may be to teach a particular subject like Mathematics, the teacher is provided with a well planned curriculum, a well planned syllabus and a final examination to check that he has produced the commodity expected. The teacher is a detached person from his activities, his is to operate on the assembly line. He teaches a specific subject. To him knowledge is compartmentalized. The

Mathematics teacher teaches $2 + 2 = 4$, and he never relates this to other aspects of life. The task of the teacher is to produce a particular quantity of a product - a student labelled with a certificate at the end of the course. To the teachers schools provide jobs for them. Once a teacher acquires a job in a school, the rest is a matter of routine, coming to school at 8.00 a.m. and leaving at 4.30 p.m., and at the end of the month waiting for a salary. It does not matter what students do in school, what teachers do in school. If by good chance, students happen to learn something in the schools, then the students are fortunate; if on the other hand, they learn little, nothing is really wrong: as long as the school keeps running and the teacher keeps his job, and, of course, his salary.⁷ Teaching as a job is the lowest level of occupational growth. It dehumanizes both the teacher and the student. It reduces the student into an object - a container, into which the teacher pumps knowledge, thus reducing the teacher into a machine. This is what Freire in his book, 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' calls the 'banking concept of education'; he says "Education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating the teacher issues communiques and 'making deposits' which the students patiently receive, memorize and repeat."⁸ Teaching as a job dehumanizes. It is an act of domination. The question is: Should this be so? So far we have tried to look in a descriptive and factual way at teaching as a profession as well as a job. We may say that implied here are two different views of teaching. We have however, established that teaching looked at in a descriptive and factual way cannot be defined as a profession, but tends to show itself as a job. At this point, we should look at the normative approach to teaching.

7 Gerard Benaars "Old ideas point new way for teachers", Kenya Record, Vol. 1, No.2, (November, 1978), p.22.

8 Paulo Freire Pedagogy of the Oppressed (New York: Penguin Books Ltd., 1972), p.46.

We must ask ourselves whether teaching should still be defined as a profession? By looking at teaching in this way, we may arrive at a fundamental starting point for a new philosophy of teaching that is existential in character.

Today teaching is a huge industry, with so many employees under private and state responsibility. Because of the large number involved in teaching, it has highly been formalized (institutionalized). Teachers even if they were to regard themselves as professionals have been bureaucratized. As a result of this bureaucratization of teaching, it is very difficult to talk of it as a profession in idealistic terms. A profession is almost per definition elitist in nature. It presupposes a small number, and so as to have considerable control the professional group forms an exclusive club. It is very difficult today to even talk of any one occupation that is purely professional; for there has been a big movement towards a process of bureaucratization even of the very classical professions. J.A. Jackson, in his book 'Professions and Professionalization', says:

"In modern societies, an increasing number of professionals are employed in large scale organizations. No longer can it be assumed that the 'ideal-type' professional, if such a man ever existed, is the independent free practitioner who practises his calling in a purely entrepreneurial role. The professional of today is often a salaried employee, performing his activities within the structural framework of a bureaucratic hierarchy, in occupations as diverse as teaching, government, social welfare, medicine and industrial management."⁹

9 J.A. Jackson Professions and Professionalization (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p.53.

Wilensky, commenting on this process of bureaucratization of the professions also says:

"It is not that organizational revolution destroys professionalism, or that the newer forms of knowledge... provide a poor base for professionalism, but simply that all these developments lead to something new. The culture of bureaucracy invades the professions; the culture of professionalism invades organizations."¹⁰

From the above it is clear that there has been a strong hold of bureaucracy on most of the organisational occupations. The bureaucratic nature of organisation infringes on the elitism of a profession. Teachers being under organisational control fail to be professionals for a professional cannot allow strong organisational control. Professional control as we stated earlier is fundamentally different from organisational control. Professional control is exercised from 'within' by an internalized code of ethics and specialized knowledge acquired during a period of prolonged training and by insiders qualified to make professional judgement. The administrative or bureaucratic control emanates from hierarchical position as we saw. Gross writing on the nature of professional control says:

"A strong sense of competence is important because authority rests upon it. The professional in the last analysis has nothing else on which to base his authority. His authority is not charismatic, nor based on tradition nor on the occupancy of a formal position."¹¹

10 Harold Wilensky "The professionalization of everyone?"
American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 70
(September, 1964), pp. 142-150.

11 Quotation by Etzioni from Gross. As it appears in Etzioni p.152.

The teachers lacking a strong sense of competence due to their poor knowledge base and because they are very many in number, lack personal commitment. This is even made worse by the fact that, by nature, formal organisations are impersonal. The professional group limits its members through strict control of recruitment and a requirement for a long period of training. Due to the special skills and firm knowledge base acquired during the long period of training by the professional, it even becomes very hard to replace any one member who may leave the profession. Their services are very indispensable. Unlike teachers who can be easily replaced by even untrained persons, it would be very difficult to replace a medical doctor for example, for there are very few people who would be qualified to act as medical doctors. Also due to the widespread literacy teachers cannot claim to have any esoteric knowledge base.

The client of a professional presents himself voluntarily as he is attracted by his high reputation. The pupil goes to the teacher through compulsion and he has no choice as to which teacher to go or which school to attend. This by itself does not allow an ideal typical professional-client relationship. In an ideal situation the client presents himself to the professional alone, and the professional treats his case alone. The pupil meets his teacher in a group of not less than thirty. Although the relationship between the teacher and pupil is often long lasting, it is never intensive; and rarely do students receive the teacher's undivided attention. The teacher is exposed to the student for so long that they learn all his idiosyncracies and ultimately no mystery, or any nature of his work, can be claimed to be exclusive.

From the above account and from our previous review it is clear that teaching should not be seen as a profession for several reasons; yet on different grounds, teaching should not be seen as a job either. These are the two main views of teaching; but we have found that none of these concepts could be said to be satisfactory. Views of man, society and the individual have changed in the course of time. These being the basis of our educational policies then the views of the teacher should also change accord-

ingly as he is the steering man behind the education policy. New political, socio-economic theories and realities no doubt demand new realities in teaching. With this in mind and knowing the amount invested in education we should ask ourselves what should teaching be? What should a teacher know? What should be the inter-subjective relationship between the teacher, pupil, parents and the society at large? What should be the qualification for one to be a teacher?

In an earlier Chapter I stated that a different view of teaching has of recent been growing. The advocates of this new view have been emphasizing the need for a new theory of teaching, a new philosophy of teaching which would form the basis of our practice in the classroom. In the next Chapter I intend to discuss this new view of teaching which will have definite implications for teacher education and teaching in the classroom, particularly in Kenya.

Teaching as a vocation, in the context of present-day reality would seem to be an unrealistic view. On the other hand, teaching seen as a job reflects a highly utilitarian view of education. This would mean that the teacher is hired to do a job for a salary, as we have seen in the case of industrial employees. Teaching is then simply a job, in which a salary is attached. With this kind of view it does not matter what happens in schools, provided the teachers have a job. The more trained a teacher is, the higher his salary. The training in this situation has no fellow instructors from the one who has given him the job. All that is asked, is to be efficient and to have skills and instructions of AIA employees his commitment is that of a salaried employee.

As we shall see in the following pages teaching as a job determines both the teacher and the pupil. Teaching seen as a

1. Donald A. Smith, Teacher Education - Professionalization and De-professionalization (London: W. C. Barth and Company, 1973), p. 17.

TOWARDS A NEW PHILOSOPHY OF TEACHINGA. INTRODUCTION

Teaching seen as a profession requires the teacher to devote himself to serve society. This is an idealistic view if not an utopia. "Professionalism is a state of mind, not a reality. Neither statute nor regulation, neither code nor shibboleth will make a teacher a professional."¹ It would be a mistake to equate teaching with the established professions like medicine and law. It would be more realistic to recognize that the teaching occupation has its own peculiar characteristics that call for teachers to have special relationship to society. In other words, those who have been viewing teaching as a profession may have been using the wrong yardstick. Teaching seen as a vocation, in the concrete present-day reality would seem to be an unrealistic view. On the other hand, teaching seen as a job reflects a highly utilitarian view of teaching. This means without schools there would be no jobs for teachers, so we have to build more schools to create jobs for teachers. Teaching is thus simply a job, to which a salary is attached. With this kind of view it does not matter what happens in schools provided the teachers have a job. The more trained a teacher is, the higher his salary. The teacher in this situation has to follow instructions from the one who has given him the job. All that he needs, is to be efficient and to know rules and instructions of his employer; his commitment is that of a salaried employee.

As we shall see in the following pages teaching as a job dehumanizes both the teacher and the pupil. Teaching seen as a

1 Donald A. Myers Teacher Power - Professionalization and Collective Bargaining (London: D.C. Heath and Company, 1973), p.19.

profession is too idealistic and unrealistic. It is in contrast to these two views of teaching that we would like to see an alternative view of teaching which would perhaps clarify to us what teaching should be. It is this new view of teaching that we hope to elaborate in the following pages.

Before we go into the depth of what teaching should be, perhaps it would be wise for us to look at the etymological background of the word 'teach'. This word is an old English word having equivalent words in other languages of other societies. According to The Oxford English Dictionary the verb 'to teach', means to show (a person) the way; to direct; to send away; also to direct, or refer (to something).² Therefore, the noun 'Teacher' means one who shows or points out; an indicator. Also according to Concise Etymological Dictionary of modern English, the word 'teach' is derived from the old English word 'techen' which is cognate with the English noun token and with the German word 'Zeigen', which means to show. The word 'token', itself has equivalent meaning with the Dutch word 'teken', German 'Zeichen', all of which are cognate with, teach, or sign or evidence.³ The Cassells German and English Dictionary gives the meaning of the German word 'Zeichen' cognate of English word 'teach' as - to show, point out, exhibit, display, manifest, unfold, demonstrate, and prove. 'Zeigner' (teacher) is one who shows, a pointer, or any instrument for showing or pointing, an indicator.⁴ All these definitions point out one thing that the word 'teach' as it was used in different societies had one meaning - guide or sign,

2 "The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary" Volume II, (Oxford: The claredon Press 1974), p.3246.

3 Ernest Weekly "Concise Etymological Dictionary of Modern English", (London: Secker and Warburg, 1952), p.427.

4 Karl Brevl "Cassell's German English Dictionary", (London: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1942), p.745.

pointer or indicator. To teach therefore, in its original meaning meant to point out, making signs, being a guide. A teacher was therefore a person who provided guidance, made signs, pointed out or acted as an indicator. We should therefore note the similarities that existed between different languages of different societies as far as the meaning or the word teaching is concerned. We have already mentioned the Dutch, German and English equivalents of this word, but if we reflect on earlier chapters we notice that also in traditional African societies the members of the adult societies provided guidance to the young generation. They acted as teachers. While providing guidance they allowed the students to learn by doing. We should therefore note that these different societies, wide apart as they were, understood teaching in the same way, that is as making signs, as providing guidance.

While the above account provide us with a traditional view of teaching, in the following pages we hope to consider a more modern concept of teaching, as implied by the analytic perspective. A group of modern philosophers has been interested in providing a clear analysis of certain concepts that are commonly used; thus they have shown interest in the concepts of teaching, learning and education. It is their analysis of the concept of teaching that we are going to review here below.

B. TEACHING - AN ANALYTIC PERSPECTIVE

Several educationists and analytic philosophers have been interested in the clarification of certain inter-related concepts like teaching, education, learning, training and indoctrination. These concepts imply some kind of activity. To differentiate these activities one must know the aim and intention of each activity. The concepts most closely related to teaching are learning and education. All educational processes are processes of learning, but not all processes of learning are processes of education. For example, if somebody learnt something that is undesirable like stealing, one will not say that he has acquired education. "Education relates to some sort of process in which a desirable state of mind develops.

It would be as much of a logical contradiction to say that a person had been educated and yet the change was in no way desirable as it would be to say that he had been reformed and yet had made no change for the better."⁵ In present day situations educational processes involve in most cases not only learning, but teaching as well. Teaching, however, is not a necessary condition for education to take place. Education can go on without teaching. Hirst and Peters say:

"There are many forms of learning that go on without teaching, and educative learning does not imply the additional criterion that the learning must take place in a teaching situation."⁶

They however state that, "many of the things we want pupils to learn we must deliberately and systematically teach, and it is surely the central function of schools to carry out this task. If that is so, though teaching may not be necessary to all forms of education and learning, it is necessary to schooling. And those elements of education and learning, with which the school is concerned, are intentionally planned, both in objectives and learning activities, by teachers and others in authority."⁷ With this view in mind both Hirst and Peters give us the characteristics that distinguish teaching from other activities.

Behind all teaching activities they say, there lies the intention to bring about learning. The intention to bring about learning is done by the teacher. The pupil learns different things ranging from concepts, beliefs, skills, habits, attitudes etc. Hirst

5 R.D. Archambault Philosophical Analysis and Education (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 90-91.

6 P.H. Hirst and R.S. Peters The Logic of Education (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), pp. 76-77.

7 Ibid., p. 77.

defines the teaching activity as follows:

"The activity of a person A (The teacher), the intention of which is to bring about learning by a person B (The pupil), the intention of which is to achieve some end state (e.g. knowledge, appreciating) whose object is X (e.g. belief, attitude, skill)."⁸

It is clear from the above that teaching is directly related to learning. It is also clear that the things we want students to learn are varied in character. As a result of this, the activities that would bring about these varied forms of learning are also equally varied. Thus teachers' activities are varied in terms of what he wants to achieve. For the teacher to bring about learning he organizes his teaching activities in a school. There is therefore, a close relationship between schooling and teaching. "It is not that schooling limits the kind of learning activities that are permissible; it is rather that within schooling the activities necessarily become part of intentional planning, which starts with deciding the specific objectives of the enterprise, and which goes on to organize the best means of achieving these."⁹ The school acts as a controlled situation in which the teacher organizes his learning activities so as to achieve specifiable objectives.

In summary therefore, teaching involves some conscious or non-conscious experience by the learner. Though teaching implies learning, not all teaching entails learning. A lot of learning occurs without teaching. Teaching has to indicate what is to be learnt. Hirst and Peters say:

8 Hirst - 1973 p. 167.

9 P.H. Hirst and R.S. Peters The Logic of Education
(London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), p.79.

"It would be distinctly odd to claim that one was teaching something if one's activities did not, by some means or other, present precisely what one intends to be learnt."¹⁰

The teaching activities must express some content, that the students are intended to learn. Hirst continues to say that the learner's cognitive state must be taken into consideration when selecting what is to be taught. Failure to appreciate what students can learn puts the activity altogether outside the category of teaching. Peters and Hirst in summary enumerate three logically necessary conditions for teaching activities:

- (i) they must be conducted with the intention of bringing about learning.
- (ii) they must indicate or exhibit what is to be learnt.
- (iii) they must do this in a way which is intelligible to and within the capacities of, the learners.¹¹

Any teaching activity must display these conditions. With these conditions learning they assume is bound to take place.

Teaching we said implies learning. And learning implies education. However, not all learning is educative. Education is taken to centre on developing desirable states of mind involving knowledge and understanding. Those teaching activities that do not fulfil this knowledge and value criterion of education would be considered as anti-educational. Education only implies worthwhile learning. Learning that does not involve cultivation of desirable attitudes, beliefs and values etc. is not educational. The same applies to teaching. As we stated earlier teaching involves an intentional activity and this activity should help the learner to develop desirable states of

10 Ibid., p. 79.

11 Ibid., p. 81.

mind. "Educational processes are those processes of learning, which may be stimulated by teaching, out of which desirable states of mind involving knowledge and understanding develop."¹²

While men like Peter, Hirst and Archambault have done good work in trying to analyse and clarify the meaning of teaching as a concept, they have fallen short of one thing, in that they look at teaching as if it were almost a non-human activity. Their analysis is too academic, too technical. They look at teaching as if it were not a human phenomenon. In their analysis they seem to forget that teaching is a human activity that goes on between two human beings capable of making choices and decisions.

While they tell us that teaching implies learning they do not tell us how this process ought to take place. Since according to them teaching is an intentional activity and has pre-specified content it apparently means that the student cannot participate in the learning process. This reduces teaching into a technique that stresses competency to achieve the specified content. "This means that control by the teacher, teacher authority, must be recognized as a necessary prerogative of teaching. A teacher is an authority not only with respect to his subject matter but also with respect to the class he teaches."¹³ The teacher authority is delegated authority as he has no say on the content to be taught, not even in the method to be used in transmitting information to the students. The teacher implements what he is told, he need not be seriously committed, he only needs to be efficient and informed. The more he is able to follow specified rules and regulations the more efficient he is. Kneller says:

12 Ibid., p. 86.

13 George F. Kneller Introduction to the Philosophy of Education (London: John Wiley and Sons, Inc. 1971), p. 108.

"The teacher then, like the British householder, is King of his castle, with all the rights, privileges and responsibilities that go with it. One of his rights is to be obeyed by those over who he has authority. To secure obedience he may even use force or delegate its use. This is quite proper, for unless authority can have recourse to force, it may be flouted at will."¹⁴

This view also reduces teaching to an act of domination. The teachers dominates over the students.

With the teacher being the central authority in the learning process, it means that the students have to follow what he says. The teacher is the master and students have to memorize what he says. The best student is the one who can recite what his teacher tells them. Even though education implies learning, it specifically refers to learning that leads to awareness, action and to an informed person, it is indeed an act of knowing. Education that is not an act of knowing leads to submissiveness, dependency and alienation. The teacher acts as a narrator. He makes the student memorize mechanically the content he gives to them. The students who are inactive, are like empty containers which the teacher has a duty to fill. This is what Freire calls the 'banking' concept of education.¹⁵ "Education thus becomes an act of depositing in which the students are depositories and the teacher is the depositor."¹⁶ The banking concept of education regards the students as objects that can be moulded and adapted into any use. The personality attributed to the pupil is an

14 Ibid., pp. 108-109

15 Paulo Freire Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1977), p. 46.

16 Ibid., p. 45.

entirely passive one. He contributes nothing to the educational situation, he is thought as utterly receptive. "The well-worn metaphors of a substance to be moulded, or a blank tablet on which anything can be written, be taken well enough a personality capable of impress but not of impressing itself."¹⁷ This view of the student assumes he has no background and there are no other intervening variables in his learning process. This is a traditional view of a student, Leslie says, the traditional answer as to what an educational situation is:

"It is a completely dominant teacher instructing a completely submissive pupil in a place set apart for the purpose. The word 'instructing' is used to imply that the teacher is already educated (a completed process), and he gives education to the pupil."¹⁸

From the above statement we can see there is an assumption that the teacher is supposed to know everything that is necessary for the education of the pupil. What is important is to learn knowledge (committing it to memory) but not understanding it. But, should this be the case? We shall consider in the following pages an existential perspective of teaching which gives us a different view of the teacher and the learning process.

C. AN EXISTENTIAL VIEW OF TEACHING

An educational process in which the teacher is supposed to know everything, reduces the pupil into a passive recipient of knowledge. In contrast education as an act of knowing, demands the pupil to be a creative subject and an active participant in the learning process. The student should be seen as dominant and most

17 Leslie R. Perry "What is an Education Situation",
Philosophical analysis and Education
Edited by R.D. Archambault, (London:
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p.68.

18 Ibid., pp.64-65.

of the initiative should lay with him in the learning situation. The teacher should be in dialogue with his students. He learns as his students learn. The teacher is no longer the 'master'. He acts as a guide. The teacher helps the student to reflect on his existential reality by creating a conducive situation that would allow creative and critical thinking. He stimulates the students, and creates a sense of critical awareness in the students. The teacher no longer fears criticism from his students, instead he accepts them and directs his students to positive constructive criticism. He guides the student taking into consideration the concrete social reality of their life. Teaching in this sense stops being mechanistic, it is no longer a technique. The teacher stops following pre-specified objectives. He no longer has a definite mental set about what reality is. Anything short of this dehumanizes both the teacher and the students. Teaching, as we saw earlier does not only imply making signs or communicating, but also acting as a sign, a guiding light on the road of life. Teaching like educating "means no less than to let someone exist, to stand out or transcend into existential space as the unique person that he is."¹⁹ The teacher has to help the student to transcend what he is to become - something he is not. He is the enabler of the process of self-transcendence. In this context "Teaching is seen as a mode of being-with, a positive mode of solidarity in which one leaps ahead of the other so as to open his possibilities for him, but never leaps in for the other, for this would be really to deprive him of his possibilities."²⁰ The teacher is the guiding light that points out the different multiple realities of life and the student makes choices of what to follow, after a critical review of these realities. For the student to appreciate these realities the teacher involves himself into a dia-

19 John Macquarrie Existentialism (New York: World Publishing Co., 1972), p. 207.

20 Ibid., p. 208.

logue with the student. For reality is what they can confirm each other in. This is what Socrates refers to as the dialectic method where two people help each other to see, to think and to act.

Perhaps the above observation could be better appreciated if we examine some of the methods and characteristics of the great teachers in history. Among some of the great teachers that the world has known in history are men such as Socrates, Gandhi, Jesus, St. Augustine, The Zen Masters etc. Even with different backgrounds and living in different times these great teachers of history share certain characteristics. All these teachers taught mainly by creating conditions where the learner had to discover the answer himself. Socrates for example in the dialogue Meno²¹ concludes after questioning the slave boy on issues about geometry that knowledge is innate, and that the teachers role in the learning process is to draw out this knowledge. As such the process of learning is a process of growth. To Socrates the duty of the teacher is to create a situation where the student can have a chance of unfolding this innate knowledge. St. Augustine writing on the role of the teacher in the "On The Teacher"²² says that knowledge can be gained only as a result of internal processes in the mind of the learner.

The teacher is supposed to stimulate inquiry through words which act as signs. The teacher can only evoke truth. For truth is interior to the mind and cannot be communicated from without. The teacher should only give the student an occasion to look at himself. Thus, according to St. Augustine we teach by giving signs, by guiding the students. Jesus, Gandhi and The Zen Masters

21 'Meno' - A dialogue between Socrates and a slave boy, It is one of Plato's dialogue as it appears in Plato's Epistemology by Gwynneth Matthews (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), pp. 41-44.

22 St. Augustine - On the Teacher
St. Augustine's Dialogue with his son Adeodatus.

advocated the same thing. They taught by creating situations where the learner was individually involved in a genuine search for the reality. They reinforced their words by meaningful actions, by showing the way in practice, by being signs. They provided guidance and help to the learner. They never posed as an authority to the learner, rather they participated in the learning process. They helped the learner to be responsible, that is, respond independently to reality. The teacher because he has greater experience does not leave the students completely by themselves, but rather he rationally acts as a pointer! Teaching being an act of showing, guiding, should guide the student to be an active, creative subject participating in the transformation of nature! By doing so he will exercise his right to choose, right to make decision and to speak his word. This makes teaching an act of liberation, for the teacher is involved in a genuine dialogue with his student, for it is only through dialogue that real learning can go on. Freire says:

"Authentic thinking, thinking that is concerned about reality, does not take place in ivory-tower isolation but only in communication."²³

The teacher should not pose as a master of the learning process. Where the teacher is the master of the learning process the students becomes passive and ready to be moulded in anyway by the teacher. Teaching like education, Nyerere says, has to increase men's physical and mental freedom - to increase their control over themselves, their own lives and the environment in which they live."²⁴ Nyerere continues to say, "Teaching which induces slave mentality or a

23 Paulo Freire Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Op. Cit.) p. 50.

24 J.K. Nyerere "Adult Education and Development" (A speech given to the International Council on Adult Education Development - University of Dar-es-Salaam, 1976), p.1.

sense of impotence is not education at all - it is an attack on the minds of men."²⁵ Teaching which induces slave mentality begins with a false understanding of men as objects. But teaching should be an act of liberation, involving the whole man, the whole human being. Teaching as we said earlier is an intentional action which cannot be fractionalized. It is a human action that cannot be reduced to molecular terms. David E. Denton in his essay 'That mode of Being called Teaching' says

"When I search the literature on teaching, I find few who actually talk about teaching at all; rather the discussion are on learning, management, programming, evaluation and other facets of teaching, but not about teaching itself. Perhaps the language of teaching is similar to the language of love in that it is about an experience so holistic, so immediate and so close to us that we can't say what it is. Confronted with the difficulty of talking about such experiences, we either reduce the experience to the fractions of its wholeness or we talk about what it is like."²⁶

Denton argues that teaching is a special mode of being-in-the world, a mode which cannot be reduced to anything other than itself. He says the world of teaching is "that world of intentional action, individuated and shared meanings, affectional ties, tensive relationships, in which there is always the possibility of one's saying no."²⁷

25 Ibid., p.1.

26 David E. Denton Existentialism and Phenomenology in Education (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1974), p. 107.

27 Ibid., p. 108.

"But any reduction of those moments of intentional actions to behaviours, personality variables or quotients of any kind leads only to abstractions, not to generalization."²⁸ Fractionalizing leads to abstraction and never gives the true picture of the whole. An intentional-action can only be seen in totality, an attempt to abstract will not give a complete picture of the reality. Teaching is an intentional-action. Teaching involves teaching a human being - hence it is human-action. Moreover when one says "I am teaching" this means I am the being - that - teaches. "I am teaching" can be substituted for "the being - that - teaches." That is 'I' as a being, a person, am doing something called teaching. There again, teaching is basically human-action.

D. TEACHING AS HUMAN ACTION

Teaching intends to bring about learning. But if the learning process is to take place, personal relationships must be established between the teacher and the students. The teacher is dealing with human beings. The teacher is a rational being and so is his student. Teaching as an intentional-action calls for teacher-student involvement. The teacher should appreciate that the student is capable of making decisions and choices. The relationship between the teacher and the pupil should not be a role or functional relationship but should be a person-to-person relationship. Teaching should aim at helping the student to realise himself. For man to realise himself he must cooperate with others. Teaching cannot be done in isolation. It is only through genuine communication that learning can take place. No matter what methods or means we use to teach, we must realise that if learning is the purpose of teaching, learning is always a personal experience. Nyerere in his speech Adult Education and Development says no one can have his consciousness developed by proxy.²⁹

28 Ibid., p. 112.

29 J.K. Nyerere 'Adult Education and Development' speech given to the International Council on Adult Education and Development - University of Dar-es-Salaam, 1976.

While teaching is an intentional activity, we must realise teaching cannot be prepackaged, it must not be designed in advance. In laying out the objectives and methods of this intentional activity the students views must be taken into consideration. For a student is a human being capable of knowing what is right and wrong, what is good or bad. And as we said earlier the student has a sense of valuation and choice and of making decisions in situations that affect his destiny. Any teaching process that does not recognize the students' capabilities and points of view dehumanizes him. In this capacity the teachers' role should be that of acting as a guide, a pointer. Nyerere talking on Adult Education says:

"The teacher of adults is a leader, a guide along a path which all will travel together. The organisers and teachers in an adult education programme can be no more than that; to be effective therefore they have consciously to identify themselves with those who are participating in primarily as learners. Only on this basis of equality, and of sharing a task which is of mutual benefit, is it possible to make full use of existing human resources in the development of a community, a village, or a nation."³⁰

Even though Nyerere is talking of the adult teacher, the same applies to every teacher even those involved in teaching of children. Freire says that in such a learning situation:

"The teacher is no longer merely the one-who-teaches, but one who is himself taught in dialogue with the students, who in their turn while being taught also teach. They become

30 Ibid., p.5.

jointly responsible for a process
in which all grow."³¹

Teachers should not regard their students as passive recipients of knowledge; they should enter into personal relationships with them. Hirst and Peters in The Logic of Education say:

"The classroom should not be like a parade ground in which generation after generation of reluctant recruits are licked into shape; rather it should be permeated by a happy atmosphere which is the by-product of good personal relationships."³²

Under such an atmosphere the student and the teacher learn together, mediated by the world and by the teacher acting as a guide. The students are no longer passive recipients, rather they are critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher. Teaching becomes an act of liberation rather than a practice of domination. Education becomes a process of Learning To Be: learning to be human. In this process the teacher is no longer the 'know-all' rather he is constantly engaged with the students in a relentless search for the meaning of reality. True reflection of reality can only occur in the true encounter between men, mediated by the world. This is true dialogue. However, true dialogue cannot exist unless it involves critical thinking. Freire says:

"Only dialogue, which requires critical thinking is also capable of generating

31 Paulo Freire Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 1977), p.53.

32 P.H. Hirst and R.S. Peters The Logic of Education (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p.88.

critical thinking. Without dialogue there is no communication and without communication there can be no true education."³³

Freire continues to state further that:

"Authentic education is not carried on by A for B or by A about B, but rather by A with B, mediated by the world - a world which impresses and challenges both parties, giving rise to views or opinions about it."³⁴

In this kind of process the teacher proposes problems to the student so that the learner can review them critically. The problems presented represent the situation of the learner, the social reality in which the learner exists. The teacher in dialogue with the students goes over these problems and through this, learning takes place. Thus, like the great teacher of history we mentioned earlier the teacher structures a situation in which the student can creatively and critically learn. The learner learns by doing, under the guidance of the teacher. Learning becomes an act of knowing.

Learning which leads to an act of knowing can only occur in a situation of true dialogue. For this is the only way in which creative - critical consciousness can be created in the learning. Furthermore, teaching that does not relate to the lived-reality of life is meaningless. Even if we teach numerous disciplines to the students unless these can be related to the life they lead it will all be without meaning. But for teaching to be meaningful, all that is required of the teacher is to be human, so that he can

33 Paulo Freire Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Op. Cit. p.65.

34 Ibid., p. 66.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We have already critically investigated the contemporary and traditionally held views of teaching. We have found that three main views of teaching may be distinguished. Some tend to view teaching as a vocation - a profession which one has a calling to; others hold teaching as a technique - a job in which competency is what matters. Lastly we have suggested a new view of teaching that may have definite implications for teacher education and teaching in the classroom. This new view holds teaching as human action, as significant action. By way of conclusion let us consider some implications of this view of teaching.

A. THE AIM OF TEACHING

Teaching must have an aim. As a practical activity, it is goal-directed. An aim is essential; it is a constitutive characteristic of any practical activity. We stated that teaching implies learning, this being its purpose; although it does not follow that all learning implies teaching. When we are teaching we have a definite aim, and that is to bring about learning. Learning has to lead to education. Thus teaching should lead to education. But not all learning is educative. Education we have found must have a normative as well as a cognitive referent.¹ Teaching too should have both a normative and a cognitive referent. When a teacher enters a classroom he ought to have an aim for his lesson. And during every instance of educating he has an aim as expressed in his lesson plan. These aims spelled out in the lesson plan are immediate objectives that a teacher has to achieve. For example, the aim or objective* for an English teacher may be 'for

1 P.H. Hirst and R.S. Peters The Logic of Education, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1970), Chapter 5.

* Aim and objective: Aim refers to long term goal which may be achieved through achieving a number of immediate goals (objectives), Objectives thus refers to the immediate precise goal.

his students to learn the application of adjectives in the making of English Sentences.' We should however, remember that his immediate goal is only justifiable if it is in line with the aim of educating. Because the aim of teaching is educating, any instance of teaching that does not help to achieve this ultimate aim is not educative. What then is this aim of educating?

The aim or end of teaching, which here I am equating to educating, is to develop an adult who would exist independently of any pedagogic relation, that is, the independent adult. When you help somebody the aim is to stop him from any further need of help. Hence the aim or end of teaching is to stop teaching. Thus the general aim underlying all instances of teaching is to stop teaching. We have to help or guide the child up to a point where he is capable of being by himself. "A child when born is 'not-yet'"², that is he is a being who has to be. Education should help this child to realise himself as a complete being that can constructively participate in the adult society. So that we can achieve or attain this educational aim we have to choose the right means to it. In most cases the means we choose are not related to the ends. The teacher is at a central position of the process, where the human being is struggling to realise himself. The teacher should make sure that the individual is fully educated and is no longer in need of pedagogic help. This can only happen if the teachers can stop chopping up the living child into the modes of abstractions created by the various disciplines. There has been a tendency of teachers viewing the education process in terms of history, geography, mathematics, sociology, economics, politics etc. By this the teacher does not consider the overall aim of educating, instead he sees the immediate goals whereby he teaches the child geography, history etc. If you ask him what he is aiming at, he will tell you that he wants to produce a being that knows so many facts of history, or geography so that he can pass the exams. His aim

2 Donald Vandenberg "Phenomenology and Educational Research"
Existentialism and Phenomenology in Education,
(New York: Teachers College, Columbia
University, 1974), p.209.

then, is to produce the historic man, the social man, economic man, the political man etc. The question is, should we feed our students with just mere facts and information? Should we reduce teaching to a matter of training people to perform skills and lose sight of the liberating potential of education or should we help them to be independent creative being capable of engaging in critical thinking? The teachers mission should be to help his students so that they can be capable of learning to perceive the social, political and economic contradictions existing within their society in order to take effective action against them.

So that the above can be achieved, the teacher should not consider the person being educated as a thing but as a human being. The pupil should not be objectified. The teacher should be looking at teaching as human action. Teaching as human-action is goal-directed. It has a direction. Though it may overstress the value aspect of educating it does not however totally overlook the practical aspects of life. Teaching as human action takes skills and techniques as frameworks to help the teacher to achieve the educating goal. Skills and techniques should not be there to control and dominate the teacher. Teaching as human-action takes the role of educating to mean as simply helping another person to become an independently functioning adult within a given social situation. The pedagogic relation should be one permeated by personal relationships. The teacher-student relation should be reciprocal.

"When the child does not enter into the pedagogic relation freely and freely acknowledge the authoritativeness of the teacher, there is no educating. There may be schooling, training and even learning, but not educating."³

3 Donald Vandenberg "Phenomenology and Educational Research" Existentialism and Phenomenology in Education (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1974), p.204.

If the student perceives that the teacher is no longer offering help, the pedagogic relation is broken. The teacher must persistently make sure the student realises that he is capable to offer him help. This can only happen if the student-teacher relationship is not a master-servant relationship. The master-servant attitude is very prevalent in our schools today. The teachers see their students as knowing nothing; while they regard themselves as the 'know-all.' This, Freire refers to as the Pedagogy of the Oppressed. Such a pedagogic relationship Freire says is characterised by:

1. The teacher teaches and the students are taught.
2. The teacher knows everything and the students know nothing.
3. The teacher thinks and the students are thought about.
4. The teacher talks and the students listen meekly.
5. The teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined.
6. The teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply.
7. The teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher.
8. The teacher chooses the programme content and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it.
9. The teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his own professional authority, which he sets in opposition to the freedom of the students.
10. The teacher is the subject of the learning, while the pupils are mere objects.⁴

B. THE PRACTICE OF TEACHING

The above kind of pedagogic relationship dehumanizes both the teacher and the pupil. In such a relationship communication is not

4 Paulo Freire Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Harmondsworth: C. Nicholls and Company Limited, 1974), pp.46-47.

possible. Teaching as human action implies dialogue between the teacher and the pupil. But what does all this mean in practice? This calls for a very radical step. And as such before we look at the implications, I would like to put down a few words of caution.

At present there is tendency for people to fear criticism and even to oppose criticism, even if constructive. There has been an attitude by the majority of the people within our society to subjectify criticism even when it is objective. Whenever one extends criticism those in authority or working within the bureaucracy take it that you are directly criticizing them as individuals; they do not look at the criticism objectively. As a result even self-criticism is lacking with most of us. Perhaps this is rooted in our African traditional society where social controls were very tight and great respect was held to the maintenance of the status quo. And this is why our traditional societies are often described as 'inward looking.' If education in the present-day reality is to be education for liberation, then it must encourage critical awareness among students. Days should be gone when people should view criticism with awe. If we are to develop we should be ready to accept any criticism extended to us. At present it is questionable how many teachers can honestly accept criticism from their students.

It is true, with the present set up of systems of education in Africa and elsewhere, to encourage critical awareness among students would be dangerous. But, if we are to achieve our aim of educating, that is to develop an adult who would exist independently in the adult society and contribute positively to the society, then there is no short-cut. Failure to act here may lead to the teachers' frustration because in the present situation the power of school administrators and the officials working in the bureaucracy are very comprehensive. The teacher has to follow their directives, for refusal to do so may mean losing a job. This is why teachers caught in this situation have reduced teaching to a job. The majority of them display a highly utilitarian orientation to their task. Teaching,

as practised by most teachers, is of little or no significance to education as a liberating force. Teaching which is practised on utilitarian grounds, for a financial gain, is a form of enslavement - that is supported by the school system and often society at large: schools provide teachers with a job, no matter what the students in these schools learn. Teaching as a job may be beneficial to the teacher, in economic terms, it certainly is of little benefit to the learners, in human terms. For their own private gain, teachers prefer to be slaves of the systems and victims of the situation: submissively they follow the regulations, the timetable and the syllabus, willingly, they waste the time of the learners, slavishly they mis-educate, they mis-lead.⁵ In this process they create submissive and passive students. But one day these students will react, even revolt against the established order. Teachers appear to be sowing the seeds of a revolution they and many others really do not want. This service is infact dis-service.

How does the teacher go about changing the situation? The teacher has only one hope: he has to work from within the system. Perhaps the teacher in the school must liberate, educate himself first, before attempting to educate his students. The teacher should encourage awareness - identity⁶ within himself. Once he has this awareness, the teacher in the school will learn to move freely where others are in chains, he will learn to discover new opportunities and possibilities, where others find only routine and drudgery. The liberated teacher will be free even in the prison of the school. The teacher should therefore liberate, and educate himself first. Having done this the teacher will be open-minded, he will always find avenues where others find blind

5 G. Bennaars: Philosophy and Education in Africa, (Department of Educational Foundations, Faculty of Education, Kenyatta University College, 1977), p.109.

6 Curle Education for Liberation, 1973, Chapter 1.

alleys. He will be selective and he will always be out for meaningful action. To him teaching will be a human action, a process of teaching to be, that is, teaching to be more human. In the course of this process the student is able to realise himself.

Such a pedagogic relationship implies responsibility. This means responding to reality, the needs of the child, of the society, in a way that would lead to action. In our traditional society children were directly involved in the day to day activities of life. As a result of this involvement they used to respond to the needs of the family and the society as a whole. If there was famine the children did not go about beating their parents, instead with understanding they joined their parents in sharing the little food there was. Yet in our modern Secondary School, even when there is a true shortage of a commodity e.g. wheat flour, sugar etc., the students go breaking everything in the school. We need to ask ourselves why? Surely, it is because of lack of involvement which cannot occur without communication. Another example perhaps will clarify things further: If it starts raining and a child is at home and there is a chair lying outside the house, the child in most cases will rush out to bring the chair inside the house, yet the very same child will not do the same in the school compound. Why? This is perhaps because a school is a place where we go to study mathematics, physics, geography, history and what have you, but not learning to be responsible. A school should be a home. Instead of making it a home we have turned it into a 'teaching factory'; where we produce marketable commodities that will be practical in life. For them to be practical, we have to teach accounting, mathematics, scientific and technical subjects. We have to produce people who can solve the greatest quadratic equation, yet if you ask him the rationale behind his formulae, leave alone the purpose of the equation he won't tell you. I am not against practicability, but too much stress on practicability or pragmatism may reduce our thinking. Pragmatism, accountability, practicability become dogmas to us. Without thinking we cannot have action.

It is critical thinking that should lead to action. The relationship between the student and the teacher should be that of a child and his or her parents. So that no one would accuse me of dwelling on very theoretical lines, perhaps it would be better for me to end this paper by giving one illustration that may provide a practical challenge and true inspiration of what I have been advocating all through in this paper. This is the case of Starehe Boys' Centre and School:

C. THE STAREHE BOYS' CENTRE EXPERIENCE

The Starehe Boys' Centre is a 'school within a home'; a visit there will prove so.* Without going to any history or great details about Starehe let me highlight a few characteristics of this school which makes me find it an ideal, practical example of what we have been discussing in this paper. In Starehe there exists free communication between the teachers and the students. A Chief Inspector of children once described it as an "alarmingly 'free' disciplinary regime."⁷ Dr. Mulock Houwer, commenting on Starehe said,

"Starehe does not believe in forcing children but instead emphasizes the need for co-operation with the parents and the children."⁸

What they have in Starehe is love; real, human, individual love and care. What makes Starehe a home for most boys? Unlike in other schools there is a lot of communication between the students themselves and also with the teachers. There are two

* More details about Starehe Boys' Centre can be got from Anthem of the Bugles a book by Roger Martin about the Centre.

7 Roger Martin Anthem of Bugles (Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books (E.A.) Ltd., 1978), p.25.

8 Ibid., p. 49.

main channels of communication. First, there is what is called the 'Baraza'⁹ which is the school parliament that meets every Friday night. Every student is allowed to participate in the Baraza which has been there for the last 18 years. In the Baraza there is what we can call 'Parliamentary privilege'.

"No matter what a boy said in the Baraza, no matter whom he attacked or what he criticized, he would not suffer for it in any way once the Baraza is over."¹⁰

And just like a normal 'parliament'

"Complaint and criticism must, of course, be offered in good faith and in courteous language - if they were not, they would be demolished by the assembly 'on the spot', and no boy would subject himself to the resulting embarrassment more than once."¹¹

Thus in the Baraza the student will put forward anything he finds wrong with teaching, food, prefects, the Director etc. The Director of Starehe is always present in the Baraza. This kind of togetherness creates an atmosphere of full partnership. In the words of the Director Mr. G. Griffin, 'it has made it possible, for the school to evade a lot of problems.' It is in one of the sessions of the Baraza that the Director presents the School Annual accounting returns on the blackboard, where they are discussed by the students. This allows the students to scrutinize the schools yearly expenditure and to see how the available funds were spent. As a result the students know when there are funds

9 Ibid., p. 123.

10 Ibid., p. 192.

11 Ibid., p. 192.

and when there are no funds. In other words it is often lack of such communication that has caused a number of accusations of misappropriation of funds leading to strikes and destruction of property in many of our schools.

The second channel of communication is that every Sunday evening the Director meets with the school prefects. In these meetings they discuss the school problems and what they anticipate in the coming week. To avoid any concentration of power, the school has established a system to check the power of the prefects, the school Captain, and the Director. Thus there is a system of appeal. If the individual student feels he is being treated unjustly by the prefect he takes his case to the school Captain or the Director. If he feels this is not going to serve him well, he takes his case to the Baraza where it is presented. One of the interesting things one would notice on a visit to Starehe is that the door to the Director's office is always literally open; this means any student can walk in to his office and present his case even without having to go through the Secretary of the Director.

With this kind of free atmosphere, the result is that pupils have confidence and are able (and are encouraged) to challenge the ideas of the teacher, fellow pupils and to think for themselves. This leads to self-reliance.

To end I would like to point out something that has kept Starehe very much in touch with the rest of society; and that is a Voluntary Service Scheme during the school's vacations. About 200 students during the vacation are posted to different institutions e.g. hospitals, to offer voluntary services and during this time they interact with the rest of the members of the society. This exposes them to the reality of life. This experience has produced students who even when walking in the city streets, show that they are confident in life. Perhaps the Starehe experience would be valuable for those who have been discussing a National Service Scheme. More generally the Starehe Boys' Centre and School experience should be also valuable for those who are ready to be devoted to this noble 'occupation' called teaching. Teaching calls

for total human understanding, responding to the needs of the society and devotion to the service of the young ones.

D. CONCLUSION

We have seen that in traditional societies every adult member of the society taught. They taught by creating conditions in which the learners had to discover the answers themselves. In this way the children learnt through participation in the activities of the society. The adult provided guidance. This we found was very much related to the original meaning of the word 'teach', which meant then: being a sign or guide. A teacher was thus someone who acted as a guide. This we found was also much in line with what some of the great teachers in history such as Socrate, Jesus, Augustine and Gandhi advocated. They all created conditions where the learner had to discover the answer for himself. This they reinforced with meaningful action; they acted as models, as guides. In doing this they did not have to force the learner, instead they helped the learner to respond all by himself to the reality.

Earlier we had found that teaching considered as a profession is too an idealistic view, as teaching considered so does not consider the possibilities and limitations of a human being. Yet considered as a job or technique teaching de-humanizes both the teacher and the pupil. Considering these two observations we arrived at the conclusion that both fall short of seeing the teacher as a human being. It is in view of this that we proposed an alternative view which sees teaching as human action. Thus teaching we found cannot simply be a technique, a form of programmed instruction. The teacher has to become involved in the learning process. The teacher has to act as a guide, a leader in the learning situation. He leaps ahead of the pupil but he cannot leap for the pupil. The teacher cannot force the student to learn, learning is a personal matter. The teacher as a guide does not have to dominate the learning process; he should rather be in communication with the pupils. "Authentic thinking, thinking that is concerned about reality, does not take place in ivory-tower isolation, but only in communication."¹² Freire

states. In this kind of situation the teacher himself learns in dialogue with the pupil while he teaches them. In the final analysis both the teacher and the pupil become **critical co-investigators of reality.**

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