

# **A JUSTIFICATION OF POLITICAL EDUCATION IN KENYA**

BY

LEAH MUTHONI WAIGANJO

A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF MASTERS OF EDUCATION DEGREE OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

JUNE

2013

# **DECLARATION**

## **STUDENT**

I, the undersigned, declare that this research project is my original work and that it has not been presented in any other university or institution for academic credit.

**NAME: LEAH MUTHONI WAIGANJO**

**REG: E56/70423/2008**

Signature ..... Date .....

## **SUPERVISOR**

This research project has been submitted with my approval as the University Supervisor.

Signature..... date.....

**JULIUS EDALIA**

Department of Educational Foundations

University of Nairobi

## **DEDICATION**

To my lovely husband Amos Mwangi, my sons Elijah, Cephas, Elisha, Enoch and daughter Wangari.

To my lovely parents, Samwel Waiganjo Mahugu, Mary Gaciku Waiganjo and Mary Wangari Maingi.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I acknowledge with deep gratitude the assistance of the following; The almighty God for his grace that has been sufficient this far. Dr Edalia my supervisor who tirelessly read through my work to correct and give guidance. My very supportive husband Amos, his prayers and encouragement have availed much. Sister Sarah N Waiganjo, who tirelessly edited my work. My loving parents Samwel W. M. and Mary G. W. for educating me.

## **ABSTRACT**

Kenyan politics has largely been characterized by colonial and neocolonial policies.

In this philosophical search concentration is given to the logical and epistemological issues that call for political reform, and are believed to critically form the basic need for political education in Kenya.

This argument is echoed in the idea that the current education process in Kenya is largely a victim of colonial importation that has imposed Kenyans to political colonialism and neo-colonialism. Due to neo-colonialism the greater Kenyan population is blinded and thus ignorant to political oppression and abuse imposed upon them.

In this work emphasis is given to shaping politics and political atmosphere in Kenya through the education process. A reflection on governance since independence is given. In this are political philosophies and practices that call for change in the Kenyans' approach to political issues and challenges that confront them. Such a change can be reached through conscientization process in education.

A focus on relevant political education that will liberate Kenyans from neocolonialism, political manipulation gimmicks and enhance Kenyans' development on political matters and issues is also given.

## Table of Contents

DECLARATION .....	ii
DEDICATION .....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .....	iv
ABSTRACT .....	v
CHAPTER ONE .....	1
1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY .....	1
1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM .....	4
1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY .....	5
1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY .....	6
1.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK .....	6
1.5.1 Political theories .....	6
1.5.2 Kwame Nkuruma consciencism, .....	7
1.5.3 Paulo Freire; consciencetization .....	10
1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY .....	11
1.7 SCOPE OF THE STUDY .....	13
1.8 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY .....	13
CHAPTER TWO .....	14
LITERATURE REVIEW .....	14
2.1 Introduction .....	14
2.2 Political Philosophy .....	15
2.3 Political Education .....	17
2.4 Political Education in Kenya .....	26
CHAPTER THREE .....	28
3.0 METHODOLOGY .....	28
CHAPTER FOUR .....	31
4.0 A JUSTIFICATION OF POLITICAL EDUCATION IN KENYA .....	31
4.1 INTRODUCTION .....	31
4.2 Political ideology in Kenya since independence. ....	31
4.4 Political education and literacy .....	38
4.5 Liberal education in Kenya and political liberation.....	39

4.6 Liberating education process, through political education in Kenya.....	42
CHAPTER FIVE .....	45
5.0 TOWARDS POLITICAL EDUCATION.....	45
5.1 Introduction.....	45
5.1.1 Development of Political literacy in Kenya.....	46
5.1.2 Political education through concietisation .....	47
5.1.3 Critical thinking in political education .....	50
5.2 CONCLUSIONS .....	53
Bibliography	

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY**

After the announcement of the presidential election results on the 30<sup>th</sup> day of December 2007 declaring Mwai Kibaki the president, the country raised the curtain to an orgy of destruction of property and killing that has never been seen before, (Lumumba, 2008). The social fabric of the country had been torn. According to Lumumba (2008), politics had stumbled and the country paid and will continue to pay more dearly if Kenyans don't collectively apply the brakes of brotherhood and patriotism to slow down the trail of destruction and take the right path.

The governance crisis in Kenya today stems from the previous political transitions, especially the reluctance to embrace change amid considerable public awareness of civil rights, liberties and obligations on one hand, and government obligation and responsibility on the other. The crisis has attracted varied conceptualizations as well as varied appreciation of the tenets of good governance.

The single struggle for independence in Kenya stemmed from the desire to establish a democratic government after nearly half a century of authoritarian British colonial rule. The colonial rule had been responsible for widespread poverty, economic hardship and social strife for the African population in Kenya protectorate and colony, (Wanyande, 2007). After independence Kenyan majority rule or independence, was expected to result in democratic governance and an improvement in the social and economic wellbeing of Kenyans. After independence a period of decolonization and establishment of post colonial governance regime that involved Kenyan's self rule, representation and governments accountability and respect for citizens civil rights, individuals freedoms, economic development and social welfare was to follow.

According to Wanyande, (2007), the post colonial governance regime in Kenya included newly created political institutions like elective legislatures, accountability in presidential or premiership authority, independent judiciary autonomous and trustworthy public bureaucracies and independent electoral body- that are generally regarded to be the pillars of the western liberal democracy. Soon after independence, however, Kenya began to experience a radically different



and largely authoritarian governance regime in contrast to the variant that had been established at independence.

The post colonial expectation of freedom and prosperity became a far cry from the promises, made to the citizens as the Kenyan nation drifted into the oppression and deprivation. By the end of Kenyatta's and Moi's governance regime decolonization and independence had clearly become a social, economic and political governance regime transition that never was. Corruption in the public service during the post colonial period became not only a major ethical and legal hazard and a subject for academic theorizing but also a stimulus for a demand for a new round of political transition to restore respect for rules and ethical standards, (Chweya, 2003). Public officials in high, powerful and politically strategic positions become instrumental in the sustenance of the emergent authoritarian political regime, in return receiving immunity against reprisals for acts of dishonesty including breaches of the law, (Wanyande, 2007).

According to Kanyinga (2007), governance during Kenyatta era was authoritarian ethnical and exploitative. The post-colonial state did not reform the "bifurcated state" that was inherited from the preceding era. Rather the colonial structures were largely retained. In some cases, the structures were only redefined to suit the purposes of the new elites; consolidation of political power. A class structure evolved to shape and defines state-society relations. The new elites used the state framework for an accumulation of wealth and turned to ethnicity for political support. Class, power and ethnicity became increasingly intertwined thereby displacing race as a factor in the political process, thus the Kenyan society was de-racialised but not de-tribalised. The concept of tribe became more important as the new elites turned to their ethnic groups for support in their competition with each other. State institutions were ethinised rather than reformed. The police, army and civil service were de-racialized but came under the control of ethnic clienteles. Public enterprises provided the required patronage of resource which the state elites used to establish loyal elites and to punish opposing elites and their respective communities.

According to Kanyinga (2007), the native was not detribalized, the state only made an attempt to "reorganize decentralized power" in the name of nation building, which resulted in an increased centralization of authority. In the process the decentralizing power, the state reproduced a

despotic form of authoritarianism characteristic of its colonial predecessor. The absence of change in political transition has become common feature of politics in Kenya. The political history of Kenya thus shows one major tendency; an authoritarian state dominates the society; political liberation sought to bring an end to this domination.

Governance during Moi's era was even more authoritarian. The transition from Kenyatta to Moi had not involved a significant change in governance. Moi had promised to follow Kenyatta's footsteps, (Kanyinga, 2007). According to Kanyinga (2007), the authoritarian tendency of the state under Kenyatta continued into Moi's regime, which consolidated political power through the provincial administration, thereby perpetuating the suppression of the civil society and opposition politics in general. He replaced ethno-political associations through a reactivation of KANU and allowed the party administrative and political powers that matched those of the provincial administration. Party officials became increasingly powerful to a point where some could give instructions to provincial administration officials as well as to cabinet ministers, who became subordinate to the party, as were other organs of the government. According to Kanyinga (1994), ethnicity became increasingly politicized as Moi sought the support of the Luo and Luhya ethnic groups to expand his power base through an inclusion of numerically big communities. The effort was followed by a change of faces in the police and the provincial administration. He established hegemony by placing one ethnic group against the other and one politician against the other. A single authoritarian rule rapidly deepened, the ethnicisation of the governance process became entrenched, and the delivery of services deteriorated while ultimately political dissent emerged and translated into pressure for a multi-party system.

According to Kanyinga (2007), the transition from Kenyatta to Moi had not involved a significant change in governance. The state suppressed political opposition and dissent. The principle of separation of powers was negated; and the judiciary as well as parliament was gradually subjugated to the ruling party. On the whole, the transition from the colonial state to the post colonial period was not marked by any significant changes under Kenyatta and Moi's regime. The state and its institutions were not democratized and therefore continued to service the interests of the ruling elites. Ethnicity became one of the most important factors that shaped the political process.

According to Lewis (1962), there is a close relationship between educational policy and the development of political independence, but this does not necessarily mean that one particular educational policy is the only right one, whatever right may mean in this context.

Political education; in my view, political education is limited in Kenya. In attempts to review the curriculum content in Kenya during the colonial and post colonial times, educational commissions were set up but none of them ever addressed the need for political education.

Political education has been a neglected area in schools, and the need is plain both for more of it and for a greater clarity of purpose about its objectives and methods. The subject “political education” is inherently both important and difficult to handle, (Porter and Crick, 1978).

In Kenya, political education has been a neglected area in schools. Educational curriculum in Kenyan schools does not incorporate any form of political education. The social studies syllabus taught in primary schools only address the aspects of socialization into being a Kenyan citizen and the government of Kenya which entails structure composition and functions of the arms of government. The history and Government of Kenya syllabus taught in secondary schools address aspects of symbols of national unity and the government of Kenya.

The only form of political education offered in Kenya’s system of education is political science. This is offered as a degree course at undergraduate and post graduate level at the faculty of political science at the University of Nairobi. This clearly indicates that the Kenyan politics is hardly exposed through political education; consequently the majority of Kenyans are ignorant as far as political issues are concerned.

## **1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

There has been an outcry on bad governance in Kenya and possible political injustices resulting from authoritarian rule in past Kenyan governments from colonial time through to Moi’s regime. Who is to blame for this? From my opinion, the Kenyan electorate is to blame because it’s them who empower political leaders into their leadership positions. Bad political leaders give bad governance. There is need to initiate conception and delivery of a process that would lead to

political change in the nation. An ignorant electorate cannot make informed decisions on good governance, nor provide foundation for constructive politics and citizenship. It betrays search for true democracy and citizenship. There is very little done to; eradicate this ignorance, highlight on political governance in Kenya with regard to political philosophies since independence, and to present an arguments on political education as a tool for initiating and ensuring good governance in Kenya.

According to Lumumba (2008), the Kenyan politics has been poisoned. The death and destruction that the country has witnessed in the past, makes it mandatory to re-examine the concept of political leadership. Political leadership in Kenya since independence has meant the use of public property for personal comfort, service to the people being a tranquilizer to make the people live in perpetual hope of a promised land, a mirage that keeps on moving further as you move closer to it.

Majority of Kenyans are submerged in the culture of political silence. Their ignorance and lethargy are the direct products of the whole situation of economic, social and political domination and of paternalism, of which they are victims. It therefore follows that lack of political education and literacy is a major problem in Kenya. The whole education system in Kenya is one of the major instruments for the maintenance of this “culture of political silence”. Therefore, there is need to equip Kenyans to know and to respond to the concrete realities of their political world.

### **1.3 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The purpose of this study is to bridge or go between philosophical analysis on bad governance in Kenya and possible solution to political injustices and problems resulting from authoritarian rule in past Kenyan governments. Also to initiate conception and delivery of a process to political change in the nation that will enhance conscientization of the electorate to make informed decisions on good governance, and to provide a foundation for constructive politics and citizenship. It is a search for true democracy and good governance in Kenya that will enhance political maturity where Kenyans will learn to celebrate their ethnic diversity. It is an exploration of the need for political education in Kenya.

## **1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY**

- i. To highlight on political governance in Kenya, with regard to political philosophies since independence.
- ii. To explore aspects of poor and bad governance in Kenya since independence.
- iii. To present an arguments on political education as a tool for initiating and ensuring good governance in Kenya.

## **1.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **1.5.1 Political theories**

In the history of philosophy, there are many political theories whose views are quite interesting. In this work i have selected only those that apply the aspect of development of politics through reason in an educational process. The thoughts of Hobbes, John Locke, Nyerere, Kwame Nkruma and Paulo Freire have been used to inform this work.

Besides the principle of desire [instinct], Hobbes argued that there is another principle operative in human nature. This is reason. The principle of desire pushes and propels men to take for themselves what other men want and so they embroil and antagonize each other. Reason on the other hand, teaches them to be cautious. What reason adds is not a new motive, but a regulative power or foresight, by which the pursuit of security becomes more effective without ceasing to follow the general rule of self-preservation. Within the principle of desire is a hasty and reckless acquisitiveness which begets antagonisms, and within the principle of reason is a more cautious and calculating selfishness which propels man into society.Hobbes' two principles operative in human nature are both necessary in the emergence of social states. The raw materials of nature from which society must be constructed consist of two contrasting elements: desire and reason, (Odhiambo, 1998).

Democratic element in Locke political theory is his attitude towards government. When men enter civil society they thereby give up the power of punishing to an executive who they appoint. The executive is appointed by the people themselves, and therefore responsible to them. The legislative and federative arms of the government are similarly responsible to the people. The whole purpose of government is to make laws for the

regulation and preservation of property and for the defense of the community against external aggression, all these for the defense of the public good. If the government or any of its arms betrays this trust and tries to force them into activities that are not in their interest, then the people have a right to remove it by force, (Odhiambo, 1998). Locke's theory is that the government is a glorified secretary, electorate entrust it with powers to do those things they find inconvenient or impossible to do themselves, (Odhiambo, 1988).

Nyerere's social-political philosophy is anchored on and revolves round *Ujamaa that is socialism*. In his paper; *The Basis of African Socialism*, Nyerere argues that socialism, like democracy, is an attitude of mind, and not the rigid adherence to a standard political pattern which is needed to ensure that the people care for each other's welfare. It is the attitude that distinguishes a socialist from a non-socialist society, (Odhiambo, 1998).

Nyerere believed that in post-colonial Africa the first step is that, Africans must re-educate themselves so as to regain their former attitude of mind. Africans must reject the capitalist attitude of mind which colonialism brought into Africa; they must reject capitalist methods which go along with it. Nyerere realized that Tanzanians were drifting further away from socialism, towards capitalism. He noticed that mere attitude of mind approach would not realize socialism. Nyerere thus embarked on mass education on political knowledge and mobilization. This was the background which led to the Arusha Declaration in 1967, (Odhiambo, 1998).

In his efforts to enhance socialism Nyerere realized that political education was vital in influencing the attitude of the mind toward expected political change. Africans need political education and not just political propaganda.

### **1.5.2 Kwame Nkuruma consciencism,**

Nkuruma thought that, the emergent African society will arise as a result of a social revolution. However, "practice without thought is blind" (Odhiambo, 1998). Social revolution must therefore have, standing firmly behind it, an intellectual revolution, a revolution in which the African's thinking and philosophy are directed towards the redemption of her society. The philosophy that must stand behind the social revolution is what Nkrumah refers to as *Philosophical consciencism*. Consciencism is the map in intellectual terms of the disposition of forces which will enable African society to digest the Western and the Islamic and the Euro-Christian elements in Africa, and develop them in

such a way that they fit into the African personality. The African personality is itself defined by the cluster of humanist principles which underlie the traditional African society. Philosophical consciencism is that philosophical standpoint which, taking its start from the present content of the African conscience indicates the way in which progress is forged out of the conflict in that conscience, (Odhiambo, 1998).

Since tension implies change, matter must have the power of self-motion original to it. Without self-motion, dialectical change would be impossible. By dialectical change Nkrumah means; the emergence of a third factor of a higher logical type from the tension between two factors or two sets of factors of a lower logical type. Matter belongs to one logical type, properties and qualities of matter to a higher logical type, (Odhiambo, 1998). According to philosophical consciencism, qualities are generated by matter. Behind any qualitative appearance, there stands a quantitative disposition of matter, such that the qualitative appearance is a surrogate of a quantitative disposition. Given that philosophical consciencism is based upon matter [materialism], it follows that, as a social-ethical theory, it is necessarily egalitarian. Egalitarianism is therefore the basic ethical principle of philosophical consciencism. According to philosophical consciencism, ethical rules are not permanent but subject to change. The change depends on the stage reached in the historical evolution of society. In the same line of thought, a society does not change its ethics by merely changing its rules. To alter its ethics, its principles must be different. Thus, if a capitalist society can become a socialist one, then the capitalist society will have changed its ethics. And any change of ethics would definitely constitute a revolutionary change. The ethical principle of philosophical consciencism is to treat each man as an end to him-self and not merely as a means. This is fundamental to all socialist or humanistic conceptions of man.

In the political arena, philosophical consciencism will easily accommodate any political theory and any social-political practice which together seek to ensure that the egalitarian tenet is effective. For such a social-political practice would be directed at preventing the emergence or consolidation of classes, for, in class structure, there is exploitation and the subjection of class to class. Exploitation and class-subjection are contrary to philosophical consciencism.

By reason of its egalitarian tenet, philosophical consciencism seeks to promote individual development, but in such a way that the conditions for the development of all become the

conditions for the development of each; that is, in such a way that the individual development does not introduce such diversities as to destroy the egalitarian basis. The social-political practice also seeks to co-ordinate social forces in such a way as to mobilize them logistically for the maximum development of society along true egalitarian lines

In its political dimensions, philosophical consciencism is faced with realities of colonialism, imperialism, disunity and lack of development. Nkrumah advocated that in the colonial situation, for true independence to be won, it is necessary that positive action should come to overwhelm negative action. It is necessary that positive action be backed by Africans, and that the Africans be qualitatively improved, so that, by education and an increase in their degree of consciousness, their aptitude for positive action becomes heightened. In the colonial territory, positive action must be backed by Africans, complete with their instruments of education, (Odhiambo, 1998). However, despite acknowledging and granting independence, the colonialist power seeks, without grace, to neutralize the same independence by fomenting discontent and disunity, and finally, by errant ingratiating and wheedling it attempts to disinherit the people and constitute itself their conscience and their will, if not their voice and their arm. Political decisions, just as they were before independence was won, lose their reference to the welfare of the people, and serve once again the well-being and security of erstwhile colonial power and the clique of self-centered politicians. This is in essence a new form of colonialism; it is a neo-colonialism, (Odhiambo, 1998). Neo-colonialism is a greater danger to independent countries than is colonialism. Colonialism is crude, essentially overt and apt to be overcome by a purposefully concerted national effort. In neocolonialism, however, the people are divided from their leaders and, instead of providing true leadership and guidance which is informed at every point by the ideal of the general welfare, leaders come to neglect the very people who put them in power and incautiously become instruments of suppression on behalf of the neo-colonialists, (Odhiambo, 1998).

In order that independent Kenya be able to successfully resist neo-colonialism, positive action requires to be armed with an ideology. The ideology should be one that will vitalize positive action and, operating through mass political education, should equip Kenyans with a generative concept of the Kenyans politics and life. The ideology should assist positive action forge a strong link with the past and offer it an assured bond with the future. In order that this ideology should



be comprehensive, in order that it should light up every aspect of the life of Kenyan People, in order that it should affect the total interest of Kenyan Society, establishing a link with the Kenyan past; it must be socialist in form and in content and be embraced by the Kenyans.

### **1.5.3 Paulo Freire; conscientization**

According to Ruto, (1989), conscientization is certainly derived from the term ‘consciousness’, which in a general sense refers to a state (or an activity) of the mind. In respect to a subject-Object relation, the general view of consciousness implicit in the discussion of conscientization refers to an active presence of the subject to the object.

According to Freire there is no such a thing as a neutral educational process. Education either functions as an instrument that is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes “the practice of freedom”, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world. The development of an educational methodology that facilitates this process may inevitably lead to tension and conflict within our society. But it could also contribute to the formation of a new man and mark the beginning of a new era.

Freire’s conviction was that every human being, no matter how “ignorant” or submerged in the “culture of silence” he or she may be is capable of looking critically at the world in a dialogical encounter, the individual can gradually perceive personal and social reality as well as the contradictions in it, become conscious of his or her own perception of that reality, and deal critically with it. In the process, the old paternalistic teacher – student relationship is overcome. People educate each other through the mediation of the world.

As this happens, the word takes a new power. It is no longer an abstraction or magic but a means by which people discover themselves and their potential as they give names to things around them. As Freire puts it, each individual wins back the right to say his or her own word, to name the world. When this happens in the pedagogical experience, men and women discover that they are creators of culture, and that all their work can be creative. ‘I work and working I transform the world’. And those who have been completely marginalized are so radically transformed, they are no longer willing to be mere objects, responding to changes occurring around them; they are more likely to decide to take upon themselves which until now have served to oppress them. This type of educational work among the people represents a new factor

in social change and development, “a new instrument of conduct for the third world, by which it can overcome traditional structures and enter the modern world”.

According to Freire (1996), his early sharing in the life of the poor he discovered what he describes as the “culture of silence” of the dispossessed. He realized that their ignorance and lethargy was the direct product of the whole situation of economic, social and political domination and of paternalism-of which they were victims. Rather than being encouraged and equipped to know and respond to the concrete realities of their world, they were kept “submerged” in a situation in which such critical awareness and response were practically impossible. And it became clear to him that the whole education system was one of the major instruments for the maintenance of this culture of silence. Confronted by this “culture of silence” Freire engaged in the struggle to liberate men and women for the creation of a new world through the field of education. He engaged in a process of study and reflection that produced something quite new and creative in educational philosophy in Latin America.

## **1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

According to Lumumba (2008), Kenyan politics is equivalent to murky waters. Kenyans of goodwill, who in their quest for justice may imagine that character and good intentions is the key to political office need to conceive a process to political change, More often than not men and women of integrity, do not get positions of political leadership because of many political causes. According to Lumumba (2008), the trouble with Kenya is that good leaders have little chance in Kenya’s electoral process.

The electorates go wrong at election Ballot Box. They elect leaders based on the ethnic lines and more specifically those who corrupt them by giving them money or promises that may never be realized. The electorates hardly make informed decisions on whom to elect, what policies are good and workable as presented by politicians, which party policies are most democratic and workable among others. The baseline to these grave mistakes by the electorate is lack of information and knowledge on good governance. Without good and cognitively designed curriculum on political education, true democracy and good governance may never be realized in Kenya’s future. The Kenyans as a nation must embark on constructional reform to provide a

foundation for constructive politics and citizenship.

The country must embark on a project of building the Kenyan nation where Kenya is not merely an appellation describing the geographical space called Kenya, but a keen sense of identity where being Kenyan means the same to young women and men in Kisumu, Lamu, Nyeri, Eldoret, Kitui, Loitokitok, Kisii, Kakamega, and all Kenya, Lumumba, (2008). A carefully thought out compulsory National Youth program for all high school graduates and high school students on proper civic and political education in Kenya should be taught to celebrate their ethnic diversity in unity.

In summary this study attempts to highlight that politics depend on leaders in political office. Good political leaders are elected at the ballot box during elections. It therefore follows that good political leaders can only be elected by an informed (educated), critical and independent minded electorate. Political education is meant to develop such informed and critical electorate.

The study also explores the need for unity among Kenyans regardless of their ethnicity. Bad political leaders in the past have used ethnicity and tribalism as a major tool for divide and rule, so as to maintain their political positions and power. This study objectively explores how this tool has been used in the past, with the assumption that quest for political education would enlighten the Kenyan people to resist this attempt by political leaders and instead remain united in brotherhood.

The study also seeks to expose the political ideologies regarding style of governance and political party concept in Kenya, with the aim to highlight how ignorant Kenyans have sung and danced to deceptive political ideologies in the past. The very political ideologies have sentenced them to economic and political exploitation. Kenyans have also embraced political parties in the name of its leadership instead of critical observation and analysis of their manifesto and policies. It is hoped that through this study the need to enlighten the electorate into critical examination of political ideologies and political party policy will be realized and used to develop an education process that can address these needs.

## **1.7 SCOPE OF THE STUDY**

In this philosophical inquiry I seek to apply the modern political philosophical theory into a justification of political education in Kenya. This inquiry is stimulated by political occurrences in Kenya in recent historical accounts, which depict or express mediocrity and ignorance by Kenyans on political matters and issues.

Consequently the scope of the study includes:-An analysis on political occurrences in Kenya in the recent historical accounts. This includes; the characteristics of governance since independence, characteristic of the electorate and the common basic behaviors expressed by a majority of political aspirants in the Kenyan politics. Challenges that would face the process of establishing political education in Kenya are highlighted. Finally recommendations and conclusions are given.

## **1.8 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY**

This work is organized in five chapters. The first chapter gives the introduction base for this work. The second chapter entails the literature review. The third chapter is a discussion on research methodology. The fourth chapter gives a detailed discussion to justify need for political education in Kenya. The fifth chapter suggests the way forward and conclusion to this work.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

The need for a sound political education has never been so great. Without it, our young people are forced to operate in the social and political world without the skills and insights that they need to be in control of their own destiny. Recognition of the role of education in supporting the development of active citizens for a democratic society is not new, however it is clear that there has been an increased focus on this role of education nationally and internationally in the last decade. Such concerns tend to have arisen from a number of different factors. These include increased globalization in cultural, economic and political life, increasingly diverse populations that give rise to a questioning of previously dominant notions of what constituted 'national identity' and a perceived increase in individualism in society, evidenced in a perceived apathy of young people in relation to social and political life and a decline in social capital.

The tension between national, ethnic, and economic demands is considerable for African countries which have strong local traditions and generationally organized cultures. The success of a modern *laissez faire* economy which is dependent upon mobile, flexible, and skilled workforce can jar with the traditions of collective responsibility, identity, and cooperation as opposed to individual economic activity. There exists a growing body of literature indicating a reciprocal relationship between politics and education. It is well known that public education is framed according to political ideologies and agendas (Blanco & Grier, 2009; Green, 1997; Lawton, 1992). National educational policies and plans are developed based on contemporary political thought and on governments' interests (Popkewitz, 2000). The government plays a key role in financing education, establishing educational objectives, developing a national curriculum, managing teachers, setting student evaluation standards and governing various aspects of the educational process (Torres, 1998; World Bank, 2004). In this regard, Caddell (2009) and Illeris (2000) argue that every government has a responsibility to provide educational opportunities for its citizens, to maintain equality of these opportunities, to work to reduce poverty and to address other problems of deprived groups within the society. It is therefore essential that governments establish educational policies that will enable them to fulfill these responsibilities. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that citizens tend to perceive education as a major political issue (McKenzie, 1993).

At the same time, however, public education is considered highly influential on the political system, considering its major role in promoting citizens' political involvement, skills and knowledge (Anderson, 2003). In this regard Emler and Frazer (1999) state that people who have had more education take an active role in politics, have more clearly defined political identities and are better able to claim their political rights (Eckstein, 1992; Milnor, 1969). Moreover, primary and secondary education seems to contribute both directly and indirectly to increased individual involvement in politics (McMahon, 1999). Hence, a variety of empirical works show those educational considerations play a major role in the political arena, especially before election time (OECD, 2004; Paul, 1991; Popkewitz, 2000; World Bank, 2004). Taking a different perspective, Chambers (2007) and Stevenson and Baker (1991) argue that educational curricula often contain political contents intended to socialize children in accordance with political agendas. In this sense, public education has some positive implications for politics as it helps to promote ideas such as democratization, human rights and political stability (UNESCO, 2002; Webb, 2006). Educational policies consequently may be viewed as a translation of political ideologies into practice and, at the same time, reflections and influences of educational considerations on politicians and political agendas.

## **2.2 Political Philosophy**

Political philosophy as a critical activity not only starts from the practices and problems of political life, but it begins by questioning whether the inherited languages of description and reflection are adequate to the task. Over the past two centuries, the main domain of political studies has been the basic languages, structures, and public institutions of the self-contained, representative, democratic, constitutional nation-states and federations of free and equal citizens, political parties, and social movements in an international system of states (McLaughlin, 2000). The contending philosophical traditions of interpretation of these practices seek to clarify the just organization of these practices: the ways in which modern subjects (individuals and groups) should be treated as free and equal and cooperate under the immanent and regulative ideals of the rule of law and constitutionalism on one hand and of popular sovereignty and democratic self-determination on the other, (O'Neill, 2009). Yet, over the same period, six types of critical study have thrown this orthodoxy of practices and form of problematisation into question.

Social-democratic theorists have broadened the range of political philosophy to include struggles over nondemocratic practices of production and consumption, and ecological philosophers have extended the tools of conceptual analysis to our relations to the environment (Schmidtz, 2011). More recently, feminist political and legal philosophers have drawn attention to a vast array of inequalities and unfreedoms in the relations between men and women beneath formal freedoms and equalities and across the private and public institutions of modern societies (Simmons, 2010). Philosophers of multiculturalism, multinationalism, indigenous rights, and constitutional pluralism have thrown critical light on struggles over recognition and accommodation of cultural diversity within and across the formally free and equal institutions of constitutional democracies. Theorists of empire, globalization, globalization from below, cosmopolitan democracy, immigration, and justice-beyond-borders have questioned the accuracy of the inherited concepts of self-contained, Westphalian representative nation-states in accurately representing the complex, multilayered global regimes of direct and indirect governance of new forms of inequality exploitation, dispossession, and violence, and the forms of local and global struggles by the governed here and now (Swift, 2008). Finally, postcolonial and postmodern scholars have drawn attention to the various ways our prevailing logo centric languages of political reflection fail to do justice to the multiplicity of different voices striving for the freedom to have an effective democratic say over the ways they are governed as a new century dawns, (Wolff, 2011).

The practices of freedom and their institutions of negotiation and reform constitute the 'democratic' side of practices of governance: the extent to which those subject to forms of government can have an effective say and hand in how they are governed and institutionalize effective practices of freedom (using 'democracy' in its narrow and broad senses corresponding to the two senses of 'government'). When subjects not only act in accord with the rules but also stand back and try to call a rule into question and negotiate its modification, they problematise this mode of acting together and its constitutive forms of relational subjectivity. This is the context in which political philosophy as a critical activity begins, especially when these voices of democratic freedom are silenced, ignored, deemed unreasonable, or marginalized (Swift, 2008).

This provisional language of description of the field of contemporary political philosophy in terms of practices of governance and practices of freedom is the first response to the limitations of our inherited languages of representation. It draws our attention to the languages in which the problems are articulated and the contexts in which the languages are employed without disqualifying new political voices at the outset, (Swift and White, 2008). This language of description can be used to study the traditional practices and forms of problematisation of modern politics, but within a broader horizon that enables us to see them as a limited whole, as one historically specific ensemble of forms of government and practices of freedom among many, rather than as the comprehensive and quasi-transcendental framework, and so bring doubtful aspects of it into the space of questions. In so doing, this approach also discloses the multiplicity of broader practices of governance and freedom in which we are entangled that are ignored, disqualified, or misrepresented in the predominant approaches, (Terzi, 2008).

### **2.3 Political Education**

It has long been recognized that education plays a particular role in supporting the development of the person's capacity to be an active member of a democratic society. The importance of social and political education in addressing these aims has been highlighted by Lynch (2000), who has noted that social scientific education plays a key role in informing people as to how social and political institutions operate and of the importance of political institutions in shaping our society. She highlights that such an education plays a role in developing the skills of critical analysis that enable people to make an informed, considered and effective contribution to their society, and also highlights the particular contribution which social science education can make in enabling people to understand issues of equality and inequality in areas such as gender and social class, Lynch (2000).

Americans aimed to development of political skills through education. According to Bailey (1976), the Americans had received very little help from school and colleges in identifying the skills, mental attitudes, moral philosophies and social commitments needed for survival of their democratic values. The late James Thurber admonished Americans not to look back in anger, or forward in fear, but around them in awareness. The American educators, according to Bailey's (1976), had almost totally ignored the development of social and political skills without which even sophisticated attitudes and compendious knowledge are inutile. According to Bailey,



(1976), in America, considerable time and attention have been paid by schools to the inclination of attitudes of patriotism and tolerance and to underlying political philosophies of America's constitutional system, and the best of America's schools, colleges and universities have stimulated an honest social criticism that has had, I think an important and healthy influence on both domestic and foreign affairs.

What are the social and political skills; and how can they be taught and learned? According to Bailey, (1976), the Americans needed minds that have the skills of relating one thing to another, of seeing connections, the capacity to encompass relationships, these are syndetic skills. These skills are absolutely essential in political knowledge. Learners should learn syndetic courses and exercises that force students to look for connections. Scholastic and collegiate curriculum need to be reexamined to see where and how syndetic exercises can be insinuated into existing curriculum content.

Secondly the educational system needs to turn out generation of negotiators. According to Bailey, (1976), if common purposes are to be achieved in a world of often willful autonomies, legitimate authority must be occupied with skills of negotiations. This skill involved rhetorical abilities in the Aristotelian sense – the ability to persuade. Beyond rhetoric, the negotiating skill also involves both the subtleties and psychic resiliencies – associated with the ability to resolve or diffuse conflicts – talk people from their “highs” of anger and mistrust. Negotiating also involves the most essential of all political talents; the capacity to bargain; to discover areas of agreement; in the non pejorative sense to deal.

In Britain in the late 70s it was noted that political education had in the past, been a somewhat neglected concern of schools, and often handled in a rather ad hoc and amateurish way. It was ultimately noted there was both public and educational need to attend to political and civic education- particularly of the mass of school leavers, not simply children of high ability. This was to target the full range of the thirteen to nineteen years age group; both school leavers and those who continue either in school or further education, ( Porter and Crick (1978).

Although there has been a longstanding recognition of the role which education can play in

helping to develop a sense of active citizenship, this realization has been given an added impetus in recent years due to changes nationally and internationally associated with globalisation. Globalisation concerns the increased inter-connectedness of the diverse parts of the globe through increased and higher speed communications, through the increased integration of local economies and national political units into a more global economic and political context and through the cultural exchange that arises from these processes. Although it can be regarded as an abstract idea, globalisation can be seen to have an enormous impact upon people's lives today, for example in the range of television programmes, information and entertainment available, in the forms of political engagement that are open to people.

A recent survey of Citizenship Education in thirty European countries by Eurydice has identified that citizenship education, in some form, is offered as a subject in nineteen out of thirty European countries, and is offered as an integrated theme across subjects in the remainder (Eurydice 2005). The Eurydice (2005) study sought to identify the extent to which the citizenship education offered in European countries comprised of elements related to political literacy (such as an understanding of human rights, democracy and political institutions), appropriate attitudes and values (such as respect for self and others, a commitment to peaceful problem solving, openness and intercultural values), and active participation by pupils in the life of the school and community. Of thirty-five countries or sub-national regions studied, thirty-three made explicit reference and one made implicit reference to political literacy in secondary school citizenship education. Thirty-four made explicit reference to the attitudes and values of citizenship education, while twenty-eight made explicit reference to active participation in the school or community, three made implicit reference to this and the remaining four made no reference.

Although there is significant variation in the format which citizenship education takes across a range of countries there are also some notable similarities. On Lee (2004), in a major review of qualitative studies of citizenship education in twenty-four countries (mostly in Europe, but also including the US, Canada, Colombia, Chile, Hong Kong and Australia), has identified that there is an international trend towards a citizenship education which focuses on “nurturing an open-minded, critical-minded, democratic-minded and action oriented generation that is likely to respect the rights of others”. Kerr's (2002) study of nine countries also identifies a movement

away from a narrow, knowledge-based approach to a broader one, encompassing knowledge and understanding, active experiences, and the development of student values, dispositions, skills and aptitudes. On Lee (2004) also notes that the new citizenship education tends to emphasise citizenship in relation to the personal identity of the learner, but also in relation to a set of universal human rights and responsibilities that are not confined to national boundaries (Tormey, 2006). As such, citizenship education internationally can be seen to have moved away from a 'civics education' model focusing primarily on national traditions and loyalties, towards a 'citizenship education' model that addresses both the globalizing and individualizing tendencies of globalization (Green, 1997).

The changing role of the school and the broader community in social and political education is also evident in the international context. One element of this is a focus on the democratization of school structures, such as through student participation in advisory councils or on schools' governing authorities, as a key means of nurturing active participatory citizenship. Of the thirty-one countries or sub-national regions for which data was available, twenty-six had pupil participation in the governing body of schools (the exceptions being Ireland, the regions of the UK, Lichtenstein and Malta) (Eurydice, 2005). A second element is increased levels of partnership between educational systems and the broader community (such as community groups and NGOs) in the development and delivery of citizenship education models. This trend has been noted by both the Eurydice study and by an All- Europe study conducted under the auspices of the Council of Europe (Bîrzéa *et al.*, 2002).

While international research based on official statements seems to show an emerging consensus about the shape of the 'new' civic education, research that includes accounts of classroom practices can paint a different scenario. The Council of Europe study highlights a real gap between declarations of intent and the actual practices while a study by Mintrop (2002), drawing on data from seven countries spread across Europe. Asia and the Americas, highlights a number of problems with social and political education internationally, including poor or absent teacher education, a low status to the subject, weak teaching methodologies and a content-base which seems too often consist of teachers addressing their own interests or interests that are deemed 'worthy' by society, but failing to engage with the interests of students. Mintrop (2002) describes

the 'model' civic education classroom in the following terms:

In this classroom, students are not all that interested in the content; the teacher is not particularly well trained and civic education as a subject of secondary concern for the assigned teacher. The type of knowledge dispensed is heavily weighted toward facts and the common every-day wisdom of the instructor. With the exception of a few activities the instructional format is teacher centered. The atmosphere in the class is on the dull side due to the students' lack of interest and the teacher's uncertainty over the advisability of holding discussions on lively and controversial topics.

Social and political education is not simply the function of curricula and classrooms but is embedded in the work of a range of bodies in civil and political society. These include educational youth groups, often with a community education focus. Broadly speaking, the subject matter for social and political education is contemporary society, with the term 'contemporary' often understood as meaning since the growth of democratic politics and industrialization in western countries in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. Within this, social and political education has tended to address a range of topics/ themes, such as: Power, Gender, Social Class, Ethnicity, Identity, Political Representation and Models of Democracy, Equality and Inequality, Conflict and Peace, Interdependence, Sexuality, Micro-politics and Interaction, Crime and Deviance, and Globalisation. Underlying these disciplines and interdisciplinary fields is also a set of skills that help to frame their nature as subjects. These include the capacity to engage in contestation and debate the capacity to imagine the world as different, the capacity to recognize the social systems within which people act, the capacity to collect evidence and to use it carefully in coming to conclusions

Post-independent Kenya as a sovereign state is a country whose political and social life claims to be founded on democratic principles. Kenya has put in a spirited effort to portray its preparation of the youth as founded on a type of citizenship that allows its men and women to live comfortably and serve in some kind of a democratic society. In a democracy, there is often the tension between individual-oriented values and the social-oriented values on one hand and between material and nonmaterial oriented values on the other- values which are assumed to be appropriate for an ideal citizen. Kenya, like many other countries, uses education as a means of

inculcating the democratic attributes of a democratic life in its youth.

The challenge for the first Kenyan government was to guide a country composed of various ethnic groups with different cultures into a new nation –whose people demonstrated nationhood as the core guiding principle. One and a half years after independence, Kenya made a bold attempt to articulate its national philosophy in the form of the *Sessional Paper No.10: African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya* (GoK, 1965) Outlined here was a range of general national goals (general enough to be adaptable to any society): political equality, social justice, human dignity including freedom of conscience, freedom from want, disease and exploitation, equal opportunities and high and growing *per capita* incomes, equitably distributed.

As an emerging new nation, Kenya was at pains to avoid aligning herself directly with, on one hand, Western liberal ideologies, or socialist ideologies on the other, preferring to adopt what was referred to as *democratic African socialism* (GoK, 1965: 2). The two principles underlying democratic African socialism were *political democracy* and *mutual social responsibility* –the latter being identified with the practiced traditional African cultures that characterized most of the Kenyan communities. These two principles were expected to become the pillars of the Kenya national educational system, with only a few modifications from time to time that would accommodate emerging or new realities. However, over the last forty years, what should constitute young Kenyan’s civic identities and their specific roles have been subject to much debate and government interventions. Educational policies, curricula and practices have been redesigned in an attempt to bring young people within the framework of changing Kenyan civic and social values and reform of the economy as well as through the introduction of specific school curricula that are meant to establish these new values.

After gaining independence in early 1960s, the Kenyan government immediately started work on establishing an educational system for its youth that reflected the aspirations of the new nation. A commission was set up to survey and evaluate the then existing British colonial education system (which still had many of the racial and religious features associated with colonialism) and to advise the government on appropriate educational reforms. What became known as the Ominde Commission’s Report on Education (GoK, 1964) recommended that a re-structured system of

education should focus on several broad objectives such as the fostering of a sense of nationhood through the promotion of national unity, social equality, social obligation and responsibility, and at the same time the removal of divisions based on race, tribe and/or religion. To inculcate these egalitarian social values, the Ominde Commission suggested a number of strategies that included encouraging primary school teachers to be creative and progressive by motivating their pupils to think and act like Kenyans, that is, construct Kenyan identities. Other unifying recommendations involved teaching all young Kenyans in a common language (such as English) and the suggestion that students from different geographical and cultural backgrounds would be brought together in national boarding schools so as to learn under one roof (GoK, 1964: 28-29). By accepting and implementing these recommendations, the formal education system was charged with the responsibility of developing the entitlement of all Kenyan youth to schooling and citizenship identities that overrode the existing ethnic and social divisions.

The challenges of providing young people with a suitable education guided many reforms in ensuing decades. In the 1970s, for example, only a decade after the Ominde Report on Education, the government again reviewed the education system through the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies (NCEOP). NCEOP was established under the chairmanship of Peter Gachathi, then Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education (GoK, 1976). The Committee's terms of reference were to focus on two key issues. The first related to the realization that educational provision was becoming very expensive for the government yet young people transiting from the education system were not obtaining gainful employment - even though education was generally perceived as the best guarantee for both personal as well as social advancement. Secondly, there was a perceived societal need to redefine Kenyan social and ethical value not least because public condemnation of social problems such as 'corruption, nepotism, tribalism and idleness...' was seen to be ineffective. These were maladies usually associated with lack of the necessary supporting moral and civics education (GoK, 1976: 7-8).

One of the basic assumptions was that the government was obliged to continue using education for the promotion of national unity, and to eradicate social, economic and regional inequalities in order to develop those being educated into useful citizens, capable of, and motivated towards the improvement of the nation as a whole as well as contribute to economic growth as well as

individual development. One way of dealing with anti-social behavior that had gradually become part of youth culture was to introduce into formal education a new separate school subject Social Education and Ethics. The justification for the teaching of ethics is captured well in the following statement: ...lack of ethical foundations will constitute a basis for social disintegration and in the long run, degeneration of quality of life of society and eventual social death (GoK, 1976: 7).

Social Education and Ethics (SEE) was established as a secondary school subject within the new 8-4-4 system of education, introduced in 1963. Unfortunately the new subject was optional. Further, it never became part of the curriculum at the higher education level. This is perhaps one of the indications that, the institutions of higher learning had never been serious champions for the inculcation of non-economic values likely to promote citizenship in the youth. A shift in emphasis by the late 1980s placed this social education alongside new economic emphases on self reliance and self-employment (a shift that again reflected an apparently well-intentioned response to the growing unemployment of youth). In 1988, a new general review of Kenyan educational philosophy, policies and objectives was set up to consider whether these were in line with the changing socio-cultural, economic and political demands of the country. A Presidential Working Party under the Chairmanship of James M. Kamunge was established to look into *Education and Manpower (sic) Training for the Next Decade and Beyond* (GoK, 1988). This review recommended among other things that *Social Education and Ethics*, which was already being offered in secondary schools, the concepts and practices of co-operative efforts, and mutual social responsibility be taught and developed in all levels of education and training (GoK, 1988).

The inculcation of values of citizenship and the development of young Kenyans' capabilities as citizens reflected the tension between collective social responsibility and individual achievement and responsibilities themes that were to be reworked in the late 1990s. In preparation for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century and the 3rd Millennium, the Government appointed a Commission of Inquiry into the Education System of Kenya that was chaired by David Koech (GoK, 1999). The task was to review Kenya's educational system and recommend ways and means of enabling the government to facilitate the link between national unity, mutual social responsibility, accelerated industrial and technological development, and consolidation and enhancement of life-long learning (GoK,

1999).

The Koech Commission underscored the need for Kenya to produce, through the education system, a new type of citizenry that would portray: a sense of patriotism and nationalism that transcends ethnic and traditional ties, and demonstrate integrity of character, and a vision to uphold the rule of law (GoK, 1999: 17). It emphasized communal *civic virtues* which individuals shared, such as moral virtues of honesty, confidence, work ethics and concern for others' welfare. It also identified a number of specific school subjects such as Social Education and Ethics, Religious Education, Literature, and History and Government all of which were perceived to have the potential to inculcate these values in youth, and all of which were already established in the school curriculum.

The Kenyan government therefore took heed and re-designed its education in ways that attached importance to preparing youth for the responsibilities of becoming adults (GoK, 1988). However, in practice; evidence abound to demonstrate the tendency to stress what was expected of the youth in terms of academic performance and patriotism over their entitlement to relevant education commensurate to behavioral change that reflected nationhood and belonging. It would be rare therefore for a student living in poverty to have access to formal citizenship education.

Besides the use of formal classroom teaching of social values, there are other activities, which are expected to assist youth with social bonding while at school. The activities include sports meetings, District, Provincial, and National Music Drama festivals. Further, the observance and recognition of national Days such as Jamhuri (Independence) Day and Kenyatta Day, the national Anthem and the National Flag aim to inject national cohesiveness in the youth as members of a Kenyan community. Finally, the use of English (as medium of school instruction) and Kiswahili as common languages as opposed to the vernacular languages is supposed to enhance social integration among students from various cultural groups.

What is noticeable is that while over the years the Kenyan government seems to have made policy efforts in linking education outcomes with both economic and social advancement, the Kenyan education system, in practice, has tended to over-emphasize the economic development-



oriented aspects at the expense of the social development-oriented aspects especially the humanities and particularly education for social values. The government realizes that the youth stage is an important milestone for an individual or group to develop a sense of identity as citizens of a particular country. There seems to be considerable anxiety and a sense of feeling excluded from full citizenship amongst Kenyan youth. The lack of education and jobs which compromises their citizenship status, also explains why they engage in violent and criminal activities. This is attested to by the recent gruesome anti-social activities perpetrated by youth gangs in and around Nairobi (Daily Nation, May 7, 2007). Even more disturbing is the recent post-2007 election violence that portrayed many youth partaking in the destruction of lives and property of fellow Kenyans. This behaviour is a challenge, not only to politicians but also to educators and educationists.

#### **2.4 Political Education in Kenya**

Democratic African Socialism is based on African traditions where in terms of governance, political democracy, and social mutual responsibility are the two underlying principles (GoK, 1965: 3). In the Kenyan context, political democracy is understood as a situation where all members of a society have equal political rights and that no individual or group could be allowed to have undue influence on affairs of the state. The principle of mutual social responsibility can be understood as an extension of the African extended family to a wider community in the sense that each member of the wider community has an obligation to do the best for his/her neighbor. It is within such a Democratic African Socialism framework that Kenyans are supposed to negotiate their individual lifestyles and lives.

For instance; in the life of a community, there may arise a situation where the rights of an individual conflicts with the rights of the larger community. According to the authors of Sessional Paper No. 10, Democratic African Socialism put premium on the rights and importance of the community at the expense of the individual (GoK, 1965: 4). As Mbiti has said, "I am because we are" (Mbiti, 1969). This definition of democracy is rather different from Western liberal democracy where the rights of the individual tend to be emphasized at the expense of the community (Gould, 1988: 31; McPherson, 1973: 4). Democratic African Socialism as articulated here is identifiable with *Ubuntu* (a shade) of democracy which many

scholars in African affairs have argued is an appropriate framework that should inform governance in Africa (Kubow, 2007). However, it has also been argued that, while the education system in Kenya is supposed to champion Democratic African Socialism in students, in practice it encourages some sort of liberal democracy where individualism tend to be overemphasized. Despite the commitment by the Kenyan government and the CSOs to promote a Kenyan citizenship through mutual social responsibility, the voices of the young people in this study suggest that although they are politically aware, (in fact they identified high costs for political involvement), although they can articulate quite clearly what education has given them in terms of engagement with the project of citizenship, their powerlessness is clear. They have the ideas, the motivation to help themselves, the aspiration to make a difference to their communities, but they have no power.

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3.0 METHODOLOGY

According to Hegel's (2009) philosophical method and methodology is the study of how to do philosophy.

Philosophical arguments: A good argument is a clear, organized, and sound statement of reasons. Philosophical arguments and justifications is an important part of this philosophical method. Philosophy being a quest for arguments I have put across several arguments in this work. I have arguments as bundles of reasons; logically interconnected statements — followed by the claim they are reasons for. The reasons are the premises, while the claims they support contribute to my personal conclusions.

Philosophical criticism: Another element of philosophical method in this work is philosophical criticism. According to Ortwin (2004), philosophical criticism makes philosophizing an important social endeavor. Political education is a social need in the Kenyan society, this qualifies these method ideal to this work. In this I offer definitions and explanations in solution to political problems in Kenya, I argue for those solutions. Philosophical criticism is about questioning assumptions, digging for deeper understanding. Doing philosophy is about the journey, the process, as much as it is about the destination, the conclusion. Question to be answered as well as problems to be solved have been formulated.

Dialectics; Dialectics can be defined as; the practice of arriving at a conclusion by the exchange of logical arguments, usually in the form of questions and answers. *It's* any systematic reasoning, exposition, or argument that juxtaposes opposed or contradictory ideas and usually seeks to resolve their conflict. It's an intellectual exchange of ideas.  
[www.thefreedictionary.com/dialectics](http://www.thefreedictionary.com/dialectics)

According to Gogol (2012) dialectics refers to discussion and reasoning by dialogue as a method of intellectual investigation; specifically: the Socratic techniques of exposing false beliefs and eliciting truth. It also refers to the Hegelian process of change in which a concept or its realization passes over into and is preserved and fulfilled by its opposite; also the critical

investigation of this process.

According to [csmt.uchicago.edu/glossary2004/dialectic.htm-cached-similar.](http://csmt.uchicago.edu/glossary2004/dialectic.htm-cached-similar.), dialectical method is a method of argument for resolving disagreement that has been central to European and Indian philosophy since antiquity. The word dialectic originated in ancient Greece, and was made popular by Plato in the Socratic dialogues. The dialectical method is discourse between two or more people holding different points of view about a subject, who wish to establish the truth of the matter guided by reasoned arguments. The term dialectics is not synonymous with the term debate; an emotional commitment that may cloud rational judgment. The term dialectics is also not synonymous with the term rhetoric, (a method or art of discourse that seeks to persuade, inform, or motivate an audience). Socrates favored truth as the highest value, proposing that it could be discovered through reason and logic in discussion. Socrates valued rationality (appealing to logic, not emotion) as the proper means for persuasion, the discovery of truth, and the determinant for one's actions. To Socrates, truth, not rhetoric was the greater good, and each person should, above all else, seek truth to guide one's life. According to [smt.uchicago.edu/glossary2004/dialectic.htm-cached-similar.](http://smt.uchicago.edu/glossary2004/dialectic.htm-cached-similar.), dialectic is a mode of thought, or a philosophic medium, through which contradiction becomes a starting point (rather than a dead end) for contemplation. As such, dialectic is the medium that helps us comprehend a world that is racked by paradox. Indeed, dialectic facilitates the philosophic enterprise as described by Bertrand Russell, who wrote that "to teach how to live without certainty, and yet without being paralyzed by hesitation, is the chief thing that philosophy, in our age, can still do for those who study it".

The word 'dialectic' is derived from the Greek and has three classical connotations. In Plato's writings, dialectic is a highly valued vehicle for truth; it is akin to dialogue and closely associated with the Socratic Method. Aristotle, on the other hand, believed that dialectic was an inferior form of reasoning, as it was based on a priori knowledge rather than empirical observation.

In modern times, "[Kant's] dialectic no longer offers rules for executing convincing judgments, but teaches how to detect and uncover judgments which bear a semblance of truth but are in fact

illusory" Kant's dialectic could be considered a medium of false epistemology.

It is with Hegel, however, that the modern notion of dialectic crystallized. While his thinking was shaped by Kant's discussion of antinomies in *The Critique of Pure Reason*, Hegel considered dialectic a medium of truth rather than a means to uncover illusion. Above all, Hegel's dialectic was based on his emphatic belief in connectedness, or the interrelation of all aspects. Hegel's dialectic involves the reconciliation of ostensible paradoxes to arrive at absolute truth. The general formulation of Hegel's dialectic is a three-step process comprising the movement from thesis to antithesis to synthesis. One begins with a static, clearly delineated concept (or thesis), then moves to its opposite (or antithesis), which represents any contradictions derived from a consideration of the rigidly defined thesis. The thesis and antithesis are yoked and resolved to form the embracing resolution, or synthesis. Hegel contended it would only terminate upon the world's end. Each time synthesis is achieved it "generate[s] new internal contradictions, and then a further resolution" Thus infinite character of the dialectic reflects Hegel's notion of holistic truth and his optimistic belief in progress.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **4.0 A JUSTIFICATION OF POLITICAL EDUCATION IN KENYA**

#### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

The recent developments in Kenya's political scene have drawn attention to the relationship between political ideologies and political education. Whichever way one looks at it, one thing is certain, that there is a key relationship between political ideology and political education. There exists a mutual interdependence between politics and education. In this chapter I seek to stipulate that political education is a form of knowledge that need to, not only be known, but understood by the Kenyan population as a vital instrument in the process of political liberation. The common Kenyan is ignorant on political ideals that affect them. A high percentage of the Kenyan population is not exposed to political education, hence may be illiterate on political facts. This gives room for political oppression and injustices in Kenya. In the education process, very little of political knowledge is included as civics and government in history and government forms of knowledge. Despite the teaching and learning of civics and government at Kenyan schools, politics is still characterized by ethnicity, corruption, historical injustices, incitement, voter buying, unstable political conditions which have neither rational nor moral justifications whatsoever.

Political science should be introduced in school curriculum. According to Robson (1954), generally the purpose or purposes of political science teaching are not clearly defined or recognized in all countries where the subject has gained a footing. True to this fact the Kenyan education curriculum put more emphasis on empirical science arithmetic languages and social sciences at the expense of political science. The root cause to these is that the Kenyan philosophy of education is myopic to the need for political knowledge in this nation. The Kenyan school curriculum put more emphasis on those forms of knowledge that are clearly defined in professional terms such as science and mathematics required for medicine and engineering courses. This is myopic and detrimental to the development of this great nation of Kenya.

#### **4.2 Political ideology in Kenya since independence.**

According to Njeru and Njoka (2007), the practice of government in post-colonial Kenya is

based upon capitalist ideology disguised as African socialism. The ruling classes in the Kenyatta, Moi and later, Kibaki regimes, tended to pursue the Western style capitalistic ideology that facilitated accumulation on the part of a minority while exploiting and impoverishing the majority of the population. All three successive regimes disguised the otherwise unpopular ideological orientation through an enunciation of the ideals of African socialism to forestall a popular revolt, for African socialism purported to cater for the interests of the entire society.

African socialism subsequently constituted a framework for fervent sloganeering that enabled Jomo Kenyatta to legitimize a single party dictatorship through populist slogans – such as Uhuru na Kazi (freedom with work), KANU yajenga nchi (KANU builds the nation) and turudi mashambani (we go back to the farms) and frequent reference to the blood that was shed during the struggle for independence, though the Kenyatta regime did not compensate or recognize freedom fighters. Kenyatta successor, Daniel Arap Moi, coined the Nyayo slogan to signify his intention to follow Kenyatta footprints or footsteps” and further couched the slogan in three populist ideals – “peace love and unity mindful of the welfare of others”.

The opposition party, NARC (National Rainbow Coalition), won the December 2002 elections against KANU and formed government with Mwai Kibaki as president. The party had made grandiose promises to the electorate such as creation of half a million jobs every year up to 2007, the promulgation of a new constitution in 100 days of assuming office, and the eradication of corruption. In practice, however and like the preceding governments, the NARC administration was unequivocal about its intentions to introduce a welfare-based system of government as a painkiller to the continued capitalist accumulation on the part of political elite. Much of the Kenyan population lives therefore under the collective illusion of a better future through hard work while the ruling class continues to legitimize a seemingly right-of-centre exploitative capitalist system.

In Kenya are other *politicking ideologies* which can be classified in various categories. In this work I have classified them as; the Kenyans’ voter ideology, the Kenyans political corruption, the Kenyan political party, and the party coalition ideology, and political ethnicity in Kenyan politics.

*The Kenyans' voter ideology;* The average Kenyan voter appears to hold the view that a politician is an Automatic Teller Machine (ATM) from whom one get money all the time, without having to bank in it (Lumumba, (2008). The Kenyan voters demand for money from politicians through; political fundraisers, organized deliberately to milk the politicians dry. Should a politician fail to attend a fundraiser, the organizers then begin spreading word that, he is “give fisted” (Mkono ngamu) who does not release money and therefore cannot be entrusted with leadership (Lumumba (2008). The voters organize impromptu money traps at public functions. According to Lumumba, (2008), this is where after a successful fund drive or political meeting, young people (youths) besiege politicians, demanding to be released. This means to be given money. There also hordes of young men on roads whose sole intention is to ask for money from politicians. According to Lumumba (2008),”We (Kenyans) love money and cannot vote for anybody who does not give money”. Some voters accost politicians as they walk about, as they leave campaign meeting in demand for money. The campaigners demand to be paid a lot of money for their services, where most have strategies to extort money from political aspirants by Songs and dance organized by talented soloists, They enthusiastically receive politicians in song and dance, after which they ask for singing fees. According to Lumumba (2008) such songs are standard, and are sung for every politician who come their way, only the name is substituted and it is meant to release money from the politicians pocket. In his political campaign meeting, Lumumba was once confronted by an electorate who told him publicly; “You are playing European politics of truth and issues. In Kenya you must lie to use and appeal to our ethnic sensibilities before you get our vote” (Lumumba, (2008). A vying politician has to battle for the minds and hearts of electorate even if it be by lying, bribing through giving money and unrealistic promises. This makes Kenyan politics very dirty. It’s saddening to realize that Kenyan electorate have internalized dirty politics and labeled it Kenyan. To them European politics is good but has no hostage in Kenya. This dearly calls for political education in Kenya.

*The Kenyan political party ideology;* According to Lumumba (2008), when history takes stock of Kenyan politics it will say many things; among them that opportunism and lack of shame and principle are the guiding beacons for the typical Kenyan politicians. Kenyan politicians and the electorate talk of political parties but, in the real sense as we have known from between 1992 and



2007, a Kenyan political party coalition is a marriage of convenience under whose aegis politicians unite to seek political office although they invariably have different dreams. The Kenyan political party is also a mask that politicians with dubious records, wear upon their political faces to avoid recognition by the electorate after they have repackaged themselves. It therefore follows that the Kenyan political party is not the typical party which unites people with a common cause anchored on a clearly defined ideology. Kenya therefore stands out as one; if not the only country where political parties are registered by one set of person and literally bought by another set without any qualms. (Lumumba, (2008), it is ethnocracy at its most absurd. Another characteristic of Kenyan political parties is political nomadism, where politicians move from one political party to another. Thus promotes political indiscipline and undermines the growth of political parties as institutions. Kenyans need education on institutions of political parties, on how they are instituted, developed and maintained as reputable political institutions.

*The Kenya's' political corruption:* If political corruption had until 1992 been subtle, the subtly was trampled underfoot by the giving the approach of YK 92 brigade. Its ranks were composed of “young people” of unclear background. They moved around the country bribing everybody on sight and where necessary employing violence, to ensure Moi retained the presidency. The YK92 period poisoned the political domain and made political corruption and voter buying the culture of Kenyan politics. YK 92 gave birth to the culture of “thou shall reap where thou hath not sown”. Kenyan politics has never been the same again. YK 92 killed the age of political innocence, lending credence to the statement that universal suffrage without universal education is a curse. Since then the electorate acquired sharp taste for money, (Lumumba, (2008). Thus Kenya's recent politics, however understood, reveals that corruption of the electorate is a major driving force. Consequently, Kenyan politics has been of haven for people with questionable wealth; some are drug dealers, retired highway robbers and former civil servants who cannot account for ninety nine percent of their sometimes obscene wealth, (Lumumba, (2008). Most politicians exhibit ignorance and corruption of the most profound and shameful kind, (Lumumba, (2008). According to Lumumba P.L.O (2008) during the national constitutional conference held at Bomas of Kenya in Nairobi on diverse dates in years 2003-2004 delegates were entitled an allowance of ksh 25,000.(Twenty five thousand) a week. To ensure attendance delegates were

required to sign. It was disheartening to note that, initially members of parliament refused to do so, but when it was insisted, some parliamentarians were caught having sent their drivers to sign for them, some came in, signed and left without participation. But on Friday the day for payment 90% of them turned up to be paid. When one day, Lumumba the secretary of the constitution of Kenya Review Commission, complained, one senior lady MP, told him, “It is public funds, why do you care?” This documentation saddens to know that the Kenyan legislature is corrupt unethical, men and women of questionable character who have nothing good to offer. Yet the electorate that voted them into parliament are blind, oblivious of the risk and danger ahead of Kenya’s future and destiny. Education is a tool, a massive irresistible force that liberates and sets free, yes, only political education can deliver Kenya out of this quagmire.

*Political ethnicity in Kenyan politics;* the 1963 vote was informed by great enthusiasm, fuelled by fervor engendered by the spirit of liberation. Men and women voted as Kenyans, children of new land. They were from different ethnic backgrounds, but it was their kenyaness that was given its pride of place. But no sooner had the euphoria of independence waned than cracks in the Kenyans notion started to merge. That battle of egos and the ideological jousts between Jaramogi Oginga Odinga who commentators refereed to as “left Fist” and Jomo Kenyatta as ‘western’ heralded the emergence of new politics, politics of the ethnic kind, (Lumumba, (2008). Initially ethnicity did not play any significant role in the Odinga- Kenyatta jousts, but when Odinga formed (KPU) Kenya people’s party and the turn –coat role was introduced to require those who changed political parties to seek fresh political mandate, the little general election of 1966 was characterized as a fight between the Luos (KPU) and the kikuyu (KANU). This was where the rain started beating the Kenyan political arena. Later when Thomas Joseph Mboya, a luo was murdered on the 5<sup>th</sup> July 1969, the luo-kikuyu political battle took an ominous turn, (Lumumba, (2008). Kenyan politics is so ethnic that if a major leader from one ethic group leads a party, every member of that ethnic group is expected to belong to that party almost willy nilly. In the past, an election of political leaders has been determined via ethnically pure geographical constituencies and political or rather ethnic alliances. Ethnicity has torn Kenya so deeply apart that intervention must be sort if Kenya is to move to the next level of political liberation, this can only be done through political education of Kenyan polity.

It follows that Kenya's politics is enslaved by the ideologies discussed above, political corruption and ethnicity. Kenya has not attained political independence! These calls for a savior, Kenya needs redemption out of her political mess. Who shall come to her rescue?

#### **4.3 Political independence through education.**

According to Lewis, (1962), Political independence is the goal of African people. Democratic independence, in the western sense; necessitates intelligent participation by the mass of people in the running of public affairs at local, national and international levels. This is not possible without an educational framework. The acceptance of this premise resulted in attempts, by the colonial governments, everywhere in Africa, to provide a minimum of basic education for children. Governments realized that only an informed electorate can exercise political responsibility and that the implementation of plans for social and economic development is dependent upon the intelligent co-operation of the community and an adequate supply of skilled manpower, Lewis (1962). It may be true to say that the climate of this political opinion contributed to the expansion of primary education as well as its curriculum content during pre-colonial and post colonial period. It therefore follows that Kenyans need to build on this premise by engaging a political education process through its education system. This will enhance intelligent participation by the Kenyan people in the running of public affairs at local, national and international levels.

According to Lewis (1962), whilst there is close relationship between educational policy and the development of political independence, this does not necessarily mean that one particular educational policy is necessarily the only right one, whatever right may mean in this context. The educational policies followed in colonial Africa by the colonial masters differed considerably in character and ultimate objective regarding political independence. British policy was governed by the assumption that political independence was a foreseeable end point; though it largely depended upon influence by economic and social factors. If this generalization was valid, it follows that British educational policy would have prepared Africans for political independence. It is regrettable to note that most African countries have not attained political independence. Neocolonialism has been in the order of most African countries. In fact most African countries have a long way to go as to attain political independence.

According to Lewis (1962), political independence is the goal of African people and it is accepted that democratic independence, in the western sense; necessitates intelligent participation by the mass of the people in the running of public affairs at local, national and international levels. This is not without an educated franchise. The acceptance of this premise resulted in attempts everywhere in Africa, to provide a minimum of basic education for every child. However, this education process was limiting in terms of political knowledge in that it majored on the 3Rs i.e. reading writing and Arithmetic. The Africans were not taught governance.

According to Lewis (1962) Governments realized that only an informed electorate can exercise political responsibility, and that the implementation of plans for social and economic development is dependent upon the intelligent co-operation of the community and an adequate supply of skilled manpower. In my view, politically informed electorate can only be realized on teaching aspects of politics and governance. This calls for expansion of curriculum content to incorporate relevant and specific objectives regarding political education. It is true to say that the climate of political opinion, that is political goodwill, contributes to the rate of expansion of educational curriculum as well as its curriculum content. The Kenyan government should, in the spirit of good will be advised to incorporate political education in the school curriculum which should address content of political science.

According to Robson, (1954), political science consists of the systematic knowledge of political ideas and political institutions. It is a science in the sense that any organized and teachable body of knowledge is a science. It is concerned both with what is and also with what should be. The purpose of political science is to throw light on political ideas and political actions in order that the government of man may be improved. Political science as an instrument for analyzing, recording and describing processes and the machinery of government, its usefulness is obvious but limited. As a discipline which seeks to study and to solve the political and governmental problems which confront mankind, its importance cannot be exaggerated. To show the nations how to achieve peace and security; to prevent the fruits of scientific research in the atomic age from destroying civilization, to find ways of controlling in the general interest the exercise of

excessive economic power without styling individual initiative or reducing economic efficiency; to reveal methods of government action by which the standard of living can be raised, mass unemployment prevented, and the trade cycle brought under control; to satisfy the demand for social equality without surrendering the liberties already won or abandoning the struggle for freedoms not yet attained; to discern how political action may enhance the sense of community, stimulate men and women to greater efforts for the common good, and relieve the misery of the oppressed, the underprivileged, and the backward people. In my view, these authentic aims of the political scientist are not less than aims of the medical doctor; cure of sickness, the reduction of infant and maternal mortality, the avoidance of physical suffering, and the prolongation of life, the prevention of blindness or deafness in the social circles. Kenyan politics need medication that can only be provided by political science content entrenched in school curriculum.

#### **4.4 Political education and literacy**

Political education has been neglected area in schools, and the need is plain both for more of it and for a greater clarity of purpose about its objectives and methods, Porter and Crick B (1978).

According to Porter and Crick (1978), the subject ‘political education’ is inherently both important and difficult to handle. The main aim of political education program is to enhance political “literacy”, by which it means the knowledge, skills and attitudes needed to make a man or woman informed about politics, able to participate in public life and groups of all kinds, both occupational and voluntary; and to recognize and tolerate diversities of political and social values. A politically literate people should know about what the main political disputes are about, what beliefs the main contestants have of them, how they are likely to affect them, how they relate to institutions, and they will have a predisposition to try to be politically effective while respecting the sincerity of others. Porter and Crick (1978), say that political literacy is relevant to everyone. It is not to be limited to or confused with time-table slots labeled ‘civics’ ‘politics’ or ‘British constitution’.

According to Porter and Crick (1978), politics is concerned with the creative conciliation of differing interests, whether these interests are seen as primarily material or moral. Creative conciliation is to try to resolve disputes as well as possible and as far as possible although it may not be possible to resolve or to solve them all. The basic perception of politics is simply to show that the first task of any possible political education that is of educational value is to convey

some sense of naturalness and variation of politics. Political education must begin by showing what conflicts are there; it's not a scheme of solving them. Hence the political part of education is primarily an education in what differing viewpoints are held; who holds them, why, in what context and with what restraints.

In my opinion, political science is a research into and presentation of problems of public life and especially the problem of power and civilization. The focus of interest of the political scientist is clear and unambiguous, it centers on the struggle to gain or retain power, to exercise power, or influence over others, or to resist that exercise. It aims at contributing to the general education of an individual and providing instruction in a subject useful for the public service and other careers.

#### **4.5 Liberal education in Kenya and political liberation**

Education process in Kenya has been to a great extent liberal. Liberal education is provision of teaching and learning conditions which facilitate the emergence of the 'educated' person, Hirst (1972). According to Bailey, 1984 education process is generally an autonomous rational process whose outcome is an autonomous rational moral agent. In this sense as outlined by Peters, (1966), liberal education process is an initiation process of the learners into public forms of knowledge. According to Peter's (1966), initiation refers to the development of the mind into differentiated public forms of human experience, which is a necessary condition for the development of personal autonomy. Note in this case that this result rests on the assumption that the development of personal autonomy as an aim of liberal education provides the direction in which it is envisaged, that the mind and indeed the person as a whole should be developed. Dose Kenya education develop learners' autonomy more especially in political circles? Certainly the initiation process does not supply this direction although it is a necessarily important for the achievement of that aim, Ruto (1989).

Recent developments in educational theory and practice, however suggest that a liberal education incorporating the features of initiation alone is necessary but not sufficient in providing a fully liberal educational experience, Bailey, (1984). Sociologists are implicit in accusations against liberal education that it is, in most cases, an instrument for social control, as argued by Banks (1976) and Bernstein (1971); that is it often takes on the form imposed by the dominant ideology

and interests rather than one derived from its intrinsic features as is argued by Freire (1985). These claims, mostly of a sociological kind raise disturbing questions which bear upon the development of personal autonomy by mere initiation into public forms of knowledge and understanding.

Liberal education process has been largely emphasized in Kenya. In this, civic education envisaged in History and Government, is aimed at initiating the young Kenyans into the politics of the day. The liberal education process does not orient young Kenyans to critical thinking and consciousness. Consequently, in my view, Kenya has remained a colony through neocolonialism. For how long will Kenya serve colonial masters? According to Odhiambo (1998), Nkuruma observed that political decisions, just as they were before independence was won, lose their reference to the welfare of the people, and serve once again the well-being and security of erstwhile colonial power and the clique of self-centered politicians. This is in essence a new form of colonialism; it is neo-colonialism. Neo-colonialism is a greater danger to independent countries than is colonialism. Colonialism is crude, essentially overt and apt to be overcome by a purposefully concerted national effort. In neocolonialism, however, the people are divided from their leaders and, instead of providing true leadership and guidance which is informed at every point by the ideal of the general welfare, leaders come to neglect the very people who put them in power and incautiously become instruments of suppression on behalf of the neo-colonialists.

In reference to Nkrumah's context, has Kenya attained her independence? In my view not yet; Kenya is yet to achieve political independence and liberation. A purposefully concerted national effort should be initiated to overcome neocolonialism. As Nkuruma observed, Odhiambo (1998) in order that an independent country be able to successfully resist neo-colonialism, positive action requires to be armed with an ideology. The ideology should be one that will vitalize positive action and, operating through a mass party, should equip it with a generative concept of the world and life. The ideology should assist positive action forge a strong link with the Kenyan past and offer it an assured bond with the Kenyan future. In order that this ideology should be comprehensive, in order that it should light up every aspect of the life of Kenyan people, in order that it should affect the total interest of Kenyan society, establishing a link with the Kenyan past; it must be socialist in form and in content and be embraced by Kenyan people.

According to Odhiambo (1998), Nkuruma states that, the emergent African society will arise as a result of a social revolution. However, "practice without thought is blind". Social revolution must therefore have, standing firmly behind it, an intellectual revolution, a revolution in which the African's thinking and philosophy are directed towards the redemption of her society. The philosophy that must stand behind the social revolution is what Nkrumah refers to as Philosophical consciencism. In its political dimensions, philosophical consciencism is faced with realities of colonialism, imperialism, disunity and lack of development. Of these four, Nkuruma believed that it was colonialism that had to be liquidated first. The colonial governments, contrary to the tenet of egalitarianism, treated their colonies as a means to their [colonialists'] end. Though the basis of colonialism is economic, the solution of the colonial problem lies in political action, in a fierce and constant struggle for emancipation as an indispensable first step towards securing economic independence and integrity.

The political action must necessarily be a fierce struggle, because it is a battle-ground of two forces that are opposed. On one hand, there are forces that tend to promote neocolonialism, to promote those political ties by means of which a colonialist country binds its colonies to itself with the primary object of furthering her economic advantages. On the other hand, there are progressive forces, forces that seek to negate the oppressive enterprise of greedy individuals and classes.

In the colonial situation, negative action (reactionary action) undoubtedly outweighs positive action (revolutionary action). For true independence to be won, it is necessary that positive action should come to overwhelm negative action. It is necessary that positive action be backed by a mass population, and that this mass be qualitatively improved, so that, by education and an increase in its degree of consciousness, its aptitude for positive action becomes heightened. In Kenya positive action must be backed by initiative liberation, complete with its instruments of education. Certainly in my view, political education is the appropriate positive action. It is the indispensable first step towards securing political independence and integrity.

The development of intellectual and moral virtues necessary for the development of personal



autonomy is not absolutely guaranteed by the development of logical conditions of knowledge and understanding in the way Hirst (1966) puts it. This is because people reason around limited objects; they judge between limited options, and they exercise morality in limited ways and circumstances. In a school context these objects are chosen within a complex set of factors and priorities set by the ethos of the school, the syllabus and, examination needs, the nature of future jobs opportunities, availability of teaching and learning resources among others.

The result is that, the development of intellectual and moral virtues do not occur in their absolute forms; they are interpreted in light of limited objects within which they are exercised, and obviously some environments are more impoverished than others. This means that in order to secure a better understanding of the degree to which the development of political intellectual and moral virtue can be achieved, a range of political objects, agenda, and concerns must be specified in any liberating political education process. It is probably in recognition of this fact that Bailey (1984) argued for the addition of content about social, economic and political relations and institutions. The agenda of liberating political education must also be addressed in the right spirit, with the right kind of motives and the appropriate degree of involvement and commitment. Without this degree of specificity the full potential of liberating political education within a particular societal context might not be realized. Liberating political education will always be subject to limitations but it is vital to develop strategies which reduce these limitations as far as possible. Therefore the role of education, in political development should encroach into schools through an act of education commission.

Realization of personal autonomy in both its rational and moral dimensions is partly dependent on the nature of the distribution and organization of social, economic, cultural and political forms of knowledge, broad ideological traditions and certain salient cultural features are examples of the latter. Knowledge and rationality are necessary conditions for a liberating political education but they may not be sufficient. A heightened focused awareness of the limiting conditions of geography, economy and social class is also necessary, Ruto (1989). No wonder, Bailey (1984) proposed the need for the incorporation of political education in school curriculum.

#### **4.6 Liberating education process, through political education in Kenya.**

Can Kenyans use their education process to work for political liberation? Is this workable? Is it

logical? According to Freire, P. (1996), there is no such a thing as a neutral educational process. Education either functions as an instrument that is used to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system and bring about conformity to it, or it becomes ‘the practice of freedom’, the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of the world. The development of an educational methodology that facilitates this process could contribute to the formation of a new man and mark the beginning of a new era in any society.

A liberating education process aims at awakening the critical consciousness of the learners. These leads way to the expression of social discontents, in the society, precisely because these discontents are real components of an oppressive situation.

Oppressed; Paulo Freire developed the methodology of teaching the oppressed, a pedagogical process that has helped to empower countless impoverished and illiterate people, of South America. It also has taken on a considerable relevance for educators in the technologically acts to program the individual, especially the disadvantaged, to a rigid conformity. Consequently a new underclass has been created in the technologically advanced society, and it’s everyone’s responsibility to react thoughtfully and positively to the situation.

Freire, made a profound impact not only in the field of education but also in the overall struggle for national development through his educational program. He perfected a method for teaching illiterates – the disinherited masses in Latin America - that contributed, in an extraordinary way in awakening the people of Latin America from their traditional lethargy to a point they anxiously participate as subjects, in the development of their country. In fact they came to a new awareness of selfhood and began to look critically at the social situation in which they found themselves, and took initiative in acting to transform the society that had denied them the opportunity of participation.

Paulo Freire early sharing of the life of the poor led him to the discovery of what he describes as “culture of silence” of the dispossessed. He came to realize that their ignorance and lethargy was the direct product of the whole situation of economic, social and political domination – and of

the paternalism – of which they were victims. Rather than being encouraged and equipped to know and respond to the concrete realities of their world, they were kept ‘submerged’ in a situation in which such critical awareness and response were practically impossible. And it became clear to him that the whole educational system was one of the major instruments for the maintenance of the culture of silence.

Confronted by this problem, Paulo Freire, in a very existential way, turned his attention to the field of education and began to work on it. He engaged in a process of study and reflection that produced something quite new and creative in the field of educational philosophy. From a situation of direct engagement in the struggle to liberate men and women for the creation of a new world, he developed a perspective on education which is authentically his own and which seeks to respond to the concrete realities of the oppressed. According to Freire, (1996) Education is once again a subversive force .Paulo Freire perfected a method for teaching illiterates, who came to a new awareness of selfhood and began to look critically in the social situation in which they found themselves, and often took the initiative in acting to transform the society that had denied them the opportunity of participation.

According to Freire (1996), his early sharing in the life of the poor he discovered what he describes as the “culture of silence” of the dispossessed. He realized that their ignorance and lethargy was the direct product of the whole situation of economic, social and political domination and of paternalism-of which they were victims. Rather than being encouraged and equipped to know and respond to the concrete realities of their world, they were kept “submerged” in a situation in which such critical awareness and response were practically impossible. And it became clear to him that the whole education system was one of the major instruments for the maintenance of this culture of silence. Confronted by this “culture of silence” Freire engaged in the struggle to liberate men and women for the creation of a new world through the field of education. He engaged in a process of study and reflection that produced something quite new and creative in educational philosophy – conscientization.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **5.0 TOWARDS POLITICAL EDUCATION**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

According to Nkuruma, when a colonialist country sees the advance of positive action, it unfailingly develops a policy of containment, a policy whereby it seeks to check and limit this advance. This policy often takes the form of conferences and protracted constitutional reforms. However, despite acknowledging and granting independence, the power seeks, without grace, to neutralize the same independence by fomenting discontent and disunity, and finally, by errant ingratiation and wheedling it attempts to disinherit the people and constitute itself their conscience and their will, if not their voice and their arm, (Odhiambo, (1998).

Political science should be introduced in school curriculum for Kenya to experience political transformation. Ethnicity has for a long time become one of the most important factors that shape the political process. This is mainly because at independence the Kenyan citizen was not detribalized. The government institutions were de-racialised but not de-tribalised, both at legislative, executive, judiciary, the army, police and the civil service. Consequently nation building turned to nation degradation. The political transition that Kenya has had since independence has been characterized by absence of political change. In my view it has been like changing dressing mode yet the persons remain unchanged – in flesh, mind, attitude and reason. Consequently Kenya has had political transitions devoid of political transformation. The irony is Kenya became democratic state but its institutions were not democratized, instead it continued to service the interest of ruling elites. In my view, the country was democratized but Kenyan citizen maintained illiteracy and ignorance of what true democracy entailed. An authoritarian state dominated the Kenyan society yet political liberation sought to bring an end to this domination. In my view Kenya attained independence but political independence of her citizens is yet to come. Thus Kenya remains a colony to neocolonialism maintained by capitalism.

As Nkuruma observed in Odhiambo (1998), practice without thought is blind. Social revolution must be informed, meaning it must have an intellectual base. Nkuruma thought that the emergent of African society will arise as a result of social revolution. The social revolution must be backed by intellectual revolution based on Africans thinking and philosophy; this

philosophy is what Nkuruma referred to as philosophical consciencism. Philosophical consciencism was, according to Nkuruma, a standpoint which taking its start from the present content of the African consciencism, was to indicate the way in which progress is to be forged out of colonialism and neocolonialism in the African continent. Positive action must be backed by Africans with their instruments of education.

According to Odhiambo (1998), Nyerere thought socialism is the attitude of the mind not standard political pattern. He thought Africans need to re-educate themselves on African socialism which was being eroded very rapidly by colonialism and capitalism. The concept of having one millionaire among a million beggars was never African, but an attitude of the west by colonialist. Africans needed mass education and mobilization on political knowledge simply because political education is important in influencing attitude of the mind. In my view Nyerere thought Africans redemption was not only in education, but particularly in political education for mobilization and political independence of her people.

In my view political independence for the Kenyan people can only be attained by an intellectually based social revolution. This revolution must be backed by Kenyan thinking and philosophy- yes philosophical consciencism that is truly Kenyan. A stand point which taking its start from the present content of Kenyan politics and political quagmire will indicate the way in which progress is forged out of colonialism and neocolonialism in Kenya. This calls for education process enriched with political objectives.

### **5.1.1 Development of Political literacy in Kenya**

According to Porter and Crick (1978), political literacy is viewed as being more concerned with recognizing accurately and accepting the existence of real political conflicts rather than with developing knowledge of the details of constitutional machinery. The teacher need be more skillful in conveying the plausibility of differing value systems and what is entailed by different interpretations of concepts like democracy or equality without fear of suppressing his own values. According to Porter and Crick (1978), political literacy must imply the ability to use knowledge to effect in politics. Minimal and formal involvement in politics or citizenship is voting but political activity is also influencing people in almost any kind of group situation. "Literacy" is then knowing something about the issues which are relevant to the decision to be

taken, and being able to give some reasoned judgment and justification of why one did what they did. More specifically political literacy implies some knowledge of current affairs; perhaps the minimal task of developing.

According to Porter and Crick (1978), political literacy means the knowledge, skills and attitudes that are necessary to make a man or woman both politically literate and able to apply this literacy. Knowledge alone is insufficient. Skills are sometimes developed in general education project by gaming, simulations studies, project work or simply by debating and possibly by participation in democratic structures within the school. But participation without knowledge of how the real national institutions of the country work and influenced can be self-defeating. Good teaching may begin from the experience of the class, yet it must extend their knowledge and skills beyond their immediate environment. Attitudes are relevant, but the kind of values to be encouraged are rules for civilized procedures freedom, toleration, fairness, respect for truth, and for reasoning, rather than substantive doctrines such as the parties in part embody. As observed earlier, a recent survey of Citizenship Education in thirty European countries by Eurydice identified that citizenship education, in some form, is being offered as a subject in nineteen out of thirty European countries, and is offered as an integrated theme across subjects in the remainder (Eurydice 2005). Kenya should make effort to learn from them and introduce political education in the Kenyan education system.

### **5.1.2 Political education through conscientisation**

Political education must begin by showing what conflicts are there; it is not a scheme of solving them. Hence the political part of education is primarily an education in what differing viewpoints are held; who holds them, why, in what context and with what restraints.

An argument for conscientization as one of the strategies for a fully liberating political education is put forward in this work. It is a strategy which seems to have promising results for the development of critical intellectual focus on ideological, cultural and socio-historical components of human knowledge. By now, presumably, it should be clear; that the development of knowledge and rationality alone in respects that are contained in the theory of initiation is necessary but not sufficient. The current education process in Kenya does not provide a sufficient curriculum for political education. In my view it appears necessary to augment

initiation with conscientization to enhance political education in Kenya. Kenya being a British colony, it adopted the forms of liberal education as presented by its colonizers (British). Hence Kenyan education process does express characteristics of liberal education.

First, let me make some general observations about Freire's position in relation to the current process of education in Kenya, with regard to teaching, learning and curriculum content. Firstly, it is difficult to deduce from Freire's theory how he would support or be opposed to the form of civic education offered in Kenya in terms of its curriculum content as well as teaching and learning method. Perhaps he would question the ideological basis of the forms of civic knowledge taught to learners through primary and secondary education as well as the objectives and evaluation processes of the same. He would be concerned about social, cultural and economic components behind organization and structure of civic knowledge taught to learners and how these influence the learner's daily lived experiences and their future. He would also be concerned about the teaching methodology and issues of detail about the process. In this case, therefore, the teaching and learning methodology and issues of detail about the historical, cultural, ideological and economic assumptions behind educational provision mark the differences between Freire on one hand and Kenyan civic education process on the other.

Freire argues vehemently, for instance against what he calls the 'invasion' of the child's consciousness in the banking education, (Freire, (1996). By the latter he means an education where students are subjected to a learning programme where they memorize content as 'deposits'. He also defends a teaching and learning process which begins from the learner's way of looking at things, one which is linked to the learner's fears, frustration and anxieties, (Freire) 1996). He stresses the notion of co-intentionality of consciousness of the teacher and the learner in a learning process (Freire, (1996), by which he means a learning situation which actively encourages and engages a focused consciousness of both the learner and the teacher.

These arguments would call for a political education process in Kenya that is learner centered and not teacher centered as currently practiced. Learners should not be called to memorize content as deposits. In contrary an exploration of the learner's point of view should be done through discussions and other exploration methods to establish the learners' fears, frustrations

and anxieties. The teacher in this process should actively search for co-intentionality of the consciousness of the learners' and what he has in reality. This learning situation actively encourages and engages a focused consciousness of both players in the education process. The role of the teacher in this case is to encourage an open discussion process that leads to a focused consciousness between his opinion of political reality and that of the learners. According to Freire, (1986) pedagogical theory partly rests on his premise that one can know only to the extent that one problematizes - the world of culture and history which is the result of the relations between human beings and the world. It means 're-entering into the world through the 'entering into' of previous understanding which may have arrived naively... In 'entering into' their own world means to create their own political culture, people become aware of their manner of acquiring political knowledge and realizes the need for knowing more.

According to Ruto, (1989), problematization envisaged here could be interpreted as follows: it involves casting a judicious skeptical attitude towards the content of learning. This is probably done by submitting given explanations and interpretations of that content to rigorous questioning; it is to generate a constant mental condition where the content of learning often takes on an unresolved character in relation to the mind. Problem-posing techniques may be said to lead to such problematization, which precisely involves a deliberate refusal to take that content for granted. It is a deliberate attempt to look for alternative interpretations and explanations; in this context, Freire talks of one's re-entry into relationship with reality expressed in contents. Freire (1973). Such a situation is an attempt to move towards new ways of thinking in both the educator and educate.

In my view, problematization calls for casting a judicious skeptical attitude towards the political content in both the syllabus at primary and secondary level of Kenyan education process. The content should be subjected to logical explanations and interpretations through rigorous questioning. The content should not be taken for granted. Deliberate effort should be made to look for alternative content on political education, or more content to enrich the existing contents. The problematization of political content in Kenyan education process, would attempt to move the educator and educate towards new ways of thinking and perception. Problematization should focus on awareness of a range of issue in the ideological and socio-



historical components of cognition in Kenyan political arena. These would include questions on organization of political knowledge, how this knowledge is made available to learners, how learning resources could be organized and distributed. How content selection could influence grouping of learners and stratification of the political knowledge. Problematization would also call for casting a judicious skeptical attitude towards the political themes, ideologies, attitudes and cultures that underlie the politics of the day. For example problematization of political philosophies that have governed Kenyan politics since independence, the political ideologies of the politicians, voters, political parties among others, Political attitudes on themes such as ethnicity, corruption and historical injustices. Such problematization would call for a critical analysis of each case, by both the educator and educate.

### **5.1.3 Critical thinking in political education**

In reference to Freire's argument, Freire (1986) Kenyans are faced by a culture of silence in their political circles. An awakening is essential; a wakeup call Kenyan citizen out of this silence. There is need to engage in the struggle to liberate Kenyan men and women for the creation of a new political order through the field of education. This can be achieved through critical thinking in political education. There is a distinction between learning about the subject and learning to do what the subject involves. To participate in the conversation is to be able to contribute to it, and this requires being able to draw upon what one knows and use it effectively. This implies education as the acquisition of the art of utilization of knowledge. According to Hare, (1989), to aim at critical thinking in teaching is to attempt to wean students away from the mere acceptance of beliefs which others tell them are true, and to encourage them to try to assess the credentials of those who present themselves as experts

Human beings have potentialities which other animals do not possess. One potentiality is to develop into an adult capable of a self-determined existence, where fundamental decisions and choices which affect one's life are made by the person themselves, (Hare, (1989). It is equally possible to bring up a child in such a way that it remains incapable of such decision and choices, becoming permanently dependent upon other persons or institutions, thus deprived of a vital aspect of a meaningful and fulfilling life. An autonomous adult with a distinctive point of view can be developed through education process. According to Barzon (1991), the whole aim of good teaching is to turn the young learner into an independent, self propelling creature. Thus good

teaching requires that our education aims include the development of critical thinking. This will develop independence and self propelling ability in Kenyan citizens who will essentially work for independence in Kenyan politics. Critical thinking should be a tool for political education. Dose the Kenyan education system promote critical thinking? Will political education call for critical thinking and is this workable? Development of critical thinking through education process can be justified against all its objections.

There are objections expressed against critical thinking as an education ideal. This includes; First, according to Hare, (1999)'critical thinking is associated with "being critical", process of finding fault, puling things apart, with no positive or constructive features. However though critical thinking may result in negative comments, the identification of error may also be the beginning of a search for a better answer. According to O'Hear, (1991) a critical appraisal may show that a work is fine, that an argument is valid, that a policy is justifiable; and there is no reason why an appraisal must be unfavorable - meaning the outcome of critical analysis could give positive or negative remarks on something based on ideal content and context. Political education process requires a lot of critical analysis and synthesis of policies. Learners will require developing critical ability to analyze and synthesize critical issues and policies.

Secondly, according to Hare, (1999) another objection argues that critical thinking represents a defensive stance an argumentative mode which would encourage conversation and cooperation. Reasonably this objection, however, does not count against a certain approach to critical thinking which is hostile and aggressive. The style and tone which is appropriate will vary from context to context. According to Hare, (1999) in the face of Holocaust denial, a hostile critical response might be desirable, and on the other hand, it may be entirely appropriate in many contexts to defer temporarily a critical assessment until one has established a relationship and atmosphere which is supportive and cooperative. Ideally parliamentary sessions are usually argumentative and defensive, it therefore follows that debate method in political education will be very handy. Learners will need to engage in debate during political education process. This calls for critical thinking.

Thirdly, according to Hare (1999), is the accusation that critical thinking ignores the importance

of creative and imaginative thinking and puts undue emphasis on just one aspect of thinking. We should certainly remind ourselves of the dangers of either imagination or creative thinking and resolve to give both criticism and creativity our attention. We could still however, recognize an important connection between them. Imagination is needed to come up with a critical judgment since one is going beyond what is given and not merely offering a stock response. In imagining how a position might be supported or countered, one exercises creative ability. According to Bailing (1996), the critical examination of arguments and policies may suggest unanticipated and novel possibilities; creative ideas do not come out of nowhere. At some point, they too will require critical assessment. This justifies need for critical thinking in political education because learners will need to engage imaginative and creative thinking during their debate engagements.

Fourth; According to Hare (1999), it is certainly true that critical thinking presupposes a body of knowledge to draw on, and philosophers of education in the 20th C largely concurred on this. We cannot avoid the implications of Peters' aphorism that 'content without criticism is blind, but criticism without content is empty', Peters (1966). It is realistic that one needs to know enough to understand what is going on in a debate; very often, our general knowledge will allow us to follow a discussion, and we can see at a certain point that something is very wrong or right, workable or unworkable, realistic or unrealistic. According to Hare, (1989), not all principles of argument are subject specific; useful distinctions can be learned in a context – free way, and drawn in any context where they are relevant. Hence critical thinking is high level thinking ability uniquely developed and can be applied barely in all context and content.

Fifth; Critical Thinking and Age; The importance of a content as a necessary condition of critical thinking also gives rise to the objection that critical thinking has no place in early education since children must spend many years acquiring that basis in knowledge which would make critical reflection possible. Hare (1989), maintain that critical thinking is not an appropriate aim before the university level. The major problem with this argument is that it assumes that an exclusive focus on content mastery must precede any attempt to foster critical thinking, yet the fact is that a critical attitude may be imparted in the way in which content is presented. As Quinto (1987) puts it, teachers need to learn to attach a critical question-mark to the propositions they affirm. Passmore, (1980) pointed out that sensible teachers intersperse the teaching of content with

opportunities for critical reflection.

Sixth; Gender Biasness: According to Martin (1985) critical thinking ability is a genderised trait in favour of males. Association of gender ability with rationality, objectivity and autonomy makes it genderised in favour of males. Hare (1989), considers the objection that critical thinking is gender biased. The education objective should be to make the ideal of critical thinking equally available and attractive to males and females, to find ways of transcending the dichotomy reflected in the traditional stereotypes. We should not encourage the thought that there is an alternative path to knowledge for women which does not draw on critical thinking; this is because females are not less disposed or less competent to engage in critical thinking than males. According to Hare (1989), girls at school need to be encouraged to develop critical thinking skills and attitudes. Girls should therefore be engaged in critical methods of political education just as boys.

## **5.2 CONCLUSIONS**

In conclusion, an argument for political education through conscientization in Kenya has been indicated. The critical character envisaged of the mind is not only relevant to general aspects of learning and teaching, but more so to teaching political aspects through education process. Certain limitations of political education process in Kenya, however, may be acknowledged as a basis for further debate. Some of these limitations relate to Freire's ambiguity in specifying clearly the value position which is built into a conscientization program. His program does not clearly state a set of moral and political values which ought to provide the guidance for a fully liberating political conscientization programme. Secondly conscientization method is largely characterized by dialogue method of instruction which can be strangely new to the Kenyan methodology of education.

According to Ruto, K.S. (1989), Freire does not offer any suggestions or hints on the exact kind of curriculum content which suits a conscientization program. Perhaps this is because he believes that content given to learners would promote the 'banking' concept of education to which he is opposed. Alternatively, it may be because his theory is largely located in the pedagogical issues rather than in the curriculum content. In this case he has something to say about how pedagogical conditions of learning can be provided for students to think appropriately about the issues

mentioned above. In my view, it may be because Freire's liberating philosophy was localized to Brazilian situation and is subject to change in other countries. The curriculum then would be developed from the peoples need and is subject to change from time to time.

If the purpose of education is to enable men and women to understand the world in which they live, it cannot be denied that political science is essential to an understanding of the contemporary scene at home and abroad. According to Robson, W. (1954), the student of political science is far better equipped to comprehend a political regime, government policies or actions, and important political issues of the day, than students of other disciplines. For this reason democratic government is more likely to flourish in countries in which political science forms part of general education than in those where it is ignored for that purpose.

Lack or insufficient knowledge of government among the more educated sections of the community deny them opportunity to participate effectively in political discussion, to grasp the important questions of policy, to withstand the flattery of the demagogue, to resist the lies of the dictator or the promises of the imposter, to distinguish, between propaganda and truth, to bring informed criticism to bear on public authorities or to appreciate the criteria by which government action can be appraised. Political science is training for intelligent citizenship. First, the main point to bear in mind is the need to give the voter an intelligent interest in the government of his country, for otherwise democracy cannot work effectively. Hence the students desire to participate in the process of government should be stimulated. Secondly he should be given a sound knowledge of political institutions at home and abroad. Thirdly, there is need to give causes on international conflicts and tensions. In my view an intensive study of political science should be regarded in Kenya as a valuable educational preparation for a career in the public service, in the international organizations, in politics, in journalism, employers' associations, and in several other occupations.

In conclusion, properly conceived, critical thinking is crucial in teaching at all levels in political education, serving to thwart various forms of miss-education which always threatens to undermine educational efforts. As Hare (1989), observed, teachers will need to think through their aims in education to see how the ideas implicit in the general ideal or critical thinking may

capture important aspects of their overall objective. Most important of all, they need to ask what it would mean to teach in a critical way, and to find ways of expressing the critical thinking process ideal in classroom practice. It therefore follows that educators in Kenya need to think through their aims in political education to see how the ideas implicit in the general ideal of critical thinking in political development. Most importantly educators need to ask what it would mean to teach political education in a critical way.

## Bibliography

- Adam Schaff (1966) Introduction to semantics Mexico;Pg. 128
- Anderson, J. (2003). The role of education in political stability, *Hobbes Studies*, Vol. XVI,95 - 104.
- Arnot M, Chege F, HayfordCasely L, &Wainaina P (2008) Conceptualising The Relationship Between Youth Citizenship And Poverty Alleviation: East And West African Approaches to the Education of a New Generation –A RECOUP working paper.
- Bailey C. (1984) Beyond the present and the particular. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Bailey. C.(1976) Perspectives in American education. Bloomington Indiana.PHI DELFA KAPPA Educational foundations
- Berger, P. and T. Luckmann (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Bernstein, B.(1971) Class codes and control; vol.1. London. Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Banks, O. (1976); The sociology of education; London. Batsford Ltd.
- Biesta, G. and R. Lawy (2006) ‘From teaching citizenship to learning democracy: overcoming individualism in research, policy and practice’ *Cambridge Journal of Education*, Vol. 36, No. 1, pp. 63 – 79.
- Bîrzéa, C., Kerr, D., Mikkelsen, R., Froumin, I., Losito, B., Pol, M., Sardoc, M. (no date) *AllEuropean Study on Education for Democratic Citizenship Policies*. Council of Europe (web address: [http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/edc/Source/Pdf/Documents/2004\\_12\\_Complete\\_All-EuropeanStudyEDCPolicies\\_En.PDF](http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/edc/Source/Pdf/Documents/2004_12_Complete_All-EuropeanStudyEDCPolicies_En.PDF); accessed 18 August 2006).
- Blanco, L., & Grier, R. (2009). Long life democracy: The determinants of political instability in Latin America. *Journal of Development Studies*, 45 (1), 76-95.
- Bradley, J (2000) ‘The Irish Economy in Comparative Perspective’ in B. Nolan, P.J. O’Connell, and C.T. Whelan (eds.) *Bust To Boom? The Irish Experience of Growth and Inequality*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.
- Buchanan, A. (2009) ‘Philosophy and Public Policy: A Role for Social Moral Epistemology’, *Journal of Applied Philosophy*, 26, 3, pp. 276-290.
- Caddell, M. (2009). Private schools as battlefields: Contested visions of learning livelihood in Nepal. In: P. Bhatta, *Education in Nepal: Problems, reforms and social change*

(pp.121-150).

Chambers, R. (2007). *Idea for development*. London: Earthscan.

Chweya, L. (2007). "Resources and political transition"; In *Government and transition politics in Kenya*; Nairobi. University of Nairobi press;

Consortium on the Education of Marginalised Categories (CEDMAC), CRE-CO, ECEP and the Gender Consortium (2001). *Making Informed Choices: A handbook for Civic Education*. Nairobi Daily Nation, August, 18th, 2007.

Eckstein, H. (1992). *Regarding politics: Essays on political theory, stability, and change*. Berkeley, Los Angeles & Oxford: University of California Press.

Eemeren, F.H. van, Ed. (2002). *Advances in pragma-dialectics*. Amsterdam: SicSat / Newport News, VA: Vale Press.

Emler, N., & Frazer, E. (1999). Politics: The education effect. *Oxford Review of Education*, 25 (1-2), 251-273.

Ensin, P. S. Pendlebury and M. Tjiattas (2001) 'Deliberative Democracy, Diversity and the Challenges of Citizenship Education' *Journal of Philosophy of Education* Vol. 35, No 1.

Eugene Gogol, *Toward a Dialectic of Philosophy and Organization* Brill, Leiden and Boston, 2012. 416pp

Fielding, (2000) 'Education Policy and the Challenge of Living Philosophy', *Journal of Education Policy*, 15, 4, pp. 377-381.

Flynn, R. (2002) 'Broadcasting and the Celtic Tiger: From Promise to Practice' in P. Kirby, L.

Freire P. (1996) *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. London: Penguin group.

Freire p. (1985): *The political education*: London: Macmillan.

Freire p. (1973): *Education for critical consciousness*: London: Sheed and ward:

Government of Kenya (GoK) (1976). *Social Education and Ethics: Forms 1 and 2 Teachers' Guide*. (Gachathi Report), Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau

Government of Kenya (GoK) (1964). *Kenya Education Commission Report*. Ominde Report Nairobi: Government of Kenya

Government of Kenya (GoK) (1999b). *Totally Integrated Quality Education and Training (TIQET): Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Education System of Kenya*. Nairobi: Government of Kenya.



- Government of Kenya (GoK), (1999a) *National Poverty Eradication Plan 1999-2015*. (Koech Report). Nairobi: Government of Kenya.
- Government of Kenya (GoK) (1969). *Constitution of Kenya*. Nairobi: Government Printer.
- Government of Kenya (GoK) (1981). *Second University in Kenya: Report of the Presidential Working Party*. Mackay Report. Nairobi: Government of Kenya.
- Government of Kenya (GoK) (1988). *Education and Manpower Training for the Next Decade and Beyond*. (Kamunge Report). Nairobi: Government of Kenya
- Government of Kenya (GoK) (2002). *National Development Plan 2002-2008: Effective Management for Sustainable Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction*. Nairobi: Government of Kenya.
- Government of Kenya (GoK) (2005); *Draft Constitution of Kenya*, Kenya Gazette, 2005. Nairobi: Government of Kenya.
- Gowran, S. (2005) *Opening Doors; School and Community Partnership in Poverty Awareness and Social Education Initiatives – Guidelines for Partnership Development*; Dublin: CDVEC Curriculum
- Green, A. (1997). *Education, globalization and nation state*; Hampshire, U.K.: Macmillan Press.
- Hare, W. (1999) *Teaching to be critical; the concept of education*; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Hare, W. (1989), “Critical Thinking as an aim of education”; *The Aims of Education*; New York; Routledge.
- Hegel's Logic* (2009), with a Foreword by Andy Blunden, Marxists Internet Archive Publications.
- Hirst, P.H. and Peters, R.S. (1970): *The logic of education*; London; Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Hirst P.H. “Autonomy and Education” in Dearden, R.F. (1972): *Education and development of reason*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Kanyinga, K. (2007) “political change in Kenya”. In; *Governance and transition politics in Kenya*; Nairobi; University of Nairobi press;
- Kerr, D. (2002) ‘An International Review of Citizenship in the Curriculum: The IEA National Case Study and the INCA Archive’ in Steiner-Khamsi, G., Torney-Purta, J. and Schwille, J. (eds.)
- Kubow, P. K. (2007). *Teachers’ Construction of Democracy: Intersections of Western And*

Indigenous Knowledge in South Africa And Kenya. *Comparative Education Review*, 51(3) 307-328.

Kumah, F. J. (2005). *Promoting peace and stability through active citizenship: the case of Ghana*, World Congress on Civic Education, Jordan, June, [www.civnet.org.pdfs/ActiveCitizenshipUS.pdf](http://www.civnet.org.pdfs/ActiveCitizenshipUS.pdf) (accessed 30.3.07).

Law Society of Kenya; Kenya Human Rights Commission and International Commission of Jurists (not dated). *Kenya We Want: Proposal for a Model Constitution, Summary and Highlights*. Nairobi,

Lawton, D. (1992). *Education and politics in 1990s: Conflict or consequences*. London: The Falmer Press.

Leach, F., Fiscian, V., Kadzamira, E., Lemani, E. & Machakanja, P. (2003). *An investigative study into the Abuse of Girls in African Schools*. Education Research No. 56, London: DfID.

League of Kenya Women Voters, (1992/ 1997). *Women and Democracy: A Voters' Handbook*. Nairobi, Views Limited.

Lewis, L.J. (1962). *Education and political independence in Africa*: Edinburg. Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd.

Lumumba, p. (2008) CALL FOR political hygiene in Kenya. Nairobi.

Lynch, K. (2000) 'Education for Citizenship: The Need for a Major Intervention in Social and Political Education in Ireland' Unpublished paper from CSPE Conference, Bunratty Co. Clare, September 2000.

Lynch, K. and A. Lodge (2002) *Equality and Power in Schools, Redistribution, Recognition and Representation*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Macmillan education, (2002) *English Dictionary for advanced Learners*. London. Bloomsburg publishing plc.

Mbiti, J S (1969). *African Religions and Philosophy*. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers Ltd.

McKenzie, J. (1993). *Education as a political issue*. Aldershot: Avebury.

McLaughlin, T. (2000) 'Philosophy and Educational Policy: Possibilities, Tensions and Tasks', *Journal of Education Policy*, 15, 4, pp. 441-457

Mill J. S.(1948)**Essay on Liberty and Considerations on Representative overnment** Oxford:  
Basil Blackwell.

Mintrop, H. (2002) ‘Teachers and Civic Education Instruction in Cross-National Comparison’ in  
Steiner-Khamsi, G., Torney-Purta, J. and Schwille, J. (eds.) *New Paradigms and  
Recurring Paradoxes in Education for Citizenship: An International Comparison.*  
Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd.

Njoroge r. and BennaarsG: (2001) *Philosophy and Education in Africa*: Limuru. Kolbe press.

Odhiambo, F. (1998) *Hand book on some social-political philosophers*. Nairobi. Consolata  
institute of philosophy.

Ornstein A. and Levin D. (2000): *Foundations of education*; New York: Houghton Mifflin  
company.

O’Neill, O. (2009) ‘Applied Ethics: Naturalism, Normativity and Public Policy’, *Journal of  
Applied Philosophy*, 26, 3, pp.219-230.

Passmore, J. “Teaching to be critical” in Peters R.S.(1967) *The Concept of education by*  
London. Routledge&Kegan Paul.

Passmore J.(1980) *Philosophy of teaching* . London: Duckworth Ltd:

Peters R. S. (1963). *Education as initiation*: London. University of London institute of education:

Peters R. S. (1966). *Ethics and education*: London. Allen and Unwin.

Peters R.S. (1972): “Education and educated man”: in Adearden, R. F.(1972): *Education and  
development of reason*: London: Routledge&Kegan Paul.

Popkewitz, T. S. (2000). *Educational knowledge: Changing relationship between the state, civil  
society, and the educational community*. New York: State University Press.

Potrter , A and Crick. B, (1978). *Political education and political literacy*. London.

Renn, Ortwin (2004), “Perception of Risks,” *The Geneva Papers on Risk and Insurance* Vol. 29  
No. 1, 102–114.

Robson,W.A (1954) *The University teachings of social sciences-political science*. Paris.

United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Ross, A (2007). Multiple Identities and Education for Active Citizenship. *British Journal of  
Educational Studies*, 55 (3) , 286-303.

Ruto, K. S. (1989) “Conscientization and the liberal education debate: Paulo Freire considered.

(Unpublished M. Phil. Thesis submitted for examination in part fulfillment of the degree of masters of philosophy of the University of Cambridge).

Schmidtz, D. (2011) 'Nonideal Theory: What it is and What is Needs to be', *Ethics*, 121, 4 (July 2011), pp.772-796.

Shall, Richard (1996), In the foreword to Paulo Freire; *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. London. Penguin books Ltd.

Sifuna, D.N. (2000). Education for Democracy and Human Rights in African Schools: the Kenyan experience. *Africa Development*, XXV, Nos. 1 & 2. Nairobi. Jomo Kenyatta foundation.

Sifuna D.N. et al (2006): Themes in the sturdy of the foundations of education: Nairobi: the Jomo Kenyatta foundation.

Simmons, A. J. (2010) 'Ideal and Non-ideal Theory', *Ethics*, 38, 1, pp. 5-36

Swift, A. (2008) 'The Value of Philosophy in Nonideal Circumstances', *Social Theory and Practice*, 34, 3, pp363-387.

Swift, A. and White, S. (2008) 'Political Theory, Social Science and Real Politics', in Leopold. D and Stears, M. (eds), *Political Theory: Methods and Approaches*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 49-69

Terzi, L. (2008) *Justice and Equality in Education*, London and New York: Continuum

Torres, C. A. (1998). The state and education. In: C.A. Torres (Ed.), *Democracy, education and multiculturalism* (pp. 2-69). New York: Rowman& Little Field.

Wakhulia, G.M; (2004). *A Study of Student Democratisation through Administrative and Pedagogical Practices in Secondary Schools in Bungoma District*. Unpublished M.Ed Thesis, University of Nairobi.

Wamahiu, S.P. (1999). *Education and Gender Violence in Kenya*. Unpublished report.

Brighouse, H. (2001) *Egalitarian Liberalism and Justice in Education*, London: Institute of Education.

Wanyande P. et al (2007) : Governance and transition politics in Kenya. Nairobi. University of Nairobi press.

Webb, S. A. (2006). *Social work in a risk society: Social and political perspectives*. New

Wolff, J. (2011) *Ethics and Public Policy*, London and New York: Routledge.

World Bank (2004). *World Development Report, 2004: Making services work for poor people*.  
Washington DC: World Bank and Oxford University Press.