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THE ROLE AND IMPACT OF SELF-HELP SCHOOLS ON A  
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by

J. Mugo Gachuhi

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the  
State University of New York at Buffalo in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

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CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

## THE NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

### INTRODUCTION

There is in Africa today an almost mystical faith in Western education. In a relatively short period of years, "young educated Africans have risen to the top positions of their country. Those who attended universities overseas returned to their home countries to find their governments eager to employ them as diplomats, and ministers and the like."<sup>1</sup> Those who had only secondary school diplomas also found themselves in positions of power and influence soon after they left school. Those with elementary school education also found some positions with the government that paid them a handsome income. For these are the realities of those with some kind of education in newly independent countries, especially just before and soon after independence. This is usually so because of the lack of experienced and well trained people to fill the vacuum left by the colonizing power in the various governmental posts, in the schools and in the businesses. The danger of this education that leads people to high appointment after their education and without previous experience, is that it has led some others to misconstrue the right to education or the need for education as the right to high positions or a plush job after the completion of one's education.

School education seen in this light is nothing more than a vehicle to an important employment. Thus, in developing countries where school age population may exceed fifty per cent of the total population, and where the government may not have enough schools to go around, communities will almost invariably start their own community schools so that they may give their children an education.

Community schools--or community project work, as it is sometimes referred to, is an immensely useful kind of community development. It has been the means by which many thousands of small communities in

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<sup>1</sup>Barbara Ward, "Change Comes to Africa's Villages", The New York Times Magazine, November 19, 1961, pp. 24 and 49. Also same article found in John W. Hanson and Cole S. Brembeck, eds., Education and the Development of Nations. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), pp. 52-56.

Africa have been encouraged to provide themselves with roads, schools, clinics, cooperative shops, and clean water supplies, or even to rebuild whole villages, according to their local needs and circumstances. Community project work has been popular with the people because it has shown them a really practical way of getting what they want instead of waiting, possibly for years, for the government to give it to them. It has been popular with the governments because it has stimulated a great deal of local development at very little cost to limited government funds.

Of all these community activities in self-help, perhaps it is school construction that has aroused the greatest interest and has been considered most vital. For only after the school has been completed do other projects get started. Investment in education of one's and the community's children is seen as the most sure way, in fact the only way, of getting quick and significant returns. Roads are not travelled by people without cars, nor do people own cars unless they have money. People usually do not think about their water as unclean, especially after they have been using it for many centuries, unless they are told it is. The school in this case plays a major and crucial role in a community's development. One can almost say, that in Africa, the school influences the community rather than vice versa.

It is of course easy to exaggerate the influence of the school and its effectiveness in introducing new ideas. If people value and use the school in Africa however, it is because they believe it can serve their purpose. These purposes may be quite different from those of the authority (government, missionaries) which controls the school, and when they conflict, as they often do, it is the people's purposes that tend to prevail.

The people who still cling to their traditional values and customs do not value school. They do not willingly send their children to it, and even if a school is provided for them, it has little or no influence on their way of life. They will begin to value it only as they come more into contact with the outside world and accept its standards. In particular, this happens when they learn to value money and the things that they would have from the outside world, things which can only be gotten by one who has the money. They begin to value school

once they see that with school education, chances of individual economic development are improved. "They do not learn these things from the school, but from almost every adult contact they have with people outside their own community, and as they learn, so they come to value the school as a means of helping their children to a good start in life."<sup>1</sup> They now want the school, and if they have no school, they will ask one to be provided for them. If they want it badly enough, they may even set to work to build a school for themselves.

Most people in Africa now want school education for their children and will make great sacrifices to get it, but for a strictly limited purpose. What the parents seem to really want from school education are salaried jobs for their children; and they know that to get them, their children must first pass the examinations conducted by the school. Thus they are more interested in the results of the examinations than in the nature of the education the school provides. A good school, in the reasoning of the parents and the students, is a school with good teachers, and a "good" teacher is one who gets his children through examinations. This attitude to school education is deep-seated and widespread, and no would-be reformer can afford to ignore it.

Here we can see some emerging themes in the world of education in Africa. These themes can be listed as:

1. A changed or changing attitude towards school education.
2. An increasing need or desire for school education.
3. As a result of 1 and 2 above, community voluntary self-help projects, such as school construction, have emerged to fulfill the felt need for school education.
4. In order to meet this need, a conflict in directions and purposes of school education between the communities and the government is likely to emerge.

Other themes could also be considered. For example, the pressure for more schools can be said to have risen as the expansion of primary education increased, an increase which was created by acceptability

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<sup>1</sup>T.R. Batten, "The Status and Function of Teachers in Tribal Communities," Yearbook of Education (London: Evans Bros., 1953), p. 90-91.



of school education by the parents. These pressures have created a number of problems of great moment. The number of teachers required to staff the schools have risen far beyond the resources available for training them. The number of pupils able to move on to secondary schools has expanded, and so has the pressure on the secondary schools; all this at a time when financial resources have been strained to the limits. Because of the parental interests in school education and the shortage of schools, the result has been that large numbers of children have exhausted the provision of formal education too early to enter gainful employment.<sup>1</sup> The problem of unemployment, especially among the school leavers,<sup>2</sup> has prompted communities to build their own schools so that their children can acquire a few more years of schooling. Chinga community in Kenya is one such local example that has banded together and pooled its resources to build self-help schools for their children's education past the primary school. The author proposes to do a study of this community's schools.

#### THE PROBLEM

Given the fact that there is rising unemployment of elementary school-leavers while at the same time, there are increased desires, drives, interests and continued building of self-help schools, the questions we ask are: To what extent are self-help schools meeting the need for better trained and better educated manpower for the community and the nation of Kenya? To the extent that these self-help schools are not fulfilling the parents' and the students' hopes for better employment upon the completion of his education, what are the possible consequences of formal education to the individual, the community, and the nation? Given the nature of economic activities of the nation as primarily agricultural, and given the need for training in non-academic subject areas, what role can self-help schools play in meeting this need?

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<sup>1</sup>see Table 1 for age categories who are seeking employment after leaving school at an early age.

<sup>2</sup>For the purpose of this study, primary school leavers are defined as all the children who leave school either before or after completion of the primary school course - class 1 through 7 - vis a vis primary school drop-outs or graduates.

#### ASSUMED CONDITIONS

Before the study was undertaken, the following conditions were assumed. (A) Given that schools in a pluralistic-developing nation are a social force which has great impact on the communities and that, control by the government does not mean, or simply imply, dictatorship of the schools for the purpose of controlling the social forces which may not always agree with the government. (B) Given that, self-help Harambee schools have a definite role in the development of Chinga community - and that of Kenya's educational system. (C) Given that due to the absence of a definite national policy regarding self-help schools, the proper role of such schools is not clearly identified. (D) Given that the responses of all the students, administrators, school personnel, and community representatives are candid and sincere and that they reflect their genuine feelings about their schools and that, on a smaller scale, they reflect a national sentiment concerning these schools, and (E) Given that generalizations made in this paper as a result of this study will be of positive contribution to the scholarship of educators and the community innovators, and given the following limitations:

#### LIMITATIONS

- (A) This study will be limited to self-help Harambee schools in the Chinga community.
- (B) The interviews to be conducted among the concerned population in Chinga will be oral interviews due to the inability of most of the community members to read or write the printed language, it is hypothesized that:

#### HYPOTHESIS

(A) In a pluralistic-developing nation, school education, especially at the elementary and secondary levels, is guided and controlled by the national government. This hypothesis is based on certain arguments. First, it is argued that national unity is better than disunity. Second, that if regions or sections of a country are in position to build, finance and thus control institutions such as the schools, they may tend to foster regional and ethnic parochialism.

To achieve national unity and uniform development, it is argued that the schools are in position to do this much more thoroughly than any other institution. Here one must be reminded that the concept of pluralism (see definition below) implies conflict. The transformation of a society from subsistence economy to cash economy; from traditionally oriented to future directed and from local or individual royalties to national royalties could leave painful wounds on the people who are so affected. Such pains could be minimized if the regions were in control of their institutions since they would be in position to determine what and how they want to change. Assuming then that the national government's interest is one of unity and effective and uniform changes and growth, then it is argued that only such government is in a position, from the viewpoint of manpower and capital resources<sup>1</sup> to evaluate and act upon the needs of a nation and plan accordingly for the present and the future needs. Not only is a national government in a position to see the complete national picture but, it is the only one, again at the early stages of development, with enough options to choose from for the purpose of development.

The national government can be seen in this role as what A. Etzion calls "controlling overlayers". It can direct its manpower resources to whatever direction is necessary and it can regulate the speed or rate of growth as well as direction of that growth. In other words, the government is in a position to make an equable developmental plan

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<sup>1</sup>The author is aware of the fact that underdevelopment or the more respectful term "developing" generally implies low level development of manpower, vis a vis technological know-how and lack of capital, e.g. resources, either developed or available for development. The lack of superior development in these two important sectors, however, does not mean that such so-called developing nation lacks them completely. I am of the opinion that the question is one of numbers of highly trained people and how they are distributed or allocated to utilize the available resources for the national welfare of their people. Lacking a significant number of such people, a national government is in a position to negotiate technical aid, either in form of manpower assistance or machines from nations that have them, whereas regions can do that only with great difficulties.

for the whole nation without favouring any region. It can do more than any other organization can.<sup>1</sup> Data will be presented in this study to show that some members of the Chinga community do indeed desire the of their schools by the national government. Whether this desire is prompted by the lack of funds and manpower or whether it is because such individuals see the usefulness of education in fostering national unity will be argued elsewhere.

(B) It is also hypothesized that lack of and or inadequate provision of government schools has forced the parents to build their own self-help harambee schools for the purposes of preparing their children for employment. This study will attempt to obtain figures which will show the number of available government schools and the number of school age children who are unable to obtain places in such schools. Interviews with parents and students as to why they have

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<sup>1</sup>Questions could be raised as to what would prevent a government that may be dominated by one ethnic group, or groups, or one dominated by a privileged class and powerful interest groups from favouring one area for development over another. While this is a legitimate question, the point to remember is that theoretically it is possible for a newly independent nation to be more nationalistically minded and interested in forging a national unity than fermenting division. In a pluralistic society, a policy which is nationally oriented would seem preferable than one which is regionally oriented. Obviously one possible way of eliminating regional or ethnic jealousies is to distribute national resources equally. It is because of this need to avoid jealousies that the national government should be the controlling agency rather than an amalgamation of interest groups. The assumption here is that individuals charged with national duties are interested in the national well-being as a whole rather than parts of it. Other organizations, while they may be nationally oriented, are restricted in their performance by the fact that they are usually interest groups and their influence can be felt to the extent that they complement the government in its endeavors. At the early stages of development, such organizations would tend to be government agencies rather than independent bodies. Since such organizations do not have the capital to carry out their programs, it would seem that their existence would depend on government loans and cooperation. This fact alone would disqualify them from being considered as independent agencies. In further argument, we state here that in a pluralistic and poor (developing) society, uncontrolled education, rather than being a means for the state to orient the population towards a national consciousness and national royalties and thus fostering national unity among all segments of the society, such education (uncontrolled) may become a dividing element in that society.

selected self-help schools over the government schools hope to show that it is due to lack of sufficient government schools that the parents have built their own schools.

(C) It is further hypothesized that education received in self-help Harambee schools, because of lack of planning, guidance and miseducation, can result in an individual, community and national frustration or disillusionment which may have serious consequences on the economic, political and social development of a nation. It is here argued, in support of this hypothesis that, in a developing nation, the state, as the sole controller and dispenser of the limited prestigious positions— within which effective power and status is located and which can only be reached by means of formal education— could determine the type of schools, their location in the nation (distribution), their number and the curriculum to be followed in order to control the quality of education gained and the number of people gaining it.<sup>1</sup> The author proposes to present data supporting the claim

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<sup>1</sup>To advocate this type of policy is not synonymous with the advocacy of elitist and selective type of education. Rather it is a realistic appraisal of the needs of the nation undergoing rapid change and with limited resources and, the best way to utilize national human and material resources without a high wastage — it is a question of priorities. While mass and universal education is politically an attractive phrase to use during pre-independence political agitation, for a developing nation to advocate its immediate adoption after independence would be a major blow to the overall development plans. As will be borne out elsewhere, developing nations have populations of 18 years and under in excess of 50 per cent of their total population. Not only teachers would have to be found to staff the schools, assuming the schools were built rapidly,\* but also as important as the building of schools is the availability of jobs commensurate with the large numbers of students finishing school. This means that the economy would have to grow at a fantastic rate and assuming secondary school was the terminal stage for most children's formal education, and that there were 30 to 50 thousand children graduating each year, that many jobs would have to be found for this group alone, in addition of course, to those who have dropped out and the uneducated adult population. At this rate of increase, a nation would be developed overnight if the criteria for such development was education. However, it is not the only one. Hence the control of quality by the government would not only mean quality for academic schools, but also quality for other types of schools — agricultural, vocational, technical and so on. This would assure a diversity of skills and hence allocation. A significant large number of the population could be educated to be

that planning of harambee schools is haphazardly done and that the management of these schools is poor, resulting in not only waste of limited resources, but also in individual frustration. This frustration may come about as a result of lack of employment in the modern sector of the economy that has high monetary rewards to the individual. The individual's disenchantment may result in family disagreements or dissolution. For the parents and other members of the family who perhaps may have sacrificed whatever little property they may have had, such as land and cattle, an individual's unemployment may bring certain ill-feelings and disillusionment about education that is worthless. Continuation of support of the schools by the parents and the community would seem to decline if they are unable to receive any rewards from their investment.

Politically, it can be argued that an unemployed literate population is likely to find fault with the established institutions of the government, especially if such institutions are perceived as the ones limiting the individual's full participation in the economy. For anyone opposed to governmental policies, it would be easy for him to organize this group by either pointing out that it is because of the government's poor policies that these young literates are unemployed, and that if this mass of unemployed were to join hands with him, they could bring about a change that would be of benefit to them all. It seems

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contributing members of the society in the modern sector without sacrificing quality for quantity.

\*The problem of teacher recruitment is perhaps one of the many serious problems when one is considering anything related to schools in the developing nations. During the first few years after independence, there is generally a rapid increase of schools but not enough teachers to staff them. The leaders of the developing countries are then forced to get teachers from their former colonial rulers. This is a blow to the receiving countries. For it means that they cannot change their curriculum rapidly enough to reflect their national needs and aspirations. The first few years of independence are usually an anxiety producing period for the new nations, since of necessity, they are forced to accept gifts of their former overlords, an indication that they are not as yet capable of governing themselves. This period of nation-building may tend to be one of increased nationalism as these countries plan massive training institutions. In Africa this is the period known as one of Africanization. For an elaborate discussion of the Africanization of school curriculum, see George Urwin, "Africanization of the Kenya Curriculum" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1968).

more than likely that this group would join such a person. The consequence of unemployed literates in the economic sector are rather obvious. Unproductive members of society depend on those who are productive for their livelihood. This means that instead of investing the little resources available, be it in the form of cash, seeds and other forms of capital, these investment resources are used for consumption purposes and thus retarding any growth in the economy. Also we should keep in mind that the population of the developing countries is always on the increase and the new born will have to depend on the employed for their existence. Thus to go to school and after school be unable to find work, especially after the family has sold all of its possessions, can indeed bring about an economic chaos which may result in a national dissatisfaction. The development of a nation can thus be seriously affected and its future uncertain.

#### PURPOSE

In order to answer the various questions raised above, the purpose of this study is an attempt to do an indepth descriptive analysis of the Chinga Community and its schools, so as to determine and evaluate the role, the organization, the impact and the problems of self-help harambee schools and their contribution to community and national development.

#### DEFINITION OF TERMS

(A) SELF-HELP is here defined as a community's voluntary contribution of its own resources and organization for its own improvement; it is the act of providing for or helping, or the ability to provide for or help oneself without assistance from others, especially in education. Further, the concept of self-help is defined as a national social force which has economic, political and socio-psychological impact on the future development of Kenya.

(B) HARAMBEE is a Swahili word which means "let us pull together". As used here, it is synonymous with self-help and the only functional difference between the two terms is that Harambee is the call to action

and self-help is the implementation of the action itself.<sup>1</sup>

(C) THE CHINGA COMMUNITY. The term community is defined here as a social group sharing common characteristics. It is a group whose members reside in a specific locality, share government, and have common cultural and historical heritage. The Chinga Community is defined to include all those people who reside within the administrative location (district) of Chinga, Kenya and who derive their means of livelihood from within that area regardless of their occupation in the community.

(D) PLURALISTIC SOCIETY refers to a society with sharp cleavages between different population groups brought together within the same political unit. In this context, the characteristic expression of pluralism takes the form of dissensus, and a conflict between racial, tribal, religious, and regional groups, and the system by which these groups live is either one of domination, regulation or force. In the tradition of Furnivall, Kuper and Smith,<sup>2</sup> pluralism further refers to a condition in which members of a common society are internally distinguished by fundamental discontinuities and cleavages, and a cultural complex based on systematic institutional diversity.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The concept of harambee and self-help is varied. It means anything from community road building, fresh water schemes, co-operative farms, stores, primary and secondary school building. On the national level, and from an economic viewpoint, the concept of harambee may be used to mean a nation's effort to utilize its own resources for its development. Politically, harambee or self-help may be used to imply a united effort of all the people, in a single party, to achieve unity of the country and thus being in a stronger position to defeat the forces of division. As used here, however, self-help or harambee means the community's involvement in the organization, construction and support of harambee secondary schools.

<sup>2</sup>See J.S. Furnivall, Colonial Policy and Practice, (London: Cambridge University Press, 1948); M.G. Smith, The Plural Society in the British West Indies, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1965). Leo Kuper and M.G. Smith, eds., Pluralism in Africa, (Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1969).

<sup>3</sup>See Chapter 1 by Kuper and Chapter 2 by Smith in Kuper and Smith, eds., Pluralism in Africa for further discussion of this concept.



(E) DEVELOPING NATION refers to a nation whose population is characteristically rural; has rising birth rates and falling death rates; whose population is mostly young and whose institutions are in transition from tradition-oriented to future-oriented, and whose technological base as a means of industrial production is at a minimum. In such a nation, the majority of the people are engaged in agricultural production as their major source of occupation.

(F) PLURALISTIC-DEVELOPING NATION is defined as a nation which has most of the characteristics of D and E above.

#### METHODOLOGY

The method to be used in this study has two parts:

(1) A HISTORICAL APPROACH. In this approach, historical documents which deal with education in Kenya are examined for the purpose of giving an analytical-descriptive history of the origins and growth (expansion) of western education in Kenya. An indepth descriptive analysis of the history of education in Kenya is vital, the author believes, for only through such method is it possible to see and understand the present problems. It is believed that by understanding the philosophy and the actions of those groups of people who introduced education in Kenya, and the philosophy, attitudes and beliefs of those groups upon whom this education was introduced, we can then see the pattern of change that has taken place. That only by understanding the nature of the forces which have been at play in the past can we begin to appreciate the educational pressures at work today. By looking at some of the traditional institutions of the community under study, and understanding the symbiotic relationships they have had with outside contact, it is believed that one can begin to see the reasons for the rise of self-help schools.

(2) FIELD STUDY. This study is also based on (a) field data collected by the author over a period of four years through his association with self-help harambee schools in Chinga. (b) For the purpose of determining attitudes concerning the perceived values, uses and purposes of education, the author has collected data by method of participant-observer and carried out interviews with school and community leaders, parents and

students in self-help schools in the Chinga community. (c) For the purpose of comparison with harambee schools, in order to see the similarities and differences in the curriculum offered, organization and difficulties, pertinent data on self-help harambee schools, whenever available, have been collected from the various ministries of the Kenya government. Published and unpublished reports, where available and relevant to the study have been used.

#### CHOICE OF CHINGA COMMUNITY AS FOCUS OF STUDY

Chinga community is selected as focus of this study because of the following reasons:

- (1) The community meets the basic requirement of what we define here as traditional-modern. That is, the Chinga community is a non-urban community. Yet it is not too far from urban centers which may influence some of its adaptations. The community retains some traditional aspects in institutional organization, while at the same time it has adopted some modern ways. It is a good example of a community in transition.
- (2) The community is small (11,000, about 60 percent of which is 18 years and under) so that it permits observation of its self-help activities, yet it is large enough to allow divergence.
- (3) Historically, Chinga community has not had secondary schools of its own, but in a matter of years has built many schools.
- (4) The idea of self-help schools is perhaps best demonstrated by the community's involvement in them.
- (5) Chinga is chosen because it seems to represent the drives, the involvements, the desires, the hunger and the commitment of other Kenyan communities in their drive for more school education.

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN KENYA

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN KENYA

### INTRODUCTION

We mentioned in the introduction to the problem that there is an almost mystical faith in Western education among the African peoples today. It would be appropriate to mention here that this desire for education has been accompanied by major changes within Africa. The recent history of Africa has been one of spectacular change. Changes from dependent colonies to independent nations in a short period of time have been spectacular indeed. But some of the most significant changes have been less obvious and more intangible, for example, "the rising demand for school places, the faith in education as a means of achieving higher expectations, and the clear understanding that education will raise these expectations even further".<sup>1</sup> If education is to meet the social demands of changing societies and have the greatest and most positive impact in changing people, it should be taken into account the barriers and inducements to change actually found in the prevailing belief structure, and it ought to be aware of the relationship of the structure to the patterns of action, social institutions and life goals. Those charged with education and the schools will be ill-equipped "to make this contribution if they fail to recognize the pattern of beliefs and motivations implicit in both modern economic society and those traditional societies now on the road to modernization".<sup>2</sup>

Faith in education as a means of achieving higher expectation can be regarded potentially as one of the important vehicles of change and modernization. If so, the key to change and modernization lies in the school house. In more and more of the villages, "the passer-by

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<sup>1</sup>Barbara Ward, "Rising Expectations," in Education and the Development of Nations, J.W. Hanson and Cole S. Brembeck, eds. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), p. 52.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., loc. cit.

will see a green clearing with a couple of insecure football posts, stuck up in the middle and, around it, a square of low, mud, brick or stone buildings, whitewashed, roofed with thatch or corrugated iron, veranda posts painted black, cannas growing scarlet and yellow in the corners. Here the children in khaki shorts and shirts or tidy mission dresses of butcher blue, chatter and race and greet the passing cars with extravagant gaiety, or sit in the shade frowning over their reading books".<sup>1</sup> In the dark little classrooms of the building, these children are quiet, attentive scholars. They try to "learn their letters and figures with almost alarming concentration. So much turns on the outcome, so many family ambitions, so many personal hopes. And they feel the cold breath of failure when their teacher says: 'If you don't learn better than this, you'll have to stay on the farm!'.<sup>2</sup>

Such are the realities, the desires and the hopes of both the parents and the children in Africa. So much faith is put in education today. Why? How is it that so many people have come to have an almost religious faith in education? What do schools seem to give them that no other organization or institution seems to be able to give? And what of the children who do not make it through examinations? Why is the threat of farm life so effective, so real and so feared by the children? These questions must again be seen from a historical perspective. It is through this perspective that we can understand the forces at play that have changed and continue to change a traditionally-land-based people so much. It is proposed that by looking at Chinga community and its schools, answers to these questions could be found. However, before looking at this community itself, we first turn to a brief history of education in Kenya.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid, op. cit., p.55.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid, p. 56

## THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN AFRICAN CONTEXT

To undertake a study that would treat the entire history of Kenya's educational development would be monumental. It is hoped that, a brief statement of the history of education in African context in this section will provide some definite reference points from which our study of Kenya's educational development and that of self-help schools in Chinga can be taken.

In recent years an increasing number of studies have been devoted to education in Tropical Africa. The initial impetus was the need for educational development in Africa that became so apparent after the Second World War. This has now been reinforced by the realization that there are lessons with world-wide implications, for both the educationists and social scientists, in the study of the development of formal school systems in the emerging nations.

Margaret Read has pointed out that an accurate history of education in ex-colonial territories is needed, both as an aid to understanding the present deficiencies and problems and as a basis for sound educational planning and teaching in the future.<sup>1</sup> In tracing the history of education in Africa, it has become customary to think of three phases: an initial period of missionary enterprise, a period of colonial government interest and financial support, and finally, a period where the government took over the major responsibilities.<sup>2</sup> Looking at this sequence of action some historians have tried to identify the policies of the British Government towards education in its colonial dependencies during these different periods. Yet it is difficult to discern one clear approach among the variety of trends and practices which were developed in British colonial territories.

Though an interest in educational policy is clearly of value, too much concern about policy and its consequences can lead to confusion.

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<sup>1</sup>Quoted in L.J. Lewis, Education and Political Independence in Africa (Edinburgh: T. Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962), p.82.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in L.J. Lewis, Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas (London: T. Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1954), p.9.

This is demonstrated by considering two of the criticisms leveled at British colonial educational policy.

(A) British colonial educational policy tended to stress unrealistic academic education at the expense of technical education, which would have been better suited to the needs of an African population.

(B) British colonial educational policy tended to provide a simple practical education for the great majority of African pupils and neglected the provision of secondary schools, thus limiting the number of Africans able to compete with Europeans for the more senior administrative positions in the Government.

Since these two criticisms appear at first glance to conflict, evidence could be found in British territories to support each case. The answer to the paradox seems to lie in the distinction between 'policy' and 'practice'. Evidence used to support such criticisms would come not only from policy statements but from actual procedure in the schools. It could be suggested that evaluating the 'fruits' of policy is the best way of evaluating the policy itself, for clearly there must be a very direct relationship between policy and practice. In certain circumstances this is true. If educational policy is very carefully defined by the central government and detailed instructions relating to means as well as ends are issued, as in the case of the French educational system, then practice can be seen to follow policy closely. On the other hand, central policy may be limited to a general statement of aims, allowing local authorities freedom to choose their own methods. This has become part of the British educational traditions both at home and in overseas territories.

In trying to provide educational systems for their tropical colonies both the British and French Governments met a "new frontier" in educational development. We can observe that each country attempted a solution in line with its traditional approach to such problems. French colonial authorities in general were expected to implement a central policy while in the British colonies, freedom was given to the colonial governments to interpret general policy statements; although the exigencies of the situation prevented any absolute commitment to one tradition by either country.

Although the British Government took some direct action in developing education in Africa, before 1923, most of the work was in the hands of the missions. Government interest in education tended to be piecemeal and no clear policy was recorded. After the formation of the Advisory Committee on Education in Tropical Africa in 1923, and the influence of the Phelps-Stokes Commission,<sup>1</sup> a general education policy began to come to light.

For students of African affairs there have been a series of White Papers in which were stated the policy directing and the principles underlying education in British Tropical Africa. The general policy was set out in the 1925 and 1935 papers. The 1943 Report on Mass Education was followed in 1945 by the Reports on Higher Education and in 1948 by Education for Citizenship. These papers made the most important body of documentation on policy and were available for students and statesmen and educationists to examine and assess and compare.<sup>2</sup>

Careful studies of these documents and the work of the Advisory Committee on Education in Tropical Africa (later the Colonies) have been made which show the increasing concern of the British Government with the problems of developing Colonial education but the documents produced were general statements of aim and principle. They indicated clearly enough the general direction, but left the more detailed planning to the individual colonial governments. Thus Read writes that to study in detail "the implementation of policy and the actual rate of progress one has to turn to the annual reports of the Directors in Education in each of the colonies".<sup>3</sup>

To appreciate fully the implementation of British Colonial educational policy, it is necessary to understand the very clear distinction between the 'policy' laid down by an experienced and far-sighted Government Committee in London and the interpretation

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<sup>1</sup>For details of the report, see the Phelps-Stokes Report on Education in Africa: A study of the West, South, and Equatorial Africa - 1920-1921. Also see, by the same Commission, Part Two of the Report: Education in East Africa (London: The Oxford University Press, 1924).

<sup>2</sup>Margaret Read, Education and Social Change in Tropical Africa (London: T. Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1955), p. 125.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., loc. cit.



of that policy by the colonial officials, often with no educational training, who had to solve unforeseen problems at the local level and keep within limited budgets. Further, whatever the Colonial Office's educational policy may have been, it had to be put into effect by a colonial administration that had become attuned to the methods of 'indirect rule'.<sup>1</sup> Besides these general points, factors such as European settlement, economic development, climatic conditions, government-missionary relationships, and the pervasiveness of a local culture played a great part in affecting the 'practice' of education in a particular dependency.

Educational problems in Kenya today can be directly traced to the British colonial education policy and practice. To talk about Kenya's educational history however, is to talk about the personnel who were instrumental in developing colonial educational practice. This assumption is based on the belief that much of the present Kenya's educational difficulties, and particularly the lack of a clear cut policy and practice in education, can be accounted for by the backgrounds and motives of various newcomers (immigrants) who played a part in setting up 'modern' school systems in Kenya. Our analysis, therefore, centers mainly on the missionaries, who above all others, perhaps did more for Kenya's early educational development. They are also responsible, to some extent, for today's problems.

This history looks at the development of the education system primarily from the European standpoint. However, it should be emphasized that it is not just an attempt to show how the immigrants introduced schools to "unresponsive" African communities in Kenya. It is also an attempt to isolate one of the factors in the interplay between Africans and immigrants that has characterized the development of "modern" school systems in Africa, and the sources of the current "school problems".

Malinowski wrote that an understanding of the process of social change and the reasons for such phenomena as "conservatism" and "rapid detribalisation" can only be found through functional analysis of the

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<sup>1</sup>John Wilson, Education and Social Change in West Africa (New York: Columbia University Teachers College, Bureau of Publications, 1964), p. 16.

native society on the one hand and an appreciation of European give and take on the other".<sup>1</sup> It is in this spirit that we look at some aspects of Kenya's educational history.

#### THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN KENYA

To tell the history of education in Kenya, indeed to talk about the opening of Kenya's hinterland to the European exploration, trade and eventual colonization, is to tell the story of the evangelist missionary. The missionary, the railroad, and those who followed, started a gigantic process of social political, economic and psychological change that has continued to the present. Only now is the direction of these changes becoming discernible. It is the problems (or benefits?) created by these changes that one often hears in any discussion of underdevelopment. It is uneven change-- some aspects more developed than some others. It is not so much that problems of underdevelopment are unsolvable with the means already in existence, but rather that there is no base, no prior knowledge, with which to cope with the problems.

In older, gradually developed countries such as Great Britain and the United States, and even countries such as France, Russia and Japan where rapid social change followed revolutions, change in the education system tended to parallel change in the social and economic sectors. Thus, the school system tended to match many of the more immediate social needs and the economic capacity of the country. As capital became available, the need for a particular type of education became apparent. Government planning, the operation of the market, the work of voluntary agencies, or some combination of these saw the needs and sought to meet them.

Kenya, however, has not developed according to this model of parallel development. It was the missionary who introduced formal school education without the complementary bodies to organize and develop other institutions. The various missionary groups-- the Catholics, the Protestants, etc. -- came primarily to spread the word

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<sup>1</sup>B. Malinowski, The Dynamics of Culture Change (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), p.41.

of their religion, but they also were humanitarians. Here it should be mentioned in passing that the various missionary groups did not come to Kenya in a united front. Each faith was trying to out-do the other in numbers of people it could convert to its faith. This necessarily meant that some conflict of interest would soon emerge.<sup>1</sup> It is in this conflict of interest that formal school education was born, its usefulness having been realized along the way as a means of gaining converts. This conflict will become clear below as we look at the various activities, and the different roots that missionary educational work took in East Africa.

#### THE EVANGELICAL-HUMANITARIAN DICHOTOMY

During the nineteenth century two very different roots of missionary educational work can be seen to have taken hold in East Africa. The first root was evangelism, which made as its prime purpose the teaching of catechism in the schools. The early school founded by Johann Krapf and Johannes Rebmann was clearly set up with the aim of teaching the children to accept Christianity, but despite the magnificent work of both missionaries, it appeared to have little effect.

The second root was humanitarianism. This was first demonstrated in the setting up of the African Asylum at Sherapur and later the establishment of mission training schools in the freed slave settlement of Bagamoyo and Freetown. The aim of the missionary societies was to combat the evils of the slave trade by building self-supporting Christian communities from the bands of refugee slaves. Thus, while compulsory religious instruction was given, it took place side by side with

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<sup>1</sup>It is possible to contrast and compare the missionary 'conflict of interest' within the same colony or within territories to that of the European powers' struggle for 'spheres of influence' that characterized the late 19th century history of Africa. The only difference between the missionaries and the powers was that while the powers were struggling for various territories, the missionary societies were trying to influence various population groups within these territories. For the missionaries, it did not matter whether two religious groups, e.g., Protestant and Catholics, came from the same country. Once they were in Africa and within the same territory, they were as competitive as, say, Britain and France were from without.

technical and agricultural education.

While it is important to distinguish between these two roots, it is also important to remember that each supported and conflicted with the other. Missionaries came to East Africa conscious of a dual role, combatting the slave trade and spreading the Christian gospel. Though the former task helped to bring the missionary societies' attention to Africa, the latter was their ultimate concern. Some missionaries were so obsessed with the hope of evangelizing that the humanitarian aspect of their work was considered secondary, and in some cases forgotten. Other missionaries, however, were more practically minded and recognized both the impossibility of reaching the indigenous people and the pressing need for freed slave settlements to have 'industrial schools'. Thus the educational climate of the missionary work in Africa was created, and in the development of the early school systems, the evangelical and humanitarian considerations were weighed against each other throughout.

During the first three quarters of the nineteenth century, the problems of penetrating inland prevented any effective evangelization among the indigenous people. Both Reberman, and from 1861 onwards, the Methodists, tried to set up schools with the primary purpose of teaching Christianity to the native people, but they met with no lasting success. The coastal slave settlements were the only place where effective missionary education work was possible and the tradition of "industrial school" in Africa was founded. However, the missionary societies in England, who in general were concerned with the numbers of "converts" being made, became steadily irritated with the expense of running the freed slave settlements and the slow progress in gaining "converts". They were impatient to establish mission stations inland to preach the gospel to the indigenous people. In the initial move into Uganda in 1876, it is ironic that the missionaries, unable to preach as widely as they wished, seized an available opportunity and began to offer a largely academic education of reading and writing to members of the influential classes, some of whom recognized the intrinsic value of these skills<sup>1</sup> and became ardent pupils. MacKay's recognition that

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<sup>1</sup>It is difficult to assess how "recognition of the intrinsic value of these skills" was arrived at by the Africans at this period in their

the life of a Buganda court page "resembled the life on a great boarding school with its discipline and conventions, its pride of membership and esprit de corps..."<sup>1</sup> suggested a possible educational answer to the crucial problems of health, finance, travel and staffing. He wrote: "Let us select a few particularly healthy sites on which we shall raise an institution for imparting a thorough education even to only a few",<sup>2</sup> and thus laid the foundation for the traditions of selective academic secondary education in East Africa. This was built upon by succeeding generations of British clerics and missionary schoolmasters who because of their own education, readily understood and accepted its principles.<sup>3</sup>

history, and from the missionaries. However, as more and more Europeans came into contact with the Africans, we begin to see the sociological and perhaps psychological desires on the part of the Africans to acquire the skills of writing and reading. From a socio-economic point of view, it is possible to advance the theory that the Europeans who read and wrote--in fact all the Europeans--generally speaking, lived in more comfort and their power, either political or social was much greater than that of the Africans. It is thus possible that the African thought he could achieve these powers by learning how to read and write. On the psychological aspect, it is possible to hypothesize that the African, as his contact with the European increased, felt "inferior" to him and perhaps came to the conclusion that to be equal to the European, he needed the secret skills that the European possessed. This concept is interesting and we shall treat it elsewhere, for as we shall see, those Africans who came to know how to read and write received some material rewards from both the missionaries and later the colonial governments. The present African social stratification based on education can be traced to this period of early contact. The desire to learn the European secrets can be seen as having produced strong drives that are the foundations of strong desires for formal education which continues to the present day.

<sup>1</sup>Quoted in J. V. Taylor, The Growth of the Church in Buganda (London: The SCM Press, 1959), pp. 37-38.

<sup>2</sup>Quoted in J.W. Harrison, MacKay of Uganda (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1891), p. 462.

<sup>3</sup>Bishop Willis, after experience in Buganda, founded the first boarding school for sons of "chiefs" in Kenya at Maseno in 1906. See E. Richards, Fifty Years of Nyanza 1906-1956 (Maseno: Nyanza Jubilee Committee, 1956). MacKay's views were reinforced by the experiences of missionaries in India, particularly the work of Alexander Duff who found that by offering selective academic education on British public school tradition, he was able to interest some members of the Indian upper castes in Christianity. See E. Stoek, One Hundred Years--A Short History of CMS (London: CMS Press, 1899), p. 60.

Until the end of the nineteenth century, and despite hopes of rapid evangelistic preaching, missionaries were forced by the effects of the slave trade, the conditions of life and travel, and the reactions of the African people to accept a much fuller commitment of formal education than was first thought necessary. Because of their experiences in giving practical and academic schooling, some missionaries abandoned the notion of simple evangelistic preaching and began to side with David Livingstone, who, as early as 1857, had noted two results of missionary work in Africa:

If we call the actual amount of conversions the direct result of missions and the wide diffusion of better principles the indirect, I have no hesitation in asserting that the latter are of infinitely more importance than the former.<sup>1</sup>

Livingstone and his adherents put forward the view that evangelization by itself was not enough and Christianity, civilization and commerce needed to develop together. His arguments were opposed by the rabid evangelicals who, so concerned with the salvation of Africans as individuals, saw no need to involve themselves with African societies. In 1888 the arguments of the two sides rang throughout the Centenary Conference of the Protestant Missions of the World, held in Exeter Hall, London, to review the first hundred years of Protestant missionary work. But the tide of history was at the moment turning in favor of the evangelicals.

The last quarter of the 19th century is an important one in the history of the missionaries, the Africans and the European powers. The tide of history that helped the evangelicals in their work in Africa must be understood from the context of the internal history of Europe of this period. The tide starts with the Congress of Berlin (1884-1885), "which laid out ground rules whereby European powers would allow each other to divide up the African pie".<sup>2</sup> By 1900 there was scarcely a corner of Africa that had escaped European rule. Liberia and Ethiopia were the two significant exceptions, and even Ethiopia had suffered a short-lived Italian conquest from 1889-1896.

<sup>1</sup>David Livingstone, Missionary Travel and Experiences in South Africa (London: 1857); p. 226.

<sup>2</sup>Immanuel Wallerstein, Africa: The Politics of Independence (New York: Vintage Books, 1961), p. 30.

The Berlin Congress legitimized what has come to be referred to as the "scramble for Africa", though trade between Africa and Europe had been going on since the 16th century. The motivations that led individual Europeans to come to Africa as missionaries, traders, or settlers varied widely. "There was the lure of adventure, the search for personal freedom, the sense of mission. There was greed and vanity and lust for power. The motives that led European powers to sanction expansion and to establish permanent colonial rule also varied. There was the search for markets and resources, the need for prestige and power, the sense of historic mission (as with some individuals)."<sup>1</sup> Whatever the reasons, the Berlin Congress opened Africa to European influence. In East Africa, as in other parts of the African continent, the scramble was under way in the 1880's and the 1890's and as a result, the Uganda Railway and the British Administration made conditions suitable for the rapid spread of mission stations in the East African Protectorate (later to be named the Colony of Kenya). New missionaries were trained as speedily as possible, and at the turn of the century, Kenya became what Roland Oliver calls the center of the "Zenith of the Mission" activities.

#### THE ZENITH OF THE MISSION

With the start of the railroad and the declaration of the Protectorate in 1895 a new era began. Missionaries, officials, traders and settlers started to move inland towards the attractive highlands. Missionary activity accelerated rapidly. New Protestant missions became active. The Church of Scotland, after an abortive attempt at Kibwezi, founded an important mission center at Kikuyu and later in the Meru areas. The African Inland Church, a non-denominational group under American leadership, and strongly influenced by evangelical Baptists and Adventists, started a small mission un Ukambani, but finally moved its headquarters to Kijabe. From there it came into contact with both the Kikuyu and some of the Rift Valley peoples such as the Nandi. American Adventists and Quakers set up missions in Nyanza.<sup>2</sup> Surprisingly,

<sup>1</sup>Wallerstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-31.

<sup>2</sup>Roland Oliver, The Missionary Factor in East Africa (London: Longmans Publ. Company, 1952), p. 171.

the older established missions, the Church Missionary Society (hereafter the CMS) and the Methodists, moved slowly. The Methodists eventually established a second mission at Meru and the CMS began a two-pronged movement, sending missions inland from the coast to Kabete, Fort Hall, and Embu and starting a mission in Nyanza as an offshoot of the Uganda mission. Gradually the various Protestant missions were able to come to general agreement about spheres of activity. Unfortunately, rivalry with the Catholics developed. The main Catholic missions were the Irish Holy Fathers who moved into the Ukambani area, Italian Consolata missions in the Kikuyu and Meru regions, and the English Mill Hill Fathers who moved into Nyanza from Uganda. With such a range of faiths and nationalities intruding so suddenly, policies and practices differed; yet one major factor remained constant: each mission tried to spread its influence as rapidly as possible.

The arguments for rapid evangelization came to the fore. Fierce and unscrupulous competition between the Catholics and Protestants developed in the more populated areas, thus increasing the necessity for speed and often leaving the less populated, and therefore evangelistically less attractive areas, relatively uninfluenced. The initial contacts with the native peoples were in general evangelistic appeals and sermons which proved unfruitful. The early converts tended to be individuals cut off from their societies for one reason or another.<sup>1</sup> Small settlements of these people soon gathered around the mission stations and the missionaries began to turn their labor to building and farming. Gradually these new settlements were forced to borrow

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<sup>1</sup>There are several possibilities that could be advanced to show how these individuals had come to be cut off from their ethnic groups. One is that during this early period of missionary venture, Arab slaving was still going on. It is possible that some of these individuals were slaves who had escaped their captors and were unable to find their way back to their homelands. It is also possible that these individuals were slaves who had been freed by the missionaries from their captors and had decided to remain with them. Another likely explanation is that these were individuals who had been banished from their societies because of criminal acts and found sanctuary in the missions, or perhaps for want of adventure they had followed the missionaries as their guides. Whatever the reasons for their separations from their societies, it seems clear that they were people who did not have any strong attachment to their groups.



much of their way of life from the earlier slave settlements, and schools were set up which gave compulsory religious instruction. In some cases simple technical and agricultural training was given, demonstrating that some missionaries saw sense in Livingstone's arguments, when faced with problems of feeding and caring for their adherents at the stages of development.<sup>1</sup>

The Catholics, and the less fundamentalist Protestants, began to use mission schools to train catechists. It was still in the early stages of their work that they seem to have realized the important thing was to establish the Church's influence. The more fundamentalist groups, primarily concerned with individual conversion, gave greater emphasis to itinerant preaching and hence less to the education of catechists. African indifference, however, eventually forced them to build schools too. Today it is significant that in areas where the fundamentalist Protestant missions opened, such as the African Inland Mission or the Adventist, much less formal educational work has been done. This fact is consistent with the anti-intellectual and general fear of formal non-Biblical learning which characterizes these groups. Nevertheless, African desire for school education was already firmly established in those areas where the missionaries were most active.

#### THE THIRST FOR EDUCATION

Although the missionaries had a great desire to preach the gospel,

<sup>1</sup>The early clerics were generally never trained in any other skills besides theology. Thus when confronted with the problems of feeding their followers, they could do little in the form of large-scale farming except the very elementary form of agriculture. It is possible, and only a theoretical possibility, that later when the settlers began large-scale farming, the Africans were rather surprised that those people who generally did not care too much about the church or the "Book" could be successful farmers. If the Africans made this distinction early, then we can see why they tended to refuse to accept too much preaching from the missionaries and instead were more interested in book learning and technical skills. The Africans' copying of European methods that followed then should be seen, not so much from the missionary point of view, as from the standpoint of settlers and administrators. They were rich, powerful and yet did not follow too closely the teachings of the Bible. Reading and writing were perhaps the answer to their source of wealth and power. The missionary training in academic discipline must have influenced the Africans as their later demand for academic training will indicate.

little effective work was done until the African peoples began to show an interest in the activities of the missionaries. Africans' desire for education, as noted much earlier by Krapf, was aroused because they realized that there was a connection between the Europeans' wealth, technical superiority and prestige, and their education. The African communities thus began to react to the pressure of the new social order around them by asking for education. Missionaries in general began to see that formal education was an increasingly useful agent for the transmission of Christianity. The Superior of the Consolata Fathers wrote in 1908:

Si la religion est par sa nature meme la mere de la civilisation, bien souvent, pour arriver a la religion, il faut passer par la civilisation. La connaissance de Dieu est pour l'homme (pour le sauvage en particulier) proportionnee a la connaissance qu'il a des choses qui l'entourent.<sup>1</sup>

This view was gradually reached by many of the more observant and practically minded missionaries, although the fundamentalist group found it incomprehensible that God should need to use worldly ways to spread His religion.

The experience of three of the major Missions in Kikuyuland noted increasing interest in formal education, particularly when settlers began to pay relatively highly for reading and writing ability on the new farms.<sup>2</sup> The Government began to look for clerks and employees who could obey instructions and the missions themselves, by giving their better educated Africans responsibilities and material benefits, helped to encourage an interest in schooling. Thus it would be true to say that while the missions saw education as a valuable aim of their work, the real cause of the great concentration on education in the second decade of the twentieth century was the result of African demands for

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<sup>1</sup> P. Perlo, Mission Catholique, 08, 211, quoted in Oliver, op.cit. p. 199. "If religion is by its very nature the mother of civilization, very often, in order to arrive at religion, it is necessary to pass through civilization. An understanding of God is for man (for the savage in particular) proportionate to an understanding of those things that surround him." (my translation).

<sup>2</sup>G. Richards, History of the CMS in the Highlands, Manuscript, quoted in Oliver, Ibid., p. 199.

more school education.

This new enthusiasm for schools on the part of Africans was seized upon quickly by the missionaries. Teachers were trained quickly and sent out to teach in "bush schools" that began to develop in rings around the mission centers. Two very unfortunate factors, however, emerged very early from this practice. First, the fierce competition between Catholics and Protestants led to a race in putting up schools, often as close as possible to those of the rival group, and both groups deliberately taught their pupils to mistrust their rivals. The second factor was that the missionary societies were quite unprepared for this movement. Not only was money scarce but trained teachers were in limited supply and no suitable curriculum was prepared.

Missionaries who had no educational training were called on at short notice to train the "bush school" teachers. They themselves varied in background: some were graduates, others had little education beyond missionary training. The central mission schools began to extend their courses, and able pupils were retained to be trained as catechists or teachers. In many cases this seemed to become a dual function, serving both the aim of the mission and the demands of the people. The central school curriculum depended almost entirely on the ingenuity of the missionaries. In some schools technical education and agriculture were added, but with other stations little more than reading, writing and religious instruction was taught. The "bush school" reflected the training of their teachers and in many cases was unrelated to the needs of the people.<sup>1</sup>

Despite the wisdom of the Consolata Superior's words, the great majority of the bush schools so diluted education that "connaissance de civilisation" was not effectively taught and was poorly related to "connaissance de Dieu". In order to be allowed to attend school,

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<sup>1</sup>This is not the time to discuss the composition of school teachers in the present day Kenya. But in passing it should be mentioned that most teachers today, whether in missionary, government or self-help harambee schools, have a variety of training: from graduates to those who have never gone a grade past the ones they are teaching. The foundation for this teacher recruitment dates back to the early bush schools.

Africans were compelled by the missionaries to give up many of their traditions and customs, such as dancing and wearing ornaments. In some cases, polygamists were to give up their wives. Thus in effect some missionaries developed the practice of using the attractions of education to force the Africans into accepting Christian and hence western customs. Increasingly, however, "education, especially reading and writing, was regarded as the white man's magic".<sup>1</sup> The perceptive students concentrated on the academic subjects which were seen to lead to success. Christianity was less readily accepted. Many were unable to relate it to the African pattern of life or to comprehend anomalies such as Jacob's two wives or European settlers who drank, danced and yet attended Church apparently undisturbed.

As the schools brought more and more Africans into the missionary orbit, the missionary demands on Africans were becoming acculturated to their form of Christianity. Paradoxically, at the same time the Africans began to learn more about the European way of life, they also learned to separate the elements. Many began to recognize that religious education was relatively unimportant for advancement. Others became irritated with a religious education that attempted to justify the inconvenient changes which missionaries demanded in the African social order.<sup>2</sup>

The classic example of this was the Church of Scotland's campaign against female circumcision (clitordectomy), begun almost immediately

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<sup>1</sup>Jomo Kenyatta, Facing Mt. Kenya (London: Secker and Warburg, 1938), p. 262.

<sup>2</sup>The missionary societies, and especially the Catholics, prohibited their pupils from participating in ceremonial festivities such as drinking and eating meals that may have been prepared in celebration of a new born child. Pupils were prohibited from dancing or even watching such dances. In Kikuyuland, pupils were even prohibited from listening to the traditional oral history. Participation in marriage ceremonies for those who were not Christians, or Christians who did not belong to the same faith, was prohibited. This type of deliberate social control can be considered as a means of systematic socio-religious method of forcing change on a people. (The author recalls once as late as 1950 when he was told that his baptismal name would be taken back if he ever again participated in any traditional dances or failed to go to prayer houses every night and church on Sunday.)

after the founding of the mission station at Kikuyu. The conflict was unsolvable. The missionaries saw the practice as pagan and cruel in the extreme, and the Kikuyu regarded it not only as the sole way of achieving womanhood and thus citizenship, but also as a vital link in their existence. In 1929 a large section of the Kikuyu people had regained confidence in their own power "to satisfy their spiritual hunger without denouncing their social customs".<sup>1</sup> They broke away from the established church. One of the outcomes of this break was the establishment of the first independent African school association which aimed to offer the valuable aspects of European education without the rigorous religious instruction that existed in the mission schools. Besides religious sentiments concerning the mission schools, there was a general discontent about political and economic affairs of the country, especially about the land question.

It is an ironic twist of history that the Church of Scotland Missionary Society should have been involved in the most well-known of the conflicts. For in fact the Society was in many ways more realistic to the problems of Kenya than many of its contemporaries, as indicated by the founding of hospitals and schools at Tumu Tumu and J. H. Oldham's fight against "recruitment".<sup>2</sup>

The first twenty years of the twentieth century saw a gradual change in approach to education by the missionary societies. The initial urge to evangelize was tempered by African resistance and the practical problems involved. In some cases, sound educational schemes were set up and some mission schools received government "grants in aid" for "industrial education" from 1911 onwards. Other missions, however,

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<sup>1</sup>Kenyatta, op.cit., p. 263.

<sup>2</sup>The stand taken by the missionaries during any conflict between the Africans, the European settlers and administrators was all too often for legality, not morality. For example, J. H. Oldham, the Bishop of Uganda, together with the Bishop of Mombasa and Dr. S. W. Arthur of the Church of Scotland Mission "...responded (in October 1919) urgently to the new labour circular (from the government) by publishing a memorandum in favour of legalized compulsion for labour on government projects instead of the veiled compulsion", which would have required the Africans to work on European farms and other projects. For further comments, see Frederick Welbourn, East African Rebels: A Study of Some Independent Churches (London: The CMS Press, 1961), p. 124.

because of lack of finance and untrained staff, were unable to provide adequately for their widely dispersed schools. Thus an unequal and patchy system of education faced the visiting Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1923, which was to study, determine and recommend the role and type of education in the British colonies.

#### A NEW ROLE IN EDUCATION

The Phelps-Stokes Commission in 1923-1925, the Devonshire White Paper on British Colonial policy of 1870, the Colonial Office memorandum of 1925, and the establishment of the Committee for Education in Tropical Africa of 1925<sup>1</sup> are a cluster of landmarks in the history of education of the ex-British dependencies in Africa. They mark the beginning of a number of important trends in African education.

First, the Phelps-Stokes Report<sup>2</sup> established the need for rural community education, thus finally justifying the claims of the "Livingstone tradition". Second, the British Colonial Office accepted in principle the responsibilities towards African education and the separate colonial governments began to take an interest in the development of schools within their territories.<sup>3</sup> Although at first government participation was mainly in the form of financial grants to established mission schools, it gradually took a more direct interest in schools. In stressing the need for practical-rural education, the

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<sup>1</sup>The official name of this committee was Advisory Committee on Native Education in the Tropical African Colonies. The Committee's document is titled Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, CMD 2374, 1925.

<sup>2</sup>Phelps-Stokes Commission, Education in East Africa (New York: The Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1924).

<sup>3</sup>In Kenya, a Department of Education had been set up in 1911, primarily to cater to the educational needs of settler children, but a "grants-in aid" policy to certain mission schools, offering "industrial training", and one government African school were started in 1913. Government African schools refer here to schools, mostly secondary schools, that were government financed and supervised. Teachers' salaries were paid by the government which also supplied inspectors to supervise the curriculum. There were also government primary schools to the extent that the government, through the local District Councils, subsidized them and paid their teachers. This practice, however, did not become widely acknowledged until sometime after the Second World War.

Phelps-Stokes Commission Report was of great value. In one way, however, it was behind the times. For in showing up the needs of the African community as a whole, it tended to neglect the aspirations of the African as an individual. Well before the Phelps-Stokes Commission Report and subsequent government interest, various missions had set up empirical schemes for community development of their own. Coffee growing was started by the Roman Catholic Fathers at the St. Austin mission, and the area of Meru owes its prosperity today to the rural education schemes of Dr. Clive Irvine of the Church of Scotland mission at Chogoria. Other schemes unfortunately were less successful because cash crops were less readily available besides being restricted to the European farms, the missionaries less imaginative, or the people more recalcitrant.

Gradually the impression developed in many young minds that rural education was only "second class" education. They felt that it led back to hard manual labor and limited long term rewards, rather than the wealth and technical advantages of western life that Europeans were demonstrating before them every day. Unfortunately, few missionaries realized that this was the impression that they and the other Europeans created as they read books, wrote letters, and gave orders to their laborers. Reading and writing were seen as keys to success, not gardening, or to use its later euphemistic name, "Rural Science".<sup>1</sup>

The missions and the government now came face to face with a new problem and finally accepted responsibility to develop the pattern of rural education which the Phelps-Stokes Report suggested. However, individual Africans were no longer thinking in these terms. Their motivation for education was self-advancement and, since this meant becoming a clerk, a foreman or a storekeeper, it required a knowledge of English, reading, writing and arithmetic. The missionaries and the government officials were beginning to find difficulties in implementing their new policies and African demands were increasingly becoming a factor in shaping educational practice.

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<sup>1</sup>Emphasis must be put here on this negative development to rurally oriented training on the part of the Africans. As we shall see later, this is one of the main problems facing educational reformers in Kenya. Just how one goes about introducing necessary changes in the curriculum is a problem that will be considered in chapter Four.

These new African demands were two-dimensional, for while the general demand for the rapid expansion of schools continued, there was an increasing demand on the part of the individual Africans for more thorough academic training. The missionary answer was dualistic. On the one hand missionary societies, intent on keeping their hold on education, attempted to build new schools and to train new teachers in the face of the general demands. A number of factors hindered this, however. Missionary financial resources, even with government grants, were limited and the economic depressions of the twenties and early thirties made things worse. In addition, trained and experienced teachers and supervisors were very difficult to recruit. The need to give religious training first place also had its effect. Finally, African demands accelerated and, while self-help schemes could provide land and buildings, this made the need for teachers and supervisors even greater.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand by the second decade of the twentieth century, the missions had begun to cater to the demands for more advanced literary education:

In earlier years only limited provision was made for formal secondary education. Certain missionaries gave private tuition beyond the primary stage, which was the limit of the existing schools; to some of their more promising pupils. The C.M.S. was able to send some of its pupils to the Buxton High School in Mombasa for more advanced education, while the Roman Catholic missions sent their trainees to seminaries in Uganda for priesthood training. The Church of Scotland Mission did a little secondary education at Kikuyu and Tumu Tumu.<sup>2</sup>

Educated missionaries began to offer special courses to promising students, both because they recognized the pupils' latent talents and

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<sup>1</sup>The concept of self-help, here associated with the donation of land and buildings (material and labor), is not a really new concept in Africa. Villages, communities, tribes and so on, joined together to do a task. Even in farming, individuals got together and tilled one man's land one day and moved on to the next man's the next day, continuing this until all the participants had had a turn. This commune-type obligation and mutual aid and cooperation among the Africans is an old custom. The concept of self-help constitutes part of our study and we shall discuss it in detail in chapter Four.

<sup>2</sup>African Education in Kenya: A Report of a Committee Appointed to Inquire Into African Education (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1949), p. 3.



because they saw the possibility of these students becoming Christian leaders in the local communities. At the CMS school at Maseno in Nyanza, founded in 1906, the tradition of special education for the sons of chiefs carried over from Uganda and was encouraged by the local administration, particularly by John Ainsworth, the Provincial Commissioner.<sup>1</sup> In some cases, where those leaders were absent, missionaries made attempts to fill their places and to campaign for increased opportunities for native advancement. Obvious examples are Dr. Arthur of the Church of Scotland and Archdeacon Owen of the CMS mission in Nyanza.

The early classes for promising pupils were to be the roots of Kenya's secondary school system. Just as the early literacy classes of MacKay and Wilson in Buganda led eventually to the founding of Mission boarding schools on British public school lines, so these classes pointed the way to the founding of Kenya's first full-fledged African secondary school.<sup>2</sup> This school came as the result of a conference of the major Protestant denominations in Kenya to form an alliance. The school, now famous as the Alliance High School, was started in 1926. This was also the year of the La Zoute conference at which the Protestant missions formally agreed to cooperate with the British Government in a new educational policy for African territories.<sup>3</sup> Catholic cooperation came a little slower but, seeing the declared government policy for the improvement of African education, they soon followed suit.<sup>4</sup> With the

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<sup>1</sup>J. Lonsdale, "A Political History of Nyanza 1883-1945" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Cambridge University, 1965), pp. 137-140.

<sup>2</sup>J. V. Taylor, Growth of Church in Buganda, op. cit., pp. 37-38. The word "secondary" is used at this stage in history in both Uganda and Kenya to denote a school which gave a higher level of academic education to privileged groups on the assumption that they would be leaders. This was the British conception of secondary education at the time. Secondary schools in Uganda and Kenya did not begin to prepare pupils for the Cambridge School Certificate Examination, the present day mark of secondary education, until 1936. See Guy Hunter, Education for a Developing Region (London: Allen and Unwin, 1963), p.11.

<sup>3</sup>Oliver, op. cit., pp. 271-272.

<sup>4</sup>Oliver, op. cit., pp. 274-275.

help of the Government grants-in-aid, the Alliance High School began, very successfully to develop a full secondary education course for Africans. A year later the Holy Ghost Fathers began a similar school at Kabaa, later to move to Mangu.

Although all mission societies had great difficulty in finding staff for their rapidly expanding primary and teacher training sections, they did find it possible to staff the two new secondary schools with capable graduate teachers. Thus in these secondary schools, the aim of providing both Christian education and a sound academic education, so popular with students, came to fruition. Nevertheless, it should not be thought, as some writers have suggested, that Africans were being given unrealistic literary education unmindful of the needs or realities of Kenya.

Training in service through leadership is, briefly, the function of the school, and the aim of the Alliance High School is to influence its students, by means of its activities, that they may be men of strong Christian character, of wide knowledge, and of initiative in action...In a school such as this we are concerned with the major purpose of life, and therefore for the first two years a student is given a thorough grounding in the instrumental subjects of English and Arithmetic, together with a knowledge of Science, Agriculture and Art.

There are two reasons for this: firstly, without a thorough knowledge of the basic subjects, it would be impossible for a student to make himself proficient later in the profession, which he chooses. Secondly, a student is not expected to choose his occupation until the end of these two years. This gives him time and opportunity to discover the purpose of his life--the occupation for which he would best be fitted--and it enables his teacher to guide him in his choice.<sup>1</sup>

These are the words of G. A. Grieve, in his first annual report on the Alliance High School. In providing education for Africans who were to become leaders, the new missionary schoolmasters were well aware that they had to succeed in educating men who would achieve the high standards which critical Europeans would apply to newly educated

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<sup>1</sup>Annual Report of the Education Department. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, 1926, pp. 28-29.

Africans.<sup>1</sup> Thus they gave the best education they knew at the time-- that of the British Public School. In 1938 the CMS school at Maseno in Nyanza officially became a secondary school and a year later the Catholic Fathers started a secondary school at Yala, also in Nyanza.

Thus the roots of African secondary education were firmly planted in the Church and the British Public School tradition. All four secondary schools founded before the Second World War were mission schools.<sup>2</sup>

The two main criticisms of the mission secondary schools have been that they acculturated students to the British way of life and created an elite. The answer to the first charge is that acculturation was not a design of the school. It came about because the students recognized the academic curriculum and activities in these schools as channels to success. The students were able, and learned not only to pass academic examinations, but to understand and follow the customs of their teachers so as to be able to adapt themselves for the future contact with Europeans. It should be mentioned here that such factors as discipline and the prefect system fitted well with the old tribal customs of age grades. Respect for teachers can be compared with that given to elders. The answer to the second charge is difficult to give, since in many ways the charge is true. Perhaps the answer can be made in two parts.

First, given the conditions in Kenya, any school which gave an education that opened the way for Africans to go to University or to take responsible administrative positions inevitably created an elite. Second, the new elite provided a large number of the leaders who fought for independence, and perhaps even more significantly a great number of the administrators and officials who were able to take over senior posts

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While this statement may sound as an apology on behalf of the educators of this decade, it should be kept in mind that today the teachers are judged as to "good" and "bad" on the basis of the number of students who successfully pass the examinations. To be well educated therefore, would be synonymous with ability to adopt European mannerisms and habits or the degree of adoption. While today this adoption is declining, there is sufficient evidence to show that to be well educated is measured by how well one speaks English and holds his fork at the dinner table.

<sup>2</sup>African Education (1949), op. cit., p. 4.

in the government when independence was achieved. In defense of the Alliance High School policy, it is fair to quote the school motto: "Strong to Serve"; but it is also necessary to offer a warning that in Britain, the reverse side of this coin is the "old school tie".

#### TRAINING AND RECRUITMENT

Throughout the early history of formal education in Kenya, the figure of the missionary is central. However, to understand his contribution fully it is necessary to look at the missionary as an individual as well as a group, for missionaries came from different denominations, nationalities, educational and social backgrounds.

During the nineteenth century, one of the crucial problems facing missionary societies was the recruitment of staff. In the early years this was difficult because of the great loss owing to death and ill health caused by the living conditions and diseases in Tropical Africa.

Ideally, missionary societies would have liked to have recruited ordained graduates, but such men were hard to find and most Protestant mission societies had to widen their field of recruitment and lower their educational standards. Further, it became clear, as experience was gained, that technicians who inevitably were laymen had to be recruited in order to maintain the mission stations and to implement policies of "industrial education". Early training was often limited to a short course with a retired missionary or an apprenticeship with a practicing priest.<sup>1</sup>

In 1825 the CMS established Islington College in London as a missionary training center offering a curriculum of Latin, Greek, Divinity, Logic, Mathematics and certain languages in the mission field.<sup>2</sup> By 1888 the courses had become a little more realistic but the Rev. R. H. Barlow, in reviewing thirty years of work in the missionary training at Islington, outlined a curriculum which reflects many of

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<sup>1</sup>E. Stock, The History of the Church Missionary Society, I (London: The CMS Press, 1899), 245.

<sup>2</sup>E. Stock, One Hundred Years—A Short History of the C.M.S., (London: The CMS Press, 1899), p. 22.

the problems and confusions in missionary educational practice in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries:

1. Bible reading
2. Prayer
3. Hebrew, Italian and Greek (No one can be an exact teacher without them)
4. Vocal music
5. Church History
6. Theology
7. Biography-with an emphasis on great Christians
8. Medical knowledge
9. Vernacular languages<sup>1</sup>

Later, in 1890, Barlow outlines three courses:

1. A lay course of three years to prepare suitable candidates for ordination.
2. A short course of four terms for technical helpers and lay workers.
3. A one year course for university graduates and doctors.<sup>2</sup>

The "Keswick letter"<sup>3</sup> in which the above three courses appeared, was in fact an appeal for missionary workers prepared by a number of enthusiastic CMS workers calling for a huge increase in "industrial" missions. This recruiting drive coincided with the big move inland after the commencement of the Uganda Railway.

Attempts were made to recruit "trained schoolmasters" and industrial superintendents, but the quality of elementary education and the training of elementary teachers varied greatly in Britain at this time. Thus the quality of the teachers engaged was often questionable.

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<sup>1</sup>The Report of the Centenary Conference of the Protestant Missions of the World, 1888, I (New York: Fleming and Renell, 1899), 35.

<sup>2</sup>Stock, One Hundred Years, op. cit., p. 149.

<sup>3</sup>The author has been unable to determine who Keswick was or why the activities of the CMS mission are associated with him especially around the turn of the century. Based on references, it sounds or seems that Keswick was a place where a conference may have been held. It is not clear whether Keswick is the name of person or place.

As the pressure for training African teachers increased, more and more missionaries began to turn their hands to teaching. After the turn of the century a number of American missionaries began to arrive, particularly in Western Kenya.<sup>1</sup> Thus, by the 1920's it becomes hard to generalize about the type of staff that was working in the mission training centers. Some indication of the variation is given in the 1929 annual report in which the Quaker College at Kaimosi was able to boast of four trained graduates, including an M.A. from Columbia, while the Church of God training center at Bunyore had no trained European teachers.<sup>2</sup>

Overlying the whole problem of recruitment and training was the question of Church unity. Throughout the early years of the twentieth century the major Protestant missions made a number of attempts at closer unity. The initial moves to form a United Church in 1913 at Kikuyu were destroyed by the High church Anglicans of the U.M.S.C. mission in Zanzibar, and later attempts at a closer alliance in Kenya were affected by the fundamentalist-liberal schism. In 1922, in order to preserve the possibility of the Alliance, each member society agreed to send to Kenya only missionaries who held "conservative" evangelical beliefs and who, by definition, lacked flexibility and imagination.

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<sup>1</sup>It is interesting to note that the American missionaries even today are concentrated in Western Kenya and their contribution to the curriculum of earlier days can be found in the early schools of this region. Their impact, however, like that of missionaries from other countries, other than Britain, is hard to assess, for, in many instances, they followed that of the British missionaries. Here it should be mentioned that the reason why British missionaries dominated not only the religious field but also the curriculum, may be found in the fact that Kenya was a British colony and the Church of England, as an official church of the state in Britain, also tended to be transplanted into the colonies. There was no official statement to this effect, however. Thus it would be interesting to find out if unofficially this was the Colonial Church. One approach would be to compare the amount of "grants in aid" given to the Roman Catholic mission schools with that given to the Protestant mission schools. Or, to compare the approximate time each of the missions got their application for schools to be approved and, if the Protestants got more permits than the Catholics to start both schools and churches.

<sup>2</sup>Education Department Annual Report, 1929, Colony and Protectorate of Kenya (Nairobi: Government Printer), pp. 65 and 71.

In general, they were reluctant to spend time and money on schools. When forced to do so, they tended to use the schools to drive home their own particular views emphasizing repetitive memorization. Education among the smaller fundamentalist missions suffered badly because of these restrictions, and the large societies were handicapped. Nevertheless there was another side to the picture, and able graduate missionary schoolmasters were recruited for schools like the Alliance High School and Maseno school.

A further factor which affected the African view of the missionary was his personal life. The Roman Catholic orders gave little indication of the normal process of European life, but at most of the Protestant missions Western family life was depicted, and such things as the missionaries' attitude to their standards of hospitality were noted carefully by observant Africans.

#### THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE NON-MISSIONARY IMMIGRANTS

The role in educational development played by other immigrants to Kenya is difficult to assess. However, one cannot ignore the role of the government official whose job was to administer many other aspects of colonial policies including that of education. The colonial government had within its Department of Education specialists who inspected the schools and made sure that some resemblance of an educational curriculum was maintained in the mission schools. At this early stage, however, school inspectors were for the benefit of the settlers' schools and not for the African schools. Their influence on the mission schools was little, since most missionaries inspected their own schools.

There was also the trader-merchant who may be considered to have made a contribution to the school development. His contribution must be considered along with that of the settler. These two groups, and especially the merchant-trader, demanded people who could write as clerks and accountants. Even those people they employed as drivers were required to have a minimum of knowledge of writing and reading. The settler and the trader-merchant made another significant but negative contribution to the educational development of Kenya. By demanding minimum training of their employees, they encouraged the Africans to demand more education

from the missionaries. Because these two groups, settlers and trader-merchants, occupied privileged positions of power and wealth, they encouraged Africans to look up to them as if to say that only through the secret knowledge of writing and reading could they achieve such positions. Because they were the groups the colonial government catered to, they were in a position to regulate the number of students who could go through school. They were also in position to limit the curriculum offered in African schools by either withholding funds earmarked for "grants-in-aid" or limiting these funds.

By controlling education, indirect though it may have been, settlers and merchants helped to increase the Africans' desire for more schooling. By rewarding highly those Africans who successfully completed their formal education, these groups contributed to the educational development of Kenya. Thus today, in trying to understand why there is a fantastic drive for more school education on the part of the Africans, we cannot minimize the negative effects of trader-merchants and settlers. Their contribution to the early development of education is not as significant as that of the missionaries, other than in the form outlined above. For this reason we will not deal with them here.

We conclude this chapter first by summarizing the missionary contribution to Kenya's educational development and, secondly, by making some general remarks about historical development of education in Kenya.

#### THE MISSIONARY ROLE

It is difficult to assess accurately the missionaries' effect on education for it is interwoven with contradictions and paradoxes. Their initial entry into the sphere of African schooling, although spurred on by their humanitarian needs, was essentially evangelical. As they came face to face with the problems and realities and needs of African societies, individual beliefs and opinions diversified, and a patchwork of different educational practices developed. Further, while the missionaries clearly had their reasons for initiating and controlling Kenya's early schools, their educational work was affected by the physical conditions, by the reactions of an active and perceptive African population, and by the ideas and practices of other Europeans, some of



whom were eager to effect their own desired changes on African society.

There is much which through hindsight can be criticized about the missionary role in education. Perhaps the greatest general criticism is the expediency of educational development in the face of the paramount claim of evangelism. Charges of narrowmindedness, arrogance, and ignorance of native customs are often made. It is clear though, that many of the problems of education in Kenya today stem from certain missionary policies and practices in setting up their school system. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that the Christian missions did take a human interest in the native people long before any other groups of immigrants. Their knowledge of customs and languages pre-dated, and in many cases, gave rise to modern anthropological revelations about small-scale societies, and the consequent sociological sophistication with which African customs are viewed.<sup>1</sup>

British evangelical Christians were a minority in their own country. They were in conflict with many of their own country's standards and wished to impose a much stricter code in "their" new "Christian" communities in Africa.<sup>2</sup> Other groups coming to Kenya, however, saw themselves being freed from petty British conventions, and the rather uninhibited attitude toward life of many of Kenya's Europeans embarrassed missionaries and compromised much of their work.

While at certain points missionaries were able to work in cooperation with government officials and occasionally even settlers, in general they raised antipathies in these groups, often because of the attempts to provide education for Africans.<sup>3</sup> Whatever their mistakes, missionaries were hard working and devout people giving their lives for what they thought was right and, just as they had done in England approximately a hundred years earlier, they laid the base on which the national educational system was founded.

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<sup>1</sup>N. Leys, Kenya, 3rd ed. (London: The Hogarth Press, 1926), pp. 227-229.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

### CONCLUSION

The Report of the Colonial Office Advisory Committee on "Education Policy in British Tropical Africa" published in 1925, "set out the principles on which educational systems of the dependencies should be based". It listed a series of sound and equitable proposals, including development of secondary and higher education, and offered suggestions for putting them into practice. In reading the Report there can be little doubt that the intention of the Committee to promote the development of native people in British tropical dependencies was genuine. However, the Report was one of general principle, hence it lacked urgency and of necessity had to include the potential "loophole" that its provisions should be adapted to local conditions. In 1920 Kenya had become a Crown Colony, and the provisions of the Report and the methods of implementing it had to be approved by a Legislative Council, a Board of Education, and separate Advisory Councils which provided platforms for a wide variety of opinions. African education became a subject of political concern, and public opinion was contentious and vocal.

The 1926 Annual Report of the Education Department gives an interesting picture of the relationship of the four groups:<sup>1</sup>

Object of Native Technical Education: Obtruding for a moment my own impressions of what is to me a new country, I take the liberty of remarking that, in a society very strongly divided in opinion on most subjects,<sup>2</sup> all sections appear to agree that the African, above all things, needs technical education. In this opinion enlightened Africans also share.

What I venture to call the average settler, for example, may condemn unqualified education in highly qualified terms, but he

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<sup>1</sup>The groups are: The Africans, The Missionaries, The Settler and Colonial agents.

<sup>2</sup>It is possible that a conflict model of a pluralistic society there the minority in power is divided on either religious or ideological grounds, would be the best to explain the compromises that these minorities make with each other when the issue may concern the affairs of the dominated majority—either religious or ethnic majority. In such cases, it is best that decisions be made behind closed doors.

welcomes education on a technical basis. One missionary again, may deplore the results of ordinary education as given by another of differing religious outlook, but will praise wholeheartedly the technical training given by even the most perverse of his Christian fellow-labourers. And the reason for this unanimity of approval cannot be that technical education does not matter; on the contrary the value of its lowest kind, manual instruction, in developing independence and self-reliance with habits of order, exactness, cleanliness and mental concentration has been acknowledged for many years.

The reason for the unanimity, surely, is that education of the literary or passive kind is not so safe a road for the progress of a backward people as an education which develops a pupil's activities, shows immediate and concrete results to them, and enables him at all states to know himself. In short, passive education leads to dangerous activities; there is in it no warning touch of real fire to make the child dread it.

Our first aim in training the African, therefore, is to educate him in a manner safest to himself and, incidentally to the world in general. We wish to lead him into citizenship by a more efficient route than seditious rebellion.<sup>3</sup>

This passage, written by the superintendent of technical education, brings together the varying views of the separate immigrant groups. It shows the concern of the missionary with evangelism, the concern of the settler with technical training and national stability, and the concern of the Government official for orderly development. The passage illustrates the discord within the immigrant communities but it also shows the underlying assumption on which unanimity was reached. First, there is the concept of superiority. In the absence of any sociological training, each group of Europeans evaluated African society from the standpoint of upper or middle class Britain, identifying themselves as the "involuntary aristocracy" and the native population as a particularly backward "working class". The Indian trader, with his concept of caste, must have rationalized similarly. Second, based on their belief in their own superiority, the immigrants saw it as their duty to preserve and develop civilization. They were fearful of African reaction and were convinced that native progress towards civilization must be cautious and gradual. Third, derived from their experience of

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<sup>1</sup>Education Department Annual Report (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1927), p. 25.

"lower orders" of their society; they saw manual labor and simple technical training as the first steps in the education of a "backward people". Thus, despite different outlooks, a gradual process of technical education was a compromise solution acceptable to nearly all groups except the Africans.

Throughout its history, the formal school education of the African has been influenced by the assumptions and designs of the immigrant groups. In many cases assumptions and designs were inextricably linked by convenient rationalizations, e.g., that the Africans were backward people and should be civilized slowly; that what the natives needed was a "technical education" which would improve their well-being, and that religious teaching should go hand in hand with "technical education" since worldly things should be accompanied by an uplifting of the soul.

From its introduction into Africa, the school was seen as an agent of social change, and this aspect of its work completely overshadowed its role in conserving culture, both in the eyes of the Europeans and the Africans. The European attitude to native schools was paradoxical in that while they wanted the school to initiate certain "useful" changes in the African way of life, they also wanted it to limit the pace of change and to control its direction. As the schools developed, so opinions among the various groups of immigrants began to differ. Each group, through the use of political and economic control, sought to develop a school system which would educate Africans to fit into its own order of things. In some cases the various immigrant influences can be seen clearly, in other cases they were more subtle and diffuse. The total effect, however, is hard to evaluate. There were conflicts between the groups, and attitudes and aims changed as social conditions altered and the realities of African emergence became more apparent.

Further, while the immigrants tried to direct native education in one direction, the social and economic conditions they created drove it in another. The Africans also saw the schools as agents of social change. At first they were suspicious of change but as soon as the benefits of schooling were realized they began to demand schools. However, they saw "schools" as a means to the material benefits and prestige and soon became suspicious of the immigrant conception of

gradual technical education, with its lack of immediate results and its failure to account for social conditions. No school policy, however logical to the immigrants, was able to persuade Africans to accept practical agricultural education to fit them for rural existence when they were denied the opportunity to expand their land acreage and the right to grow cash crops. Further, no African schoolboy was content receiving an "industrial training" which led back to the reserves, where he knew no capital was available, and not to the urban centers of developing industries and the "new" life.

Throughout the history of education in Kenya the recurring themes of "technical", "industrial", "agricultural" training and "rural community" have echoed from official policy statements, government officers, settlers, missionaries and traders alike. However, it should be recognized that the reasoning behind this was very different, ranging from Dougall's desire to relate school education to the reality of native life, through helping the African people improve their living conditions, to expedient settler desires for skilled labor.<sup>1</sup> Thus Lipscomb, a European farmer, wrote that as late as the mid-fifties there was little disagreement about the need for education "but there is marked diversity as to the type and scope of education to be provided".<sup>2</sup> This "marked diversity" has surely hindered the translation of policy into practice.

A second important factor was the failure of most Europeans to recognize the African view of his own education. While there was little articulate expression at first, the African population became keenly aware of the differences between their own schools and those established for the immigrant communities. Many were perceptive enough to follow the settler logic about technical education and skilled labor, and in reacting against it unfortunately reacted against genuine development schemes. The African reaction to colonial educational development will be discussed further in the next chapter. What we need to recognize here is that many failures in educational schemes occurred because

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<sup>1</sup>J. W. C. Dougall, School Education and Native Life (Africa, iii, 1930), p. 49.

<sup>2</sup>J. F. Lipscomb, White Africans (London: Faber and Farber, 1955), p. 44.

Europeans followed their own logic or stressed their own ends without realizing or taking into account the developing sophistication of the African people.

As late as 1955 Lipscomb defended the settler view of native education by quoting an official report (which unfortunately, he did not identify). The writer, presumably an education official, condemns the African "indiscriminate" demand for education which results in "the social evil of large numbers of young men who have spent two or three years at school and are convinced that a smattering of letters make it impossible for them to work with their hands", and then ends with the "old" solution: "efforts are being made to give the educational system a more practical turn".<sup>1</sup>

For African society "education" developed paramount importance both in terms of individual advancement and nationalist aspirations. The route it should take was more accurately charted than most immigrants realized. Africans resisted technical education because, in practice, society was demonstrating that academic education led to greater prosperity and power. The desire for a "white collar" was inculcated by social, economic and political conditions, not the school. The only means of achieving these ends, though, as seen by the African, was through an academic program rather than "industrial education".

The Beecher Report comments on the achievement of moving from the introduction of the alphabet to the creation of a university in fifty years.<sup>2</sup> Yet it should be remembered that this was not the aim of the early policies formulated by the missions or the Education Department. It resulted from the African ability to select out and demand the type of education which society demonstrated led to success. A small number of educators, predominantly missionary teachers, also recognized the motivation and intelligence of their African students, and that the African people needed educated leaders.

Kenya's experience highlights the human factors in the implementation of colonial educational policy. It shows the aims and views of the various groups of immigrants—particularly the missionaries—and

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<sup>1</sup>Lipscomb, op. cit., p. 44.

<sup>2</sup>African Education (1949), op. cit., p. 2.

the conflict and compromises which affected educational development. Further, it illustrates the indirect effect that immigrants had created through the social and economic conditions. Schools can neither accelerate nor contain change effectively if their teaching conflicts with social and economic conditions prevailing in the society they serve.<sup>1</sup>

While this history highlights the human factors in the implementation of colonial educational policy, it is not a complete one. Certainly there was much more to the history; there were many other individuals involved in the educational field in Kenya of whom little has been said. The reason for omitting other aspects of the history is a deliberate one, for we are interested not so much in who did what and when, but rather in how foundations of formal education in Kenya were laid. Our interest here in history is to determine the forces that imposed themselves on the African society and how the Africans reacted to these forces. Whatever else happened in the educational field between 1930 and the eve of independence was merely an implementation of earlier policies or their reappraisal. The foundation for African education was already firm.

This is not to say that the history we have not covered is an uninteresting one. However, such history would not help us understand the place of the harambee self-help schools in Kenya in general and Chinga community in particular. These schools are not a result of what happened during the period we have not covered here. Rather, they are expressions of something that happened during the days of the missionary "supremacy". For it was during the missionary days that the seeds

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<sup>1</sup>It is arguable here that the reasons colonial-missionary schools were unable to control or contain changes which formal education unleashed was because any and every attempt the missionaries, and other Europeans, made either in form of improved curriculum or in limitation of the number of Africans who qualified for secondary schools, was always interpreted by the Africans as an effort to further restrict them from achieving the same standards as those displayed by the Europeans. Thus the less the Missionary-European groups were willing to supply schools for the Africans, the more the Africans demanded them; and the more the missionaries built mission "bush schools" and the European supplied "industrial schools", the more the African demanded academic education.

were planted which nurture the drives, attitudes, and desires of the people for education today. It was during the missionary hey-day that the forces of change were loosened, forces which pushed Africans unrelentingly toward building self-help schools.



CHAPTER III

THE CONTEXT OF SELF-HELP SCHOOLS IN KENYA

## THE CONTEXT OF SELF-HELP SCHOOLS IN KENYA

### INTRODUCTION

Throughout the foregoing discussion, we have noted that African demand for more school education in Kenya increased as more and more people became exposed to the benefits that education could bring. We have also said that this demand increased as the population grew and the economy developed, thus requiring more trained personnel. The explicit factors here are that there is a definite relationship between economic, political and social developments and the population growth. Thus change in one institution will undoubtedly affect the other.

The rate at which schools will grow depends on the number of students seeking admission into them and similar growth should also occur in other institutions. Such growth, however, must be proportional to the demand if a healthy balance is to be maintained. In Kenya, population has tended to grow faster than the corresponding growth in her institutions. Thus there are more school age children seeking spaces in schools than are available. The pressure on a family, on the community and the nation to provide more schools is enormous. It is fitting therefore, that any discussion of the growth of harambee schools include a detailed examination of the relationship of population growth and the demand for schools.

In the following discussion, attention is focused on the population of China and Kenya in effort to determine the implications of slow or fast rate of population increase on the schools, the labor market, political life and the economy.

### POPULATION GROWTH AND THE SCHOOLS

Perhaps the most perplexing and pressing problem in educational planning and in other institutions of the developing countries is that one of population. The population of Kenya that falls in the age category of 15 years and under is about 47 per cent of the total population of about 10 million people. This 47 per cent of the population is of primary school age and its pressure on the secondary schools cannot be taken easily. The Ministry of Education, in its planning

for school curriculums has not only to consider availability of space for these children in the primary schools but also must consider secondary school spaces for those finishing the primary schools.

The question then becomes one of what to do with those who are not admitted to secondary schools or those who have dropped out of the primary schools for one reason or another. They are too young to be employed besides their lack of training for any gainful employment. Whether they are to be allowed to become economic dependencies or productive members of their society, is a question which all the ministries of a government have to answer.

Thus the question of population control in a country whose population is growing at a rate higher than 3 per cent and the economic growth is not much higher becomes a paramount one, not only from the educational point of view but also economic, political, ecological and social aspects. The author considers in this section the relationship growth and control to the economy and the school demands. There is a definite relationship between population growth and self-help schools. Whether or not self-help schools are a result of population pressure or shortage of government schools (due to an already large and increasing population) shall be considered in the concluding chapter of this study. It is sufficient to state here that the government's educational policies in cooperation with the communities do consider the present and future impact of population growth on schools and the economy as an urgent one. Because of the urgency of the population problem, the Kenya Education Commission (1964)<sup>1</sup> was appointed to look into the problems of education and recommend future changes and organization. After long and exhaustive considerations of all the information, the Commission concluded in its demographic section affecting education:

...in 1962 46 per cent of the population were recorded as being under 15 years of age, and it is thought that this figure is more likely to have erred by being too low rather than too high...Children under 15 years of age will comprise 47 per cent of the total population in 1980...and no reduction in proportion of children can be expected unless there is a decline in the

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<sup>1</sup>The Kenya Education Commission Reports, Part I (Nairobi: The Government Printer, 1964)

birth rate. The decline in the death rates, consisting primarily of a decline in infant mortality, will tend to increase rather than decrease the percentage under 15

In these circumstances, the relatively large numbers of children of school age constitute a heavy burden on the economically active sections of the population. Thus projections show that in 1965 there were probably about 81 children of primary school age for every 100 men of working age (taken as 15 to 54 years inclusive).<sup>1</sup> By 1980, unless there is a decline in the birth rates, the ratio will have increased to 85 potential school children to every 100 working men. This situation may be contrasted with that prevailing in a country with low birth rate, such as Sweden, where in 1960 there were only 38 children aged six to twelve for every 100 men aged 15 to 54.<sup>2</sup>

The conclusion of the Commission is not encouraging either to the economy or to the schools. The Government of Kenya in considering the question of population growth, economic development and education, and in evaluating the recommendations of the Commission, gives attention to their relationships in considerable detail. In Paragraph 53 of the Development Plan 1966-1970<sup>3</sup> titled "Population Growth", the Government says:

Per capita income is obtained by dividing the nation's total income by population. If the growth of Gross Domestic Product were given, a reduction in the growth of population would obviously raise income per capita, the same income being shared among fewer people. Reducing population may, for several reasons, raise the rate of growth of Gross Domestic Product thus giving an even greater per capita income. First, a larger share of private and public development expenditure can be devoted to immediately productive activities rather than to increase in output. Second, the rise in per capita will mean better nutritional standards, reducing still further the need for some social services and increasing the productivity of the labour force. Third, higher per capita incomes should result in more domestic savings not only per person but in the

<sup>1</sup>It is incorrect to take 15 to 54 age categories as the population at work. This is so because, as we shall see, the life expectancy is 45 to 50 years. If individuals are alive past this time, most likely they are retired because of old age. This implies that there are more school age children depending on fewer workers than the Commission's Report indicates.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., loc. cit., p. 154-156.

<sup>3</sup>Republic of Kenya, The Development Plan 1966-1970 (Nairobi: The Government Printer, 1966).

aggregate and with a progressive tax system aggregate tax revenues should also increase. Thus the rate of growth of Gross Domestic Product will be higher because a larger share of a larger pool of development funds can be allocated to immediately productive activities employing a more efficient labor force. The net effect of these factors means that a moderate reduction in population growth could cause per capita income 25 or 30 years hence to be at least 50 per cent greater than what it would be with present projections....<sup>1</sup>

This is clearly an economic argument which indicates more of a hope to arrive at this situation. It gives the reasoning for why population control is desirable. What prompted this argument is set forth in paragraph 54 of the Plan:

Government's consideration of population growth has not concentrated solely or even primarily on economic growth effects. Indeed, the principal concern has been with the welfare of the individual and the family. Data from the recent demographic inquiry covering 10 per cent of the population suggest that on the average between seven and eight children are born to women reaching the age of 50.<sup>2</sup> The death rate has also fallen substantially and is expected to fall further. The expectation of life at birth should reach 60 to 65 by the turn of the century as opposed to its present level of 40 to 45.<sup>3</sup> With a lower birth rate a higher proportion of women could be given adequate maternity care ensuring better health for mothers and fewer deaths of children during the first year of life (now estimated at 15 per cent). Longer intervals between births would also promote maternal health and better nutrition and medical care for children; particularly during the early, crucial years of childhood. Fewer children, more widely spaced, would reduce the annual cost to the family of putting children through school and would mean that more children could be carried to higher levels of education. Pressures on housing, and water and food supplies would be diminished, permitting the family a higher standard of living and the possibility of increasing its savings for the future....<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The Development Plan, op. cit., p. 51, par. 53.

<sup>2</sup>The Kenya 1962 Census and Projections. (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1963). See also Family Planning in Kenya (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1967), esp. pp. 2-6.

<sup>3</sup>Also cited in The Kenya 1962 Census and Projections, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup>The Development Plan, op. cit., pp. 51-52, par. 54.

The Kenya Government in effort to formulate a population policy, and in consideration of other effects which a continued high population increase may have on economic growth, education and social development (all of which are interrelated), invited an Advisory Group<sup>1</sup> on population to study: (1) The population problem in Kenya with a view of making recommendations on the ideal rate of growth. (2) To recommend a suitable programme for affecting the ideal rate of growth. (3) To make recommendations on administration of the programme and (4) To recommend procedures for obtaining funds and technical assistance for carrying out the programme.<sup>2</sup>

The Advisory Group, after its study and on the basis of Kenya Government's desire<sup>3</sup> for recommendations for a programme of family planning "through voluntary means and with religious prescription"--programme that would make "information and supplies available to those" families withing to avail themselves of the opportunity....", the population of Kenya would "double over the next 35 years instead of the next 18 years, and families would average about four children per woman instead of the present number of nearly eight (!), still in excess of the two and a half to three children now characteristic of the Soviet Union, the United States, and countries of western Europe."<sup>4</sup>

Table 1 shows the possible impact on the labor market by the year 2000 if the population was not controlled. The Table also shows the same impact under controlled rate of population increase. The comparison is that of primary school age and the adult male labor force. Even data of this limited nature make it apparent that a population policy is necessary for planning purposes.

Thus according to government estimates, if we hold the fertility constant and at current construction costs of 20 pounds (1 Kenya pound

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<sup>1</sup>The Group's composition and recommendations can be found in Family Planning in Kenya, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup>The request for an Advisory Group was made on the 8th of April, 1965 and on the 19th of June, 1965, the group arrived from New York to undertake the study.

<sup>3</sup>The Government's desire is expressed in the Development Plan, op. cit., par. 55.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., par. 56.

TABLE 1

PROJECTED POPULATION, PRIMARY SCHOOL AGE POPULATION AND MALE  
LABOUR FORCE UNDER TWO FERTILITY ASSUMPTIONS<sup>1</sup>

POPULATION IN THOUSANDS						
YEAR	FERTILITY UNCHANGED			FERTILITY REDUCED		
	POPULATION	POPULATION AGE 6-12	MALE LABOR FORCE	POPULATION	POPULATION AGE 6-12	MALE LABOR FORCE
1965	9400	1810	2260	9400	1810	2260
1970	10900	2110	2600	10700	2110	2600
1975	12700	2480	3010	12000	2300	3010
1980	15000	2960	3520	13200	2430	3520
1985	17800	3530	4140	14400	2320	4090
1990	21100	4220	4900	15800	2270	4490
1995	25300	5080	5830	17400	2650	4890
2000	30600	6180	6980	19300	3250	5290

equals approx. U.S. \$2.80) per student, it would cost over 100 million pounds to build the additional facilities needed to educate everyone of primary school age at the turn of the century. However, with diminished fertility the cost would be less than 45 million pounds. The savings on primary school construction alone would be over 55 million pounds or about 1.6 million pounds per annum, which could be used for additional economic development. Savings would arise in the necessary construction and operation of secondary school and teacher-training colleges, "if the objective of universal primary education is to be realized in a reasonable period without seriously jeopardizing economic growth, the rapid rate of population growth must be checked."<sup>2</sup> Similar considerations apply to the attainment of universal medical care and other social objectives.

The government plan of diminishing fertility is an ambitious one and will depend for its success on the reality of the programs. It means

<sup>1</sup>Figures taken from *The Development Plan*, op. cit., p. 53.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 52, par. 56.

that for the population to slow down, birth control clinics and adult education must be intensified. This implies that teachers with sufficient knowledge in these matters must be either found quickly or trained. It also assumes that the economy will continue to grow without any serious handicap such as drought or international fluctuation of prices. All things being equal, the success of one program will ultimately depend on the success of the other. Things are rarely equal, however, and there is a likelihood that these targets could not be met in time.

We argue the case of population control here because it is central to any developing country's consideration of the development of schools or of any other institution.

Returning to Table 1 for a moment and looking at the employment situation under two categories--under unchanged and reduced rate of population growth--we are startled by the two comparisons. The magnitude of the employment problem at the end of the century would be substantially different. In the year 2000, male labor force would number 5.3 million under reduced fertility and 7.0 million under unchanged fertility rate. This means that during the last five years of the century additional jobs would have to be created at the annual rate of 78,000 under reduced fertility, as compared to 230,000 under unchanged fertility rate. Arguing as the government does in favor of controlled population growth, slow rate of growth means that the proportion of the population dependent on the employed would be smaller so that everyone could enjoy a higher standard of living. Under the program of controlled population growth, "smaller families would be better fed, better educated and in better health permitting each other to make a greater contribution. At the same time substantial resources will be freed for economic development that otherwise would not be available."<sup>1</sup> Thus the Advisory Group projections shown on Table 1 imply a growth rate of 2.8 per cent during the 1965-1970 period, and as the Kenya government put it, "the introduction of family measures will take time, and for planning purposes it has been assumed that the population will continue to grow by 3 per cent annually up to 1970."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Development Plan, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 53, par. 57.



When considering the overall population trends of Kenya a clear picture comes to view. Table 2 shows the increase in number according to projections to the year 2000 on the assumption of a continued increase in life expectation in conjunction with a continuation of fertility at its current estimated level of 3 per cent per year.

TABLE 2

THE PROJECTED TOTAL POPULATION OF KENYA, 1965-2000, UNDER TWO ASSUMPTIONS OF THE COURSE OF FERTILITY<sup>1</sup>

POPULATION IN THOUSANDS		
YEAR	FERTILITY UNCHANGED	FERTILITY REDUCED BY 50 PER CENT IN 15 YEARS
1965	9100	9100
1970	10600	10400
1975	12400	11700
1980	14700	12900
1985	17500	14100
1990	20800	15500
1995	25000	17100
2000	30300	19000

Table 2 makes it clear, and for comparison of unchanged and reduced fertility, that the slower increase would occur if fertility were reduced by 50 per cent in the next 15 years (from 1965) and thereafter maintained at this level. According to the Advisory Group even "this 50 per cent reduction in fertility would cause Kenya's population to double in the next 35 years and would result in families averaging more than three and one half children per woman."<sup>2</sup> The projections of Table 2 indicates the magnitude of the effect of a highly successful program of fertility control. It is possible that the pace of reduction in fertility might be such that a reduction of 50 per cent could be obtained

<sup>1</sup>Figures taken from Family Planning in Kenya, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

in less than 15 years. It is also possible that as the population of Kenya becomes accustomed to the idea of voluntary control of family size the reduction in fertility would eventually exceed 50 per cent, perhaps reaching the ideal completed family size of two and one half to three children. This projection, "nevertheless illustrates that even a major programme, which would certainly be judged as very successful, would still lead to a substantial increase in the population of Kenya, and the population would still be increased by about 1.8 per cent per year at the end of the century."<sup>1</sup>

On the basis of trends in birth and death rates and the consequent rate of increase in the population of Kenya, the Government's Advisory Group concluded, "make it clear that Kenya cannot tolerate indefinitely a continuation of sustained fertility together with declining mortality. In a surprisingly short time--less than a century--the population of Kenya would grow to absurdly high figures. What is not clear from these overall trends are the immediate advantages, in terms of more rapid economic and social gains that would result from a reduction in birth rate."<sup>2</sup>

The advantages that would result from a controlled fertility is clear in the eyes of the policy makers. What is more difficult for the planners is to devise a method by which they can convince the population of these advantages. Convincing the people will involve massive educational programs, and only after fertility control has been advantageously demonstrated, will the program be effective. One disadvantage is clear at present: There are more people seeking employment than there are jobs available; there are more people seeking health care than there are clinics or doctors. The central point to our study, however, is that at the present rate of population growth, there are more students of both primary and secondary school age than there are teachers or schools to go around. Thus, if the fertility rate continues to grow unchanged, in the year 2000 there will be more children without schooling than there are at the present. Table 3 shows the projected number of children of primary school age (6-12 years) under an assumption of no change in

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<sup>1</sup>Family Planning In Kenya, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

fertility in 15 years. The Table also shows the number of primary school pupils enrolled in 1965 and a comparative estimate of enrollments in future years, assuming a 4 per cent annual increase in enrollment in accordance with Kenya's current six-year Development Plan. Table 3 also shows the number of primary school children who are not enrolled in school under the two fertility assumptions.

We note from Table 3, and the Government of Kenya concurs, that "if fertility remains unchanged and enrollment increases by 4 per cent each year, the proportion of the school age population in primary schools will increase from an estimated 55 per cent in 1965 to nearly 62 per cent in 1990. On the other hand, if fertility were to be reduced by 50 per cent in 15 years (a truly impossible task), the proportions enrolled would rise at an accelerated pace, reaching 100 per cent shortly after

TABLE 3

PROJECTED PRIMARY SCHOOL AGE POPULATION OF KENYA 1965-1990 COMPARED TO ENROLLMENT UNDER TWO ASSUMPTIONS REGARDING FERTILITY, AND ASSUMING 4 PER CENT ANNUAL INCREASE IN ENROLLMENT.<sup>1</sup>

POPULATION IN THOUSANDS					
YEAR	POPULATION AGE 6-12			SCHOOL ENROLLMENT	
	FERTILITY UNCHANGED	FERTILITY REDUCED BY 50% IN 15 YEARS	ASSUMED AT 4 PER CENT ANNUAL RATE OF INCREASE	FERTILITY UNCHANGED	FERTILITY REDUCED BY 50% IN 15 YEARS
1965	1760	1760	970	790	790
1970	2060	2060	1180	880	880
1975	2430	2250	1430	1000	820
1980	2910	2380	1740	1170	640
1985	3480	2270	2120	1360	150
1990	4170	2220	2580	1590	0

1985."<sup>2</sup> A striking aspect of Table 3 is that with maintained high fertility,

<sup>1</sup>Family Planning in Kenya, *op. cit.* p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 4.

a 4 per cent annual increase in enrollment would leave about twice as many children of primary age as today unable to attend school in 1990. In short, the Government Report concluded that, "if fertility were to remain unchanged it is likely that the number of illiterate children of primary school age would double in the next 25 years, in spite of present plans to improve and expand education."<sup>1</sup>

The figures we have encountered in these tables indicate that if the fertility rates are not controlled, there will be, in the very near future, a serious crisis in the social, economic and perhaps political life of Kenya. What is more disturbing for the educator is that there will not be enough schools. Even assuming that the 1990 projection of primary school population under the 50 per cent reduced rate were to be met and all the children were in school, the pressure for the secondary schools would be enormous. The existence of the secondary schools depends on the primary schools as already mentioned,<sup>2</sup> and there are fewer secondary schools at present than meet the current need. It is of course possible to freeze the construction of new primary schools for a while and concentrate on the construction of secondary schools, but this would not solve the problem. It is also possible, however, to continue the construction of the primary schools as well as the secondary schools, but this would depend on the amount of capital available. The Kenya Government is not in a position to do these things fast enough to keep up with the demands of a large school population. Even under controlled fertility rate, it is questionable whether the central government can accommodate all the children of both primary and secondary school age. The government schools alone could not (and do not) keep up with the demands for more school spaces.

Assuming that there were enough schools for all the children, the labor market as presently constituted, as Table 1 indicates, cannot absorb all those needing employment. The implication is that it is impossible to solve the crisis in education without solving the difficulties in the labor market. In short the economy, assuming continued uncontrolled rate of increase, would have to grow three to four times

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<sup>1</sup>Family Planning in Kenya, op. cit., p.4.

<sup>2</sup>See Chapter Two, supra.

faster than the population. The role of self-help ought to be weighed against the population factor as much as against the traditional desires of the Africans to want to help themselves. It is from this perspective that we present a brief summary of self-help activities in Africa in general, and Kenya in particular.

#### TYPES OF SELF-HELP IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Self-help schemes are not unique to Kenya alone. They can be found in other African countries, under such names as animation, self-reliance or community development. While there is an underlying similarity in all of them, there are also major differences. The differences can be found in their organizational level, the degree of community involvement before, during and after their initiation. Success of these projects can be measured by their continued usefulness and ability to hold the interest of those who support them.<sup>1</sup>

In all the countries that have self-help projects, the most basic and common similarity is that all of them use human investment rather than material investment--human investment is here defined as the contribution of free labor to projects of public interest. The leaders of Africa's self-help projects are basically rural-oriented, revolutionary and progressive people. According to David Haggood, the "leadership should not be lacking in revolutionary capital. When this capital lacks, hopes of leading the productive revolution that rural Africans need are hopelessly lost."<sup>2</sup> Haggood is talking mainly of party leadership which, while it may be urban centered, should not and generally does not forget that it is still in the countryside that the majority of Africans live.

In some African countries, however, self-help schemes seem to be

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<sup>1</sup>The difference in organization is that some are organized from the top, e.g. the government, while others are organized from the grass-root level, e.g. in and by the villages. As we shall see in the case of Chinga (Chapter Four), the level of participation is usually high at the beginning but tends to fall off several months after the initial enthusiasm. Only through a determined leadership, whether national or local and evidence of real results do such projects survive. In other words, the longer the community interest and support of these programs continues, the more successful they become.

<sup>2</sup>David Haggood, Africa: From Independence to Tomorrow (New York: Atheneum, 1965), p. 137.

directed from the top, e.g. from the governmental and party leadership. Projects such as the Guinean self-help schemes are sponsored by the Parti Democratique de Guinee, the dominant force in a one-party state. The experiment is one of social policy and its aims are those of animation. Animation is a program which is designed to "stimulate people living within the bonds of traditional society to want progress, to take responsibility for their own destiny, and to demand their due from their rulers."<sup>1</sup> The Guinean argument against the traditional academic education introduced in Africa by the European is that the number of diplomas, high school or university, should not be considered as the criterion of their (the educated) social utility. Hence the agents of animation in Guinean villages are mostly people who have not been exposed to urban life.

Another example of self-help project is the one to be found in Senegal under the name of animation rurale whose technique was developed by an international (largely French) organization called l'Institut de Recherche et Application des Methodes de Developement (IRAM). The animation rurale, according to its organizers, "seek methods of development that will avoid the human costs of both Stalinism and laissez-faire capitalism. The goal is economic progress without the sacrifice of human values."<sup>2</sup> The process of animation, though mostly economic oriented and under foreign advisorship, begins with the choice of a small area, a group of villages which are similar in culture and language and resources, and in which there seems to be the possibility of quick though modest economic progress. The local director (who is usually a local ex-schoolmaster) is expected to know the areas, its politics and activities, and to make the tour of the villages in order to explain animation. From here on animation is essentially a dialogue, very much in the African village traditions of palaver. The idea is to attempt to establish two-way communication between elites and the peasants.

After the dialogue, young people are chosen who go to a center where they begin studies with elementary explanation of the nature of the nation and its government, in the past, present and future, and its

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<sup>1</sup>Hapgood, op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 114.

relation to the village. Following this is the study of the economic problems of the areas where the recruits come from and an examination of what can be done to overcome them. Possible new techniques are discussed. The stay is only three weeks long and when the new animators return to their villages they are expected to become the innovators. Chances of success will usually depend on how well the animators have been able to convince their fellow villagers on the value of the new techniques.

Animation rurale is a simple technique which attempts first of all to change attitudes and behavior of the rural people.<sup>1</sup> Writing in a report on Morocco which, like many other African French speaking countries<sup>2</sup> uses animation techniques, the IRAM investigators wrote: "Peasant traditional societies will not change their methods till they change their wider attitudes towards life and society... We are faced with a population whose traditional psychological attitudes, instead of opening them to new forms of behavior determined by technology, keep them closed in on themselves... only a profound transformation, creating a totally new climate, can change behavior...."<sup>3</sup> Thus animation rurale attempts to fill this gap and bring about the desired change.

Tanzania, Kenya's neighbor, also uses "self-help" schemes or techniques in her attempt to "bridge the gap" between the urbanized elites and the rural masses. Animation, like self-help in Tanzania, is primarily agricultural oriented and the innovations they seek to introduce are not in contradiction with the values of traditional Africa. Speaking on this point, Ben Mady Cissé, the director of animation in

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<sup>1</sup>These villagers who are selected for "training" in the new techniques are usually young (18-25 years) and their attitudes have not been firmly planted in the old traditions, nor are they alienated from them. These innovators do not receive salaries nor are they given opportunity for formal education. They are generally discouraged from seeking government jobs. This is important because the essence of animation is that the villager must not be alienated from his traditional culture, and his village must not come to consider him as an outsider.

<sup>2</sup>Animation is not restricted to Africa alone, though originating there. India and Costa Rica are reported to have decided to test animation techniques on a small scale. See Haggood, p. 115.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., op. cit., p. 114-115.

Senegal says, "we must make it clear (to the villagers) that change is true fidelity to our ancestors. Their way of life was in tune with their environment, but today the environment is different. To be faithful to our ancestors means to adjust our environment as they did theirs not simply to cling to old ways for no reason."<sup>1</sup>

These experiments in self-help perhaps illustrate the use of different techniques in approaching the same goal. They have revolutionary implication for elites and the rural peasants in Africa. But what they seem to best illustrate is the desire on the part of the African peoples, regardless of whether this is desire generated from the elites or from the grass root, to be self sufficient by utilizing the people and their resources.

Organization of self-help in Kenya, and the source of self-help activities and emphasis are a little different from that of many other countries, although it also involves activities such as are found elsewhere and geared toward rural transformation. Kenya's self-help schemes perhaps illustrate the most forceful examples of self-help in Africa. One of these schemes has been the drive among local communities for self-help education, that is, building of, and support for harambee (self-help) secondary schools.

#### SELF-HELP IN KENYA

The origins of self-help activities in Kenya can be traced back to the age-grade structure and patterns of communal village or area responsibilities which featured in so many of her traditional societies. Education was a communal concern and once the advantages of missionary schools were recognized, communities agreed to provide land, buildings, and support for teachers (See Chapter Two). This resulted in the missionaries, after their initial struggle, and eventually the colonial government, relying very heavily on communal self-help efforts in their plan to develop schools. However, the impetus these efforts built up during the 1920's began to outstrip the capacity of the missionaries and the government to train teachers, to think creatively about the curriculum and to provide adequate supervision. By the 1930's a sizeable

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<sup>1</sup>Ben Mady Cisse, quoted in Haggood, op. cit., p. 120.



reaction to this situation and the undue pressures which the missions were placing on traditional customs, led to the development of an Independent African school movement. This movement developed vigorously among the Kikuyu people during the 1930's and 1940's in the form of the desire to control the education of their own children.<sup>1</sup> It can be seen as a second phase of communal self-help involvement in the development of formal education in Kenya.

Perhaps as a footnote, it should be mentioned here that the author does not plan to spend time on long discourse of the Independent school movement of the 1930's and 1940's. These schools are important in the history of Kenya's educational development, but they do not appear to be related to the present day harambee self-help schools for

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<sup>1</sup>For detailed accounts of these earlier schools, see Donald B. Franklin, "Kikuyu Independent Schools: A Study of the Response by the Colonial Administration in Kenya" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Columbia Teachers College, 1967). Also see, Michel Merle, "The Kikuyu Independent Schools Movement of Kenya: A Case of Stimulating Discouragement" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Columbia Teachers College, 1963). The author is grateful to John Anderson of the University College, Nairobi, for information concerning these schools which is based on his current research. The old Independent schools were not prepared to follow the government models so closely as harambee schools appear to be today. They aimed at teaching English and widening the children's knowledge of their own heritage, and were initially opposed to government syllabuses which did not do this. Eventually, several schools began to follow government syllabuses so their pupils could take government examinations. Perhaps the reason they did so was because only government granted certificates and diplomas were recognized.

The earlier Independent schools were started in opposition to the government and missionary form of education and were specifically designed as an alternative. The present self-help schools are not considered, either by the government or by the people as "opposition" schools. In fact they are considered, or at least seen by the people, as being supplemental to government schools. The major difference between government and the harambee schools is one of size, organization, equipment and teachers, including supervision by government inspectors. The communities that build harambee schools do really believe that they are making a contribution to the national development rather than hindering the efforts of the government. As we note in the next chapter, the villagers would be quite startled if they were told that their efforts were slowing down or destroying the government efforts. Rather they see themselves as helping the government in such matters as it has not yet been able to take care of adequately.

the following reasons:

First, the Independent schools were almost exclusively offering education at the elementary level, i.e., the first two to four years of school. Rarely in the early years of their development, did they provide an education equivalent to the primary school level, i.e., education beyond the fourth or fifth year. These schools cannot be considered as having been of a national scope such as harambee schools are. They were primarily restricted to Kikuyu districts.

Second, the Independent schools were actually competing against the missionary village schools. Thus in a sense, this meant that the African staffed missionary schools in the villages were threatened by the Independent schools. "The village schools represented the first rung in the educational structure, and in Kikuyu Province during the 1930's the people had a choice between those elementary schools managed by the adherents of Independence. The colonial administration, faced with the dilemma of effecting control over African education, shrewdly shifted its grants-in-aid policy, vis a vis, the missions, away from assistance to the central mission station toward the development of the village schools. In this manner they could offer a secular public education which could compete with the Independent schools."<sup>1</sup>

Another reason why it cannot be claimed that harambee self-help schools is an outgrowth of the early Independent schools is that the old schools started as a focal point of opposition to the missionary insistence that the Kikuyu people abandon some of their customs. These schools were headed by individuals who were politically active in opposition to the colonial government especially over the land issue. As such, they were "ideological" or "political" schools. The present harambee schools on the other hand, besides being mainly secondary schools are not built in opposition to the government schools. As pointed out later, they have come into existence because of shortage of space in the government schools and only after the government has issued the call for self-help. The leaders of these schools freely pattern

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<sup>1</sup>Franklin, "The Kikuyu Independent Schools", *op. cit.*, p. 30. For harambee schools, see William C. Dizney, "The Harambee Schools of Kenya" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Columbia Teachers College, 1967).

their curriculum after that of the government schools and are always looking to the day when the government can step in and assist them. The Independent schools were protest schools and the present schools are supporting schools.

Turning to the subject at hand, the colonial government's efforts to expand education after the Second World War were inadequate but self-help steadily increased the provision of primary schools so that by independence, primary education had outpaced both secondary school provision and employment opportunities (See Table 1, which does not include the date of independence, 1963, but which does not change the picture). By 1967 the national picture showed a seven year primary course being offered to just over 50 per cent of the school population, although with great variation between the districts. In progressive districts such as Nyeri, school attendance for boys was nearing 90 per cent and the age of school leaving was dropping to 13 or 14 years, creating a gap of two or three years before many school leavers could even hope to get a permanent job. It was in such areas that local communities responded to President Kenyatta's call for harambee projects, by working hard to develop the secondary schools.<sup>1</sup> Table 4 shows the increase of secondary schools from 1945 to 1968. Self-help means a lot of different things, and therefore, the reader should keep in mind that for the purposes of this study, definition of harambee or self-help is limited to secondary schools only.

While these figures are a remarkable tribute to the voluntary efforts of Kenya's people, they often arouse a number of strongly held criticisms regarding the general role of self-help activities in education:

(1) From strictly a manpower viewpoint, it is often pointed out that because there is no direct government control on output, or the quantity or quality of the manpower produced, valuable resources are likely to be wasted and other sectors of the economy with a greater bearing on rural development neglected.

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<sup>1</sup>In estimating the manpower requirement for Kenya, the Government put a heavy emphasis on secondary schools. See the Report of the Survey on High Level Manpower Requirements and Resources in Kenya 1964-1970. For more discussion on this point see Chapter Five, infra.

TABLE 4

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR AFRICAN STUDENTS IN KENYA, 1945-1968<sup>1</sup>

YEAR	AIDED SCHOOLS <sup>a</sup>	UNAIDED SCHOOLS <sup>b</sup>	TOTAL
1945	4	0	4
1957	21	4	25
1960	33	8	41
1963 <sup>c</sup>	82	13	95 <sup>d</sup>
1964	152	68	220
1965	184	150	334
1966	197	201	398
1967	206	361 <sup>e</sup>	567

<sup>a</sup>Aided schools refers to government operated or assisted schools.

<sup>b</sup>Unaided schools refers to community supported schools.

<sup>c</sup>Kenya's date of independence--December 12, 1963.

<sup>d</sup>At independence the distinction between African, Asian and European schools was eliminated. Thus, figures from 1964 onward include the former Asian and European schools. As of 1963 there were 82 government aided schools, 46 formerly African and 36 formerly Asian and European schools. In the unaided column, there were 13 African unaided schools compared to 19 Asian and European schools in 1963.

<sup>e</sup>This figure is a revised estimate calculated jointly by John Anderson of the University College, Nairobi and by the statistics section of the Ministry of Education. See Anderson, "Education for Self-Reliance" (unpublished manuscript, University College, Nairobi, 1967), p. 15. The figures include schools which, although functioning before 1967, had not submitted returns to the Ministry.

Thus, the total can be broken down as follows:

- 247 Harambee schools
- 38 private secondary schools
- 45 "Hidden" private schools, i.e., commercial or tutorial colleges, offering normal secondary education curriculum.
- 31 Religious secondary schools (Catholic seminaries and Protestant mission schools).

Total 361

<sup>1</sup>John Anderson, "Education for Self-Reliance" (unpublished manuscript, University College, Nairobi, 1967), p. 18. See also Ernest Stabjer, Education Since Uhuru: The Schools of Kenya (Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 1969), p. 187.

(2) Educationally it is argued that: (a) Lack of government control and the probably expedient use and spreading out of resources will result in lowering of standards and narrowing of the curriculum. (b) That self-help secondary schools divert local resources, particularly trained teachers from primary schools, consequently damaging or offsetting any gains they may bring by hamming the base of the education system. (c) That local communities lack sufficient knowledge or education to be able to alter or adapt the old "elitist" examination oriented system. By establishing schools of this type they are reinforcing an outdated and harmful system.

(3) From a socio-political stand it is argued that education raises aspirations and speeds up the rejection of traditional rural values, causing greater frustration when school leavers cannot find the jobs or lives they hoped for.<sup>1</sup>

All these arguments have merit, but they are basically hypothetical. They are object of much of social science research in Africa today. They can be questioned on a number of equally hypothetical grounds:<sup>2</sup>

(1) That too strict a manpower view of education does not recognize that education probably increases the initiative and ingenuity which people need to tackle the task of rural development effectively.

(2) That the opportunity costs of trying to limit a strong self-help drive to develop education, such as communal apathy, political reaction and economic disruption, may be much greater than trying to

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<sup>1</sup>The proceedings of a conference held at Kericho, Kenya (1966) have resulted in an important document edited by James R. Sheffield under the title of Education, Employment and Rural Development: A Report of the Kericho Conference (Nairobi: The East African Publishing House, 1967). There are many important reports by various conference members that deal with the relationship of primary school leavers and employment. See especially Chapter Four under the title of "Education", pp. 269-443. Resulting from these conference papers, the Kenya government and the Institute for Developmental Studies of the University College, Nairobi, is currently preparing to undertake an extensive study of rural Kenya. One of the important problems of research is the problem of the school leavers in regard to employment.

<sup>2</sup>Major analysis of these arguments will be presented in Chapter Four and parts of Chapter Five of this study.

steer it into a more productive form.<sup>1</sup>

(3) That the educated young people are more likely to rationally investigate their difficulties, and are better equipped to face them, than uneducated people in today's changing society. In a society, conscious that education is a prerequisite for employment, frustration is more likely to be caused by denying young people education, no matter how bleak the employment prospects beyond it may be.

(4) Too abrupt a distinction is often drawn between primary and secondary education, and the demand for raising the level of education arises naturally as the result of expansion of primary schools. In this distinction, it is justifiable that trained school teachers should be spread through the developing educational system. Further, it is argued that primary schools in African countries have already had to adapt themselves to being the training ground for expanding administration and private sectors. It is possible that self-help secondary schools are retaining experienced teachers in the profession and in the rural areas.

The wide range of these arguments, and the dichotomies they present, e.g., economic efficiency models versus educational expansion model versus socio-political model, are indications of the lack of knowledge and precedents that handicap educational planners when trying to discover and meet the real needs of developing areas. In countries where capital and modern technology are limited, and where they are spread over an embryonic modern industrializing sector, various stages of transition, e.g., agricultural based development and traditional-subsistence farming co-existing together, a new, more flexible approach to the financing and structure of education are necessary.

The basic requirement of such an approach is that it must achieve an optimum balance between the skills and general level of understanding it produces and the national resources and markets available. The basic socio-political requirement, in a situation where many people have learned

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<sup>1</sup>In some areas facing problems of rural development such as Bolivia and Northeastern Brazil, government programs, including the delivery by air of special school construction kits (material) have had to be designed to stimulate self-help activities for educational development.

to look upon education as a human right, is to find a modus vivendi in which educational planners and the communities who use and support the schools can work together.

THE NEED FOR HARAMBEE SCHOOLS

Harambee schools, as indicated elsewhere in this study, are attempting to fill a felt need in the educational growth of the pupils. In this effort, they are complementing government aided schools, hence the desirability of cooperation between the educational planners and the communities. The educational gap which harambee schools are trying to fill is demonstrated in Table 5.

Table 5, based on the Ministry of Education statistics and recent research projects in Kenya, makes an estimate of the occupation of 147,000 primary school leavers in 1967 and attempts to put Kenya's harambee secondary schools into perspective.<sup>1</sup> Table 5, though only an estimate, is accurate enough to show the need which harambee schools are attempting to meet.

TABLE 5  
1967 OCCUPATIONS OF STUDENTS FINISHING PRIMARY SCHOOL IN 1966<sup>2</sup>

GS	HS	US	RPS	FFT	PJ	FNJS
15,000	12,000	6,000	15,000	4,000	20,000	75,000

LEGEND:

- GS - Government Schools
- HS - Harambee Schools
- US - Unaided Schools
- RPS - Repeated Primary School
- FFT - Found Further Training
- PJ - Found Some Form of Permanent Jobs
- FNJS - Found Neither Jobs nor Schools

<sup>1</sup>These estimates are based on the Ministry of Education statistics (Ministry of Education, Annual Report 1967) and the following surveys: After School What? A Report on the Further Education and Employment of School Leavers (Nairobi: The Christian Council of Kenya, March 1966); John E. Anderson, "The Adolescent in Rural Kenya", in J.R. Sheffield, ed., Education, Employment and Rural Development, op. cit.; L. Bronstein, "Preliminary Results of a Survey of 1964 KPE Candidates in Embu, Kitui, Kericho and Nyanza" (unpublished seminar paper, University College, Nairobi, 1967).

<sup>2</sup>Annual Report 1967, op. cit., p. 87.

What is striking in this table is that out of 147,000 primary school children ready to enter secondary schools, only 15,000 could find spaces in the government schools. Because of the existence of harambee schools, another 12,000 were able to find spaces in them, thus continuing with their education. 6,000 students were able to find spaces in other types of unaided schools, i.e., mission secondary schools. 15,000 students repeated primary classes--either they repeated the same class from which they would have graduated, or they went back one class, e.g., from class 7 to class 6. The reason some children go back one or two classes is because of lack of space in the class they were attending due to the extreme pressure of students from the levels below. Sometimes it is even difficult for a student from an upper class to find space in the class below.

The 147,000<sup>1</sup> students finishing the primary school curriculum is interesting also since it does point out directions for the future. The figure indicates in one sense that if 75,000 students (more than half of all the students leaving schools that year) were unable to find employment or further schooling, the number of such students is bound to increase before it decreases. Keeping in mind the proportion of school leavers to employment, and also remembering that the population is on the increase and may continue to be so for some time to come, one almost anticipates the difficulties this will create for the educational system as well as for other institutions. It is in attempt to solve this problem that harambee schools have flourished and continue to grow. For us, this is not the place to evaluate the usefulness of harambee schools, but to many economists it is a moot point as to how far harambee schools serve a useful purpose, beyond providing temporary relief of the labor market, and possibly widening the basis of selection and improving the abilities of the few students who find wage employment. But opportunity costs are not the key issue in relation to self-help projects. With communities so heavily committed it is vital to find some way of utilizing these efforts in conjunction with the present developments in the national education system.

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<sup>1</sup>A survey of the activities of some of the school leavers can be found in J. E. Anderson, op. cit., and L. Bronstein, op. cit.



It is argued here that self-help schools--the origins and continued interest in them--has a historical significance in the history of education in Kenya. Indeed they have and perhaps will have a significant role to play in the development of the institutions of the Kenyan society. We turn now to the presentation of data for Chinga, which we hope, because of their detailed nature, will bring to light some of the points discussed in this history of harambee schools.

CHAPTER IV

HARAMBEE SCHOOLS IN CHINGA

## HARAMBEE SCHOOLS IN CHINGA

### INTRODUCTION

In the preceding Chapter we have examined the demographic trends for Chinga and Kenya in relation to school enrollment; economic development and social impact. We have also described types of self-help projects found in other African countries, as well as a general description of self-help in Kenya. In Chapter Three we also attempted to place the harambee school movement into the proper historical context.

A clear understanding of the origins and development of formal school education, of population growth and the subsequent pressure on schools and the economy, is necessary in order to appreciate the drives for secondary school education which are exemplified by Chinga community self-help schools.

In Chapter Four we turn to detailed description of Chinga community. First, we give the geographical location of the community in relation to major towns and cities. It is believed that this will help the reader to see how outside influences came to Chinga. We then describe the people of Chinga community, their economy and their occupations in order to put into perspective both human and material resources that are used to support the schools. The rest of the Chapter is a presentation of data for Chinga self-help schools.

### THE CHINGA COMMUNITY

The community of Chinga (this area is commonly referred to as Chinga Location) is in the administrative district of Nyeri, Central Region. Nyeri--which is the name of both the district and the town--is also the Provincial or regional administrative headquarters. From Nairobi, the capital, Chinga community is located about 90 miles northwest and about 30 miles south of the Equator. There is a major (tarmacadam) highway that goes from Nairobi to Nyeri, and from Nyeri to Chinga there are good secondary roads which can take one there. Buses and trucks are the major means of transportation and the community of Chinga owns a few of them. These buses go every day from Chinga to Nyeri and Nairobi, stopping to alight or pick up passengers along the

way, a journey that takes about 2 to 2 1/2 hours by car and 4 hours by bus because of winding roads and many hills. Chinga is about 6,000 feet above sea level. There are two rainy seasons--the long rain between March and May and the short rain between July and September. When the rains are heavy the roads to and from Chinga are inaccessible by either car or bus though "jeeps" and landrovers can go through without major difficulties. During the dry season the roads are dusty.

Near Chinga community, there is a divisional administrative headquarters of which Chinga is one of the locations which makes up the division. The headquarters can be reached on foot from Chinga. From here one can get buses going to many parts of the country. Chinga administrative location is about 18 miles long and about 6 miles wide at its southern narrowest tip. It is 11 miles wide at its northern tip and borders the Aberdare Ranges to the north. The other administrative boundaries are two small rivers on either side of the community with another small river cutting Chinga lengthwise in half.

Chinga itself is divided into four administrative sub-locations with each having a sub-chief as its administrative head. The chief of the entire location is the chief spokesman in all administrative matters and the chairman of the local branch of the Party is the political spokesman. The chief and his sub-chiefs are civil servants appointed and paid by the government. The Party chief is an elected official and he does not generally receive any money from the Party though he may get a little expense money.

#### THE PEOPLE OF CHINGA, THEIR ECONOMY AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS

THE PEOPLE. Chinga administrative location has eleven thousand (11,000) people. Over 60 per cent of these are under 18 years of age which is a figure slightly more than the national average. Of the remaining 40 per cent, 75 per cent or some three thousand adults can be said to be taxpayers. Obviously from this figure one has to subtract the women who number about half the men. The remaining 25 per cent are people who work away from Chinga and pay their taxes in their place of employment.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The first complete head count census for Kenya took place in August 1969 and as yet it is not available in its entirety. The preliminary analysis of the data does not give figures for local communities. The figures for Chinga are supplied by the chief.

The people are land-owning peasants, a good many of them Christians --either Roman Catholic or Protestant--although most of them do not profess any religious affiliation. The demographic features are interesting, compared to those of the nation as a whole. Kenya's growth rate is between 3 and 3.5 per cent per year, a high rate of growth indeed compared to the rest of the world. Chinga lies within Nyeri District whose rate of growth is nearly 3.2 per cent, one of the leading districts in the whole of Kenya. While no concrete data on birth rate for Chinga is available, if Chinga's population growth rate is estimated on the basis of that of Nyeri District, then one cannot help but be dismayed by this alarming rate of growth. As already mentioned in Chapter 3, the demography of developing nations is such that, unlike the industrialized West, the death rate and child mortality goes down because of improved medical facilities and improving diet, better child care and public health. The corresponding factor is that the birth rate does not slow down<sup>1</sup> and may continue to go up for some time. Thus there is a high birth rate and a low death rate.

Low death rates and high birth rates in a peasant farming community --or better yet in a developing nation--puts severe economic, social, political and educational strains on the nation and especially when the overall economic rate of growth is only a few percentage points higher than that of the population. In other words, there are more and more people each year consuming whatever economic gain a nation may have and thus causing a slower rate of economic growth. One does not have to be an economist or a believer in economic determinism to appreciate the need for a higher economic growth. (See Chapter Three for demographic consideration.)

Returning to the Chinga community, we see that the 70 per cent of the population--60 per cent under 18 years of age and the 10 per cent being too old to be included as members of a working force--depend on only 30 per cent of the people: a group more than twice as small for their total livelihood. This essentially Western mode of analysis, while looking at the patterns of social life, is misleading since the

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<sup>1</sup>See Development Plan 1965-1970, op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>2</sup>See Table 6.

African societies, in the rural areas at least, are not organized as those of western countries. While there is a division of labor, a point to be discussed shortly, it is not based on Western idea of child-dependency due either to prolonged period of schooling or due to legal requirement of keeping the child in school until he reaches a certain age. Everyone does lead an active life and only when we think in terms of changing values can this picture become blurred.

TABLE 6

COMPARISON OF CHINGA SCHOOL POPULATION (18 AND UNDER) BY SEX, TO WORKING POPULATION (19 YEARS AND OVER) BY SEX<sup>1</sup>

Male under 18	3,000
Female under 18	3,600
Male over 19	1,900
Female over 19	2,500
Total	11,000

Table 6 indicates a dependency ratio too high for a community that depends mostly on agriculture. In terms of development, Chinga cannot do very much in the overall growth unless it orders its priorities.

The picture is changing because there has not emerged any definite and clear-cut role of the young people. Traditionally, young people were economically active in the life of the family and the community. For example a young boy of 6 years and up was responsible for his father's cattle and helped his father in several ways throughout his adolescent life. He learned his role as an eventual adult member of the community. The young girl also participated in the household duties, being responsible for taking care of the younger children and helping the mother do her household duties. She learned the tasks that are usually considered "women responsibilities". These activities of a boy doing light manly jobs alongside his father and of the girl doing the same with her mother constituted an education for the child. The grandparents who were

<sup>1</sup>Field Data.

too old to do the heavy duties usually cared for the young ones thus releasing the parents for other duties. They in turn received their keep and were cared for by the adults.

Education of the children was primarily centered on the nuclear or "localized extended patrilineal family".<sup>1</sup> However, any member of the community could "educate" whether in the form of discipline or showing the young people how to perform a task or merely telling them stories.

This picture did not start to change until the missionaries introduced formal western schooling to the society. The changes are still taking place. The sad thing, however, is that the present form of schooling has not considered the traditional form of education as necessary or important and has to a very large extent ignored it. Formal school education has created a large number of dependents whose productive activities have been hampered to a large extent. Commenting on this displacement of traditional education by the western formal schooling, E. B. Castle<sup>2</sup> says:

One of the saddest mistakes of early missionaries was their assumption that they brought education to an entirely uneducated people. If literacy and formal schooling constitute the whole of education, they were right; but in so far as education is a preparation for living in the society into which one is born, they were profoundly wrong. For in the deepest sense African customary education was a true education. Its aim was to conserve the cultural heritage of family, clan and tribe, to adapt its children to their physical environment and teach them how to use it, to explain to them that their own future and that of their community depended on the perpetuation and understanding of their tribal institutions, on the laws, language and values they had inherited from the past.<sup>3</sup>

The "new" school education continues to minimize the importance of the "old" education to a point where it is becoming extremely difficult to discover what is left of the "old":

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<sup>1</sup>See Alan H. Jacobs, "Masai Marriage and Bridewealth", *Mila*, I, i (1970), 26. Cyclostyled.

<sup>2</sup>E.B. Castle, Growing Up in East Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 39

...only one generalization can be made: that the farther away from western influence a people are the more solidly they have maintained the older way. But the process of western penetration goes on, and with it a demand for schools and the means to the newer ways of living. Tribal life is weakening and with it, confidence in the old education which seems to be inadequate for facing the new strains and stresses. Communal identity gives place to individual ambitions which can be satisfied only by accepting what the west has to give, and steadily the young African moves into situations where he treads with diminished confidence.<sup>1</sup>

Change has slowly and definitely come to Chinga and formal school education is replacing the traditional role of the adults in training the young. New methods of agriculture, new crops and new systems of enterprise have also come to Chinga. Thus we see the community caught up in a rapidly changing situation where the old traditions are still present but are increasingly being overpowered by the new. The people of Chinga, like so many others in the same predicament, look to education as the solution to their complex problems and hope that through education they will be able to solve most of them.

THE ECONOMY. The economy of Chinga community is primarily agricultural. The term agriculture is here used to mean that the farming methods are crude and traditional, i.e., no mechanical tools are used. It also means that the people have a mixed farming, growing cash crops alongside the traditional foods.

Traditionally, the people of Chinga, like all other Kikuyus, have been land based and they depend on their small plots of land for food. Land belonged to the tribe and was distributed to the family by the clan on behalf of the tribe. (A clan is composed of a number of families related either by marriage or birth, and which, together with all other clans of the same ethnic group compose the tribal society. Seen in this light, a tribe then is a group of people who have a common heritage and claim the same ancestor.) Land was passed from father to son and was held in the same family for as long as the family used it. Should the whole family die, the land reverted back to the tribe. One man could have many scattered pieces of land and he spent a great deal of time traveling from one plot to another. Since only sons could inherit a man's

<sup>1</sup>Growing Up in East Africa, op. cit., p. 45.



property in the Kikuyu patrilineal system, he had to divide his land among them when they became of age. Thus if a man has one acre of land in location A and another acre of land in location B, and he had four sons, he had to divide his lands into four equal parts among them. The sons in turn would divide their plots among their own sons and the process would go on generation after generation. Here one can see that a problem of land would soon arise as the families increase and multiply and land remains constant. Sooner or later some families would have no land and would become ahoi or beggars of land. This is an old Kikuyu custom. If a man had no land, he would go to another man and perform some tasks for him in exchange of land. Such a stranger could use the land for as long as he wanted it but he could never own it or indeed divide it among his sons.<sup>1</sup>

The point we need to make here is that since 1954, the Kikuyu lands have been consolidated. That is, the British colonial government ordered that the various pieces of scattered land be collected into one

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<sup>1</sup>The ahoi (sing. muhoi) system is interesting in the history of the Kikuyu. It is especially so when one considers the land question in recent history. When the Kikuyu highlands became the property of the European settlers, the Kikuyu families moved in on it and worked for the settlers. In return they received plots of land on which they could plant vegetables and other non-cash crops. The Kikuyus could adapt to the system because it was not alien to them. The major differences between the Kikuyu-settler relationship and the Kikuyu-Kikuyu ahoi system was that in the old custom, one could not be evacuated without any reason and could live on the borrowed land generation after generation. But such person could not do so on the European plantation. He could be thrown off the land at any time and his children did not have any claim on a father's borrowed plot once he died. The people who came on the European farms are known as squatters and while at first there may seem to be a similarity between the Kikuyu and the European insofar as the treatment of ahoi is concerned, the settler-Kikuyu must be seen in terms of employer-employee relationship. The African who borrowed a small piece of land from the settler had little rights to what he grew. (For an exposition of the problem which arose as a result of Kikuyu-settler relationship, see James Ngugi's novel, Weep not Child (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1969 ed.).

single plot and the owners be given land deeds.<sup>1</sup>

In 1954/1955 Africans were granted permission to grow selected cash crops. Up to this time the Africans were legally prevented from growing such cash crops as coffee, tea, pyrethrum, etc., the right to grow such crops being reserved for the white settlers.

The Chinga community began growing coffee around 1956 on a small scale. Usually each peasant farmer had anywhere from 100 to 1,500 coffee trees. Beginning in 1966, tea has also been introduced into Chinga. The latter has been so successful that many people who originally had planted coffee on their lands are now uprooting it and planting tea instead. The success of tea farming in Chinga is due to good climate rather than to good farming methods of the people.

Coffee and tea then are the main crops grown in Chinga today. However, it should be mentioned that not everyone plants these crops. The number of coffee or tea one grows is determined by the size of land he has. The peasants are organized into cooperatives and they sell their coffee and tea products to these bodies. The dividends are distributed three or four times a year depending on the crop. The cash value that these farmers receive from selling their crops is about 5 to 50 Kenya pounds (14 to 140 U.S. dollars). The majority receive an average of \$30-\$50. (The cooperatives transport the coffee or tea to Nyeri where they are loaded on freight trains to Nairobi for processing and sale. The local truck owners might contract to transport these yields to the

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<sup>1</sup>Besides being economically productive when the land is all in one place, land consolidation and the granting of deeds was also meant to serve another purpose. Between 1952 and 1956 Kenya, and in particular the Kikuyu area of Central Province was in a state of emergency due to the Mau Mau outbreak. All the Kikuyus were put in villages which were considered to be a form of small-scale concentration camps. Houses were built close together and whole villages were surrounded by barbed wire fences and deep dikes. The gates were controlled by armed guards. The villagers could not go to their lands or anywhere else without armed escorts. The idea was that if the people were all together, they could not provide food to the Mau Maus at night and it was much easier for the administration to keep an eye on the people. For further reading, see Carl Rosberg and John Nottingham, The Myth of Mau Mau (Stanford University Press, 1966).

freight stations or Nairobi and thus keeping the money within Chinga for further investment.

The other crops grown in Chinga are those meant for home consumption--maize, beans, potatoes, bananas, etc., and if there is any surplus after a farmer has met his needs, he usually sells it in the local markets. From these sales he gets cash income with which to pay school fees, buy clothes, salt and other basic items. Sometimes there is no surplus and it is not uncommon to see a man selling some of the food he would normally need for the household.

Other economic activities include petty trading. There are a few stores at the administrative headquarters of the Chinga community where one can buy various items. There are two butcher shops, two restaurants, one beer hall, five general stores and one gas station. These stores are generally empty due to lack of goods and customers. This is due in part to the high cost of goods sold locally, but also because it is easier and cheaper to send someone on the daily buses to the city to purchase a particular item.

But these little stores are convenient. People come here to buy kerosine oil, salt, sugar and other items. In the evening most people from the surrounding area come to listen to the wireless radio which carries the national news. The beer hall perhaps has the best business. Here is sold locally made beer whose prices vary according to the volume of the container one chooses. Here is also found bottled beer, which has been transported from Nairobi where it is brewed. This beer is the most popular and the most expensive. To afford a bottle of beer and better yet, to buy some for friends, is a sign of affluence.

The butcher kills an animal every once in a while. He has to sell all of his meat as soon as possible because no refrigeration is available. The meat goes bad in a few days if it not bought immediately. Outside the store, and usually to the side, one will find the local barber. The barber is not stationary, for he does not have his own shop. He generally travels with his tools of trade--which consist of a comb, a clipper and a blade. It is not unusual to find him cutting hair under a tree or on the side of a path or street. Inside the store you will find a corner where sits a man in rugs with a measuring tape around his neck and an old Singer sewing machine beside him. He is the local tailor and here

he mends and sews other peoples' clothes. The store is not his and he rents his corner. Most of these stores are owned jointly by two or more people, usually friends or brothers. Since there are few people with enough money to go it alone, most people will contribute a small amount of money each and go into business with others. They usually start with a small store and hope to expand in the future.

All the businesses, irregardless of their nature, do most of the trading at the end or beginning of the month. This is so because salaried employees are paid once a month. Thus, most people usually pay their debts, purchase new things, loan or borrow money from others at this time. It is a time when large business transactions, not only in Chinga but throughout the nation, take place.

There are a few people in Chinga who are teachers, agricultural officers, veterinary inspectors and those of other professions. Most of the professional people come from outside the community and are civil servants. As outsiders, they live near the chief's headquarters, or if they are teachers, they live on school grounds. It is from the chief's headquarters that they make their daily routes of inspecting their respective areas and making the necessary decisions. Those professionals who are from Chinga generally live in their own homes, traveling to and from work every day either on foot or on bicycles which most of them have. All these people, with the exception of non-local resident civil servants, have one thing in common. This is the ownership of land. All of them have land on which they carry on an agricultural activity of one kind or another.

Land, as we mentioned earlier, is considered to be one insurance which everyone does have. For a person without land, no matter how wealthy in terms of money he may be, is never considered stable by the local people. Thus even the people who work away from Chinga always try to save their money so they can purchase land. The more land one has, the more worth he is considered to have. Land is a very important variable in any consideration of social change, education and development in Chinga. We shall have occasion to consider it from a different viewpoint in this Chapter.

The economy of Chinga seems to center around land, petty trading and the bus company. One thing worthy of note here is that there are few

young people who are involved in these businesses. The young people who would be expected to be in this area and who are out of school are all in large towns and cities. Those who are left are mainly in school or wander from area to area looking for employment. It is to schools that we turn to in the next sections.

HARAMBEE IN CHINGA. The history of education in Chinga is the same as that of the rest of the country. We have seen how formal school education was introduced in Kenya by the missionaries. The variation to this as far as Chinga is concerned is that it had no secondary schools before 1965.

The first harambee secondary school was built in 1965 at Gichichi in Chinga. Gichichi is the chief's administrative headquarters. The site of the school is on what used to be a local guards post and village during the Mau Mau uprising. After the state emergency was over, the villagers returned to their lands and the local home-guards were disbanded. The land where the village and the guard barracks had been was declared public property and designated as such during the land consolidation period.<sup>1</sup> The second harambee school was built in 1966 across the river from the first one. The third school was started in 1968 and admitted its first students late in the same year. These later schools are also built on community land, acquired through the same method.

We shall present data on these schools and discuss their composition, individually or jointly, to the extent that data allow. Since the major problems of these schools are the same, we shall discuss these aspects together in other sections of the paper. First, however, we briefly describe each school.

#### THE CHINGA BOYS SECONDARY SCHOOL

As already mentioned above the Chinga Boys secondary school was built in 1965. It is the oldest of the Chinga harambee schools and, perhaps the most prestigious in terms of number of students, quality of instruction, buildings and teachers.

The idea to build the school originally was proposed by the chief and two other elders who are the local church leaders. The last two

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<sup>1</sup>Throughout Central Region of Kenya, such lands will be found wherever there were villages during the Mau Mau. These lands are for public use, and schools are built on them.

have been chiefs in other parts of Nyeri district where education by far surpasses that of Chinga and where the people are relatively wealthier. The church in which the chief is an elder is an Anglican one. Thus when at first he proposed the idea to build the school to the rest of the community, most people, especially the non-Anglicans, were reluctant to join him for fear that the school would be a denominational one.

Their fears were eliminated when the idea was put forth that the school should be named after the area--Chinga, rather than after the specific location of the school itself. It was also agreed that the school should be built away from any church so that it could not be identified or even associated with the church. The decision to build the school near the chief's camp, which is centrally located, was agreed upon and plans to collect donations and ask government permission to do so got under way. There was no discussion as to what type of school the community wanted. In the minds of most people, it was to be an academic high school offering subjects such as are found in government schools. Once permission was granted, fund raising activities began. We have described below the methods used to collect funds for school and other self-help projects.

To the people of Chinga, the school they were about to build was for their children and they hoped that they could persuade the Ministry of Education to support them at some future date.<sup>1</sup> They were enthusiastic and they put their energies into these activities.

The school opened in late 1965 with three teachers and 75 students, all from Chinga. When it opened, the first few classroom buildings were not completed though the teachers' houses were. In 1966, three more teachers joined the staff and the number of students doubled. There were many problems, such as funds, that the community had to cope with.

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<sup>1</sup>The Ministry of Education does support harambee schools but only after the organizers of such schools have built them and clearly shown that they can afford to continue to support the schools for an indefinite period. The support for such schools from the Ministry is either in the form of teachers and their salaries, or equipment for science laboratories and inspection. To receive such support the school must be in an area where there are no other schools and where it can draw children from a wide geographical circuit. The community however, continues to be responsible for school construction, even though once they receive aid from the Ministry of Education, they lose control of student admissions and hiring and firing of teachers.

However, it was agreed that the Ministry of Education should be contacted for help.

Communities are reluctant to ask aid from the government for their schools because of fear of losing control to the government. This fear of government control is minimized by the simple fact that there are few communities in the rural areas that can afford to support their schools indefinitely without any aid from outside sources. Thus Chinga community applied to the government for help, especially in teacher recruitment and salary and if possible assistance in capital construction. The Ministry of Education was willing to consider the application (1966) and finally agreed to give limited assistance to the Boys school. The decision to accept responsibility for some aspects of the school came after the Ministry was satisfied that there was no other secondary school in the surrounding areas; that the community was willing to continue to assume most of the responsibility of the school, i.e., continued construction and general maintenance; and, that the school was already attracting students from areas other than Chinga alone. It was a relief to the community to have their school accepted by the government, for besides relieving them of teacher recruitment and salary responsibilities, it was a psychological uplift to know that they had started and built a school which was considered good enough to be adopted by the Ministry. The important factor, however, was that the school was now assured of permanence and improvement to a level of any other government secondary school. At first, the community was too happy over this prospect to worry about the question of the control they would have over the school.

As if to make certain that this change in status was acknowledged by everyone, that is within Chinga and most important out of Chinga, the community changed the name of the school from Chinga Boys Harambee Secondary Day School to Chinga Boys Secondary School. The change in name was important. Not that the community was ashamed of having a Harambee Secondary Day school. It meant that the school could now become partially a boarding school, which is the mark of a true secondary school. In fact the community went ahead and drew plans to construct hostels for the few students expected to come from outside the community. The hostels could also be occupied by the local boys especially since they would facilitate good study methods and thus be able to pass the government examinations.

It was indeed a time to be happy in Chinga. As the chief communicated to the author: "We felt that for the first time we, the people of Chinga, had made a very significant contribution to the growth of our nation. Our school was a permanent mark for all who read to see what Chinga had done through hard work, willingness and cooperation."<sup>1</sup>

Government acceptance to assist a school does not in any way mean total responsibility for such a school. The major responsibility for the school still remains in the hands of the community, and the school is still considered a community school. However, relationships between the community and the school authorities, and between the community and the government, change to the extent that the community school leaders cannot now dismiss a teacher nor can they radically change the curriculum. The admission to the school is now in the hands of the Ministry of Education through the headmaster and the supported school must open its doors to students from all over the nation. In this sense, the school becomes a national school rather than a community one. There are restrictions on the number of students who can be admitted to such schools and on the rate of the school growth imposed by the Ministry of Education.

The Chinga community had not prepared itself for these regulations and there was a silent complaint among the people. They complained that after building the school for their children they now had no say as to who got admitted. That in fact strangers would be able to attend their school while their own children could not be admitted anywhere. They resented the fact that after so many years without a secondary school, and after they had spent so much capital and energy they could not assure their children of any space in their "own" school. Some people even raised the question as to what is the use of making an effort to contribute to the national development if that development did not help them. Interestingly enough, there was no bitterness against the school leaders who had carried on the negotiations with the Ministry of Education. The community members felt that the leaders had done only what they had been instructed to do.

Community resentment was soon diverted to other local projects in Chinga. The enthusiasm was not the same, but enough effort was made

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<sup>1</sup>Field data.



to see that other projects were completed. It was an accomplished fact that the government was going to aid the school and that not all Chinga boys would be able to attend. Plans to build another secondary school got under way. This was in 1968, three years after the initial construction of the Boys school. Before we describe the third school, we should mention here that at the time when Chinga community was completing the first phase of the boys school, they had already begun making plans for a girls secondary school and construction for this school was well under way even before application for government assistance was made. We briefly describe the girls' school.

#### THE CHINGA GIRLS SECONDARY SCHOOL

It has been a tradition in Kenya that girls do not attend secondary schools with boys. Only in the primary schools does coeducation exist. Thus when the community of Chinga decided to build a secondary school for boys, it also drew plans to build one for girls. The merits of secondary education for girls was debated very hotly and a number of parents could not see the value of any education beyond the primary school. In terms of the number of people who have secondary education training in Chinga, boys outnumber girls almost 10 to 1 and those girls, few as they are, who have secondary education, have long ago moved from the area. Girls' education, as one elder put it, "has been neglected for a long time in this part of the country and it is about time that we did something about it or otherwise keep silent and stop complaining that there are no girl-teachers in our schools who are from this community".<sup>1</sup>

Chinga Girls Secondary School opened in 1966 with 30 local girls and two teachers who had been "borrowed" from the primary school. (We have described elsewhere in this study that because the harambee school cannot successfully compete with the government assisted schools for teachers who are well qualified, they generally entice the primary school teachers by offering them slightly more money than they get in primary schools.) There does not appear to have been much enthusiasm for the girls' school from the very beginning as there had been for the boys school. In fact even today, the two schools are not considered to be

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<sup>1</sup>Field data.

equal by the community which supports them. As an example of this inequality is that the community brought water to the boys school, but did not do so for the girls school though the latter school is further away from the water dam than the boys. Perhaps this unequal consideration can be explained by the Kikuyu traditional treatment of the female sex. Men are always favored in the family, and as we mentioned earlier, only men had the right to inherit their fathers' property. As one woman told the author in response to the question why the community had not piped water to the girls' school: "Women are strong. They can and are supposed to go to the river and draw water in addition to doing other duties that man is not supposed to do. If our women do not learn how to perform womens' duties, how are they going to be good wives and mothers? We do not want these girls to forget that they are women just because they are attending secondary schools".<sup>1</sup>

The community did want Chinga girls to grow and improve even though it was not prepared to spend as much money and energy on it as it was doing for the boys school. Perhaps the reason for their wanting to improve the school was out of jealousy rather than a sincere desire to educate local girls. Asked why they wanted to educate the girls, the school committee and one primary school teacher gave reasons such as "we are tired of having non-local girls teaching in our schools"; "we would like to have our own local girls trained as nurses so that when we go to the hospital we can find a friendly face"; or that "there are no girls from our area employed in the big offices in Nairobi as secretaries". One headmaster of a primary school replied that he thought the "local educated boys would like to socialize with local girls. However, they seem inhibited to do so because of the difference in their education. I do not think they have many things in common. It would also be much nicer if some of our local girls married locally or away from the place of their birth. As it is now, some of these girls cannot find husbands as easily as the educated girls can. I think if for no other reason, these girls should have as much an opportunity as boys just because it is right."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Field data.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

Whatever the motives are, it is clear that girls' education is of concern to parents of Chinga community and while there was some complaining about the school being built in the beginning, once some funds were available to start its construction, the parents went ahead and built it.

The interest in Chinga Girls school was sparked anew when the Ministry of Education agreed to partially support the Boys school. The community now had time and a little more resources to concentrate on the completion of the girls school and to increase the number of girls who would be attending. By September 1969 the school had grown significantly and had 165 students and six teachers, two of whom are graduate teachers. The plan calls for further expansion of the school and an increase in the number of teachers. The curriculum is the same as that found in other schools. (See Table 14 for comparison.)

It is ironic that most people in Chinga schools would have preferred the government to support the girls school over the boys, even though the girls school is much smaller and therefore would cost less. Why this should be so is not all clear. It is possible that since they consider the boys school to be more important than the girls, they would like to retain control over it. The fact that girls get married and go away from their homes, sometimes even before they have finished their education, and that they are not an economic and old age insurance as the boys are, might be another reason why the community would have preferred the ministry to assist the latter school. It is with these considerations in mind that the leadership, with community approval, has asked the government to aid the girls school and the response from the government has been encouraging. The school would be the first all girls secondary school in the area. The government is now paying the salary of two teachers and has even allowed one Peace Corps teacher to teach there. By 1971, the government hopes to take over the major responsibility of the school and all teaching staff salary would come from the Ministry of Education. It is with this assistance in mind that the community has made plans to construct yet another secondary school in Chinga to which we turn.

#### THE KIAMUYA SECONDARY SCHOOL

"If we had as much financial strength as we have the will and the desire, we would build Kiamuya school to such level that it would be the pride of not only our district but of Kenya as a whole. We want this

school to be the pride of Chinga community and we want it to be the community school in which we have control."<sup>1</sup> These are the words of the school committee chairman used in an address to a fund raising gathering on the grounds of the school.

This pronouncement conveys the chief anxiety which many of the community members expressed privately to the author. Its origins can be traced to government partial take-over of the Chinga Boys secondary school and the community displeasure about it. As we have already mentioned, the people of Chinga wanted to build a school which their children could attend. As we shall see under the subtitle of Aims of the Community below, parents want to give their children an education in order to prepare them for salaried employment. Since control by the Ministry of Education meant that not all of Chinga school children could be admitted to the Boys school, the community wanted to know why, especially after its members had given so unselfishly to the school. They knew that they could not send their boys to the girls school and that the only alternative was to build another school.<sup>2</sup>

Fund raising for Kiamuya school has proved to be more difficult than at first anticipated. Perhaps it is because, as the parents have pointed out, the community has spread itself too thin. It is also possible that there is a general unwillingness on the part of the community to make contributions because they are afraid of another "assistance" from the government. Their fear does indeed have a base since the other two schools are partially controlled by the Ministry of Education. Chances of the Ministry of Education taking over Kiamuya school or of even giving it any

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<sup>1</sup>Recorded by the author at the meeting of 19 August, 1969, with the chief and school committee.

<sup>2</sup>At first there was bitter complaint about building the third school. The parents said they had taxed themselves to poverty for the two schools, and they were also supporting the other self-help projects in the area. They asked why the government could not build them a school, provide the teachers, but leave control in their hands. It took the chief a lot of talking before he could persuade the people that both the two schools already completed and the one they were thinking of building were all for the benefit of Chinga and Kenya, irregardless of who had the actual control. He pointed to the fact that after the government's take-over of the boys school, electricity had been brought to Chinga and that it was now easy and cheaper for most people to get it into their own homes.

type of aid, are quite limited since the practice is to help only a few harambee schools--one in each high population area--whenever funds and personnel can be spared. Chinga already is receiving aid for one school and a promise of same for the other school, which is more than some communities who have similar schools are receiving or expect to receive.

In 1968 the foundation for Kiamuya school was started and by 1969 a four room stone structure was completed. Thirty-six students were admitted and two teachers were found to staff the new school. The present plans call for an expansion of the school with a projected maximum enrollment of between 900 and 1,200 students--preferably all from Chinga. Unless funds are found from outside Chinga, this projection may not be actualized, for the school is already in some serious difficulties due to lack of money to even pay the two teachers there. There is contemplation that the fee ought to be raised so as to meet the basic needs of the school. To raise the fee is to surely warrant community non-support of the school no matter how many students are enrolled in it.

Unlike the other two schools, Kiamuya proposes to be a coeducational institution and perhaps more significantly, it proposes to offer a mixed curriculum with an emphasis on agriculture and domestic sciences. Thus the school planners hope that as time goes on, the school will be able to prepare students in the academic disciplines as well as in practical education which is so seriously lacking in most Kenyan schools. While there is not complete agreement as to what the school will become, Kiamuya<sup>1</sup> school leadership is far ahead of the parents and to some extent

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<sup>1</sup>Today there is still controversy in Chinga as to why this school was built in the same sub-location as the Chinga Boys. It should be recalled that the boys' school received wide support throughout the community not only because it was the first secondary school in the area but also because it was not seen by any segment of the community as belonging to any particular section of Chinga. The new school however, is seen as belonging to only a segment of the population, hence it is not receiving all the support from the community that it needs. The effort of the leadership to make this school a community pride, the decision to make it a semi-vocational school is in part to attract the lagging community support. Some members of the community have publicly indicated that they will give their support only after the school changes its name (Kiamuya is the name of the village in which the school is built) to reflect the total Chinga community both in name and leadership. If the leadership which is heavily drawn from this area refuses to allow other members to participate in decision making, then it seems that Kiamuyu will become a sub-location school and chances of its success will be limited indeed. There is fear that refusal to support the school by all the people of Chinga

even ahead of the national leadership in terms of future employment availability for the school graduates. They reason that as more and more people get education, sooner or later many educated people will not be able to get salaried employment either in government or in business. Thus, they argue, as the leaders of the community they are obligated to prepare their children for positions other than prestigious government jobs. Other arguments used by the leadership is that since Chinga is mostly an agricultural area, and seems to be developing into a major producer of tea, coffee and beef cattle, if they trained their children in these areas, the community would benefit by receiving technical assistance from their children and the teaching staff of the school. By introducing domestic science subjects and other subjects best suited to girls, they believe their daughters would not only be able to give mothers lessons in simple child care and general hygiene, but would also become better wives and citizens in their adult lives. By offering a mixed curriculum in the school,, they believe that their children could actually pursue an academic course of study if they chose to, once they completed their secondary school studies, or pursue a vocational program in a technical college.

While this is a sound program, the leadership is always being asked to explain where the money for recruiting competent technical teachers as well as academic staff, purchase of equipment, and capital construction is going to come from. The cost would indeed be enormous. The leadership acknowledges this but says that it hopes the community will be able to do these things slowly, and eventually the government might come to their assistance. Failing that, some organizations such as the local district council or businesses might be interested in the school graduates, and might help the schools in order to insure that their future employees were well prepared. They also hope, through friends and acquaintances,

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may result in refusal to support other community programs. There are some who feel, however, that it is not so much a question of whether the school is a village one or a community one, as it is a reaction against the leadership's continued pressure on the community to begin new projects which may not bring any significant returns to them. Most people believe they are already heavily committed and they should first support and complete what they now have.

to solicit help from overseas. These haphazard plans are attacked by some members of the community as being inadequate and leading to local bankruptcy and embarrassment. They see the school as leading to total failure.

Whatever the merits of these arguments, it is acknowledged that vocational training would be good and they see good agricultural methods as being profitable. They give examples of the chief and the treasurer of the three school councils,<sup>1</sup> who besides being influential, are perhaps the most prosperous farmers in the area. They are nevertheless unsure about inviting the government lest they might lose control of their school. Kiamuya secondary school at the moment faces an uncertain future though the leadership is confident that the school will survive.

These then are the Chinga schools which have been built by means of self-help. We shall present detailed analysis below of the hopes that the community has for these schools; the method of financing and management; and the attitudes that the students have of these schools. First, however, we show the similarities and differences between these schools.

Table 7 shows not only the number of teachers in each of the three secondary schools, but equally important it shows the source of teachers, and the source of their salary. The Government assisted school (Chinga, Boys) has 18 teachers which is more than twice the total number in the other two schools. The Table also shows that all the teacher salaries in this school are paid by outside sources with the government paying the salaries of eleven teachers. The British Council of Teachers--

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<sup>1</sup>The chief of Chinga, who also happens to be the major architect and moving force in the Harambee programs of the area, together with the treasurer of the council, himself a one-time chief, are the two richest individuals in the area. They have educated their children to the university level. Whenever the chief calls a fund raising gathering, he always asks the people to give whatever they can. He usually is in the lead in contributions and generally gives up to 300 shillings in one gathering. He has also been personally responsible for two teachers' salaries. Obviously his intentions are interpreted as good by those members who would ordinarily question his motives. Besides his administrative responsibilities of the area, he is known as the most hard-working farmer and uses his farm as a demonstration farm for local farmers. While people do complain about frequent fund raising campaigns, they usually follow him because he is the first to give.

TABLE 7  
SOURCE OF TEACHER SALARIES IN CHINGA SCHOOLS<sup>1</sup>

SOURCE	BOYS SCHOOLS No. of teachers	GIRLS SCHOOL No. of teachers	KIAMUYA No. of teachers	TOTAL
Community	0	2	2	4
Government <sup>a</sup>	11	2	0	13
Britain <sup>b</sup>	5	0	0	5
Peace Corps	2	1	0	3
Other <sup>c</sup>	0	1	0	1

<sup>a</sup>Kenya Government

<sup>b</sup>British Council of Teachers

<sup>c</sup>Missionary

which through special arrangements with the Ministry of Education and the Kenya government sends teachers to Kenya--pays for its five teachers. The Peace Corps takes care of the remaining two. We also note that (see Table 12) the highest qualified teachers, i.e., graduate and trained teachers are at this school. They are the highest paid and it is doubtful if the Chinga community could manage to pay their salaries. It is also doubtful whether there would be so many teachers in Chinga schools if the community were to pay all of their salaries in addition to building and maintaining the schools.

At the girls school, Table 7 shows that only two of the six teachers are paid by the Chinga community. Two are paid by the government, one is paid by the Peace Corps, and one is an Italian missionary priest who is there by special arrangement. Again the graduate and trained teachers are paid by the government or outside organizations. Kiamuya has only two teachers and both of them are paid by the community. As Table 12 will indicate, these teachers are not as well qualified as those in the other schools. The question of why unqualified teachers are often obtained to teach in harambee schools will be discussed shortly.

Table 8 shows another comparison of the schools. It shows the source of capital construction, maintenance, library and equipment. The

<sup>1</sup>Field data.



sources are identified in this Table by numbers 1 and 2. In some cases, we can see an overlap of sources, i.e., the government and the community supplies the same material by means of special arrangements such as government matching, community funds for capital construction.

TABLE 8  
SOURCE OF SCHOOL SUPPORT FOR VARIOUS ACTIVITIES<sup>1</sup>

ACTIVITY	BOYS SCHOOL	GIRLS SCHOOL	KIAMUYA SCHOOL
School building construction and maintenance	1 <sup>a</sup>	1	1
Library books and supplies	1 & 2 <sup>b</sup>	1	1
Teacher salaries	2	1 & 2	1
Equipment	1	1	1

<sup>a</sup>1 means community source

<sup>b</sup>2 means Government and other outside organizations

Table 8 also shows that the government does assist the community in more than one area, e.g., books and supplies, in addition to teachers. It also indicates that nearly all the responsibilities of building and running the daily affairs of the schools are in the hands of the community. The responsibility the community places on the school committee and on itself is enormous.

Table 9 shows the composition of students in the three schools since their inception. As the figures indicate, Chinga Boys school has grown from a population of 75 students and 3 teachers in 1965 to 497 students and 18 teachers in 1969 and the growth continues. Chinga Girls school has also grown to 165 students and 6 teachers while Kiamuya has only 36 students and 2 teachers.

Table 9 shows a fantastic student growth rate for the boys school with an increase of equal significance for the girls school. Kiamuya seems to be headed for growth though its short history does not allow

<sup>1</sup>Field data.

TABLE 9

STUDENT INCREASE BY SCHOOL OVER TIME, 1965-1969<sup>1</sup>

CHINGA BOYS		CHINGA GIRLS		KIAMUYA	
1965*	1969	1966*	1969	1968*	1969
75	497	30	165	18	36

\*The years 1965, 1966 and 1968 indicate when school was opened.

for proper comparison over the years. However, if we take the growth of Chinga Boys school as a future indicator, it would seem fair to conclude that if the community support continues, Kiamuya will also have a large student enrollment in a few years.

There is a total of 698 students pursuing a secondary curriculum, many of whom perhaps might not have gone to secondary school. Of these students, 550 come from Chinga. It would seem from this figure that irregardless of the fact that the schools are open to most students from areas other than Chinga, it is the Chinga students who are benefitting more. This fact alone, expressed in several ways by the parents, might give us an indication of why they continue to support the schools even though the government has taken charge of admissions.

This fantastic increase of students in secondary schools encourages the parents of Chinga into a continued support of their schools. Since most of the students who attend harambee schools are those who have been rejected by the government assisted secondary schools, the local community argues that if harambee schools were not there, many students would not be in school. Instead they would be roaming about with nothing to do and lacking all prospects for good employment. They now point to these figures with pride and say that chances of these students to be employed have been greatly improved--a fact with which neither parents nor students nor anyone can disagree as yet.

In persuading parents to continue supporting the schools, the school committee points to the number of children in the seven Chinga primary schools (see Table 10) and ask what would happen to them if the secondary

<sup>1</sup>Field data.

schools in Chinga were to close due to lack of interest on the part of the parents.

TABLE 10

PRIMARY SCHOOL POPULATION IN CHINGA BY SEX COMPARED TO CHILDREN OUT OF SCHOOL, AGES 6-12, AND THOSE IN SECONDARY SCHOOL, AGES 13-18 IN 1969<sup>1</sup>

SEX	IN PRIMARY SCHOOL 6-12 years	OUT OF PRIMARY SCHOOL 6-12 years	IN SECONDARY SCHOOL 13-18 years
Male	800	820	700
Female	900	1,000	290
Total	1,700	1,820	990

Table 10 indicates several things: (1) That there are more girls attending primary school than boys. Their number decreases very significantly by the time they enter secondary school, while the number of boys does not decrease to any significant degree. (It should be noted that the increase in the number of boys out of school over the number of boys in school does not change our argument at all. These figures are incomplete to the degree that we have only those students who were in or out of school in 1969. There are students, for example, who found work in towns and cities of Kenya. There are other students who may have repeated primary schools in other communities. We have considered only those students who are in Chinga at present.)

(2) If we compare Table 10 to Table 9, we note that most of the students who are in Chinga secondary schools would be in the out-of school categories if these schools did not exist. In Table 10, out of school means that these children have either never attended school or, as the case may be to a large extent, they are students who have completed the primary school curriculum but cannot find openings in the secondary schools. It is with these students in mind that the school committee leaders make

<sup>1</sup> Field data. Figures obtained from school records of 1968 and rounded off to the nearest tenth. Chinga students who are in secondary schools in other parts of Kenya are included here in addition to those who are attending harambee schools locally. Students who may have entered technical schools are not considered.

their most passionate appeals for more donations to construct more schools or to expand the ones already built.<sup>1</sup> In the next sections, we examine more closely the management, financing, parent-student attitudes towards harambee schools, and other attributes of these schools.

#### ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT OF HARAMBEE SCHOOLS

It is sometimes difficult to identify clearly any general basis on which the community that develops and supports harambee schools can be defined. Geographically, traditional community areas have been divided by divisional and locational boundaries. Historically, much of the old community leadership and clan loyalties have been supplanted by such bodies as the district administration, local government councils, political party branches, church organizations, and cooperative societies. The sense of communal responsibility thus shifts, centering at different times on traditional ties, on political constituencies, on primary school or rural development project areas. Sometimes responsibility centers on church congregations and on administrative locations and divisions.

Chinga community, in founding its harambee schools, has been affected by all these factors at one time or another. To some extent, these factors have been defined finally by the extent of fund raising campaigns and pupil density, but even these lines are often blurred because they frequently overlap. The position is further complicated by the intervention of individual politicians-politicians, churchmen, and other influential citizens. Sometimes politicians, local or national, or churchmen have instigated the movement to found the school, but more often they are brought in to provide a focus for fund raising activities or to obtain an approval for school, or to help in finding teachers. Most well educated people in Chinga have been asked for advice. Usually they give this freely, but in a few cases, a rather "sinister aspect can develop where influential people may take control of the school and manage it on some form of

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<sup>1</sup>It should be mentioned here that in addition to supporting the harambee secondary schools, the community is responsible for the construction and maintenance of all primary schools. The teachers are paid by the District Education Boards which act as an agency of the Teachers Service Commission, a part of the Ministry of Education. Thus the burden on the parents is enormous. These burdens are the source of some tension within the community, as will become evident below.

profit making basis."<sup>1</sup>

For Kenya in general, management of the harambee school may take different forms. In some areas plans for cooperating between the various communities are developing. In Kisii there is a coordinating committee, in Machakos a salaried supervisor, in Kirinyaga the county is consulted, and the Maragoli Parents Association has carried out a survey of the schools in its area."<sup>2</sup> In Chinga, the community has tended to do it alone though it consults with the education officer who supervises the government schools in the area. What establishment of community schools reminds us here is, as we mentioned in Chapter One of this study, that the very establishment of the community all too often necessitates a dangerous recall to parochialism in which clan and area rivalries are revived. A pattern of inter-community conflict and competition is aroused which hinders regional or district planning. This may prevent inter-community cooperation where the scarcity of resources suggest it.<sup>3</sup> An area competition between Chinga and the neighbouring communities has developed. This is reflected by the argument given by the school committee leaders that, since other areas have always been ahead, it is about time Chinga got up and competed with other districts. The communities around Chinga have all established their own schools, and while none of them has been accepted by the government for support, as Chinga schools have, they insist on continuing their schools independent of other communities. It would be much cheaper and have more impact if Chinga community combined its efforts with those of the areas around it. But a no cooperation attitude prevails in all areas where harambee schools have been established. It is with such interplay of forces that a clear definition of supporting communities and the organization of school committees is not possible for the nation as a whole. Each instance is a complex affair.

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<sup>1</sup>See John Anderson, "Education for Self-Reliance". Discussion Paper #67, University College, Nairobi, 1967, p. 8. Cyclostest.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>See Chapter One and Chapter Five of this study for further discussion on the type of conflict that may arise.

For Kenya, the most usual of development involves a small group of accepted leaders, e.g., chiefs, primary school teachers, headmasters, religious leaders, in an area over which they have influence, calling a meeting at which interested individuals can express their views and pledge support. If a decision is taken to start a school, further meetings are held to increase publicity, decide on the site, fix the amount and method of collecting contributions, and to elect committee members for the school.<sup>1</sup>

The community has its way of electing competent people, although in some cases it has included "diplomatic" appointments, such as county counsellors or clan elders. In Chinga, two committees have been established, the larger one including all the necessary dignitaries, and the smaller one being the actual working nucleus. Only on one occasion was an active official illiterate and that was corrected during the next election. The official was replaced by someone who had some basic knowledge of the English language. The occupations of the officials of the schools are hard to ascertain because able people tend to have several roles. As we have mentioned already, all of them are farmers: Many are, or have been, primary school teachers, chiefs or local civil servants and traders.

The progress of the school depends very largely on the committee members; on their ability to handle both the general problems of raising funds and recruiting teachers and the variety of incidents which may arise. These may concern religious denominational or political rivalries,<sup>2</sup> conflicts with primary school committees<sup>3</sup>, or supporting cooperatives, and personal jealousies. Besides running the school soundly, it is important

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<sup>1</sup>In this process self-help schools follow the long established precedents of starting primary schools set-up by other similar projects.

<sup>2</sup>Now that Kenya is a one party state, political rivalries, based on two different parties tend to disappear. But religious rivalry may occur within the same community as it did temporarily in Chinga in 1967 between Catholics and Protestants, and between these two and the non-church groups. The issue was whether to elect a Catholic or a Protestant Priest to the school committee. The issue was resolved when both refused to be considered for election.

<sup>3</sup>In some communities there is only one committee for both the primary school and the harambee secondary school. In Chinga, while there are different committees for the schools, there is a large overlap in membership.

that the committee publicize its work to the community. Failure to do this not only reduces support but can easily lead to rumors about a committee's ability or honesty. In this respect the help of a conscientious chief and an interested headmaster, who are both prepared to talk at length to the local community about the school, is invaluable.

The second set of responsibilities facing a committee relates to its control over school affairs and its relationships with the headmasters and staff. In cases where both groups may lack experience and sufficient education, conflict can arise easily, hindering a school's work, and eventually necessitating changes, e.g., unsuitable committee and unqualified staff members selecting themselves out gradually. Generally, mutual understanding of the norms of the community and a genuine desire for progress provide a framework in which good working relationships can be developed. The many cases where teachers agree to accept interim salary payments until fees are collected are evidence of this.<sup>1</sup>

The legislation regarding harambee schools is complex and outdated. Although it is now being reconsidered by the Government, it has created such anomalies as secular schools applying for religious management in order to get official approval, and a lengthy processing of applications.<sup>2</sup> Schools have, as a result, been allowed to function before receiving final official approval, providing they could satisfy health requirements and show good intentions for wanting the school. In such an uncertain

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<sup>1</sup>For example, there is an instance where the Chinga school committee retained the services of an able teacher who was found embezzling school funds. The committee requested him to make repayment and fined him a small fee. The committee did agree to allow the teacher to make installments from his salary. This is in keeping with the Kikuyu tradition of fining a person who admits doing a wrong without publicly embarrassing or ostracising him.

<sup>2</sup>Under the present Kenya Education Ordinance, a secondary school must have a recognized management. At present only the Government or the Churches are recognized as managers. Consequently some schools are minimally associated with a religious body for this purpose. It does not follow, however, that because a school owes allegiance to religious management, it has to offer religious knowledge as a subject. All three Chinga schools have associations with a religious group but the ties are very weak. For further reading on the Ordinance governing harambee schools, see the Kenya Education Commission Report, Part Two, Paragraphs 631-637.

and variable setting, many school decisions on staffing, equipment or building programs have often been wrongly made and money has been unwisely handled.<sup>1</sup>

Chinga school committees have stabilized and developed remarkably good schools, although the schools show a widely varying range of quality. What is important is that the situation is not static. While the initial community enthusiasm seems to be waning, and the problems of raising money are getting harder and harder, the pattern of leadership is gradually refining itself in terms of ability and experience. Such problems as political animosities and religious rivalries are being isolated and clearer ideas of what is possible and the methods of securing it are developing. Agreement on the selective development to continue Kiamuŷa school beyond Form 2 level and to make it coeducational and vocational are examples. As the committees gain a greater awareness of their opportunities for meaningful community and government, official relations are created, and already many voluntary links are being made with government education officers and other civil servants.

#### THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN SCHOOL PROJECTS

Any discussion of self-help in Chinga must include the role played by the women. Chinga women, who outnumber the men and who in some respects do more for self-help than the men, can be divided into two groups: (a) The young married women whose children are either in primary school or are pre-primary. This group is not heavily involved in many of the school projects. Their husbands are either working in the cities or in towns throughout the nation, and visit home at regular intervals, or are employed locally. The reason for lack of participation in the community self-help projects is not easily understood. It would seem from conversations with representatives of these women that they are not very much rural oriented and desire to join their husbands in the

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<sup>1</sup>In certain instances committees have been dismissed, school sites have been transferred and school names changed. In a few cases proposed schools have failed to materialize because of conflicts, but schools do not appear to be closing down because of inability to resolve local jealousies or the inaction of committees. For Chinga, none of the above has happened with the exception which we noted earlier of changing the name of the Boys school.



cities. One reason given as to why they were not living in cities was that their husbands did not have good jobs and the little money they earned was sent back to buy land and other items needed for the household. These women might be considered as representing the group that has lost the traditional value of community joining-efforts for the welfare of all. They express the desire to be left alone to take care of themselves and their children. In most cases, they have had some form of primary school education and visit with each other quite often. Their houses are more modern in structure and their personal attire is cleaner and more modern than that of the rest of the community. They seem interested in personal improvement to the extent that they are members of local domestic science groups and they travel more than the older women. (b) The second group is older and is composed of grandparents and other women whose children are grown up or in the late teens. This group can be distinguished by the types of clothes it wears. The women dress in the traditional garments or simple calico dresses loosely hanging over their bodies. They are hard working and are more at home in the rural areas than in the cities and towns. Even when they visit their children in the cities, or in a few cases their husbands, it is usually for a few days, and then they return to their homes in the rural areas.

In Chinga, this group of women is the best organized and the most powerful force behind school building and other community projects. The women are known as the harambee women and are respected everywhere, mainly because of their accomplishments.<sup>1</sup> Like everyone else in Chinga, these women are party members and the moving force of the party--sometimes these women are referred to as the KANU women, being the Kenya African National Union and the ruling party. Few political office seeking candidates in the area can win an election unless they are supported by this group of women. Nearly all of these women can neither read nor write and from this view they are uneducated.

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<sup>1</sup>It would be misleading to conclude that only Chinga has a well organized group of women. Throughout the Central Region, groups of this kind will be found performing perhaps the same duties. Most of the women groups in other parts of the country are mainly political and don't involve themselves with as many local self-help projects as the Chinga group.

However, what most distinguishes this group, besides the blue and green garments, is its fund raising ability for whatever project they set out to do. Their money is hard earned and is rarely spent on personal items.

The harambee women, under the leadership of one of their elected leaders, decide on the project they want to do. It requires money, such as for buying stones for a school construction, lumber, or paying a local carpenter to put doors on the school; the women either contribute money directly from their pockets or they perform tasks for others and charge accordingly. The way they work is as follows: Through their organization they contribute two days a week in which to perform various tasks for anyone who is willing to hire them. For example, they might negotiate with a farmer to weed his land, or pick coffee beans or tea or any other task for a certain amount of money. Upon completion of the task they receive their money and if there are no pressing payments or purchases to be made, they deposit the money in the local bank from which they can draw at any time to purchase any community item that may be needed.

It is from this money that they support the schools. For tasks such as carrying bricks to a school, they use the money not only to purchase them but also to hire a local driver with a truck to transport them. If they have no money, they will carry the stones on their backs until all of them have been transported to their destination. They dig the school foundations and assist in any other tasks that they may be asked to do in connection with the project. Besides helping the community, these women help each other as well, and following our definition of self-help, it would be only appropriate that they do so. Using their money, they set out systematically to modernize their houses by replacing the traditional thatch roof with corrugated iron and adding more rooms to the house in place of the traditional Kikuyu single but large round room house. They do this until each has had her house fixed. In addition they do a lot of other community services such as bringing piped water into their homes or building a clinic. Interestingly enough, there does not seem to be any conflict between the women of different religious bodies or even between those who profess Christianity as their religion and those who do not profess any faith in the church.

As a rule, although these women are not strict Christians, they do not work on Sunday. They hold their organizational meetings then and/or just visit each other and gossip. What is of great interest to us is the unselfishness of the harambee women and their sincere dedication to community progress. Whatever other motives these women may have, one thing is clear: they are the backbone of rural development in their community, as is recognized by the fact the leadership always consults them over a wide range of items.

The role of men in self-help school building is important to the extent that they do the heavy work and have greater representation on committees. But they have no organization nor are they as enthusiastic as the women about such projects. (On several occasions, the women have accused the men of not only being lazy but jealous of the women's accomplishments.) One man complained to the author that women are undermining the traditional role of the men by taking over leadership: "They don't pay taxes nor are they responsible for school fees, clothes and such matters as land."<sup>1</sup> This may have been a correct observation and it is possible that the women, in Chinga at least, are finally taking an active role in affairs formerly reserved for men. But checking this remark further, it was evident that the women have not in actual fact undermined the men. The women are very concerned about school fees just as much as the men and to some extent go to varying troubles to assist the men in this respect.

Perhaps the reasons why women are more active than the men might be found in a reply to a question put to a harambee woman. She was asked why she and her friends were so involved and active in the school projects and other community related programs and replied:

You know my son. He is 25 years old and he has been looking for employment throughout this country for the last few years. He cannot support himself nor his wife and he does not want to settle on the small land we have and cultivate like we do. He says the only reason he does not have a job is because he does not have as much education as the son of \_\_\_\_\_. It is because I am his mother and I see his bitter sufferings that I have sold my bracelets and earrings and all my personal ornaments so as to get the money to contribute to the school fund. I hope by doing this his children will get more schooling than he did.

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<sup>1</sup>Field data.

Perhaps then they will be able to help him more than he is helping us. His bitterness might then be reduced.<sup>1</sup>

Answers such as this were recorded from many harambee women and one must conclude that they are active not so much for their own self improvement or that of their adult children, but rather for their grandchildren and the future generations.

On the basis of what the harambee women are doing, it is clear that they are an important part of the self-help programs and they are the most, at least one of the most, important part of school financing. It is to this aspect of school finance that we turn our attention.

#### FINANCE

The ability of the community to raise sufficient funds is a basic issue in all self-help projects. The Chinga schools at present are finding that costs are rising and that money is proving hard to come by. These financial difficulties lie largely in the nature of the self-help method itself. For in the past, self-help has mostly been treated as a substitute for capital, not as a technique for raising it. In projects that have a high labor content, like road building or terracing, self-help methods can cut cost considerably. But in construction and maintenance of the present type of secondary schools, the Chinga community is increasingly finding itself faced with both heavy capital input and sustained payment of recurrent costs.

A second, perhaps more crucial problem, derives from the method of capital formation which Chinga community--in fact all self-help groups--use. To develop schools on a large scale, a government or any body normally raises a long-term loan. This prevents too long a drain in immediate capital and lengthens the period of repayment in order to offset it against the long term rewards that education is hoped to bring.

Self-help methods have a tendency to do precisely the opposite. Money is collected over several months to pay for the school before it is built.<sup>2</sup> Chinga schools, like so many others in the country, have an

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<sup>1</sup>Field data.

<sup>2</sup>It is not uncommon for a committee to raise a collection for a classroom block, to use the money collected to build foundations and walls, and then the process of securing a licence and calling meetings, taking perhaps six months, has to be gone through again before enough money can be found to complete the roof and provide desks. Thus in some cases the start of the school may be frequently delayed.

added problem in that they do not make adequate and clear distinctions between capital costs and recurrent costs. Only one cash book is kept. At the beginning of the book the initial funds raised are shown and the costs of the initial capital development subtracted. The balance is carried forward. School fees which tend to arrive in small payments throughout the year, and further donations, are added and the recurrent costs and further capital development debited. Under this circumstance of uncertain source of revenue, headmasters of Kiamuya and the Chinga Girls schools and/or treasurer tend to give essential teaching materials, school running costs and teachers' salaries first priority, with capital development being paid for very gradually from any remaining funds. This frequently means utilizing local craftsmen, used to work on casual contract basis, to make desks or to build the walls of classrooms, as money becomes available, allowing parents and pupils time in which to carry out tasks such as digging foundations, cutting timber or baking bricks. School fees, averaging 600-700 shillings per year,<sup>1</sup> are set to cover this type of capital expansion, and it is possible to find schools developing successfully, if rather slowly, as is the case for Chinga Girls Secondary School, on a monthly balance of less than 100 pounds.

This pattern of finance is obviously precarious, and requires dedication and commitment on the part of its organizers. The pattern can be improved by separating funds so that budgets and estimates for capital development can be made distinct and on a long term basis. It is important to recognize, however, that in following this type of procedure, the schools are implicitly coming to terms with the need to spread capital development costs over a period of time, and with the increasing reluctance of the community to accept further ad hoc collections.

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<sup>1</sup>The 600-700 shillings per year school fee is quite high and some parents cannot raise this money. Hence the usefulness of the extended family comes into play here where many members of the family will band together to pay for the education of one member of the family. There are certain obligations the person so supported has to those who help him, as we shall see shortly. What we can mention here, and only in passing, is that class system based on accumulation of wealth does not seem possible under this system of obligations. It can be argued that distinctive classes will only emerge when all have had some education and are economically independent of each other.

Ideally, a school should be able to estimate and budget its recurrent costs against fees, aiming at an optimum balance between the quality of education given and the charges parents can reasonably pay. Capital development funds could be drawn from the community separately and could be related realistically to what each individual and the community as a whole can afford, without harming their productive capacity. As an example of this, in some areas of Kenya, such as Meru, Kisii and Kirinyaga, cooperative societies have agreed to make annual payments, related to their production, to certain schools.

As already mentioned, the economy of Chinga is based on small-scale farming and it is from whatever little sales, in the form of surplus trade, that the parents get the money both for fees and to make the general contribution for the recurrent expenditure for the schools. The pressures on the individual members of the community is therefore heavy and are beginning to produce community reluctance to attend fund-collecting meetings. Thus it is very easy for conflict to arise, especially in cases where the school committee and the headmaster do not inform the community of how the money is being used. Chinga has not yet experienced any deep feelings of alienation though there are definite strains that seem to be emerging. Other common sources of finance are temporary grants from local churches, local stores and individuals. These donations are generally aimed at some specific piece of equipment that the school may need.

The general pattern for Chinga schools then, is that they appear to cover their immediate running costs, providing the growing pressure for immediate capital development can be reduced. A closer look shows that this pressure is composed of a number of elements:

- (1) The normal need to provide classrooms and teachers' houses for the increasing population. (Note that housing is an important issue in the process of attracting better qualified teachers for higher school forms and it is generally given priority in any consideration of classroom construction.)

- (2) There is a strongly held belief in Chinga community, and with good reason, that government aid is directly related to the number of stone buildings a school has. This is perhaps so because when advising school committees, government school inspectors and other

educational officers stress the need for better buildings and sometimes imply that lack of these buildings may diminish the chances of aid.

(3) The need to obtain a grading in order to be allowed to enter candidates for school certification, which usually means building a laboratory and a library, often without considering the quality.

(4) A feeling that progress is related to physical development and that to be "up to standard" educationally, a school must have stone classrooms. Inter-community rivalry exacerbates this by preventing cooperation among sufficiently large groups and by creating a sense of competition in which stone buildings are the measure.

In these circumstances it is difficult to convince most committee members and parents that where a clear choice lies between building a new stone classroom, or building a wooden one or even retaining an old wooden one where it may exist, and providing a full range of textbooks, equipment and paying teachers regularly, that the latter is the wisest policy. Too often attempts are made to compromise, leading to badly planned, expediently constructed buildings and inadequate teaching provision.

This is what happened to Kiamuya Secondary School. The Chinga community had two schools which were quite large by local or national standards. Because the government had decided to aid the Chinga Boys Secondary School, and thus limit the number of students who could be admitted there, the community leaders felt that there was a need to construct another school which could accommodate those children who were not admitted in either of the other two schools.

The community rushed to a decision to build a third school while there was as yet no complete agreement on where the school should be built. Since all members of the community were not consulted, a feeling of disappointment and sectional jealousies (within Chinga as we have already seen above) developed. The committee leaders started building the school 6 miles from the Chinga Boys school and in the same sub-location, i.e., the other sub-locations of Chinga were not asked whether they would have liked the school in their areas. Hence these other sections of Chinga did not want to contribute to the new school nor could they in fact identify themselves with it. What the Chinga school leaders failed to realize is that government aid for the other school was not

total. Chinga community was still responsible for capital construction of both the Boys school and the Girls school. The committee of the newer school is finding it difficult to provide teachers for its school and does not have enough money to meet its present size operations. To attract more community support, a compromise has been reached to make Kiamuya an academic-technical school. The sub-regions are getting interested because such a school would be the first in the area. However, although this compromise has sparked renewed interest in the entire community, the new school may still have to wait some time until money can be found and debts incurred for the other schools paid off. Because funds are becoming increasingly scarce, the Chinga community has decided to use timber and build temporary buildings until such time as they will be able to afford stone buildings.

School fees and donations to schools appear to be the largest single drain on most family budgets in Chinga. The development of harambee schools is increasing this charge and in some parts of the country, as indeed in Chinga, there are indications that this may be a factor in upsetting the pattern of rural development. In Chinga there are instances of money being diverted from much needed agricultural improvement such as the ploughing of land and the spraying of crops. But a more intricate and perhaps more serious problem is developing as land and cattle are sold. The means of production are changing hands and many families are thus reducing the traditional bases of their livelihood. The long-term effect of the first of these tendencies may well be to limit the growth of the area and the general opportunities for a better educated

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<sup>1</sup>Some schools in other communities have recognized this dilemma and have decided to build temporary buildings, using local materials--offcut timber, mud and poles--and plan to replace these buildings with permanent ones by accumulating a long term fund. The process appears sound, for the guided use of communal labor can create a base of well dug foundations on which adequate buildings in local materials can be erected, to be replaced by permanent structures when sufficient funds become available. Provided that the present somewhat unrealistic pressures for immediate permanent buildings can be contained, it is possible for schools to be able to develop effectively at their own pace. If they can do this, it seems possible that not only will their financial problems be eased, but there could be time to consider priorities carefully and opportunity for a pattern of consultation to develop with local education officials.



youth to use its talents. The long-term effect of the second is hard to assess. It may very well produce more efficient agriculture, but in so doing it might presumably restrict the resources and possibly the morale of many families to which the better educated youths are returning.

These projections are hypothetical because without school fees to motivate them, families may use their resources on consumer items rather than agricultural development. Further, they discount the strong tendency for harambee schools to attract money into the rural areas. Very large numbers of people in the modern sector of Kenya society find themselves responsible not only for relatives' school fees, but also for the family contribution to the school.

One particularly worrisome feature of self-help schools is their tendency to exacerbate inequalities. Usually contributions are levied over the whole population of an area, generally on a voluntary basis though there is community pressure applied on those who do not contribute. However, upon the completion of the school, only those parents who can afford the full fee actually send their children. Even these children normally have to pass the certificate of Primary Education.<sup>1</sup> County Council scholarships may offset this to some extent. So does the operation of the school, which allows time to pay fees and will often waive part of the fees of able pupils who are generally known to be poor. Nevertheless, a feeling of division does arise between those who can and those who cannot afford harambee schooling. The same situation occurs between districts. Wealthier areas can afford more schools than the less wealthy. This poses a difficult problem where government assistance is concerned.

A final problem relating to finance concerns control. When these schools began, few people were available who knew how to estimate, budget and account for the way money was used. In several cases money was badly used and even misappropriated. People have thus become very suspicious about the use of money and treasurers have to be very scrupulous.

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<sup>1</sup>The Certificate of Primary Education replaced the old Kenya Preliminary Education in 1968. The certificate will, in theory, be awarded to every pupil satisfactorily completing seven years of primary education. Grades marked on the certificate will be used to select entrants to secondary schools.

Gradually expertise is building up and accounting procedures are becoming more effective, but the whole question of estimating and ordering priorities still proves very difficult where money is actually controlled by people who know so little of what a school needs, or how to manage money.

Despite all the difficulties of organization, management and financing of harambee schools, it should be pointed out that although Kiamuya secondary has postponed development beyond Form 2 and is facing curtailed recruitment and serious financial problems, the community has no intention of closing it, at least not in the near future.

#### THE SCHOOL FEES

Continued support for the harambee schools of Chinga, or lack of it, will depend to a very significant degree on the amount of fees charged by the schools. As data on school fees from Chinga and other communities indicate, the payment of fees is the most worrisome aspect of a child's education at the present.

When the initial proposal to build a secondary school in Chinga was presented to the community, the enthusiasm generated was largely based on the prospect that such schools would be community built and owned, and parents would no longer have to pay school fees for their children to attend. Most parents thought that since they paid the teachers' salaries, provided books for their children, and continued to support the school, there would be no reason why they have to pay the fees.

But their enthusiasm was short lived when it was disclosed by the school committee that in addition to supporting the school, a fee would be charged for each child in order to offset the other expenses that the school incurred. The committee argued that the money the community had contributed was not enough and if the school was to remain open, fees had to be charged. It then became clear that not all Chinga children would be able to attend their own school since most parents could not afford to pay the 600 shillings per annum per child in the secondary school. This is in addition to uniforms, supplies and fees for the children who may be in primary schools. Table 11 gives the amount of money payable to schools as fees in both primary and secondary schools.

TABLE 11

SCHOOL FEES PER YEAR PER CHILD IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS: CHINGA ONLY<sup>1</sup>

TYPE OF SCHOOL	AMOUNT IN SHILLINGS	U.S.A. DOLLAR EQUIVALENT
Primary schools	63	9
Secondary schools--day	600	86
Secondary schools--boarders	1,000	143

Table 11 indicates that there is a tremendously wide gap between the primary and the secondary school fees. A jump from 63 shillings to 600 shillings (and in some communities as much as 700 shillings are charged) indicates the tremendously high cost a family incurs in sending its children to secondary school. While it is possible for a family to send its children to primary school, even though this is sometimes difficult, it is exceedingly difficult to send any of the children to school beyond the primary level, unless of course, such students qualify for government schools and are awarded scholarships.

For a rural and agrarian community, the fee of 600 shillings is too high and there are many parents who do not earn this amount in one year. Thus the proposal to ask the Ministry of Education for assistance has been welcomed because most people believe fees would be reduced and scholarships made available for their children. Things have not turned out this way, however.

The community could not understand why a school supported by the people should charge any fees. It is on the basis of this lack of understanding that some parents are reluctant to make any contributions even to the school's general fund. They argue that since their children will be paying fees, they ought to save the money for that purpose rather than donate it and then have nothing with which to pay the fees. One parent who refused to make any contribution told the author during an interview:

I am a poor man and I want my children to get as much education as possible. However, I am disturbed by the fact that I go to

<sup>1</sup>Field data

a meeting and make a contribution of five or ten shillings for the school only to come home and find my son was dismissed from secondary school and my daughter sent home from the primary because I did not have enough money to pay for their fees. What kind of community is this which does not help me when in fact I am doing all I can to help in the community affairs? I will not make any donations for the schools any more. I have already sold all of my land to send my two older boys through primary school. They never went beyond that and now they cannot find any jobs with their education. They cannot settle down and farm because we have no more land. I do not think it is right. I know our government is willing to help but I have not been helped. I pay my taxes with hard-earned money and my children go around nearly naked because I cannot afford to buy them clothes. Tell me, what would you do?"<sup>1</sup>

This conversation is most representative of the comments made by many of the parents about fees. Such comments are not only made privately, but are also made during public meetings and sometimes bitter arguments and accusations occur. The arguments betray a feeling that unless something is radically altered, such as reduction of school fees for some parents, the strong community sense expressed by some may be fading away into bitterness and non-support. School fees place parents in debt, and in cases where many families, especially extended families, have combined to support one or two children through school, the recipient of such support is under heavy obligation to his supporters. For his support generally means that other children in the household must forgo school so that one gets all the benefits. Unless such a person completes secondary school and obtains a government or other type of "good job", there is no way he can repay his debt. Even if he finishes school and obtains a job, he is under heavy obligation to help his relatives who always remind him that he succeeded because others were denied the same opportunity. It is therefore his duty to see that other children get the same treatment that he got.

It is possible to ask the question as to why Chinga community continues to support and construct more schools when in fact the burdens are already too heavy. The answer is perhaps supplied by the remarks of one old woman who is financing her two children in secondary school. She works for a local farm as a farm hand when she is not selling

<sup>1</sup>Field data.

firewood in the local market. Asked why she continues to educate her sons with mostly borrowed money, she replied:

I have no education myself. I think though that only through education will my boys be able to stand up. They would not have been able to go to school if we did not have this harambee school. Their marks were not high enough for government schools. If I refused to support the school, would I be able to build one for them? In our language we say that "unity is strength" and if all of us make little contributions, no matter how difficult it is to come by, it will be big enough at the end to make a difference. I believe the few children we educate today will be able to educate more in the future. After all we have no education ourselves. If we have done this much, don't you think those with some education can do more than we."<sup>1</sup>

This is perhaps the reason why community support has not diminished even though the enthusiasm is certainly at low ebb. Parents seem willing to sacrifice whatever little they have for their children's education. They have done so and undoubtedly they will continue to do so in the future. But they are crying over the high fees charged by their own schools and cannot seem to see why. Some parents have privately expressed a desire to call a community meeting in order to agree on the maximum amount of money that the schools can charge as fees. Failing this, they would want to see wealthier parents pay more either in fees or in general contributions. There is also talk that children from poor families should be given free education.

#### THE AIMS OF THE COMMUNITY

The general aim of Chinga community when building harambee schools is to provide an educational avenue for its children. There is much concern, therefore, that these schools at least match the standards of the government-aided schools. The basic problem of Chinga schools, and indeed of many harambee schools, is that even if they should reach government aided school standards, they will probably not fulfill the underlying hopes of the community that supports them. The root of this paradox appears to be the extent to which people in rural communities equate academic learning with increased opportunities for wage earning employment and a decrease in rural interest. What is less clear is the extent to which such people are aware of the increasingly difficult

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<sup>1</sup>Field data.

employment situations, the urgent need for development in rural areas, and are prepared to discuss this in relation to the purpose of their schools. Chinga school leaders have given this some thought, as mentioned earlier, but even their reasoning is still urban employment oriented. They do not think so much in terms of developing their community as giving the children an opportunity for employment in the cities. Then, hopefully, those so educated will come back to Chinga and help along.

The following observations attempt to show the directions, aims and purposes of the schools as expressed by the various segments of Chinga community. These remarks are based on interviews with committee members, parents and pupils.

THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE MEMBERS. There is one committee for each of the three harambee schools in Chinga. The chief is the general chairman for all school committees, and the headmaster of each school sits on the committee of his particular school. The other members of the school committee are mostly local businessmen and traders, women leaders, and party branch officials. Usually, some of these men are members of the three school committees, a fact which may explain why there is little variation in theme and intent among the schools.

The committee recognizes that the primary role of the schools is to raise the level of progress in the area for its individuals. In this process, it stresses that preparation of students for wage earning roles has the highest priority. A growing awareness of lessening job opportunity increases this feeling, and several members point out that as employers' selection standards rise, harambee secondary schools are essential so that local children may get a reasonable chance of employment. These committees believe that government schools accept far too small a percentage of primary school leavers from Chinga.

The idea of preparing students for wage earning employment and life away from the rural areas does not conflict with the obvious concern about an area's development. It is more likely to be regarded as a key factor in the area's progress. Wage earners are only seen to leave the community temporarily. They are expected to, and usually do, return regularly, bringing back a steady supply of capital to the area, both to community funds and to the farms they develop and the businesses they establish. In this way they become important innovators and leaders.

Well developed houses and farms belonging to educated men employed away from the area are pointed out as examples to visitors.

Suggestions that different forms of education, such as commercial, technical or agricultural skills, should be developed so that those remaining students may help build up the local area, are generally welcomed in principle. (See Kiamuya Secondary School above for this discussion.) The need to help school leavers who cannot get jobs is fully accepted and it is felt that these subjects offer better prospects for employment. In this respect it is clear that employment does not only include full time wage earning jobs, but also casual laboring and contracting, which is at the base of rural economy. The roles which young people might play in helping on family farms, eventually expanding production and bringing in new practices, seem implicit in the discussions which such subjects as agriculture arouse.

The problems of developing a suitable curriculum and finding competent teachers to teach vocational courses are realized. Committee members also question the place these subjects have, presently or in the future, in the final secondary school examination. There is still suspicion of any attempt to change the school's approach from that of the government school, lest the harambee school be thought of as inferior in aim or standards. Beyond considering the material returns that education can bring, it is clear that committees also consider it a measure of progress and status. As other communities are compared with their own, the parochialism that so often hinders inter-community cooperation and regional planning is revealed as one of the more serious costs of the deep sense of community on which self-help activities are founded.

In many conversations, the idea that education has a value of its own in the general enlightenment which it brings to individuals and the community as a whole, is apparent. One old man in effect remarked, in response to a question of what he thought the employment prospects of harambee school graduates were: "Are you, as a man whose education allows you to understand these problems, telling us that the answer to them is to stop educating our children?"<sup>1</sup> This remark may be an indication

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<sup>1</sup>Field data.

of the direction and quality of some of the basic thinking among school committees. The reply suggests some prospects for fruitful discussion.

Committees welcome the chance to talk, to ask questions and to seek advice. Such problems as raising money, finding teachers, building laboratories and selecting books, are discussed avidly. The need for government support, despite a general concern that it will remove the committee's powers to select students, is constantly argued. But, with or without support, and whatever their problems, the members of the committee interviewed seem determined to maintain their school.

THE PARENTS. To a large extent, the views of committee members, many of whom have children in harambee schools, reflect those of the parents. Yet because such people are often better educated and more articulate, and because of their wider responsibilities as community leaders, their views do not fully represent those of the whole parent body.

There are two concerns shared by all parents: concern about educating their children, and the problem of raising school fees. Parent groups contain a fairly high proportion of the wealthier and better educated persons in the community, but the range appears to cut across economic and power boundaries. Knowledge about the subjects being taught and ability to judge the quality of the school vary considerably, but parents' lack of knowledge does not prevent interest in the school's progress. Their basic drive is to try to give their children the best chance in life that they can. There is also a strong element of materialism. Many comments show that parents think of fees as an investment, even though they complain about their being too high, and they consider secondary school education as a mark of status. Some take their children away from school if they think they are doing well. Yet the fundamental need for the individual to know more about what is happening to him, and to have a greater control of his affairs, is implicit in many of the deeper justifications for spending so much money on school fees. One father whose boy was doing badly at school asked the headmaster to keep him, because even if he was not going to pass the examinations, he would improve his ability to cope with life if he remained in school.

Parents' view of the job market is restricted, though most seem to appreciate that harambee schools cannot offer an automatic route to the



better paid posts. Some have concrete ideas about steady employment in rural areas, such as "health assistant" or "teacher". Many would appear to be satisfied with any reasonable employment and often comment that their children must choose. Only in one instance has strong opposition been found to agriculture as a school subject, and on further check, the man turned out to have been involved very deeply in the old Kikuyu Independent Schools (See Chapter Two). He had been influenced by the past arguments against training a labor force that could not think for itself.<sup>1</sup> Most parents now accept that good farming needs education and agree with the school committee's support for vocational training in the school. Where land is available, parents seem to want their children to know how to farm it efficiently. The main desire and goal of the parents, however, is to give their children an academic training because it has in the past, as indeed in the present, been the most sure way of successful employment. It has been tested and succeeded. Nevertheless, while most parents appreciate good farming methods, agriculture has not proved itself as yet to be rewarding.

THE PUPILS. The values and aspirations of school pupils in Africa have been the focus of much speculative research and we have already discussed some of them in this paper.<sup>2</sup> To obtain a clear picture, however, is

<sup>1</sup>President Kenyatta's call to return to the land and utilize it fully for individual and national development has softened some of the opponents of "technical" education to a point where they have taken an attitude of "wait and see". In Chinga the success of convincing the parents that Kianyua should become a vocational-academic secondary school rests on the chief, who besides being an acknowledged leader, also happens to be the most prosperous farmer in the area. He is the center of envy even of those who would not want to encourage vocational or agricultural training of the students.

<sup>2</sup>For example see the following partial list: Edmund King, Education and Social Change (London: Pergamon Press, 1966); E. B. Castle, Growing Up in East Africa (London: The Oxford University Press, 1966); C. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman, Education and Economic Development (Chicago: The Aldine Publishing Company, 1965); American Conference for Teacher Education, Educational Needs of Sub-Sahara Africa and Latin America (Washington, D.C., 1961); L. J. Lewis, Education and Political Independence in Africa (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962); Richard Greenough, Africa Prospect: Progress in Education (UNESCO, 1966); Cole S. Brembeck, Social Foundations of Education: A Cross-Cultural Approach (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1966); Leonard Levitt, An African Season (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967); Jane King, Planning non-formal Education in Tanzania (Paris: UNESCO, International Institute for Educational Planning, 1967); J. D. Chesswas, Educational Planning

difficult. While a core of essential values may be forming, the process appears to be subject to an ebb and flow of views and ideas, ranging from flights of fancy, through various levels of hopefulness, to a very clear understanding of reality.

The following remarks are based on interviews and the author's observations, as well as a pilot test with questionnaires in selected schools by the University College researchers. They attempt to discuss some of the pupils' prevailing attitudes which have a bearing on education, especially in self-help schools.

(a) Attitudes of students towards school: Harambee schools are seen as substitutes for government secondary schools, and pupils often compare them unfavorably with the government aided schools, particularly the lack of laboratories, libraries and qualified teachers. They complain about the unfair opportunities given to pupils in government schools. The degree to which these criticisms are voiced, and the intensity of feeling behind them, appears to depend largely on the quality of the school they attend. Thus at Chinga Boys Secondary School, where morale is high and facilities better, pupils speak enthusiastically about their harambee school and their chances of passing examinations. Where a school is seen as failing, either because of lack of interest on the part of the staff, or because of the poor condition of the school, pupils are very bitter, especially about the high fees they pay. The more adventurous try to change the school in such circumstances, but the majority seem to develop an apathetic attitude toward the school. They neglect classes and school duties, and occasionally take periods off to look for jobs, yet retaining their place in the school hoping that things will improve. In one case (not in Chinga), strikes have occurred, although these have been isolated. Where unsatisfactory conditions persist, the general pattern is for recruitment of new classes to fall and for the older pupils to leave. In such cases parental pressure builds up on the

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and Development in Uganda (Paris: UNESCO, 1966); Guy Hunter, Education for a Developing Region (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963); John Hanson and Cole Brembeck, eds., Education and the Development of Nations (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966); Ronald Burns, African Education (London: Oxford University Press, 1965); Walter Birmingham, I. Neustadt, and E. N. Omaboe, eds., Some Aspects of Social Structure (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1967).

management and staff and often changes are made. The arrival of a new and interested headmaster or teacher can quickly spark a school into life again. Pupils will then begin to concentrate on school work and frequently offer to help to do laboring tasks to develop the school. (The contribution of the pupils in school building projects cannot be ignored nor should it be overstressed. On more than one occasion, Chinga pupils have spent many weekends doing general cleaning and hauling lumber and bricks to school. They have also contributed several hundred shillings towards the school funds with money they have earned as a group performing labor in the surrounding area.)

Hard working or not, the students in harambee schools seem to have one thing on their minds: that is the desire to get a government school place. Sufficient numbers are able to do so, thus raising the hopes of those who are more able. The other hope is that the government may aid their school and guarantee its progress.

Teachers are really their greatest concern. Pupils talk rather vaguely about the need for graduate teachers and are critical of other qualifications in general. This seems to be generally so at Kiamuya in comparison with the the two schools where graduate and trained teachers are in good number. In practice, however, they develop respect for, and confidence in, the teachers, often only primary school trained, who try to help them.

(b) Attitudes towards careers: The major purpose of going to school is quite clearly to "go as far with education as I can" and "to get a good job and become an important man". Underlying such thinking is a recognition of the competition to be faced and the need to justify self interest with such reasons as "to help my parents", and "to help my country", and more occasionally, "to help poor people" or "people with no land".<sup>1</sup>

The job choices, and the reasoning behind them, as revealed by University College questionnaires, vary surprisingly. Many pupils confuse their preferences and hopes with what they really believe is possible. It is not uncommon for a boy to name his first job choice as "teacher, because with my little qualifications I can get it" and his second

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<sup>1</sup>Also see John Anderson, op. cit., p. 18.

choice as "pilot, because I would like to visit certain countries and the pay is good". University College questionnaires, which asked for job choices at the different levels at which pupils might leave secondary school (i.e., Form 2, Form 4 or Form 6, that is, after two, four or six years of secondary school) indicate that pupils do relate their selections to their level of education, and once they leave school are prepared to take the best job they can find. Interviews with pupils who have left harambee schools "confirm this and there are increasing numbers of pupils leaving harambee schools when regular job opportunities arise, for instance in the Police or the commercial world. One interesting point is that in the Central Region technical jobs are gaining prestige, and engineer, mechanic and electrician, are becoming common job choices."<sup>1</sup>

(c) Attitudes toward rural development and agriculture: One needs to take care not to confuse "agriculture" and "farming" with employment. Pupils do select jobs as farmers and agricultural officers, and give a variety of reasons for their selections, including personal preferences, the importance of farming and the money to be made. But this does not mean that pupils who choose other jobs completely reject farming. Most of them, it appears, see farming as a separate occupation to be carried out in their spare time and ultimately when they retire.

In a study conducted in Kiambu district of the Central Region by Anderson, he interviewed 26 boys and 7 girls in the Form 2 class of a harambee school, which has recently been aided by the government. He wanted to find out what the students' attitude to land were and how they would use it if they had it.<sup>2</sup> He found that "all pupils wished to complete Form 4 and had a clear idea of the jobs they wanted. Only two mentioned agriculture, one wanting to be a farm manager, the other to work in insect control. All wished to own land and all but one described how they would develop it. Several mentioned specific cash crops to be grown and animals to be kept, and a few commented on the need to export products. The remaining boy wished to divide his land between his sons! All but three proposed to employ laborers on their land, sources

<sup>1</sup>Reported in Anderson, op. cit., p. 19.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

being 'those who are poor', or 'those who do not wish to continue with school', 'relatives' and several included themselves, 'after work', or 'if I can get no other employment'. In answer to a question about the training of farm labor, nineteen proposed to send their laborers to the local farmers training center, seven proposed to employ experienced people, six said they would train the laborers themselves, and one said that he himself would go to an agricultural college.<sup>1</sup>

A close look at the student diaries shows that all students are expected to work on family farms.<sup>2</sup> Boarding students can only do so during the holidays, but most day students record several hours of farm work a week. Some students have regular tasks, like milking or clearing irrigation channels. Much of the work involves manual labor and students complain of the effects on their school work. According to Anderson, "casual laboring is the way some of the less wealthy students get money and in some cases supplement school fees."<sup>3</sup>

It is this aspect of agriculture and rural development which is unpopular. Schooling and wage employment are the escape routes. Attitudes to agriculture in school are generally favorable and arguments about its role in development are mentioned. Yet a sense of scepticism remains, particularly with the idea of practical work, which is still more clearly related, in most students' minds, to digging soil rather than taking its pH value.

(d) Attitudes towards a wider education: Interest in examinations is foremost and many of the questions which pupils ask in discussions relate to examination regulations. The basic approach to studies is to try to learn rather than to discuss, and in spite of a reluctance to study a subject not directly related to the examination syllabus, lively discussions do occur and student essays on free ranging subjects often reveal a wide interest in current affairs.

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<sup>1</sup>Anderson, op. cit., p. 19

<sup>2</sup>Besides the acknowledged excellency of government boarding schools in comparison to harambee day schools, the other complaints the students have when they are pointing out the unfair advantages of the students in them, is that as day students, they are not only required to work on the family farm, they also do not have enough time to study and thus do poorly on the government written examinations.

<sup>3</sup>Anderson, ibid.

Two points that make an impression as one looks at these schools in operation are: First, the determination of the pupils to work if they are given the opportunity. Classes are frequently overcrowded, forty per class being common, yet teachers who have something to offer have few discipline worries and can concentrate fully on presenting their lessons. Second, during the progress of the school, where students' abilities vary enormously, a process of "natural selection" begins to take place. Headmasters comment that several of their less able boys, finding it increasingly hard to keep up, decide themselves that they have had sufficient formal education and will leave readily if other opportunities arise, even to take up roles as farm laborers.

Extra-curricular activities, along the lines of the "traditional" government schools, are asked for, and students will pay extra contributions for them. These include games, debating, drama and 4K clubs, the latter concentrating on improving agricultural knowledge through projects such as growing tomatoes or keeping rabbits. These activities can do much to boost a school's morale and it was reported in 1968 that "two harambee schools entered the 1968 Schools Drama Festival and one school, Mumbuni in Machakos, came first in the 1968 Kenya Schools Cross Country Championship."<sup>1</sup>

Only a few harambee schools, mainly for girls, are run as boarding schools. But although most are technically day schools, they often provide "hostels" or allow pupils to rent unused shops, for 4 to 10 shillings a month, in nearby markets. Here pupils develop their own little communities, cooperating in bringing food from their homes, cooking, cleaning and washing clothes, showing very clearly a naturally developed mode of self reliance which could have important implications for future school development. The Chinga Boys and Chinga Girls schools both have hostels and those students who come from long distances eat and sleep at school. Their food, which has a better nutritional value than that found in the community, is prepared by a cook hired by the school. At Kiamuya, there are no hostels and students stay with friends or get accommodations in the surrounding areas, doing light duties for their room and board.

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<sup>1</sup>Anderson, op. cit., p. 20.

## EDUCATIONAL PROVISION

At independence, most African governments found the blueprints for school development they had inherited were rapidly becoming outdated in relation to both Africa's changing requirements and to educational technological advances. Attempts to redesign educational systems in most countries have been cautious, to allow for the necessary expansion of schools, to let priorities become clearer and to explore new techniques and approaches.

In the present interim period, self-help schools, attempting to copy government practice, have to focus on the current government supported model. Short-term thinking, therefore, is concerned primarily with their performance in meeting present "standards". Longer term thinking, however, will have to consider the implications for the future realignment and expansion of education.

The effect of the traditional four year secondary school certificate course and the two year junior secondary certificate course, created by the Kenya Ministry of Education as an intermediate stage to the school certificate, on the harambee schools is difficult to evaluate. On the other hand, the academic orientation, rigidity and selectivity of the school certificate approach, despite attempts to modify it, does tend to lead to a very narrow and expedient education in schools where resources and experienced teachers are scarce. On the other hand, the immediate advantages it has, in securing continuity, giving stable guidelines in content and standards, and providing an accepted selective device for employment and further education, are needed by this type of school.

In order to examine and estimate the range of quality of harambee school education one has to look closely at the resources available. It is important to recognize too that self-help schools, as an increasingly significant margin of the rapidly expanding secondary education system, highlights the strains, and the capacity to meet them, throughout the whole range of newly developing secondary schools, whether government aided or not.

(a) Staffing of harambee schools: In their early stages, most harambee

schools relied on primary school teachers, normally P 1's.<sup>1</sup> These teachers are usually able to teach to Form 2 level adequately, and some have taught their strongest subjects successfully to Form 4. Because of their experience in organizing primary schools and their knowledge of rural conditions, these teachers have become the core of harambee school staff, and several are proving to be effective headmasters. Supporting staff, in the early stages, are hard to find. Less qualified primary teachers, school certificate failures, and students on vacation help to comprise very mixed and rapidly changing school staffs.

The increase in school certificate leavers is now enabling most schools to staff schools quite adequately to the Form 2 level, removing the necessity for inducement pay over government rates and creating greater stability. However, teachers with higher qualifications, especially in science, are badly needed for Forms 3 and 4.<sup>2</sup>

Some richer schools in some parts of Kenya are said to have secured trained or graduate teachers and others have been helped by the missionary or volunteer services from overseas (See Table 13). The most fruitful source, however, are the 6th Form leavers who have to wait from December, when they leave school, to the end of September, before they can enter a university. A proposal to concentrate a year's teaching into the period before October, taking the major holiday afterwards, could utilize such teachers for the whole academic year. Perhaps with the help of Regional Educational officers and 6th Form headmasters, a pattern of annual recruitment, and possibly short training courses could be established, thus creating a very useful and acceptable form of local community service.

Overall, teaching still suffers from a lack of continuity, technique

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<sup>1</sup>p 1 = Primary 1. This means school certificate, plus two years of primary school training with, in a few cases, extra course work in lower secondary school.

<sup>2</sup>The shortage of science teachers is not felt in harambee schools alone, but also strongly felt in the government aided schools. To meet this critical shortage, the Kenya Science Teachers' College, built and staffed by the Swedish people, was built in 1966. It aims at producing teachers who will be able to staff the various secondary schools throughout the nation. The arrangements call for the college to offer short refresher courses to science teachers already in the field. Arrangements have been completed with University College, Nairobi, to admit some of the most successful students for a degree program in science, once they finish their curriculum at the Kenya Science Teachers' College.



and academic knowledge. Such factors as high student/teacher ratios, pupils missing lessons and the lack of teaching materials, all reinforce a heavy instructional, examination oriented approach. In-service courses, run by the government, and developing experience indicate that, despite its varying nature, much can be done to help a gradually consolidating harambee teaching force.

The character and continuity of the school leadership, both in the person of the community school leaders and the headmaster, is all-important. Chinga people and their students feel that a capable, committed headmaster is important if the school is to grow. The feeling of the teachers in Chinga's three schools and that of parents and students is that a headmaster should have obtained a school certificate, should be trained, and preferably should have experience as a primary school headmaster. All the three headmasters in Chinga schools have these qualifications and their relationship with the community, students and their staff is good.

The staffing ratio at Chinga Boys School is about 30 students to 1 teacher; at Chinga Girls it is 28 students to 1 teacher and at Kiamuya it is 19 to 1. The last school, as we have seen elsewhere, is newer and has not been able to attract as many students as Chinga Boys or Girls.

As with the headmasters, the permanence and commitment of the teachers is equally important for the progress of the school. The teachers' academic qualifications should be high and good. The Chinga schools do not have a long enough history to suggest staff trends; though it seems that the less academically qualified teachers are more likely to remain and develop a permanent interest.<sup>1</sup> Graduate teachers are very rare and even teachers of higher school certificate<sup>2</sup> level are also few and when present,

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<sup>1</sup>The first headmaster of Chinga Boys Secondary School, himself a local man and a very well qualified teacher, resigned from his job after seeing the school through its first crucial years. He resigned to go to the university for further training.

<sup>2</sup>Higher school certificate is obtained two years after the Cambridge School Certificate. Instead of being in secondary school for the four years that it requires to obtain a CSC, a student stays for six years plus one year of training. These last years past the CSC could be compared to two years training in the junior college. There is serious thought being given to making some schools junior colleges, offering a variety of curriculums, and thus relieving the pressure on some of the training schools. Whether this will be adopted by the Kenya Government is not known yet.

they are generally temporary. Major teaching is done by P 1 and untrained teachers who have passed the school certificate examination. See Table 12 below for breakdown on teachers' qualifications in the three Chinga secondary schools.

TABLE 12

\*BREAKDOWN OF TEACHERS IN CHINGA SCHOOLS BY ACADEMIC QUALIFICATIONS<sup>1</sup>

Qualification	Chinga Boys	Chinga Girls	Kiamuya	Total
Graduate	8	2	0	10
S1	9	1	0	10
P1	0	1	1	2
HSC	0	1	0	1
CSC	0	1	1	2
Total	17	6	2	25

LEGEND:

- Graduate - Teachers with at least a BA or BS degree.
- S1 - Higher School Certificate and some training.
- P1 - School Certificate plus two years of primary training.
- HSC - Higher School Certificate and no training.
- CSC - Cambridge School Certificate.

It is clear that most of the teachers are well able to handle the school subjects especially during the first two years. However, as harambee schools grow and add 3rd and 4th Forms of secondary education, it will be too much to expect the majority of the teachers to keep up with more than one or two secondary school subjects. The majority of teachers in Chinga, as Table 12 indicates, are well qualified. But, as we see in Table 13, most of them are non-Kenyans and eventually they will leave. The realization that graduate teachers are non-Kenyans and may leave at the end of their contract is a frequent and worrisome topic of discussion at the school committee meetings. The headmasters and other school officials are constantly on the lookout for qualified Kenyan teachers.

<sup>1</sup>Field data.

The continued success and growth of these schools, especially addition of 3rd and 4th Forms, to a large extent will depend on the ability of the headmaster to attract new staff members. There is fear in Chinga, especially on the part of the headmasters of Chinga Girls school and Kiamuya, that unless the school grows faster, and succeeds in getting their students through examinations in large numbers, staffing might become a problem and the possibility of using School Certificate failures as teachers is not an attractive one.

TABLE 13  
BREAKDOWN OF TEACHERS BY COUNTRY OF ORIGIN AND QUALIFICATIONS<sup>1</sup>

Country of Origin	Chinga Boys					Chinga Girls					Kiamuya				
	G	Sl	Pl	HSC	CSC	G	Sl	Pl	HSC	CSC	G	Sl	Pl	HSC	CSC
Kenya	1	9					1	1	1	1				1	1
U.S.A.	2					1									
Britain	5														
Italy						1									
TOTALS	8	9				2	1	1	1	1				1	1

LEGEND:

- G - Teachers with a least a BA or BS degree.
- Sl - Higher School Certificate and some training.
- Pl - School Certificate plus two years of primary training.
- HSC - Higher School Certificate and no training.
- CSC - Cambridge School Certificate

We have already footnoted the importance of teachers' housing in any consideration of staffing. This is a significant factor in teacher recruitment. Staff housing is an important responsibility for schools in the rural areas--including the primary schools--where teachers cannot be recruited locally. All Chinga secondary schools provide some form of accommodation. Housing is so crucial that construction of staff housing begins at the same time, if not before, the foundation of the first classroom blocks is laid. This is so because no school can expect

<sup>1</sup>Field data.

to attract "good" teachers or even "bad" ones if it does not have houses. Because of the excellence of the teachers' houses at Chinga schools, except Kiamuya where construction is still in progress, teachers have been recruited from wide ranging sources.

Table 13 gives a picture of not only the qualification of the teachers but also their origins. It shows that all but one of the graduate teachers are non-Kenyans. There are two American graduate teachers at Chinga Boys and one at Chinga Girls school. These are teachers who are on Peace Corps assignment and will be leaving as soon as their tour of duty is completed. The five British teachers are loaned by the British Council of Teachers and are at the Boys school. There is one Italian priest at the Girls school who is also a graduate. None of the graduate teachers are paid by the community. In terms of sex, there are three graduate women teachers, one American and two British. There are four women teachers in all Chinga secondary schools, and they are divided between Chinga Boys and Chinga Girls schools. One of the women is an untrained African teacher with a School Certificate.

The Table also indicates what would happen if all the non-Kenyan teachers were removed (9 in all) and the community were unable to recruit graduate teachers. It would mean the possible elimination of the 3rd and 4th Forms or at least a curtailment of the subjects taught there. Chances of removal of all graduate teachers, however, are few since the government has already taken over the provision of teachers in one of the schools and agreed to help the other by 1971.

(b) The curriculum in harambee schools: When harambee schools were being established, the idea in the minds of the committees, headmasters and parents and to some extent the pupils was that they would reach the Cambridge School Certificate.<sup>1</sup> The headmasters have been cautious about

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<sup>1</sup> Cambridge School Certificate is a certificate issued at the successful completion of four years of secondary school study. For many years the examination originated from England and was controlled by the Cambridge Syndicate. The achievement of the certificate has been and still is considered as a perfect measure of good education. Consequently many people do hope to achieve it. Because of the nature of the examinations given at the end of the four years of study, students and teachers tend to think in terms of examination and most learning is done merely as a preparation for this examination. Lately the three East African governments have been thinking of dropping their association with the Cambridge Group and devising their own examinations to be known as the East African

this level and especially since they don't have enough staff, adequate laboratories and library to prepare their students. Nevertheless, the Chinga Boys and Chinga Girls have not reached the Cambridge School Certificate level (four years of schooling beyond the primary school).

Because of the nature of the examinations, the three Chinga schools, as is true of other harambee schools, tend to impose a rigid, largely academic curriculum on their students. To succeed in passing the examinations, the secret in harambee schools seems to lie in the way "good" teachers are able to work within or go beyond the requirement of the generally accepted curriculum, thus meeting the interest of their pupils. This is necessitated by the fact that few harambee teachers have the experience or the teaching materials to adapt the syllabus for their less able pupils. Hence in their attempt to train pupils for the examinations, they are forced to use examination oriented methods. Even for those students who have been successful in passing the examination, the probability is that they are and may continue to receive narrow and limited education.

The curriculum consists mostly of academic subjects and not all three Chinga schools are offering these subjects. This, as already mentioned, seems to stem from the tendency to emulate the established schools. These schools are attempting to offer a full curriculum, but there are signs of expediency, especially in science, which, on the basis of teaching knowledge and equipment, is the most difficult area for the harambee schools to cover. Thus the schools under discussion offer mainly general sciences and in addition to these subjects, Chinga Boys school offers agriculture (See Table 14). In the sciences, biology is overemphasized, and this is perhaps because biology is one of the science subjects which appears on the examination.

Other subjects which are also given emphasis are history, English, mathematics and geography. Also Swahili, religious knowledge, and

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School Certificate. It will be interesting to observe the attitudes of those who will be taking the new examination for the first time. Whether they will have the same drives to succeed on this exam as they would have if it were the traditional Cambridge examination will be a point of interest to the educational psychologists and others who have been pressing for educational reform which reflects African aspirations and desires.

physical education are taught. None of the Chinga schools offers practical handcraft, or any other traditional art work, though the Girls school is offering a course in domestic science.

TABLE 14  
SUBJECTS OF STUDY OFFERED AT CHINGA SECONDARY SCHOOLS, BY SCHOOL<sup>1</sup>

SUBJECT	CHINGA BOYS	CHINGA GIRLS	KIAMUYA
English	X	X	X
Math	X	X	X
Biology	X	X	X
History	X	X	X
Geography	X	X	X
Chemistry	X	X	X
Bible study	X	X	X
Agriculture	X		
Domestic science		X	
TOTAL	8	8	7

In Table 14, we note that there is a lack of subjects that would be said to be related to the students' and parents' everyday activities. We shall comment on the idea of "relevance" of subject matter to the community in Chapter Five. We mention in passing that Chinga, though a farming community, does not seem able, nor is it in fact interested, in promoting agriculture education in the schools that it has built. This view might give weight to the argument that harambee schools seem to follow, and indeed copy, the methods and curriculums of the government aided schools. Perhaps when Kiamuya adopts a vocational curriculum and the community approves it, then maybe an agriculture oriented curriculum will be emphasized.

It is somewhat odd that the school leaders have been pushing the idea of vocational technical curriculum in Kiamuya, yet there is no technical course being taught at present there. Indeed there is none

<sup>1</sup>Field data.

in the proposed syllabus for the coming academic year. It is possible that exclusion of technical subjects is due to lack of qualified technical teachers or perhaps to the unpopularity of the subjects themselves.

Extra-curricular activities are available but these consist of football, dancing debate clubs, and athletics. These activities, while they are useful in broadening the students' cultural perspective are usually not considered as important as the academic subjects, consequently, they are poorly organized. Some teachers do attempt to help the students in these areas but they do so on their own time and mostly only when such activities coincide with the teacher's interest.

It has been suggested that as harambee schools increase school provision, they should attempt to broaden their scope by developing technical/commercial and agricultural courses. To add these subjects, however, either as special vocational courses or as an attempt to widen the general curriculum, would be difficult. This would be because of lack of suitable technical teachers, readily available syllabuses, the need for new books and the high cost of equipment which already hamper the government aided schools that are trying to move in this direction. Most of Chinga harambee schools' innovative powers are used trying to overcome the difficulties of meeting the present curriculum, but occasionally interesting ad hoc work is done. The agricultural extension worker visits Chinga Boys school regularly to advise students on the use of their plots.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Perhaps the most enterprising work lies outside the strict harambee school system. This is the development of a number of "village polytechnics"--this term was originally used and the scheme originally conceived in *After School What?*, op. cit. So far, most of these have been instigated by the Christian Council of Kenya and have received funds and staff from this source. They seek to utilize the harambee school spirit, but concentrate on providing courses in rural skills--masonry, carpentry, agriculture--backing these up with basic language and mathematics courses oriented to rural life and commercial practice. The intention is not to aim directly at permanent wage employment, but to help students play a more practical part in rural life by being able to utilize their own or their family's resources more fully and to fit more usefully into the casual contracting pattern and cooperative projects through which most rural development takes place. So far there are 12 of these polytechnics under way in Kenya and more are slated to begin soon. Initial reactions show that communal support is developing and that it is beginning to follow much the same pattern as that for harambee schools. At present

## CONCLUSIONS

The data for harambee schools in Chinga and the accompanying discussion indicate several problems and some solutions, as well as directions they could follow in the future. These will be discussed in the next chapter in which we will try to draw some conclusions in the form of generalizations about the usefulness, or lack of it, the impact or lack of it, and the implications of harambee schools for the community of Chinga. We do need, however, to draw attention to the various points brought out in this chapter.

The current interest in "education for self-reliance" in Chinga and the nation of Kenya, not only makes clear the economic and political setting in which Chinga's and Kenya's educational planners have to work, but also emphasizes the need to develop an institution which can meet the needs of its immediate community.

Unfortunately the school, as known in Kenya and Africa today, is still an institution more suited to the requirements of a shifting urban population than to that of a rural African society, with its established patterns of educational influence and sense of communal concern.<sup>1</sup> But the development of more applicable educational institutions will require far reaching changes in educational thinking. Beyond altering the actual content of the school curriculum, a whole new, rapidly advancing technology offers new approaches to education, especially where community/pupil motivation is likely to be so great. The potential of mass media, programmed learning, correspondence courses, combined with teaching teams under traveling supervisors, suggests the range of advantages offered.

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fees are only nominal, pupils and parents are becoming enthusiastic. These projects offer a useful example of educational innovation in rural areas with very little cost to the individual and the community.

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of this aspect of the impact of the school on traditional rural community, see Margaret Mead, "Our Educational Emphasis in Primitive Perspective", and also R. Redfield, "Culture and Education in the Mid-western Highlands of Guatemala", both in The American Journal of Sociology, LVIII, 6 (1943). See also John Wilson, "Education and Cultural Change in Africa", Teachers College Record, LXIII, 3 (1961) 189-195.



The pressures for extending the period of formal education for African children are increasing at both ends of the present primary system. In general, parents are trying to send their children to school younger, incidentally, matching educational thinking about cultural enrichment.<sup>1</sup> Yet there is equal concern for schooling to be extended until pupils are old enough to take up adult occupations. In several countries, including Kenya, ways and means of accounting for these pressures and the changing pattern of age readiness for learning they involve are being considered. Basic skill courses for younger children need to be followed by a cycle of education to prepare older pupils more specifically for the realities of adult life.

For the present such a cycle must focus on intensive rural development not attempting to train for any special skill but sharpening the abilities of young people to utilize what opportunities for enterprise and innovation that come their way. Developing and demonstrating the usefulness of reading, calculating, and understanding of basic scientific principles and an economic awareness should be the core of such a course. But it also ought to have sufficient flexibility to cover the requirements of those going to higher levels of study or into urban industrial occupations.

Such cycles might be created by developing new forms of cooperation between local communities who could provide buildings in local materials, funds suitable and related to the level of local productivity and the enthusiasm of a local committee, and the government who could provide advice on planning and construction, special teacher training and in-service assistance and support through mass media such as radio, correspondence courses and newspaper supplements. During this period, opportunities could be used to combine school education with more practical work in some form of "polytechnic" training or local youth service. The selection of students for more advanced education would require careful consideration, possibly including the development of valid and reliable aptitude tests, record cards, and techniques for evaluating performance in such activities as agricultural projects or innovative exercises. Once students could be selected, resources in terms of

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<sup>1</sup>Some harambee schools are known to have nursery schools.

capital expenditure and highly qualified teachers could be concentrated on them.

This is but the germ of one idea. New plans, in whatever form they take, will have to be phased to match the national economic and political requirements. Yet to be fully effective, and to meet the principles implicit in the self-reliance ideal, they ought to do more than consider government inputs and ideologies. Such plans must be made flexible enough to meet differing local conditions and in each district, will need to account for local opinion and be implemented in conjunction with local efforts.

In this chapter, the author has tried to present data and to give a descriptive analysis of one example of local community opinion and effort related to education. Such a vigorous reaction as the harambee school movement highlights, rather than typifies, the potential advantages and limitations that a local community's attitude towards education may present. The chapter does indicate the need for a much greater knowledge of the nature of local educational demand, the flexibility of self-help efforts, and the extent to which useful forms of government-community cooperation can be developed.

CHAPTER V  
CONCLUSIONS

## CONCLUSION

Up to this point we have seen how formal education was introduced into Kenya by the missionaries and other groups, and we have examined the historical basis or origins of the schools in Kenya. We have presented demographic data for Chinga and Kenya and considered their implications not only for schools and labor but also the future economic, social and political development of the community and the nation. We have presented data from a field study of the Chinga community. We have argued that harambee self-help schools, while they have many difficulties to overcome, are useful and are playing a definite role in the community of Chinga and for Kenya. We conclude this study with some generalizations of what we believe harambee schools should be and of how they can play a more useful role in the development of the community and the nation.

The purpose of this study was to do an indepth descriptive analysis of the Chinga community schools so as to determine and evaluate the role, the organization, the impact and the problems of self-help schools and their contribution to the community of Chinga and to national development.

To this end, data from Chinga indicate that harambee schools are meeting the desires of the parents and, to some extent, those of the students. These desires, as we have seen, are expressed in terms of formal school education. But we have also indicated that the expressed purpose of this education is to prepare students for wage earning positions. Our data do not show whether the education received in harambee schools of Chinga is meeting this goal, because the schools are only now about to graduate their first classes of students. Further study will be necessary to trace the careers and occupational patterns of the students completing their studies from these schools, in order to see if they have fared as well or better than the students graduating from the government aided schools, and also compare them to those students who did not go to any secondary school.

The impact the harambee schools have had and will continue to have on the community has been difficult to ascertain. One thing seems clear: economically, self-help schools are diverting the available limited capital from other projects such as agriculture to schools. We evaluate this impact from an economic and social point of view.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CONSIDERATIONS: THE IMPACT OF SELF-HELP SCHOOLS

We first consider the implications of self-help schools from manpower and employment standpoints. Seen from this viewpoint, harambee schools are adding a sizeable increase in secondary school leavers over and above the national Development Plan manpower projections.<sup>1</sup> Second, is the opportunity cost of the harambee school movement in terms of local investment. A rough calculation shows that for a family, the cost of four years of education is between 2,600 and 3,000 shillings<sup>2</sup> per pupil in school fees and donations—enough capital to bring considerable returns if invested in tea, coffee, cotton or grade cattle. Further, the investment pattern itself is of significant concern. At present, 40,000 shillings must be raised before a school can be registered and capital development is normally paid for immediately. Since there is no loan arrangement which would allow the new harambee school to be paid for out of the long term returns from agricultural development, it becomes clear that school building through self-help is creating a very heavy demand on local capital resources during their early years.

Our study also shows that Chinga community has attempted to do more than her funds permit. Three secondary schools with each slated to take in more and more students each year, is indeed a demanding commitment on the part of the community that relies on donations for both school construction and maintenance. We have seen elsewhere in this study that the school fees and uniforms are becoming an economic burden on most parents; thus suggesting that whatever money is available, it is being

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<sup>1</sup>The Report of the Survey on High Level Manpower Requirement and Resources in Kenya 1964-1970 (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1965) contains estimates that show the total requirements during the 1964-1970 period for those occupations which require a Form 4 education or better to be about 54,400. The total supply of Form 4 leavers during the same period has been estimated to be about 55,000 or an amount which is quantitatively adequate. There are serious qualitative problems, however, which are not revealed in reviewing these figures. Shortages in some occupations, such as teachers, skilled office workers, and certain skilled craftsmen, have persisted throughout the plan period despite the intensive efforts to meet the anticipated demand from local sources.

<sup>2</sup>The figure is arrived at by multiplying 600 shillings per year per child in secondary school fees, and adding this to the donations made by parents which average from 50 to 150 shillings. See Table 11, Chapter Three of this study.

used for school related activities and as a result neglecting agricultural and home improvement activities.

It can be argued that the interest which the Kiamuya harambee school hopes to create in agriculture may in fact be unrealistic since the students see around them neglected and unproductive farms. The schools have and will continue to have a negative economic impact on the Chinga community as long as capital input is largely based on surplus sale of poor yields from an unimproving agriculture.

The social implications of the harambee schools are still not quite clear, but several factors can be distinguished at present. Secondary education is considered a mark of status, both for parents and students. Experience from other parts of the world suggest that it is sought mainly for this reason, even when economic returns become doubtful. Because of this very reason, secondary education becomes a divisive factor since only the more prosperous families can afford fees for the full period of secondary education, consequently making the distinction between themselves and the less wealthy even more pronounced. As comments from some parents suggest, since nearly all of Chinga parents make donations to their schools, but only a few of them can afford to send their children to these schools on a fee-paying basis, it can be said that the poor are, to a large extent, subsidizing the education of the wealthier. This has implications in the political stability of the area and by extension, of the country. How long the parents will allow their children to be shut out of schools they consider theirs, is not clear, but complaints are heard that the government is not doing much to help people even after they have helped themselves and others to a point where they are nearly bankrupt.

The secondary school's function as an agent of improved standards and national cohesion is becoming an accepted one, but the rate at which the school raises aspirations, alters patterns of authority, reduces responsibilities to family groups, and consequently alters the rural/urban orientation of the population, needs careful consideration. In this aspect, the effect of the present harambee schools on Chinga and Kenya, on attitudes towards agriculture is not clear. Nor did our study reveal any indication of improved attitudes towards rural orientation

which for Chinga means agriculture.

What our study clearly reveals is that there is an increasing resentment within Chinga against the newest school at Kiamuya which is not considered as much a community school as the other two. The new school is seen as an attempt by the committee leaders, perhaps in collaboration with the government, to make the parents tax themselves to poverty. The resentment which is indicated by refusal to donate funds, also indicates perhaps that the leadership plans poorly, failing to take enough factors into account. This inability has been implied throughout this study and it is an important factor in any consideration of harambee schools. The geographical distribution of Chinga schools is rather poor, for it does not consider the volume of students in the immediate area. Thus to the extent that this distribution is uneven, it exacerbates local rivalries. Considered from a national viewpoint, uneven balance would not only increase inter-community and regional competition, but would also drain the necessary funds from other needed community development programs. Seen in this light, harambee schools are making an impact on the communities of which they are part by creating conflict, which in turn may result in community disorganization due to lack of cooperation.

#### THE HARAMBEE SCHOOLS: A FUTURE OUTLOOK

The present role which the harambee school movement is playing in actual development is perhaps the most difficult to assess. There does seem, however, to be certain features which are emerging. The harambee movement is, for the present, helping to meet an intense popular demand for secondary education. In Chinga and other parts of the country, it is offering an outlet for large numbers of primary school leavers without employment and is thus providing a partial answer to the rapidly increasing problem of the younger school leaver who is too young to be employed, even if employment were available. The unfortunate aspect of the harambee school movement seems to be that through the ironies of history it is involved in trying to provide an educational answer to what basically is an economic problem.

If secondary education increases outside the bounds of future employment projections, this will no longer be so. Secondary education

per se is no answer to the developing unemployment problem; at best it is an expensive way of occupying children until they are old enough to be "genuinely unemployed"; at worst, if the traditional academic curriculum is attempted, it leads to large numbers of young people with a type of knowledge for which there is a strictly limited number of opportunities and which is hard to relate to the realities of a largely small scale farming economy.

Yet, in practical terms, Kenya must find an answer to the large numbers of primary school leavers too young for employment and in doing so must take into account efforts and desires of parents expressed in the harambee school movement. In theory the answer would seem to lie in trying to alter the role of the harambee school from that of imitating the aided secondary schools, with their academic emphasis and selective function, to one of providing a realistic education for young people to enable them to play the parts which the process of rural development will require of them. Such innovations are much easier to express than put into practice. Throughout the history of education in Kenya, as indeed is true of other developing countries, a search has been going on to find a formula to match education with the needs of economic development. A variety of "technical", "industrial", "practical", "agricultural", and "community development" schemes have been tried but by and large these have floundered because they have not been able to show the tangible short term rewards hoped for, and because local people have invariably been much more interested in education as a means of social mobility and a route to the developing wage earning sector of the economy.

In trying to find an answer, Kenya joins many other nations in the need to review the present distribution of her educational resources and her educational philosophy. While there has been much discussion about the need to control or restrain harambee schools, the movement is now clearly established and in many parts of the country, is being actively encouraged. Recognizing the importance of these schools, particularly the need to integrate their work within the total development effort, forms an important part of the discussion and summary of our findings below.

#### THE PLACE OF THE HARAMBEE SCHOOLS IN THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

An underlying factor of our study is the question of the place of



the harambee schools within the educational structure of Kenya and the extent to which the government can develop future plans with the harambee school in mind. Few harambee schools have the capital or the staff to offer a full 4 year secondary school curriculum. Thus the now popular K.J.S.C. (Kenya Junior Secondary Certificate), obtained after two years of secondary education seems to be a more realistic goal for the harambee school to aim at, and in a sense a convenient breaking off point. The Kenya Education Commission stresses the need to hold at this point all but the very best self-help secondary schools which would have to be inspected and recognized by the government.<sup>1</sup> In general the leaders and parents of the Chinga schools, as well as the headmasters,<sup>2</sup> accept this in principle, but stress the implied need to create opportunities in the national education system for Form 2 leavers, hence the following suggestions are made:

(a) The K.J.S.C. should be recognized as an entry qualification for employment and for further training courses run by the various Ministries and private companies. Efforts should be made to offer more opportunities at this level. One suggestion is that in redesigning and expanding old technical and trade schools, some of these schools should now take in students at the K.J.S.C. level.

(b) Special arrangements ought to be made for the more academically able students, not only to give harambee students a fair chance, but also to show parents that the able children are being helped. This could be done in two ways:

(1) That the government add extra Form 3 and 4 streams to some of the established schools for children who do well in the K.J.S.C. Such schemes in the bigger schools such as Chinga Boys could be given a commercial or technical slant.

(2) That where possible a group of harambee schools should arrange for one central school to cover Forms 3 and 4, taking the better children from each of the schools in the group. It is to such a school,

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<sup>1</sup>Kenya Education Commission Report, Vol 2, Paragraph 634.

<sup>2</sup>While the two older schools at Chinga have Forms 3 and 4, headmasters of these schools are invited to a general council where the overall problems of Chinga schools are considered.

providing its curriculum was approved, that the government could concentrate its help.<sup>1</sup> If these arrangements were possible, many harambee schools would be free to concentrate on education up to K.J.S.C. and possibly to consider certain vocational/practical courses for examinations such as the City and Guilds paper on Tropical Agriculture at the post-K.J.S.C. level. In these types of programs, government help could be used to encourage the type of courses most suited to an area's needs.

The report on "Further Education, Training and Employment of Primary School Leavers"<sup>2</sup> suggests ideas such as the need for "pre-apprenticeship training", for urban youth "pre-commercial training", for students in the early years of secondary schools who might go on to local authority commercial colleges, concur with the views suggested above and in many cases, views from some of the more forward looking members of the leadership in Chinga. But perhaps the most important of these aspects is the need for an education in "down to earth" practical skills that would be useful both as preparation for employment and everyday life. One serious suggestion which arises is that the ideas expressed in this study about the "Village Polytechnic" could also be related to harambee schools. Such a move would of course have to be investigated carefully and cautiously. If it is not carefully planned, it could be seen by parents, at least in theory, as implying a dilution of the type of education given in a harambee school, because of the more limited time spent in the classroom. There would be a need to safeguard

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<sup>1</sup>There has been, and there continues to be, an argument in Chinga over the idea of having too many schools. The debate is centered on the issue of fund availability with some people pointing out that even if the government is assisting the Boys Secondary and promises to assist the Girls Secondary, concentration should be on expanding the already built schools, and providing them with what they need, instead of building more schools which cannot afford even teachers. There is a possibility that if the other schools do not make it, Chinga Boys might become a central school serving not only Chinga but the surrounding areas as well.

<sup>2</sup>After School What? a report on the "Further Education, Training and Employment of Primary School Leavers", prepared by a joint working party of the Christian Council of Kenya and the Christian Churches Education Association, Nairobi, 1966.

the chances of pupils more able academically and to make arrangements to fit such a program in with the K.J.S.C. However, the possibility of offering a much wider range of subjects, with students able to select options, including practical skills as well as basic subjects, deserves consideration.

#### TOWARDS A NEW CURRICULUM

Our study suggests that there is an urgent need to reconsider the purpose of the harambee school curriculum and to develop a new approach to secondary school teaching in order to give it the flexibility required to meet the greater range of aptitudes, interests and needs of the students now entering the schools. Basic subjects such as English and Mathematics need to be taught so that they can be used easily by the second form and fourth form leavers in such tasks as: keeping the accounts of a farm, writing up a proposal for a loan, reading a simple manual on motor car maintenance or fertilizers, understanding the various government policies which have effects on him, and being able to act as a secretary or treasurer to a local development committee. Subjects such as history need to be slanted much more towards social and economic conditions prevailing in the society the students live in and the requirements of citizenship.

One vital area for review is the teaching of science. There is a desire in Africa for increased science teaching in the secondary schools on the grounds that the scientific skills are the key to economic development. The question is what kind of scientific skills are needed at this phase of national development. The secondary school science curriculum in Kenya is almost a copy of the science curriculum in Britain, an industrial country, where opportunities for post school in-service technical training abound. In a primarily agricultural country where so many people are keenly interested in owning land, secondary school science education should provide students with basic knowledge to enable them to take an interest in farming and the processing of farm products, where necessary enabling them to find, read up, and understand the application of modern techniques in their own businesses. Changes in the secondary school curriculum are needed along these lines, especially in the harambee schools where the present pure science syllabuses are,

through lack of resources, being neglected, and where ex-pupils are likely to be involved in some aspect of rural development.<sup>1</sup>

While urging revision in the total approach to secondary education, one must recognize that this would be a long term process and that in the meantime short term answers are needed to the problem. There is concern about the narrowness of the present examination subject range, and interest in the commerce, handcraft and agriculture papers offered in the School Certificate. It should be pointed out, however, that teachers in harambee schools know very little of these subjects and need equipment and trained staff to consider them further. Such subjects would need to demonstrate their value in terms of employment prospects and financial returns. We have already indicated that it is possible that some parents are somewhat apprehensive of this approach, but given the chance and the manpower necessary, it seems possible that committees and headmasters of the harambee schools could persuade them to experiment with such changes.

It should be understood that practical/vocational studies in harambee schools should not be established to produce skilled craftsmen. This is the task of the technical school or apprentice system.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this type of teaching should be to provide the pupils with knowledge and give their education a technological base on which they can develop the skills required to run a better farm or shop and to enable them to learn faster if they are fortunate enough to find employment requiring technical/practical skills.

New syllabuses need to be designed and included in the K.J.S.C., and adaptations made to the present Cambridge range of subjects to fit the syllabuses to local facilities and conditions, and courses offered by other examination syndicates could be considered.<sup>3</sup> Further, special

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<sup>1</sup>For a much more detailed discussion on the place of science teaching secondary education see John Morris, "Farmer Training as a Strategy of Rural Development", found in Sheffield, Education, op. cit., 1967.

<sup>2</sup>At the present anyway, opportunities and markets for local skilled men are limited.

<sup>3</sup>For example, City and Guilds, The Royal Society of Arts and the Certificate of Secondary Education.

help will be needed in providing instructors who can work in the schools. In-service courses are one answer, part-time instructors another. A flexible and imaginative approach is needed and there ought to be liaison between the various ministries likely to be concerned.

Altering the approach of the harambee schools requires delicate handling since secondary education is a sensitive question and the people in charge of harambee schools would certainly resent any intrusion into a field which they may feel has been neglected by authorities, particularly an intrusion which involves a change in the aims of the school. In this respect a number of points are clear from our study:

(a) Small scale pilot projects, capitalizing where possible on good will and competent local leadership ought to be tried out first by the government.

(b) Each area should be treated on its own merits and plans must be made to suit local conditions.

(c) The local leaders responsible for the running of the school ought to be identified and consulted very fully on all school matters. Recognition should be given to them.

(d) Care should be taken to involve all interested bodies in the planning: community development, the administration, the churches, other government ministries, the local party leaders and so forth.

(e) A wide publicity campaign, pointing out the problems facing these schools and publicizing successful experiments is needed.

(f) Finally, any scheme which offers aid or help should "start where the people are", this means giving help with problems which the schools are facing now. This will develop, it is hoped, confidence, create good will, and if handled carefully, could lead naturally to a reappraisal of the needs of the pupils and the functions of the schools.

#### HELPING THE HARAMBEE SCHOOLS

Underlying the whole question of harambee schools is the assumption that whatever the arguments for restraining or changing their roles, change initiated either by the community that supports them or by the government, in the short run at least, are here to stay. In practice, the two initial concerns of the schools are the problems of obtaining finance and the

recruitment of staff. Only after these needs are met do schools express concern about the type of education that they are giving, both in terms of quality and aim. Of course finance and staffing are very important factors, but underlying these issues is a need to review the whole basis on which harambee schools are founded, the resources they have available, and the contributions to national education which they are suited to make. To do this will take time, and even where plans can be formulated, they must be flexible enough to meet the approval of the local committees, and the development of other sections in the education plan. Thus there must be an awareness of the planning necessary to help schools in their teaching methods and to help them realign their aims to meet the needs of their pupils and those of the country more realistically. With this in mind, the following suggestions are made:

#### THE OVERALL NATIONAL PICTURE

(a) The contribution of harambee schools should be considered in the Educational Section of the National Development Plan.

(b) A National Advisory Body, on which elected members of local committees, respected national figures, and the various interested organizations are represented should be convened to give advice to the Ministry of Education, to act as an organ by which the schools can air their opinions, to advise school committees and keep them in touch with the national economic position, and finally, to help as an impartial arbiter in the maintenance of standards in the schools.

(c) The whole question of the legality of harambee school management and the conditions under which such schools are established should be made clear.

(d) Harambee school committees should be encouraged to seek advice from government education officers and their headmasters should join the Headmasters' Association.

(e) Plans to help harambee schools must be drawn up according to the conditions of each school, or group of schools, with consultation and consent of the local leaders responsible for the school.

#### AN ADVISORY SERVICE

Throughout this study suggestions for improving harambee school education have been put forward and we here consider ways of coordinating

these suggestions and putting them into practice. The suggestion for some form of special advisory service for the development of low cost self-help secondary school education would seem to receive support from the communities that support these schools. Such an organization could combine the roles of offering immediate aid to the schools and carrying out the negotiations and research necessary to develop new approaches to self-help secondary education. Services which might be offered may include:

(a) Practical inquiries into improving the organization and running of the present schools leading to: (1) the production of simple manuals, (2) conferences and in-service courses for committee members, headmasters and senior teachers in such subjects as school organization, financial control, purpose of the school, and the curriculum.

(b) A review of the present secondary school curriculum in order to advise about parts suitable for low cost day secondary schools. In the short term this would involve making suggestions within the present examination structure, and in the long run it would serve to prepare the ground for more general and suitable development of the schools.

(c) In-service courses and workshops for headmasters and teachers in (1) subject preparation, (2) teaching methods, and (3) adapting and improving the curriculum. Suitable schemes of work, teaching notes, instructional manuals, etc., could be circulated and explained at such courses.

(d) Various teaching aids such as (1) lists of textbooks and reference books best related to such schools, (2) advice on the use of school broadcasts and producing radio lessons especially geared to harambee school needs, (3) a lending library of film strips and reference books specially related to school courses, (4) mobile libraries, laboratories and film units, set up possibly on a regional basis. They would need to be programmed in with the school activities, but there would be no need for schools to keep rigidly to a conventional timetable. For instance, a mobile laboratory for two days per term under expert guidance, would remove the need for expensive school laboratories.

Teachers could cover the rest of the term's work with demonstrations, possibly with special demonstration kits prepared for harambee schools and

sold to them cheaply. In the long term detailed research into the use of teaching aids in harambee schools could be carried out and measures to obtain the flexibility these schools require could be tested.

(e) To provide cheap duplicated materials to be used to supplement the limited number of textbooks. Workbooks and exercises in English, Mathematics and Sciences could be prepared by experienced teachers. In the long term, experiments could be made in designing suitable programmed materials.

(f) The coordination of the work of harambee schools with the educational work of other agencies, e.g., the correspondence courses already established by the Board of Adult Studies, (2) the agriculture education experiments of the Ministry of Education training courses run by the Ministry of Agriculture, (3) in-service and promotion courses run by the Institute of Education and the work of the Curriculum Development Center and the University College, Department of Education.

(g) To advise schools on priorities in developing sites and ordering equipment and to consider ways in which costs might be lessened. Most schools need radio, typewriters and duplicating machines. Costs could be lessened and servicing made much more efficient if a contract could be made with one firm. Bulk purchases of text books would also cut costs.

(h) To coordinate and encourage voluntary help to schools. For example, gifts of books and equipment from overseas and advice and help from local maintained or assisted schools, and

(i) To provide advice on the siting and establishments of new schools.

The provision of such services would provide workers with detailed experience about harambee schools and would establish contacts. Research into the improvements of the schools' curriculum would be carried out in parallel with the aiding activities. Where pilot projects became feasible the Advisory Service could form committees to tackle the projects and make arrangements for outside aid and Ministerial approval. Reports of such projects and the general findings related to curriculum development would be provided regularly for interested parties.

Such a service may have attractions for international aid as it would only need to be a temporary measure. As schools become more



settled and headmasters and committees more experienced; it would lose its significance and its long range projects and equipment could become the concern of some other body, for instance the Curriculum Developing Center, or a broad based Institute of Education. The development of such a service would offer help to all registered self-help secondary schools and the very nature of the service would raise standards by requiring schools to make real efforts to improve themselves on the lines which advisors indicate. This of course implies that the school committees and other community leaders are fully consulted and that those Harambee schools that are not ready to do this should not be included in the scheme.

#### FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The problem of relating formal education to the lives and economies of the African peoples has a long history.<sup>1</sup> In his paper, "Education for Self-Reliance", President Nyerere of Tanzania precises many of the arguments of past commentators about the need for school structure and curricula to bear a greater relevance to African conditions. Then putting them into an African context, he outlines an educational policy to meet the requirements of a developing nation; one that would be determined to achieve a pattern of equitable social and economic growth with which, in principle, one feels few people would disagree.<sup>2</sup>

Educational policy statements tend to emphasize the role of the school in changing attitudes and habits, and spearhead attempts to create a new social and economic order. Yet the school, as an adaptable institution, not only shapes the community it serves, but it is also shaped by the expectations of that community. In Kenya today parents and pupils still tend to consider that the primary purpose of the school is to prepare students for wage earning employment in a relatively small modern sector of their societies.

In this process, the school has two complementary tasks. It should, in a democratic setting, conform to the expectations of the community

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<sup>1</sup>See for example, The Phelps-Stokes Report, Parts I & II, op. cit. See also Guy Hunter, Education for Developing Regions: A Study of East Africa (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963); Victor A. Murray, The School in the Bush: A Critical Study of the Theory and Practices of Native Education (New York: Barnes and Noble, inc. 1967).

<sup>2</sup>Julius K. Nyerere, Education for Self-Reliance (Dar es Salaam: Ministry of Information and Tourism, 1967).

effectively enough to retain the confidence and cooperation of the community. At the same time it should initiate changes, and in so doing present new insights to pupils and parents clearly enough to stimulate them to reconsider their values and aspirations, and support the new form the school is taking. The school should and generally does, offer great attractions as an agent of socialization, but it cannot develop new values that conflict with the evidence of a community's eyes.

The importation of the restricted European model of the school may well have created many of Kenya's educational problems today, still it was not indoctrination that led many African people to accept this model wholeheartedly. They did so because such schools served many of their immediate desires by offering opportunities for employment and entrepreneurship, and, once the idea of challenging and replacing colonial authorities developed, they desired an education which would ultimately match that of European administrators and settlers.

The situation became even more complicated because in such a setting almost all the early concern about relating education to African conditions and agricultural development came from European sources. Although well-meaning, most attempts to develop more relevant approaches failed to account for local priorities and were vulnerable to charges of delaying African advancement. Among many African communities a resistance to more rurally oriented development has been built up.<sup>1</sup> In many cases this is still being reinforced by such factors as the physical

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<sup>1</sup>Resistance to rural oriented development has been discussed in Chapter Two of this study. We ought to mention here, however, that colonial and mission curriculum was oriented towards serving European needs. Africans who received education were employed in the colonial institutions, usually in cities and towns or in mission centers, had material and status advantage over their countrymen who were rurally situated and whose means of existence were whatever they grew on their lands. The possession of money and what it could buy came to replace the traditional means of trade and acquisition of wealth. Because money could be earned in towns and in the modern sector of the economy, knowledge gained in schools could best be utilized in towns. Hence the negative reaction to rural development has come as a result of rural de-emphasis in material acquisition. For a more detailed explanation of this attitude see P. Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (London: Routledge, Kegan and Paul, 1965).

layout and traditions of the schools, the more obvious precedents from developed countries, and the social mobility and economic success that the old order of education still achieves. Statistically we cannot show this for lack of any concrete studies dealing with this question. However, if one looks at Kenya's present day leaders in either political, business or government and education, one cannot help but see the over-representation of a few schools that were famous even during the colonial days.<sup>1</sup> While this can be said to be due to the shortage of secondary schools in those days, one wonders why today after more secondary schools have been built the applications to the older schools is still far too high comparatively! One answer to this is that these schools are already well established and they are government financed.

Today, independent Kenya's new planners are able to see a clear historical distinction between "relevance" as part of a process of colonial tutelage, and "relevance" as the key to a realistic, independent government's educational policy. But it is much more difficult for the "man in the street" or "in the field" to do so. Yet nearly all Kenya's new policies for more suitable education include plans to increase cooperation between school and community, and beyond this, as the theme of self-help implies, government facing a lack of resources often expect local communities to be responsible for building their own schools by self-help efforts. Reliance on self-help however, especially if it is unstated policy for national development, presupposes a close understanding between educational planners and the local communities who take up the responsibilities, such as have been detailed elsewhere in this chapter.

Thus, assisted with expert advice, self-help or harambee is a useful tool for community and national development; while, if not guided, such a schools may easily become the instruments of regional discord and the focus for citizen dissatisfaction with the government. Communities are willing to help themselves to the extent that their resources permit, although only when such support is not excessive and when they closely see some benefit to themselves. Such self-help should be coordinated both at the local and national level so that the efforts of so many people are not wasted.

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<sup>1</sup>See Chapter Two of this study for the treatment of these early and famous schools in Kenya.

Chinga schools are only a small aspect of the work that communities are able to do. Untrained teachers, while not completely capable of handling the academic subject matter of the higher forms in the secondary schools, nevertheless are making a significant contribution to the education of the children. The enthusiasm shown by the headmasters of harambee schools, the tremendous investment of local finance and effort, the very difficult problems which the schools face, and the need, albeit a crucial one, for a better related curriculum, all point to the efforts of self-help and what needs to be done. In theory such outstanding determination and such a heavy commitment of resources seem to justify the proposals made here. In practice, however, it must be recognized that education can only bring the returns required of it as part of a total development pattern. Self-help education has much to recommend it, but support must only be given to it within the context of ensuring optimum national development.

The harambee schools pose a problem for which there is no ready answer. Broad lines, such as the need to control their spread, to integrate their work with the national education plan, and to develop a new educational approach to meet the needs of the pupils and realities of the rural economy, are easy to indicate. Detailed planning at the school level is a much harder undertaking, yet many of the people involved in these schools are trying to find practical solutions and there is clearly an urgent need to support them.

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