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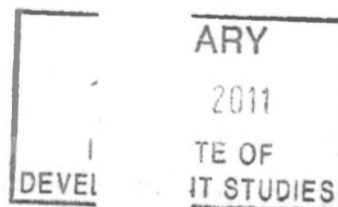
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THE ROLE OF HARAMBEE SCHOOLS IN EDUCATION FOR DEVELOPMENT

by

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INTRODUCTION

The first decade of independence in Kenya has been a period of rapid economic and social change. One of the more remarkable areas of change has been the secondary educational system. This transformation has not been so much in the type of education being received by students, but more in the scope of the system itself. Along with a dramatic increase in the number of government aided and maintained schools, over the past ten years rural communities have been mobilized in the spirit of "Harambee !!"¹ and have established self-help secondary schools to ensure that their children would not be deprived of the opportunity for social mobility which is thought to be a function of one's level of educational achievement.

Harambee schools have blossomed in every province in the Republic, and the Government, though it refuses to accept complete responsibility for these schools, has been lavish in its praise and support of such community efforts. Official statements make it clear that harambee projects are seen not as alternatives to a centrally directed development program, but as constituent parts in a "broad based rural development strategy".² This is a remarkable tribute to the common-man, and certainly assures him that he is doing his part for development.

The assumption that community self-help schemes are a part of a central plan for rural development presupposes that there is a certain amount of coordination between government agencies and the communities involved. It suggests that the government devises a plan concerning a particular aspect of rural society; communicates its objectives to local elites; and then has only to wait until its plan is implemented. In reality, the process is not so smooth or well defined. The government is in fact only variably involved in harambee projects and where it is involved its effectiveness in planning is often constrained by pre-emptive plans initiated at the local level.³

More often than not, local people accept or reject government involvement at the community level depending on their own perceptions of their needs.

By co-opting such projects as the construction of harambee cattle dips, wells, bridges, health centers, and community centers, the government is able to affect outcomes to some extent; but in the area of harambee secondary schools the impact of government policy is less easily discernable. The Government's policy commitment to harambee schools is more symbolic than it is tangible and this makes planning in this area even more tenuous than for rural development projects where government representatives have a certain amount of input potential. Wholesale cooptation of harambee school projects from the Government's point of view seems unrealistic since there are more than 500 schools of this type,⁴ most of which would require a tremendous amount of capital investment on the part of the government in order to make them at least approach the standards of the government aided system.⁵ Nevertheless, the authorities insist that harambee schools serve a vital function in the process of national development. Some critics, on the other hand, contend that harambee schools do not represent the contribution to development which is attributed to them. - They say that, in general harambee school students are being mis-educated and under-educated which does more to raise frustrations than it contributes to development.

There is empirical evidence to support the latter point of view. One has only to look at the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination and East African Certificate Examination results for harambee and government aided schools respectively and compare them; or to look at the overall differences in teacher qualifications; or the physical facilities for the two types of schools to realize that the differences could have a negative impact upon education in self-help schools. Furthermore it has been found that, whereas securing a place in a harambee school is seen as "getting a second chance" by many young people who are not fortunate enough to be admitted to a government school, few of them are able to overcome this initial failure.⁶

The purpose of this paper is to examine closely the evolution of the harambee secondary school phenomenon as well as the government policy towards such schools. Special attention will be given to how harambee schools relate to the total government educational policy. Though harambee schools represent a potentially crucial element in the process of economic and social change; it is my contention that their true potential has yet to be realized; and as they exist today, they can only at best have a marginal impact upon the course of development. Unless a policy is devised which allows for more than just informal and symbolic control over harambee schools, there is reason to doubt that the government will be able to continue successfully to elicit public support for its educational policy.

The paper is divided into three main sections. The first section deals with the historical development of harambee schools; ^{the} second looks at the pattern of development and content of current educational policy as it relates to self-help schools, and the third at the harambee school phenomenon in perspective.

Historical Background.

The Roots of Harambee.

The people of Kenya, like so many other peoples throughout Africa, have a long-standing tradition of self-help.⁷ Thus, some linkages may be drawn between this tradition and the self-help phenomenon as it exists today. One of ^{the} most outstanding examples of the willingness and the capacity of the Kenyan people to provide schooling for their children on an independent self-help basis is represented in the first African independent schools which emerged during the early years of the twentieth century. Independent schools were for the most part African reactions to the attempts of European missionaries to strip them of what they perceived to be some of the most prized aspects of their culture. Though Africans generally accepted the idea that formal education was beneficial, they often rejected the notion that traditions inhibited the positive effects of Western-style education.

The first independent school was perhaps established in what is today Nyanza Province in 1910 by John Owalo.⁸ As was the case

with many such schools which followed, the school was an appendage of a separatist church, the Nomiya Luo Mission which was also founded by Owalo. Similar schools in all parts of Kenya emerged throughout most of the remainder of the colonial period. In addition to religious education and character building the mission's school also emphasized basic literary skills, but the quality of education was very low as compared to the education being given in mission schools run by European missionaries.

Though the first instances of independent African schools could be found among the Luo of Western Kenya, the Kikuyu of the central part of the country at a later date developed perhaps the most sophisticated network of independent schools. The emergence of independent schools in the late 1920's in Kikuyuland was basically sparked by a conflict between the Kikuyu and European missionaries over the custom of female circumcision. This rite was so central in the Kikuyu belief system that many communities preferred to separate themselves completely from the missionary influence rather than to sacrifice their custom. They chose to establish their own churches and schools.

Self-help committees were set up for the purpose of providing a focus for the building and maintenance of a system of primary education staffed and run by Africans which provided an adequate education and at the same time was not disrespectful of traditional beliefs and customs. Communities gave their labor, their money and anything else which could be converted into a resource in support of their own schools.

The early 1930s witnessed a proliferation of independent schools in Kikuyuland and also the initiation of movements aimed at providing some sort of central organization for these schools. The first association of independent schools, the Kikuyu Karing'a Education Association, was founded in Southern Kiambu in 1933 and became the organizational hub of schools in that area. One year later a similar association emerged in the Northern part of Kikuyuland, in the area between Fort Hall and Nyeri, the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association. The two movements evolved separately but for the same purposes and though there were several attempts to bring them together into a monolith, this never happened. They did, however, manage to come into agreement for the purpose of establishing an African teacher training college in 1939 so that the growing demand for teachers with some training could be met. The college was called the African Teachers College.

The teachers' college was located at Githunguri in Southern Kiambu, and like the independent schools which it served, it was completely a self-help project. Fund raising for the college was carried out in the same way as it was for primary schools but on a much wider scale. Most students there came from what is now Central Province, but there were also a few from other parts of the country.

The guiding forces behind the college were Peter Mbiyu Koinange who founded the school and Jomo Kenyatta who joined its staff in 1946. Both Koinange ^{and} Kenyatta had been educated abroad and attempted to use their experience to provide a base for quality education at the college. They worked tirelessly to attract trained teachers, and to improve the physical features of the school as well as the quality of education being dispensed there. Though the actual quality of education is subject to debate,¹⁰ many Africans who were in some way connected with the school feel that the education received in the college was comparable to the schooling being received in mission-sponsored schools.

Although the colonial government insisted that any new schools had to be registered with the Department of Education and that school inspectors conduct periodic quality

inspections, neither of these requirements was rigorously adhered to. Many schools functioned without ever being registered, and even though the Department of Education formally had the right and responsibility to inspect schools, staff manpower limitations prevented any real systematic checking of independent schools. Even for government-aided schools it was difficult to control the quality of education from one school to the next. There were few qualified teachers and often classes were overcrowded. The Great Depression followed by the Second World War facilitated the almost unfettered emergence of independent schools, as the colonial administration was severely undermanned and under-financed during that period. By the end of the War, independent schools could be found as far west as Kisii and Kakamega and as far east as Ukambani.¹¹

At the height of the movement it is estimated that there were between 200 and 400 independent schools.¹² These schools flourished until the declaration of a state of emergency in October 1952 as a result of the initiation of the Mau Mau rebellion. At that time most independent schools were closed because they were thought to cultivate the political aspirations and discontents which gave rise to the Mau Mau uprising. After independence, many schools re-opened; but their motivation had changed. No longer was the self-help movement a negative reaction to the imposition of alien values; but a positive reaction to what people perceived to be the needs of a developing country. Eventually, people began to raise their sights, and established harambee secondary schools. The linkage between harambee secondary schools and the first independent schools is more symbolic than it is physical. The tradition of self-help more than anything else made it seem only natural that the people begin to do things for themselves when the government made it clear that it had only limited resources and many more demands to be met.

The Beginning of the Harambee Secondary School Movement.

The reasons for the emergence of harambee secondary schools around the time of independence are many, but perhaps two reasons are most outstanding. First of all, in his inaugural address at Independence, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta sounded the rallying

call, "Harambee!!" indicating that since independence had been successfully wrested from the hands of the colonialists, it was now time for Kenyans to bend their backs in the work of development and to build a strong, unified Kenyan nation. The notion of "Harambee" as defined by Kenyatta forms the basis of Kenya's ideology of independence, and draws heavily upon the tradition of self-help. It is not as systematic and well articulated as Tanzania's concept of "Ujamaa"; but it nevertheless serves the function of mobilizing people towards certain ends and gives them a justification for their efforts.¹³ The diffuseness and vagueness of the ideology, however, do have their drawbacks, not the least of which is the fact that people are free to interpret the meaning of "harambee" to suit their own tastes. This sometimes results in wastage and duplication; for example, when a community initiates a school but is unable to maintain it for long or when a school is erected in a neighborhood which is already adequately served by existing institutions.

The second reason for the welling-up of harambee schools can be found in the fact that the people realized that in a developing country such as Kenya there was a tremendous amount of opportunity for the new, educated elite. At the same time the existing educational system could only accommodate a limited number of young people. The heritage of self-help coupled with a genuine popular desire on the part of Africans to maximize the potential of their children moved people to begin to establish community sponsored schools.

The political rhetoric at the time of independence emphasized the need for universal free primary education and for a total destruction of the racial barriers which existed in the school system.¹⁴ While the latter was for the most part realized immediately, the former has, to this day, been only partially realized.¹⁵ Nevertheless, there has been a constant drive to get all primary school-aged children into school. In some provinces this has been more successful than in others. For example, in some parts of Central Province among the Kikuyu, who have a long tradition of educating their children, primary school enrolment at present is nearly 90%, and at the same time in the Northeastern Province, peopled by nomadic pastoralists,

the number of primary-school-aged children in school is only about 5%.¹⁶ On the whole, Kenya boasts that almost 75% of its primary-aged youths are now in school as compared to less than 50% at Independence.

The sudden expansion of the primary system consequently increased the pressures being placed on the secondary system as well as upon the government which has the responsibility to provide the young with alternative approaches to becoming productive citizens.

Initial official attempts to deal with this problem were uncertain and almost half-hearted. The Government wanted to maintain political stability; yet, it was clearly unable to satisfy demands for an expansion of the secondary school system. There were vague references to how important it was for the people to work together in the spirit of "harambee", and to strive to educate their children as fully as possible, but the government never came down wholeheartedly in favor of the type of pre-emptive planning which is involved in projects of this kind where the government is totally uninvolved.

Sportaneously, harambee secondary schools began to emerge. Not surprisingly, the locus of the harambee school movement was in Central Province among the Kikuyu.¹⁷ At the time of independence the opportunity index, that is the ratio of those qualified to enter into secondary school as compared to those who were in fact able to secure places in government aided schools, was as low as 4%.¹⁸ Rather than wait for government initiative, local communities began to establish their own schools. Table I shows how rapidly these schools emerged as compared to aided schools.

Year	aided schools	number of students	unaided schools	number of students	Total schools	Total number of students
1945	4		0		4	
1957	21		4		25	
1960	33		8		41	
1963*	82(36)	23,166	13(19)	6,954	95	30,120
1964	152	27,476	68	8,445	222	35,921
1965	186	35,576	150	14,400	336	45,976
1966	199	41,227	204	21,966	400	63,193
1967	206	49,488	336	32,291	542	80,779
1968	232	56,546	369	44,815	601	101,361
1969	253	65,644	431	49,602	694	115,246
1970	300	74,521	486	52,254	783	126,855
1971	331	81,043	478	59,576	809	140,719
1972	364	91,494	585**	70,416	949	161,910

* From 1963 on, figures included previously all-Asian and All-European schools which were integrated into a unitary system.

** Most of these schools are classified by the Ministry of Education as harambee schools. In early 1973 it was estimated that 520 unaided schools were harambee schools.

SOURCE: Department of Education Triennial Reports and Ministry of Education Annual Reports, Republic of Kenya.

The official response to this new movement was mixed. Government officials and other politicians commenting on the inferior quality of these schools called for coordination between the government and harambee school committees and formally declared that unless harambee schools met certain standards they would not be allowed to develop.²⁰ The Ominde Commission, reporting on the state of education in Kenya immediately after independence, in its first set of recommendations for educational reform, argued in strong terms for the need for central planning in education and for stringent controls over the expansion of harambee schools.²¹ This view was supported in 1965 in Seasonal Paper No. 10 which is supposed to spell out Kenya's brand of "African Socialism".²²

In spite of strong words from official and semi-official sources, harambee schools continued to emerge. This steady increase in the movement's intensity was fueled by the endorsement of such

projects by politicians in their own legislative constituencies in order to satisfy local demands, to make sure that their constituencies were not left behind others, and also, to help maintain and perhaps even broaden their own political bases. Between 1965 and 1966, the Government's position, which at least rhetorically had been rather firm, appears to have softened. This is reflected in public statements by government officials and also in the change in tone in the second volume of the Ominde Commission Report. The latter, for example, recognized the political perils of attempts to dogmatically control harambee schools. The weight of public opinion, it was admitted, could very well minimize the feasibility of rigid control, especially since the Government was unwilling to take over financial and administrative responsibility for harambee schools.

Educational Policy and Harambee Schools.

A closer examination of Government policy as regards harambee schools is instructive. By examining how the Government has attempted to deal over time with what may clearly be viewed as a problem, one can perhaps better understand the process which led to current educational policies. What is discernable is a marked pattern of a shifting from attempts to control the quality of education and to institute meaningful administrative controls from the center to a more politically oriented policy which has the basic objective of informally and symbolically binding harambee communities to the Government and its policies. Basically Government educational policy as regards to harambee schools has been one which attempts to control them with a minimum input of scarce resources.

The Formal Policy.

As early as 1964, the Government was attempting to put curbs on the number of schools which could be established. The Ministry of Education declared at that time that unless harambee school committees could show that they held a minimum of initial capital resources they would not be allowed to open. A prospective school had to indicate that it possessed at least £2,000 if it was to be housed in already constructed buildings and at least £4,000 if it was to construct new facilities. No stipulation was made for the qualifications of teachers.²³

This new policy came under immediate fire from politicians and the founders of harambee schools. It was apparent that such a policy was weighted in favor of the more progressive areas. For example, whereas it might not be difficult for a school in the agriculturally rich Central Province to raise the minimum amount needed and much more, in the poorer areas like some parts of Eastern and Nyanza Provinces, raising funds was a slow and arduous process. Often, in the poorer areas, a school had to be built piecemeal as funds became available rather than all at once. This policy appeared to exacerbate the inequalities which already existed between the more progressive and less well-off areas; as a result, politicians were quick to condemn it and many began to become more personally involved with the development of harambee schools in their own as well as neighboring constituencies. Even with these new restrictions, harambee school development expanded from less than fifty schools in 1964 to nearly two hundred by 1966. Part of the continuation of this expansion might be attributed to the fact that these rules were not rigorously enforced. It was not unusual for a school not to declare its existence to the government until it was actually functioning. Provincial inspectors whose duty it was to examine all secondary schools operations were (and still are) burdened with a wide ranging set of responsibilities and did not possess the staff which would be needed to adequately monitor harambee school affairs.

By 1966, the government attempted to make its position clear as far as the entire self-help phenomenon was concerned in hopes that such an official pronouncement would serve to harness the enthusiasm being manifested throughout the country. Referring to education and self-help, Sessional Paper No.10, "African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya", stated that

Control of education (whether general or vocational) and educational institutions (whether community or individually owned) will be vigorously enforced in order to ensure uniform standards and to relate educational development to the needs and resources of the country.....²⁴

Self-help in Kenya has strong roots in African traditions and has therefore important potential for development. But it, too, must be planned and controlled.²⁵

This major policy statement complemented the apprehensions already being expressed by educational and economic planners over the uncontrolled expansion of harambee projects in general and harambee schools in particular. It was apparent that some machinery needed to be established which would facilitate control of self-help schools by the government as well as to provide some kind of direction so that their efforts could play a meaningful role in planned development. Such a program, however, was not immediately forthcoming. Instead there were additional attempts to control the expansion of self-help schools without involving the government too extensively with them.

In 1966 a new system of examinations for students completing two years of secondary school, the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination, was initiated. The declared purpose of the exam was to provide some "recognized standard of achievement" for those students who did not, for various reasons, pursue their education beyond form two.²⁶ Sitting for the examination was voluntary, but many harambee school students seized the opportunity to be evaluated at this stage in hopes that by doing well they might prove themselves suited for admission into a government aided school at the form three level. A recent report by the International Labour Organization, commenting on educational opportunity, suggests that the KJSE is for many students a terminal examination. It is estimated that perhaps as high as 75% of the harambee school students who reach form two leave at this point.²⁷ Indirectly, the KJSE, then, serves as a mechanism for the students' own self-evaluation as well as a last chance for many to secure places in aided schools. Many, once they have scored poorly, opt not to return to school and still others choose not to return because they are unsuccessful in obtaining a place in a government-aided school. Evidence indicates that fewer and fewer harambee school students, even if they achieve superior results on the KJSE, are successful in obtaining places in government sponsored schools.²⁸

Although the government was prepared to accept the existence of harambee schools, there was no noticeable attempt to incorporate them into the aided system. Furthermore, there were no official attempts at this time to scrutinize harambee schools and their operations. Unofficially, a harambee school headmaster's conference was arranged by the Department of Education at University College - Nairobi in August of 1966. The aim of this convocation was to bring together a selected group of harambee school headmasters and university educators to discuss the problems of running a harambee school and to draw-up recommendations as to how they might be helped.²⁹ This meeting afforded an opportunity for scholars to acquire a better understanding of the harambee school movement, but, since it was not held under the aegis of the government, no policy was directly formulated as a result of the conference. There is no doubt, however, that the problems of harambee schools had begun to make in-roads onto the public agenda.

With the passage of the Education Act of 1968 official attempts were for the first time since independence being made to reform educational regulations so that harambee schools might be encompassed under the same set of rules as other schools. The act articulated in detail the process of registering an unaided school with the Ministry of Education, as well as conditions under which registration might be denied or revoked. The law states in part that:

15. (1) Where application is made for the registration of an unaided school, the Minister shall cause the school to be provisionally registered for a period of eighteen months, if he is satisfied that—
 - (a) the establishment of the school is consistent with the needs of Kenya and the economical and efficient provision of public education; and
 - (b) the premises and accomodation are suitable and adequate, having regard to the number, ages and sex of the pupils who are to attend the school, and fulfil the prescribed minimum requirements of health and safety and conform with any building regulations for the time being in force under any written law; and

(c) the manager is a suitable and proper person to be the manager of the school:...

(2) If, at the end of one year from the provisional registration of a school the minister is satisfied that efficient and suitable instructions is being provided at the school, he may cause the school to be registered.....³⁰

A great deal depends upon the competence and prestige of the manager of a school and his suitability in the eyes of education officials. He may be a traditional leader, a religious, a businessman or a teacher, but usually communities attempt to get the most responsible person they can to fill the post. This facilitates acceptance by the Ministry, and also aids in acquiring access to various officials once the school is in operation.

Although a school may be refused registration or closed-down for failure to comply with any of the above mentioned provisions, this rarely happens. One official admitted that the only "criterion the government has for registration of a school is that it fulfill a real educational need. Determination of this "real educational need" is extremely liberal and generally means that if a school is not in the immediate neighborhood of a similar school it is automatically accepted. In some cases, the government finds it politically wise to surrender to local pressures for the registration of a school even when it does lead to duplication. Despite the legal basis for a rigid application of this aspect of educational policy, no firm enforcement of the law has been attempted thus far. Rather than forcefully attempt to control harambee schools, the tendency has been to admit the primacy of politics. The Minister for Labor, Ngala Mwendwa, commenting on this problem perhaps reflected the feelings of many politicians and government officials when he stated that:

It is hard to close Harambee schools and reduce their production... they are a political thing and even though I have this feeling about those schools, and even though I am not very happy with what they are doing, I myself am building these schools... this is political and cannot be helped. ³¹

The demand for education both at the primary and post-primary level is so intense that politicians and civil servants alike have learned to exercise caution when dealing with local initiative in school development. Politicians, of course, would like to insure their political survival and therefore find it virtually impossible not to support self-help schools in their constituencies. Civil servants and ministers, on the other hand, are concerned with the wider goals of progress and national stability. Since the government is limited in what it can do in eliminating the inequalities which exist from one region to the next, it is almost forced to accept the attempts of local people to help themselves even where their efforts do not exactly coincide with development objectives. This is rationalized on the basis of the fact that one of the goals of the current Development Plan is to make sure that there are enough places in secondary schools for those of "recognized abilities".

The demand for secondary places is greater than the aided system can meet, and consequently official efforts were begun around 1969 to selectively aid harambee schools so that the general standard of education might rise. Initially the government instituted a policy of providing trained teachers to schools which were in areas the Ministry of Education felt were most in need of secondary schools.³² As a result, teachers could be appointed by the Teacher Service Commission to serve in harambee schools while at the same time being availed of the same contractual provisions as teachers in aided schools. Teachers' salaries were paid by the commission, and they were allowed full pension rights. This new arrangement had the effect of not only improving the quality of education in the schools which were fortunate enough to get a TSC trained teacher, but it also enhanced the prestige of the school and freed harambee monies for other pressing needs. Headmasters of harambee schools interviewed in a study conducted in early 1973 generally tended to feel that the acquisition of at least one trained teacher sponsored by the government could improve the total educational climate in their schools.³³ Such teachers, they held were aware of current trends in education and could often provide valuable advice to a school's headmaster and also its governing committee.

The placement of government-sponsored trained teachers in harambee schools is not a systematic process as far as can be discerned. When questioned about this, officials claimed that such placement was based upon need, but did not volunteer how need was determined. Headmasters tended to feel that their biggest assets in aiding them to obtain trained teachers from the government were either influential committee members or an M.P. who was adept at locating critical points in the decision-making process upon which to apply pressure.

A school might sometimes through its own efforts recruit a teacher and then ask the TSC ^{to} pay his salary. This, however, it appears seldom happens.

There seems to be no mechanism at work which guards against inequalities in the placement of teachers. One school for example, whose headmaster admitted attracted only the poorest students in his area because of the already large number of schools existing in the neighborhood, was fortunate enough to have 50% of its teaching staff payed for by the Commission. The headmaster went on to assert that his fortunes, he was certain, were directly attributable to the efforts of an important member of the school's committee. Most harambee schools are not so blessed. In late 1972, Taita Towett, the Minister for Education, proclaimed that the Government possessed limited resources and though it would like to provide at least one qualified (trained) teacher per year for each harambee school, this was virtually impossible. Such a process, he said, would cost the Government in excess of K£500,000 annually.³⁴

In addition to supplying trained teachers to some harambee schools, the Ministry of Education instituted the practice of taking over from twenty-five to thirty harambee school form one classes per year in existing self-help schools. This policy was initiated in 1967-68 and later became a major part ^{of} the Development Plan for 1970-74. As a result few form one classes have been opened recently in government schools.³⁵

Taking over entails granting a school enough money and material assistance to maintain and educate one class of students over a year's time. The process is continued over a four

year period until the school has a complete four year secondary school under the sponsorship of the government. Gradually, in theory, the community can withdraw its own support and let the school rely exclusively upon the support received from the Ministry. In reality, however, the practice has been for local communities to open new self-help classes which parallel the aided streams in most cases, and usually, even students in harambee streams benefit from their presence.³⁶ The quality of education in such a school, it could be argued, is jeopardized in favour of equity, but this approach is the one which would appear to cause less strife and ill feeling both in the school and in the school's relations with the community it serves, and is the one which is most frequently followed.

Like the process for placing trained teachers in harambee schools, the method for taking-over schools is not clearly stated. One official maintained that schools were taken over at a rate of one per district per year, but there appears to be little evidence supporting this system. Another education officer indicated that the decision to take over a school was left completely to the Minister for Education. What is perhaps closer to the truth is that such decisions are for the most part made by senior bureaucrats led by the Permanent Secretary who is extremely influential in major decisions as opposed to a body like the Ministry of Finance and Planning where the Minister himself is reputed to be dominant in the decision-making process. The Minister's office is apparently consulted, but the bureaucrats seem to carry the most weight in the implementation of this aspect of policy.

Formally, the Ministry is supposed to act upon inspection reports on a school and various indicators of educational need. Other factors, however, invariably enter into the decision-taking process. For example, as in the placement of teachers in unaided schools, informal political pressures and influence greatly enhance a school's chances of being incorporated by the Government, several headmasters intimated that they were convinced that without the aid of influential people they stood little chance of being taken over.

Already by 1972, only four years into the take-over policy, there were signs in official circles that this program would take too long and cost too much. In November on 1972 the Minister for Education, Mr. Towett announced in Kakamega that his ministry would sponsor a nation-wide meeting of headmasters of harambee schools to consider the problems and prospects of self-help schools.³⁷ This announcement was significant in that it marked the first time that any government agency had publicly considered the harambee school movement as a monolithic interest group. Mr. Towett noted that it would take the Government almost twenty years to incorporate the more than 500 existing harambee schools into the aided system. The proposed meeting would form a basis from which a new policy could be developed.

Initially one large meeting was scheduled to be held in Nairobi on November 25th, but as that date approached, it was decided that for the sake of dealing with the problems of each province individually, a series of meetings would be held, one in each province excepting North Eastern over about a six week period. The first meeting was held in Meru, the Eastern Province Provincial Headquarters, on November 27th.³⁸ The Meru meeting set the tone for what was to come. In effect, Towett indicated that the government was prepared to embark upon a new educational policy, one which took harambee schools into account. He admitted that the present policy of taking over schools was not adequate to meet the demands of the populace for more post-secondary education with government assistance, and that something had to be done to prevent the uncontrolled enthusiasm represented in the self-help school movement. The plan was to have the delegates to these meetings, the chairman and headmasters of harambee schools, elect district representatives and once this was done, one provincial representative body would be selected from among those already elected as district delegates. The provincial representative group consisted of a chairman, a treasurer, and a secretary, and as with most harambee ruling bodies, an attempt was made to select the most prestigious leaders possible. For example, at the Nyanza Province meeting in early December, Oginga Odinga, one-time leader of the banned KPU, was elected the provincial group's head, and similar cases could be found in the other provinces. Odinga, though retired from politics, as a businessman continues to show interest in his community

and appeared eager to apply what political clout he could. In his speech of acceptance this was quite apparent. Addressing himself to the Minister's assessment that it would take at least fifteen to twenty years to incorporate all existing harambee schools into the domain of the Government, he forcefully argued that:

"If you told us that by the end of fifteen or twenty years all of our schools would be taken over, that would be enough. Fifteen years is not a long time. We can wait...if only we know that at the end our dreams will be answered... Do I speak for all the people of Nyanza Province?!!" (The audience resounded with a very loud, "yes!!!")³⁷

The move on the part of the Minister for Education, dramatic as it was, appears to have been more style than substance. It was significant that the first attempt to organize harambee schools into a monolithic interest group was initiated by the Minister for Education himself. As a group, harambee schools could certainly pose a very serious threat to government attempts to control policy directions; but by coopting this organization from the very beginning, the minister virtually insured that his agency would be looked to for leadership. This was further assured by existing limitations on making public political speeches in Kenya. Thus, Mr. Towett had little to fear that his initial efforts would serve as a catalyst for a national movement counter to his own involvement.

After the provincial delegations had been set there was supposed to be a round table conference under the auspices of the Ministry of Education during the first week in January, 1973. This conference never came about, and there was no indication as to why this happened.

Some observers feel that Towett's campaign to communicate with those involved with harambee schools was not a totally spurious adventure. The meetings served to expose the level of discontent and frustrations existing in self-help school communities, and as such reenforced the feeling that something positive had to be done.

Initially, planning for a new harambee schools policy, as viewed by Towett, was to be a democratic process with

the views of people from the local level being considered along with those of planners at the center. In fact this never came to pass. The provincial and district groups simply atrophied.

The Informal and Symbolic Policy.

An assessment of formal educational policy as regards to harambee secondary schools reveals the fact that even though the Government possesses the legal foundation to pursue a rigidly planned policy, political considerations militate against such an approach. To refuse to allow the establishment of new harambee schools or to close down those which are functioning poorly could lead to widespread popular indignation as well as to protests from irate politicians. A policy of tough-talk with no consequent follow-up action also has limited chance of success. In the past the people have quickly realized the limited capacity of the Government to enforce some policy pronouncements. As a result, harambee schools have developed in spite of official attempts to control them. The Government has gradually resigned itself to this fact, and has more recently relied upon a policy which employs mostly informal and symbolic mechanisms of control. Pre-emptively the people associated with harambee schools decided where schools would be built, what catchment they would serve, and so on, and to avoid the embarrassment of admitting that the harambee movement was out of control, the Government began to rationalize their existence and to draw verbal linkages between traditions, self-help schools, and national development. This move was after the fact, but it has facilitated the establishment of informal controls to fortify the formal aspects of policy which sometimes are barely in evidence.

The informal facets ^{of} policy are best exemplified by what we might call "the rules of the game". The criteria for successfully passing through the harambee school system are the same as for aided schools. After four years of secondary school, one must sit for the East Africa Certificate of Education Examination in order to receive official acknowledgement of his standard level of academic achievement. Government agencies design and maintain these examinations and harambee school students must strive to meet whatever challenges are presented by them.

Any school may acquire from the Ministry of Education, free-of-charge, a book list and a course syllabus. This is significant in that should a school choose to educate without following the guidelines set-out by the Ministry, it runs the risk of having its students inadequately prepared for the EACE. This centrally determined system of examinations has the effect of encouraging students and teachers to place a premium upon the kinds of things which are expected to appear on the exam. There is little room left for creativity. The students are almost totally uninterested in learning anything which may be irrelevant on the examination, and teachers feel constrained from doing anything other than preparing their classes for the EACE, especially in the third and fourth years of secondary school.

Harambee schools may solicit advice from the Ministry of Education as well as from provincial education offices, but they are not directly tied in with the official communication network. Provincial officers ^{are more} concerned with meeting the needs of government-aided schools. Nevertheless, most harambee schools are anxious in as much as is possible to comply with the standards set by the Ministry. They feel that they have no alternative if they are to achieve some degree of competitiveness with the aided schools.

The adherence to the government syllabus is strictly voluntary. There is no special "harambee syllabus". Thus, the broad outlines of courses offered in self-help schools closely parallel those offered in aided schools. A great deal of emphasis is placed upon arts subjects and very little if any focus is given to agricultural and practical subjects. Part of this may be attributed to the fact that harambee schools suffer from an overall lack of trained teachers; and teachers that can teach agriculture and applied science subjects even for government schools are hard to come by. In addition, facilities and equipment for teaching science requires substantial capital and recurrent outlay, much more than most harambee schools can afford. Whereas students in rural areas might most profitably be trained in such ways as to prepare them to participate in their own rural culture, they are generally

aimlessly oriented towards preparing for an examination which equips them only for more education and existence in an industrially based economy.

There is no doubt that the ability to set examination standards gives the Government a certain degree of control over the total process of education in harambee schools. This is a negative constraint in that few self-help schools score as well on the EACE as even the average aided-schools. Yet, the enrolment figures in harambee schools continue to rise and schools continue to be built. Parents in rural communities persist in holding out hopes that their own children might "make it" where others fail. It is difficult to explain this dogged faith. Of course, a great deal must be attributed to the personal perceptions of people in the countryside as to how to achieve a higher standard of living for themselves and their children. Education has proven itself in that respect. There are numerous examples of individuals leaving from various rural communities, being educated and eventually becoming very "important" people. The closedness of the opportunity structure has yet to impress itself upon rural peoples to any noticeable extent.

In addition to acknowledging the widely held faith in education as a means to economic and social advancement, when attempting to explain why people remain committed to the idea of harambee, one cannot neglect the importance of the hortative style exhibited by government officials while endeavoring to elicit support from rural communities for educational policies. What is said and how it is said has a great impact upon the masses of people who look to the Government for leadership and reinforcement for their own community efforts. The effect of this aspect of policy is enhanced by the fact that when, let us say, the Minister for Education visits a school and gives a speech, it is well covered in the media. Particularly in the area of education the Government appears to follow a policy which calls for frequent visits to rural areas by the central government. The Permanent Secretary for Education, and the vice-president, or even the President

himself might embark upon such a junket. The most common actors in this sort of production, however, are the Minister for Education, Taita Arap Towett and the Vice-President, Daniel Arap Moi, the ideological spokesman for the Government. By far, Towett is the most active.

What normally happens is that an official is invited to a school for either a fund-raising meeting, a school opening, or a speech-day to be the guest of honour and main speaker. The school does not necessarily have to be in his home area and most often it is not. Once at the school, the guest is taken on a tour of the school grounds, visiting classrooms, sports fields, and teachers' houses. The usual intention of inviting someone from the central government to a school is to have them look at the school in hopes that it might be taken over or aided in some fashion.

After having toured the school and having talked with members of the staff and school committee, a large baraza is held with students parents and members of the surrounding community in attendance. In making his speech, the visitor often uses his time to address some of the problems he has been presented with by the school administration during his tour, or to make a statement concerning the granting of some type of aid to the school. No matter who the speaker is, his talk usually centers around the vital contribution being made by self-help efforts and the need for continuing this hard but important work

Murray Edelman has drawn attention to the importance of styles of behavior in understanding political functions. He notes that, "... style does convey meaning and... the meaning is a central explanation of political stability or polarization."⁴⁰ When politicians attempt to communicate with mass publics, the hortative style, according to Edelman is most in evidence. The aim of this approach is to elicit public support for policies, and to create the illusion of popular participation in decision-making. What is important here is that the dramatic rhetoric exhibited by representatives of a government, or politicians in general, is intended to influence the reaction of the audience towards which it is directed.

In Kenya the masses of people involved in the harambee school movement represent a crucial public in the eyes of the Ministry of Education as well as the Government as a whole. They act, for the most part, independently of central direction. Should they be completely ignored, this could augur ill for the stability of the country. The Government has to at least symbolically present an aura of concern and involvement. This is done through the hortatory language of public officials praising the work of rural communities and asking them to continue to manifest their enthusiasm. This policy aspect is an important part of the Government's total education policy..

In spite of the fact that harambee development without central planning inhibits the ability of the Ministry of Education to make adequate long-range projections, at least publically harambee schools are seen as integral parts of Kenya's rapidly expanding secondary school system. On the surface, it may appear irrational for the Minister for Education to proclaim

Over 120,000 children in the country (in 1973) will be looking for form one places throughout the republic and only 60,000 of them will succeed in getting into the Government and harambee schools we have. The situation thus creates a serious problem and therefore calls for more harambee secondary schools to be established throughout the country...⁴¹

Such an assertion is particularly suspect when one stops to realize that what the Minister is really asking for is an escalation of the practice of getting up self-help schools with no systematic, well-laid-out central plan for location, size, and type of school. Even politicians express hopes that this spirit might be arrested.

As irrational as it might seem, to encourage harambee efforts across the board is consistent with the Government's policy of symbolically associating itself with self-help efforts. It must be noted, however, that the basis of this whole approach is almost exclusively political. Even though the Minister for

Education may use harambee barazas to make seemingly important policy pronouncements or to dole out tangible benefits to certain schools, the real value of such a policy is the effect it has upon the mass public. People come to see the Government as concerned and involved with their problems, when in reality, there is an official attempt not to become overly committed to the harambee school movement in a material sense. One senior bureaucrat, when questioned about a public statement made by the Minister for Education replied, "Our minister sometimes over-states the case. We do not generally announce policy changes in speeches of this kind."⁴²

How a policy is presented to the public, then, and how it is in fact seen by those involved in policy-making is often at variance. Symbolic aspects of policy are often involved to influence a certain popular disposition, and may or may not be a true reflection of the forces at work.

The Harambee School Phenomenon in Perspective

Organization and Financing

A harambee school is usually initiated on the basis of a felt need within a community for more educational opportunity for its children.⁴³ The movement may be focused on some local religious, political or traditional leader or group, and evolves as a result of a total community effort. The people of a community raise the funds for their schools; they lend their labour for its construction, and they themselves, most often without government assistance, maintain the school over time. Most communities, however, which take it upon themselves to begin a school do so with the idea that the Government will eventually step in and begin to materially support it, but at least at the beginning a harambee school must be contented with only being recognized by the Government.

In order for a school to be recognized -- as most would like to be -- it must show that it has a "competent manager". The qualifications of a manager are not well defined, but it is generally understood that the more prestigious the central figure or members of the school's committee, the more prestigious the school itself.

The fund raising for a harambee school in the first instance is conducted in a mass meeting or baraza of the community which desires the school. A full agenda is usually scheduled with traditional song and dance intermixed with stirring speeches which remind the people of their heritage of self-help and how it can be brought to bear in the current situation. Philip Mbithi has cogently described this process in his study of the organizational basis of self-help in the areas of Machakos and Nyeri. In these localities Mbithi found that traditionally sanctioned co-operative work groups provide the organizational structure of a harambee drive. Such an organization is characterized by a well articulated division of labour with a president, several vice-presidents, and a committee. The most significant actors in this process are local people who owe their allegiance to the clan, the tribe, or ^{to} other local entities, and whose authority is rooted in tradition. (See Table II). Local representatives of the central government frequently are aware of self-help drives and may

TABLE II

DIVISION OF LABOUR AND SYMBOLISM IN A SELF HELP PROJECT

<p>Other Government Representatives</p>	<p>Government Administration</p>	<p>Official Hierarchy</p>
<p>Community development Assistant (Decides on nature of Government support with chief and Presidents).</p>	<p>Chief- Caretaker of all moneys and contributions. Helps advice on utility of projects.</p>	<p>President-- In charge of coordinating all Clans, in any one locality--often Sub-location location. Normally a woman. Boosts up Competitive spirit. Normally elected and formally 'married' from her husband to the regional self-help movement.</p>
<p>Cooperatives Assistant Agricultural Assistant Medical Assistant Political Representative(s)</p>	<p>Headman - Liaison work with Vice President and Chairman. In charge of maintaining order and security of women at night, and</p>	<p>Father of girls' or Clan Chairman - Elected by married women of the Clan who may include two or more age-grades. Represents the girls with the chief's self-help committee.</p>
<p>Represents the President of Kenya whose call Harambee represents the rallying them for this form of socialism.</p>		<p>Vice-presidents - One elected and 'married' by each clan whenever her duties on behalf of the clan warrant the title of "Ambassador".</p>
<p>SOURCE: Philip M. Wbithi, "Harambee! Self-Help: The Kenyan Approach," <u>The African Review</u>, Vol. 2, No. 1, June 1972, p 154.</p>		<p>Clan Committee--Senior women and men who participate most. Also consists of: (a) Ngugi - The Song Leader (b) Mutongoi wa mbesa - Leader of money, Treasurer and accountant. (c) Mweni Mwake, Mweni Muethya. The member whose turn it is for whom the task is symbolically performed. (d) Mwandiki--Secretary Members--All female members of the clan for one sublocation + most of the unemployed males.</p>

even become involved, but this is not to say that they exert any special influence in community planning. Their advice is sometimes solicited, but how a community perceives its own needs is a much more salient determinant of what action is taken or not taken than governmental objectives.

There are, of course, regional variations, but the principle of forming committees and holding barazas for the purpose of beginning a school is adhered to throughout Kenya. Where religious leaders provide the focus of the movement, the organization of the harambee effort may be based on already existing church organizational structures, or may be dictated by the personality of the central figure.

It is commonplace for politicians of national prominence to become involved with school movements in their home areas. In fact, quite a great deal of importance is attached to the participation of M.Ps if a school is to prosper, although they are not expected to take part in the day-to-day operation of the school.

The MP is often called upon to lead the initial fund-raising drive, and he is also expected to use his influence and vantage point to secure funds and teachers for the school after it is operational. Different individuals perceive their roles as representatives differently. Most agree that political considerations provide them with their primary motivation for involvement, but, there is no uniform pattern of how a member of parliament relates to a self-help school in his constituency. Some take on what we might call "passive-receptive" roles. That is, they do not initiate a school movement, but they feel compelled to support one as soon as it emerges. Privately such individuals might complain about their constituency's over-enthusiasm and poor resource base from which to begin a school, but publicly, they are most supportive.

Other members of parliament are firmly in control of school development in their areas and make a conscious attempt to plan the initiation and expansion of local harambee schools. One M.P. saw the role of members like himself as "spearheads of the collective initiative of the people."⁴⁴ In this role, he said, one "...does not have to get involved in the day-to-day activities of the school.

government who can do something for the people". Such an M.P. sees himself more as a representative than a delegate and actively attempts to influence the setting of priorities in his locality.

Leaders in harambee school movements are forever - concerned about financing and maintaining their ventures.⁴⁵ Resources to support these projects, in addition to funds raised at barazas, are also secured through more conventional means. Dances in support of a school may be given either locally or in an urban center; raffles, and proceeds from games are also a source of funds. Donations may be acquired from a charitable organization like the Kenya Charity Sweepstakes, from cooperative organizations, from private contributions locally, or even from groups and individuals outside the country. In some cases, a school community may excise a levy against the parents of the students who attend the school or a cess may be levied against all the salaried members of the school catchment area.⁴⁶ The sacrifices made in the interest of a harambee effort are incalculable and certainly can not be measured in terms of pounds and shillings. Often contributions are in the form of agricultural produce, farm animals, building materials and pure human labour. No matter what the contribution, it is never refused.

School fees represent the major portion of funds which can be counted upon to maintain a school once it is operational. Since harambee schools for the most part cannot depend upon assistance for the government to meet recurrent expenses, relatively high school fees must be charged. Fees generally range from anywhere between 500 to 1200 shillings per year.⁴⁹ It is not unusual for students to encounter difficulty in raising their fees at the beginning of each term, especially in poorer areas. Parents must sometimes sell cows, sheep, pigs, and other of their possessions in order to pay their childrens' tuition. The first several weeks of a new term in a harambee school are generally characterized by absenteeism or expulsion of students who are unable to meet the fees deadline. By the fourth week, however, a school is usually able to begin functioning normally. Of course, many young people never finish secondary school simply because somewhere along the line the burden of having to come forth with money for school expenses three times a year becomes too great for their parents to bear.

Some schools have instituted school farming projects from which they acquire money which is used to defray school expenses and to lower individual school fees. Pyrethrum, maize, sugar cane, and other farm products are cultivated on school or community lands and the proceeds from the sale of these things are pumped into the school. Some schools even grow the fruits and vegetables which are used to feed their boarding students.

Most harambee schools exist in hopes that the government will begin to provide for them in financial and administrative terms, but this is unlikely unless a school can muster enough resources on its own so that it begins to show signs of potentially becoming competitive with aided schools.

The School Setting

There is much variation in the physical setting from one harambee school to the next. In areas like Central Province, some parts of the Rift Valley, Kisii and certain divisions in Western Province where there is a prosperous agricultural environment or a resourceful self-help movement, schools are often made from cement blocks or stone, have corrugated tin roofs, well manicured sportsgrounds, neatly constructed latrines and some even have electricity. Most schools try to erect their buildings in a permanent or semi-permanent fashion, but few can rival the accommodations for even the average aided school. Some schools in the less well developed areas of the country like some parts of Nyanza, Coast and Eastern Provinces are pressed just to construct a building with merely a roof over it. The building may not have window panes or lights and when it rains it becomes difficult for the students to read or for the teacher to teach. One headmaster in such a school asserted that during the rainy season, classes are scheduled for the morning and in the afternoon students are released in time to walk home before a down-pour.⁴⁸ Most harambee schools are not so impoverished, but most are relatively poor.

In some areas, harambee groups have been able to secure already constructed school buildings which housed primary schools. This phenomenon is particularly widespread in Eastern Province. A committee generally has to receive

permission from the District Development Officer before a primary school is moved from one site to another. Permission to move into unused buildings is granted fairly readily; but in order for a harambee school to displace a functioning primary school, the school committee must construct facilities into which the primary school can move. The new facilities do not necessarily have to match the old ones and often do not, but since the primary school is the beneficiary of government funds, it is felt that improvements can be made over time.

Most harambee schools are day schools, serving a particular location or group of adjacent locations. Thus, it is usually not necessary to have dormitory facilities. Where there are dormitory arrangements, the students are expected to lead a spartan life-style doing much of the labor required for up-keep themselves. The buildings are for the most part permanent and simply furnished. Where there are no dormitories and students must come from relatively far distances, they either rent rooms in a hostel or live with friends or relatives.

The outward appearances of a school only tell part of the story. Even in schools where the physical aspects of the school appear adequate, there are seldom science laboratories or libraries which would make for a complete general education program. Perhaps more than in any other area, harambee school officials feel that they must elevate their schools so that they can offer classes in the physical sciences. If a school does not offer such courses, it is lucky to achieve a minimum "C" grade when it is evaluated by the Inspectorate.

Where they can, harambee school committees attempt to work towards meeting the minimum criteria as far as physical plants go so that they might be considered for government take-over. The Minister for Education has suggested that no school should even contemplate being taken over unless it has adequate permanent school buildings and teachers' houses, provisions for easy access to water, sufficient toilet facilities and at least the rudiments of a physical science program. There are signs that even this might not be enough. The minister stated in early 1973 that, new measures of what schools deserve to be taken over may have to be instituted;

for example, perhaps it will be necessary to evaluate schools, he said, on the basis of how they do on the KJSE and EACE examinations.⁴⁹

In addition to poor physical accommodations in harambee schools, because they must act independently to ensure that their students receive the same quality of education as students in aided schools, harambee school officials must constantly re-evaluate their teaching materials. Though the changes in curriculum are seldom dramatic, when there are changes and new books are needed, harambee schools cannot expect to be supplied with much more than a syllabus. The books are generally expensive and change frequently in some subjects. More often than not, it is difficult for self-help schools to keep pace with these changes. They must usually be contented with out-dated and used books and hope that this lack of materials can be off-set by an industrious teacher.

Perhaps the most pressing problem facing harambee schools is attracting and being able to pay for teachers who are qualified to teach in secondary school. Few schools can hope, without government assistance, to have a staff which is more than 50% qualified. Although the practice of raiding primary schools for P-I teachers has somewhat subsided, the slack has been taken up by the hiring of form four and form six leavers with no teaching experience. In 1970, 47% of all harambee school teachers were in this category. Table III below shows how the problem of securing qualified teachers for unaided or harambee schools has grown relative to aided schools. While by 1970 the figure for aided schools appears to have stabilized, for unaided schools the situation appears to be becoming worse.

The problem is further exacerbated by the fact that most of the qualified teachers available prefer to go through the TSC in order to be placed. The reasons are obvious. With the TSC teachers are afforded pension rights and other amenities which would be virtually non-existent in a harambee school. It is not unusual for a self-help school which is faltering for one reason or another not to even be able to meet the monthly salary allowances of its teachers.

Table III Unqualified vs. Qualified staff of Secondary Schools, 1966-1970

Aided	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
<u>Qualified</u>					
Citizens	470	542	677	975	1,429
Non-citizens	1,191	1,270	1,352	1,485	1,439
Aided	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
<u>Unqualified</u>					
Citizen	91	146	185	165	258
Non-citizen	290	362	461	447	401
Unaided	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
<u>Qualified</u>					
Citizen	233	393	393	436	329
Non-citizen	260	265	290	375	384
Unaided	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
<u>Unqualified</u>					
Citizen	246	645	500	590	1,005
Non-citizen	217	430	456	504	536

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Reports and Statistics.

Graduate teachers and S-I teachers being produced by the various teacher training colleges and the University of Nairobi are almost automatically posted to aided schools. The only way that a harambee school might be successful in acquiring a qualified teacher from the Government is either in the school take-over process or if it is able to apply political pressure to have a teacher posted at the school.

The contacts that harambee schools have with general and school inspectors in particular are reported to be few and far between. Some headmasters complain bitterly that it is virtually impossible to improve a school's rating because the inspectors never visit their schools and for the most part never respond to their correspondence. Others say that being inspected is not their problem. Their problem is more a question of securing some type of assistance: a science block, a qualified teacher, electricity - anything to help their school "take-off". Some individuals speak with millinarian fervor about how they intend to persevere until their school is taken over. This hope, more than any other, seems to account for the persistence of harambee schools even when they encounter financial difficulty or when they are faced with the fact that their students continue to do poorly in their examinations.

The Students

We have seen that the quality of the educational climate in harambee schools is generally poor. The physical facilities, the text books, and the teachers all are for the most part not as good or as adequate in numbers as for aided schools. What consequences does this have for those being educated in a self-help school? In the first place, all of these factors influence the quality of education in such schools. Eventhough harambee schools do not normally attract the best students, the poor features of these schools serve to handicap even those marginal students who might have done better had they been given the opportunity to attend a government school with all of its consequent advantages.

An indication of the effects of this overall difference in the quality of schooling is manifested in the comparative

scores of harambee or unaided and government school students on the EACE for 1970. Table IV shows that only about 30% of those students from unaided schools were able to score

TABLE IV: Analysis of Joint Examination for EACE and School Certificate --- 1970					
	DIVISION I	DIVISION II	DIVISION III	EACE	FAIL
AIDED SCHOOLS	11%	21%	31%	25%	12%
UNAIDED SCHOOLS	2%	7%	21%	34%	37%

SOURCE: A Study of Curriculum Development in Kenya, Ministry of Education, 1972.

a Division III, or above. This compares with a 63% rate in the same range for the aided school candidates, and these figures were collected a full seven years after the beginnings of the harambee secondary school movement!

Should a student from an aided school finish in Division I, the chances of his attending form five in an aided high school are virtually assured. The unaided school student is practically in the same position, but he may experience difficulty in being admitted to the first school of his choice. Division II finishers are in a more tenuous position. Many are able to find places in government high schools, but others must be contented with lesser options, like a teacher training college or training programs related to various government agencies, para-statal bodies, or industrial firms. Again, the chances for young people in this category coming from aided schools are a lot better than for those leaving harambee schools. To finish in the third division or below is almost a certain indication of the termination of a harambee school student's academic career. Of course, there are opportunities in "fly-by-night" commercial and technical colleges which charge exorbitant fees, but can show little success in placement relative to the number of students they enrol. Students from aided schools stand a better chance of gaining some "legitimate" training,⁵⁰ but what this means is that any hopes they might have had of going on to a university have been dashed. Many more than receive training are relegated at least temporarily to the growing ranks of the unemployed and underemployed.

The type of school one attends appears to indirectly, then, affect how one performs academically. Data from the Keller study of 1973 further illustrates this point. Of the 24 schools in the survey for which the mean scores for the 1972 EACE could be calculated, harambee or unaided schools scored consistently lower than their aided counterparts. The possible scores on each of six individual exams per student ranged from a perfect score of 1 to the lowest

TABLE V: EACE Mean Scores From Sampled Schools

	Aided Schools	Unaided Schools
N Excellent (1-2)	2	0
E Good (3-4)	10	1
A Fair (5-6)	2	5
N Poor (7-8)	0	3

SOURCE: Examinations Section Office Records, Ministry of Education, Republic of Kenya

official score, 9. Most government aided schools scored between 1 and 4. The unaided schools hovered around the 5-6 mark, which is fair, but a far cry from the standard level which could possibly indicate a school's having achieved the take-off stage to excellence.

The current political rhetoric in Kenya castigates the young for aspiring to white collar jobs and emphasizes the need for students to reorient themselves towards technical and agricultural subjects. It is contended that students aspire to jobs in the modern - industrial sector and neglect the needs of the countryside. Schools are called upon to redirect student orientations to conform with national needs.

Few schools, aided or harambee, can meet this challenge without drastic changes in their present programs. Even in aided schools, there is generally not much concern for careers counselling. In schools where there is such a program, it is usually up to the student to seek-out information regarding occupational possibilities. Few, it appears, avail themselves of the opportunity for advice. The aided schools, however, do benefit from the fact that they are within the Ministry of Education's communications network. Harambee schools are in the main deprived of this advantage. Both in aided and harambee schools, it is almost certain that

the content of current political rhetoric tends to exert some influence upon the kinds of jobs students aspire to. Just how much is difficult to determine.

Students in the Keller study were asked:

If you were free to choose any job that you wished, what kind of job would you like to have more than another?

Their responses appear to indicate a skewing towards three main categories (teaching, professional and semi-professional agriculture, and engineering) for Harambee students and more of a spread among aided students. (See Table VI) A higher percentage of Harambee students than aided students see themselves as desiring most to be teachers, and though they are not highly oriented towards being peasant farmers, they have no tremendous aversion for working in the agricultural sector.

TABLE VI: Occupational Aspirations by Type of School-Aided and Harambee

Occupational Aspirations	Aided Schools		Harambee Schools	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Primary/Secondary Teacher	118	14.0%	130	31.0%
University Instructor	4	1.0%	0	0.0%
Craftsman	10	2.0%	11	3.0%
Farmer	12	1.0%	8	2.0%
Agricultural (semi-prof./prof)	56	6.0%	49	12.0%
Clerical (non civil service)	63	7.0%	17	4.0%
Managerial	15	2.0%	8	2.0%
Doctor/Dentist	55	6.0%	12	3.0%
Nurse/Medical Asst./Pharmacist	76	9.0%	35	8.0%
Businessman/Merchant	14	2.0%	4	1.0%
Commercial (Professional/Semi-Prof.)	46	5.0%	22	5.0%
Scientist	3	0.3%	0	0.0%
Civil Servant	14	2.0%	7	2.0%
Politician	2	0.2%	1	0.2%
Engineer	219	25.0%	72	17.0%
Tourism	5	1.0%	4	1.0%
Lawyer	20	2.0%	4	1.0%
Broadcasting	1	0.1%	2	1.0%
Airline hostess	18	2.0%	1	0.2%
Salesman or petty trader	13	2.0%	2	1.0%
Journalist or writer	7	1.0%	1	0.2%
Laborer	0	0.0%	1	0.2%
Military	3	0.3%	3	1.0%
Police	0	0.0%	5	1.0%
Architect	2	0.2%	0	0.0%
Social Worker	3	0.3%	0	0.0%
Pilot	13	2.0%	4	1.0%
Miscellaneous others	23	3.0%	4	1.0%
No response/I don't know	51	6.0%	19	5.0%
TOTALS:	874	100.0%	422	100.0%

It could be that they feel their education prepares them for more than just being a simple farmer. Those who aspire to the type of white collar employment that was characteristic of school leavers in the first several years after independence appear to be few in number. Kenya's need for teachers, engineers, and agriculturalists is well known and much discussed in the media and at barazas. Students seem to have adjusted their aspirations to conform to this apparent societal expectation of them or to perceived social needs.

Students in aided schools are more likely than those in harambee schools to aspire to be doctors, lawyers, and engineers, and they are more likely to think in terms of filling a wider variety of roles than their cohorts in unaided schools. More than among harambee school students, students in aided schools see themselves in traditional white collar jobs (e.g. civil service, clerical, business, etc.), but this figure is again far less than one would have expected. It is significant that a large percentage of these students are oriented towards engineering and other technical jobs. This can certainly be attributed in some extent to the content of public discussion about national needs and priorities. Few would like to be farmers or semi-professional and professional agriculturalists. They seem to feel that their education and where they are educated equips them for other roles in society. This data appears to support Rado's contention that the type of school one attends has a direct influence upon his aspirations apart from its indirect impact upon his academic performance.⁵¹ Moreover, it could be argued that the type of school one attends helps in shaping his "real" expectations as far as occupational careers are concerned. Again data from the Keller survey are insightful in this regard. Students were asked:

Of course, we cannot always choose the kind of job we should like best of all. From your experience and that of your friends who have left secondary school already, what kind of job do you think you are most likely to get in fact if you leave school after you have completed work in the fourth or sixth forms?

Forced to be realistic about the outlook of their future, many students tended to shift to those jobs they considered most "safe" or easy to come by. (See Table VII)--- Among---

TABLE VII: Occupational Expectations by Type of School --- Aided and Harambee

Occupational Expectations	Aided Schools		Harambee Schools	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Primary/Secondary Teacher	241	28.0%	182	43.0%
University Instructor	1	.1%	1	0.2%
Craftsman	19	2.0%	4	1.0%
Farmer	5	1.0%	10	2.0%
Agricultural (semi-prof./prof.)	20	2.0%	26	6.0%
Clerical (not civil service)	105	12.0%	27	6.0%
Managerial	8	1.0%	6	1.0%
Doctor/Dentist	15	2.0%	3	1.0%
Nurse/Medical Asst./Pharmacist	55	6.0%	18	4.0%
Businessman/Merchant	6	1.0%	5	1.0%
Commercial (semi-prof./Prof.)	24	3.0%	12	3.0%
Scientist	4	1.0%	0	0.0%
Civil Servant	12	1.0%	5	1.0%
Politician	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Engineer	148	17.0%	32	8.0%
Tourism	1	0.1%	5	1.0%
Lawyer	0	0.0%	1	0.2%
Broadcasting	0	0.0%	1	0.2%
Airline hostess	3	0.3%	1	0.2%
Salesman or petty trader	14	2.0%	4	1.0%
Journalist or writer	2	0.2%	0	0.0%
Laborer	9	1.0%	1	0.2%
Military	3	0.3%	3	1.0%
Police	2	0.2%	3	1.0%
Architect	4	1.0%	0	0.0%
Social Worker	1	0.1%	0	0.0%
Pilot	2	0.2%	0	0.0%
Miscellaneous others	29	3.0%	6	1.0%
No response/ I don't know	141	16.0%	65	15.0%
TOTALS	874	100.0%	422	100.0%

harambee school students the teaching profession was the biggest single gainer, increasing a full twelve percentage points over the number who had aspirations of becoming teachers. Across the board, there seems to have been a tendency for students from self-help schools to withdraw from desiring to become "real" professionals, and to settle for jobs which might possibly allow them to simply earn a living. This is indicated in the changes in the agricultural (semi-professional/professional), commercial, medical, and technical categories. Even among those students who expected to become teachers, many frankly admitted their assignment would most probably be as an untrained teacher in a harambee school or a primary school.

Students from aided schools displayed less dramatic changes than the self-help cohorts. The number who expected to become teachers increased over those aspiring to that occupation by a full 100%, but certain professional categories (e.g. medical, business) appear to have also gained in popularity. Whereas the percentage of harambee school students who expected to become engineers as opposed to their aspirations dropped by more than 50%, the shift among their counterparts in aided schools was only about 30%. Clerical or white collar jobs appear to have gained among the latter also. That aided school students are more oriented to white collar jobs is not surprising given their academic background, the elitist attitudes cultivated in the aided school atmosphere, and the fact that traditionally this has been the occupation most easy to come by for secondary school leavers.

The tendency seems to be for students to assess themselves in terms of the kinds of education they think they are receiving, the kinds of skills which are reputed to be needed in society, the types of skills they themselves possess and the kinds of jobs they perceive open to them. Harambee school students do not tend to be overly disposed towards jobs in the city. Even when they express a desire to become teachers, for example, they seem to realize that this selection will most likely keep them in the rural environment. They appear to know that their options and opportunities are limited. Looking realistically at his prospects, a student from a self-help school must acknowledge his disadvantages and potential. One student when asked whether he felt that what he would be doing would aid in national development intimated:

In the development of my country now....I think my chance is already gone, because...if I were to develop Kenya, perhaps it would be in another school, not this one... Because if I were in a government school, like let's say, Njoro High School, they take Agriculture and I also like that job, but now there seems to be no chance because we don't learn Agriculture in this school. So, my chance now is already gone.⁵²

Not all harambee school students feel this way, but many who seriously consider their positions are not unaware of their life's chances. They have only to regard the plight of similar students who left school before them.

A harambee school student experiences more difficulty in finding employment after he has left school than his cohorts in aided schools. Kinyanjui and his associates in the on-going Tracer Project at the Institute for Development Studies in Nairobi, have presented evidence showing that the labor market, in addition to discriminating against those who perform least well academically, is biased against students from harambee schools no matter what their examination results.⁵³ In the first year on the job market harambee school leavers are in far less demand than those from aided schools, and after a year, this condition appears to persist. Table VIII dramatically illustrates this point. The tracer studies suggest that two main factors advantage aided school students over those

TABLE VIII				
A. Unemployment rates in the first year after school				
Type of School	Result Category			
	Division 1 to III	EACE	FAIL	Total, all Categories
Aided School	5.6%	26.3%	43.0%	24.9%
Harambee School	28.2%	33.3%	56.5%	39.3%
B. Number remaining unemployed in second year as percent of those employed in the first year (Sample Size 175)				
Type of School	Results Category			
	Division 1 to III	EACE	FAIL	Total, all Categories
Aided School	45.5%	39.2%	54.9%	46.5%
Harambee School	72.7%	83.3%	100.0%	85.3%

SOURCE: Extrapolated from: K. Kinyanjui and D. Shepard, "Unemployment among secondary school leavers in Kenya", East Africa Journal, Vol. 9, No. 8, August 1972.

... from self-help schools: 1) favoritism on the part of prospective employers, and 2) the fact that they have more information available to them about careers.

Instead of society looking upon harambee schools as an integral part of the national development plan for education, they are viewed as inferior institutions, capable of turning out only inferior products. This attitude has a pervasive effect, not only affecting how employers view harambee school leavers, but even, at times, how students see themselves. Unless there is an official conscious attempt to rectify the inequalities which obtain between the different types of schools, and to rechannel the enthusiasm represented in the harambee school movement so that it answers a real educational and social need, the contribution to development made by the movement may be more accidental than calculated, more imagined than real.

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Table VIII				
Percentage of students in the first year of school				
Year of School	1961	1962	1963	Total
1st Year	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
2nd Year	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
3rd Year	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
4th Year	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
5th Year	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
6th Year	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
7th Year	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
8th Year	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
9th Year	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
10th Year	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
11th Year	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
12th Year	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0

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Conclusions

The Government of Kenya has admitted in a policy statement that unless harambee projects are "planned and controlled"⁵⁴ they stand little chance of actually assisting in the progress of the country. An examination of government policy regarding harambee school development and expansion reveals that at least in this area whatever impact the central government has upon this movement it is at best only marginal. In the main, Government policy is not clearly articulated and often ambiguous. For example, there are verbal complaints by government officials about the inferior quality of schooling in the harambee setting, and also about the poor physical facilities of these schools. Yet, the Minister for Education has gone on record as favoring not only more harambee schools; but also, the establishment of multiple streams in those schools which already exist.⁵⁵ This can only be reconciled in terms of the Government's wider political objectives; that is, to give the populace a sense of involvement by re-enforcing their pre-emptive planning for development in their own communities, and to present itself as being actively concerned and involved with the "watu". Such a policy, when it is correctly and carefully implemented, contributes to a general aura of political stability and progress.

It can be argued that, given Kenya's cultural, environmental and ethnic diversity, any attempt to completely direct from the center such a potentially explosive aspect of development as education would certainly experience difficulty. This is apparently the assumption which underlies current policies. Thus far, policy statements in previous development plans have been very general and unprogrammatic. Education and the expansion of educational opportunities are perceived as absolute goods, and no systematic attempt has thus far been made to reshape the educational system for any specific national objective (e.g. effective manpower allocation).

The absence of any systematic, well articulated plan for education, I contend, is unfortunate in light of the fact that the Kenyan people have displayed time and time again that, though they are quite willing to help themselves, they look to the Government for guidance. They are not

unaware of the shortcomings of the harambee school movement, and are anxious to do what is necessary to "fit into" national plans. The mere fact that the masses continue to construct and maintain harambee schools, and continue to desire government intervention on their behalf, is an indication of a population which, given a plan into which it could be incorporated, could be positively and constructively mobilized.

In order for positive social change to come about, there needs to be developed a dynamic policy which aims not at necessarily curbing the harambee spirit, but rechanneling it so that it fills a particular social function. Such a policy would entail integrating harambee schools into the Government system, and the expansion of the educational bureaucracy to such an extent that it is sensitive to the problems of self-help schools, and so that it provides a certain set of well defined services to these institutions. As the system exists, communication between the Government and harambee schools is very poor and fragmented. Where there is communication, it tends to be one-way, from the school to the central government, with few manifestations of the interchange of ideas which could form the basis for an organic and dynamic educational policy.

The development of a special "harambee syllabus" emphasizing technical and agriculturally oriented subjects might be a positive first step in this direction. It has been shown above that harambee school students are not overly disposed to so-called "white collar jobs", and it seems reasonable to assume that, given an opportunity to learn a skill which, though it might be considered a "dirty job", promised a young person an alternative to his unemployment prospects, many would be willing to become involved in such an experiment.

The vast majority of secondary school students in Kenya ^{are} not systematically evaluated over their academic careers in terms of their aptitudes for certain skills. Except for a few technical secondary schools, students are programmed to take an examination at the end of four years, the passage of which qualifies them only for more education. A system of skill aptitude measurement and guidance counselling which serves both aided and unaided schools is desperately

needed. If Kenya is to harness education for development, some semblance of manpower planning, encompassing all potentially employable young people, must also be devised.

Politicians justify the existence of harambee schools as they are on the basis of political considerations. The view is that unless the people are allowed to have their schools, political unrest could develop. What is ignored, however, is that the harambee school phenomenon as it is exacerbates regional, ethnic and class inequalities in several ways. First, it perpetuates an elitist system of education which in the end rewards only a select few, and imparts a stigma of failure on many more. Harambee school students make up the bulk of the latter category. The masses look upon education as a "right", the Government encourages this; but in reality, the fruits of education are for but a **chose** few. The better the education one is exposed to, the better his chances of future success.

Secondly, by encouraging people to strive to build their own schools no matter what the community resource-base, and then by rewarding those communities which are best able to meet government standards, poor communities are once again discriminated against. The more well-to-do areas of the country are able to build many schools, ^{to} hire more qualified teachers, and ~~to~~ generally progress farther and faster than schools in less progressive areas. Those ethnic groups who people the rich agricultural regions of the country or who have a longer history of exposure to education than their less fortunate countrymen, are more able to take advantage of the opportunity for education.

Lastly, inequalities can exist within a harambee school community itself. In order to construct a school all members of a community are usually expected to contribute something. The rich, the poor, the indifferent all must often surrender to popular pressure even when they would rather not. Once the school is completed and begins to take in students, because of the characteristically high fees, many poor people are unable to send their children to the schools in their very own communities!

Inequalities based upon ethnicity, wealth and class, should they be allowed to continue to exist could present problems far more serious than those envisioned by politicians

when there is talk of a dramatic change in policy. The students of harambee schools as well as their parents appear disposed to centrally directed change, if only it provides them with hopes for a better way of life. In order to initiate change, Kenya must move away from its status quo orientations towards a more dynamic policy based upon utopian vision, towards a policy which aims at human development rather than control.

FOOTNOTES

1. This is a Kiswahili term which essentially means, "Let's all pull together!!!"
2. See Philip M. Mbithi, "Harambee! Self Help: The Kenyan Approach", The African Review, Vol. 2, No. 1, June 1972, p 162, for an interesting discussion and critique of this.
3. For an excellent example of this see, F. Holmquist "Implementing Rural Development Projects", in G. Hyden, R. Jackson, and J. Okumu (eds.), Development Administration: The Kenyan Experience, (Nairobi: Oxford University Press) 1970.
4. Ministry of Education, Republic of Kenya, Statistics Section. It was estimated that more than 520 of 585 unaided schools in late 1972 were harambee schools.
5. See Kabiru Kinyanjui and Donald Shepard, "Unemployment among secondary school leavers in Kenya", East Africa Journal, Vol IX, No. 8. These authors using data from a secondary school leavers' tracer project found that ex-harambee school students are discriminated against (as opposed to former government school students) in the labor market no matter what their academic performance. Employers would rather employ a former government school student. See also, Employment, Incomes and Equality, (Geneva: International Labor Office, 1972), Especially chapter 14.
6. See John Anderson, The Struggle for the School, (Nairobi: Longman) 1970.
7. Ibid. p 114.
8. Kikuyu Independent Schools 1939 - 1952, Government Archives, Nairobi.
9. See Anderson, The Struggle, pp 125-127.
10. Ibid, p 125
11. Ibid, p 128
12. Ibid, p 128
13. See, Bernard Barber, "Function, Variability, and Change in Ideological Systems" In B. Barber and A. Inkeles, (eds) Stability and Social Change, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1971). Barber argues that as long as an ideology is functional it does not have to conform to any systematic set of rules or to be consistent.
14. Cherry Gertzel, The Politics of Independent Kenya 1963-8, (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970).
15. There still exist schools, primarily in the Nairobi area, which are predominately white or Asian, but by law aided schools are supposed to be at least 65% African. On the other hand, primary students must still pay fees for schooling.

16. Kenya Population Census 1969, Vol. III, Statistical Division, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning.
17. Kenya Education Commission Report: Part II, Republic of Kenya, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1965, p 25. The Ominde Commission attributed this mainly to the tradition of self-help and a sharp decline in the opportunity index in Central Province at the time of Independence.
18. Ibid. p 25
19. See footnote No. 4
20. East African Standard, May 20, 1965
21. Kenya Education Commission Report: Part I, Republic of Kenya, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1965), p 26.
22. African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya, Republic of Kenya. (Nairobi: Government Printers, 1965), pp 39-40.
23. O.W. Furley, "The struggle for transformation in education in Kenya since independence", East Africa Journal, Vol IX, No. 8, August 1972, p 20.
24. African Socialism and Its Application to Planning in Kenya, loc. cit., p 54.
25. Ibid, p 36.
26. James R. Sheffield, Education in the Republic of Kenya, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971), p 71-72.
28. Ibid, p 250
29. See, J.E. Anderson, "Report on the Conference of Harambee School Headmasters, "Institute for Development Studies, Discussion Paper No. 95, (Nairobi: IDS) 1966.
30. The Education Act, Chapter 211, Laws of Kenya, Part IV, Section 15,
31. "There's no Work for Graduates," Interview with Hon. Ngala Mwendwa, Minister for Labor, Sunday Nation, October 29, 1972, p 4.
32. F.F. Indire and J.W. Hanson, Secondary Level Teachers: Supply and Demand in Kenya (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1971), p. 25-26.
33. Edmond Keller, "Education, Manpower and Development in Kenya," Ph.D. Disc., University of Wisconsin, 1973 (unpublished).
34. Speech given in Kisumu, December, 9, 1972.
35. Development Plan, 1970-74, Republic of Kenya, p 457.

36. There are exceptions to this: for example, one headmaster stated that one school in his area of Eastern Province had chosen to educate harambee students with harambee teachers and aided students with government teachers. This policy led to fights (sometimes physical) and arguments between and among the teachers and students from both groups.
37. See "Big Meeting Will Discuss Problems in Schools", Daily Nation, Monday, November 13, 1972.
38. East African Standard, November 28, 1972
39. Speech given December 9, 1972, Kisumu Boys High
40. Murray Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics, (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1967) p 133.
41. See, East African Standard, November 28, 1972
42. Personal interview with a Senior Education Officer, December 6, 1972.
43. Perhaps the most extensive work on harambee schools to date has been done by J.E. Anderson. See especially, "Self-Help and Independence: Political Implications of a Continuing Tradition in African Education in Kenya", African Affairs Vol. 70, No. 278, January 1971, and, J.E. Anderson, "The Harambee Schools: The Impact of Self-Help," in Richard Jolley (ed.), Education in Africa Research and Action, (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969).
44. Personal Interview, Hon. Peter Kibisu, M.P., and Assistant Minister for Labor, April 12, 1973.
45. See J.E. Anderson, "The Harambee Schools", loc. cit., for a good description of this process in the earlier years of the Harambee school movement.
46. See, "Call to give up to 20% of wage," Daily Nation, Monday, April 23, 1973.
47. Gary S. Fields, "The Educational System of Kenya: An Economist's View," Institute for Development Studies, Discussion Paper No. 103, (Nairobi: IDS, 1971), p 14.
48. Personal Interview with Meshack Orieny, in Kisumu Rural, January 15, 1973
49. "Harambee Schools Record May Influence Take-over," Daily Nation, Monday, May 21, 1973.
50. See E.M. Godfrey, "Technical and Vocational Training in Kenya and the Harambee Institute of Technology," Institute for Development Studies, Discussion Paper No. 169, (Nairobi: IDS, 1973).
51. Emil Rado, "The Relevance of Education for Employment." The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 10, No 3, (1972) p 468.