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UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, NAIROBI.

Discussion Paper No. 95

REPORT ON THE CONFERENCE
OF
KIBUEMBER SCHOOL OF HEALTH

BY

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Any views expressed in this paper are those of the authors. They should not be interpreted as reflecting the views of the Institute for Development Studies or of the University College, Nairobi.
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INTRODUCTION

One of the most significant features of developing countries is the demand for secondary education. Since independence the Kenya Ministry of Education has made a special effort to increase secondary school places. This effort has been paralleled by a remarkable drive from the people of Kenya to build local secondary schools without government financial assistance. Some of these schools are private and run on a commercial basis, but the most significant schools are the 'harambee' secondary schools, founded by self help groups, in many parts of the country.

The people of Kenya have a strong tradition of self help in providing education; clans have long supported talented students, welfare groups give bursaries, and of course there were the independent schools. Today harambee schools are usually established and run by local committees that raise funds amongst the inhabitants of a location or district. People contribute in the belief that these secondary schools will provide an education that will offer their children employment and a new standard of living. In every case it is hoped that government financial assistance will eventually be obtained but where this is not forthcoming it seems clear that school committees are determined to keep their schools going and that parents will be prepared to invest very high proportions of their incomes in school fees and donations.

Recent Ministry of Education calculations show that there are now over 200 unaided secondary schools in the country. Of these, over 150 are thought to be organised on a self help basis and it is clear that such schools are increasing. A rough calculation shows that almost as many primary school leavers enter harambee schools as enter government aided schools. At present the education provided is mainly at Forms 1 and 2 levels but some schools have already started Form 3 with the eventual aim of entering candidates for Cambridge Overseas School Certificate, and it appears clear that many more intend to follow.

The questions which the harambee school movement pose are complicated and have far reaching implications for national development, particularly in the related areas of education, manpower planning and employment. The answer to these questions must be made largely on economic and political grounds, but the immediate educational issues which the harambee schools have brought to light are important. There appear to be two main areas for consideration:

1. The ways and means by which these low cost, self help secondary schools can be helped to improve their teaching methods and consequently the standard of education they provide.

2. The need to reassess their role and the curriculum which they follow in terms of the range of ability of their pupils, the largely rural agricultural setting in which most of them operate, and the employment situation which the country faces.

The history of secondary schools in Kenya shows the importance of the headmaster. In a situation where a school needs to economise and use local resources to the full, needs to inspire enthusiasm amongst parents, pupils and staff and to find quick practical solutions to its problems, the initiative, drive and competence of the headmaster are crucial. In the case of the self help school the headmaster has a second important role to play. Ideally he has the confidence of the community leaders who establish the school and by virtue of his education and position is an accepted adviser. If he is really interested in his job he will be eager to seek advice and help and consequently will provide an important link between a local community involved in running a secondary school and the educational authorities.
With this background in mind a small group, working under the auspices of University College, Nairobi, planned a conference for harambee school headmasters with the following purposes:

1. To discuss the practical problems of running and teaching in a harambee school and to consider ways and means of helping such schools within the context of their self help framework.
2. To review the role of the harambee school serving a rural agricultural community, to assess the relevance of the curriculum both for the pupils and the community, and to consider possible improvements.
3. To give recognition to the role of the harambee school headmaster and to give headmasters an opportunity to air their problems, to discuss their experiences and to put forward suggestions for improving their schools.
4. To collect factual information about harambee schools on which any plans for assistance could be based.

The report which follows attempts to present some of the discussion at the conference and the conclusions which the conference came to. However, since the conference on 'Education, Employment and Rural Development' this report has been re-drafted and it also contains observations which the writer has made during visits to harambee schools and tentative research experiments amongst primary school leavers.

1. ORGANISATION OF THE CONFERENCE

The conference was organised by the Department of Education at University College, Nairobi, in co-operation with the Institute of Adult Studies, and was held at the Adult Studies Centre, Kikuyu. Funds were provided by the University College, Nairobi, and were made available through the planning committee for the Conference on 'Education, Employment and Rural Development' which was supported by the Ford Foundation and the Dilworth Trust.

To coincide with a suitable period in the school year the conference had to be organised at very short notice and headmasters were only circularised four weeks before the conference was held. A further complication was that the Crash Programme for the promotion of P.1. to S.1. teachers, which affected a number of headmasters was held at this time. Approximately 150 circulars were sent out and 70 acceptances were received: the first 56 were invited to attend the conference, and of these 47 eventually came. A list of the participants is included as Appendix A but it is important to stress at this stage that no attempt is made to suggest that these schools are a representative sample. The chances are that the sample is biased strongly in favour of the better type of harambee school.

A detailed programme was prepared which attempted to find a balance between lecture and discussion. (See Appendix B.) The lectures were designed to present a clear picture of the social, economic and educational implications of the harambee school and to evoke questions and comments. Two workshop sessions on the teaching of English and Mathematics in Forms 1 and 2 were included as concrete examples of the type of help which might be given. Six small group seminar sessions in which participants acted as chairs and rapporteurs were held to discuss current problems and possible developments in harambee school education. Each seminar group was given a topic and an outline for discussion (See Appendix C) and reported back to the final plenary session. A guided tour of Alliance Boys' High School gave the conference a practical aspect and a book display was also included with publishers' representatives and retailers available for consultation. A reception was held so that interested people could meet and talk with the headmasters, and a number of observers were invited to attend sessions in which they were interested.
The programme was followed closely. In his opening address, the Minister of Education, the Hon. J.M. Nyagah, set the course for the conference. He stressed the government's concern for secondary education and the efforts being made by the government to develop secondary schools within the context of the National Development Plan. He congratulated the headmasters and the school committees on the initiative they were showing but reminded them that in taking up the responsibility of establishing and running secondary schools they were facing a challenging task. Government finance was already fully committed to developing the aided schools, but the government was sympathetic to the work of the Harambee schools. The professional advice of the Ministry of Education was readily available to schools and the government would be very pleased to hear the views of headmasters and to consider ways in which Harambee schools could be helped. The Minister concluded by thanking the University College, the Ministry of Education, the Alliance High School and the headmasters themselves for the initiative and spirit of co-operation that had brought them to the conference.

The atmosphere of co-operation which the Minister's speech referred to remained throughout the conference and 'harambee' was truly the key word. Each lecture was followed by spirited questioning and discussion and on several occasions the seminar groups returned to complete their discussions in free periods. Visitors remarked on the enthusiastic and cheerful atmosphere which the conference engendered and the 'reception' went on late into the night.

The headmasters were particularly pleased by the practical sessions; and there was great demand for the duplicated notes and schemes of work which had been prepared for the workshops. The visit to the Alliance Boys' High School kept the staff there very busy and there was a unanimous demand for further help of this nature.

There was great interest shown in the work of the Curriculum Development Centre and several immediate demands for places on C.D.C. courses and C.D.C. Science materials. The seminars had great value in allowing participants to compare their schools, problems and ideas. Whilst the conditions under which they worked varied greatly many of the issues were similar. Throughout the conference participants stressed the importance of discussing among themselves and with interested observers:

"Until I came here I never realised other headmasters had the same difficulties."

"It is very helpful to hear how other people do things, we can learn a lot this way."

The end point of these discussions, both in the formal sessions and in numerous informal conversations was to bring into focus three major considerations:

1. The present situation regarding the establishment and running of harambee secondary schools.
2. The part which the harambee secondary school should play in Kenya's education system and possible developments in the harambee school curriculum.
3. Ways in which the present harambee schools can be helped to provide a more effective and better balanced education.
2. THE PRESENT SITUATION WITH REGARD TO THE ESTABLISHMENT AND RUNNING OF THE SCHOOLS

The table below shows the dramatic changes that have taken place in secondary education in Kenya during recent years, the relative lack of concern until independence, the drive by the Kenya Government to create secondary school places, and the parallel local initiative that has brought about so many unaided schools, the great majority of which are harambee community self help schools.

The post Independence Expansion in African Secondary Education in Kenya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Aided or Maintained</th>
<th>Unaided</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 1966 figures are an estimate made by the Ministry of Education and of course now include all the former Asian and European schools. The other figures were taken from the Annual Ministry Reports.

The harambee school movement is a magnificent expression of the universal desire of parents to provide a better education for their children. Unfortunately the selective effects of secondary education, and the importance of the examination for high wage employment has made the 'Certificate' the general hallmark of secondary education for parent and pupil alike. In setting up self help secondary schools aimed at the School Certificate parents and local leaders are striving genuinely to do their best for the children and their country but whether they are doing so is very much open to question.

The remainder of this section attempts to review the discussions at the conference on the present situation in the harambee schools and is divided into two sections; the first deals with the management and administration of the schools and the second with the type of education given in the schools.

(i) Management and Administration

In any attempt to understand self help schools it is essential to give recognition to the local leaders who are co-ordinating parental interest, and initiating and controlling the development of the schools. A distinction needs to be made between the Management responsible for the school and the Board of Governors or School Committee actually involved in the everyday running of the schools. Of the 46 schools represented all but nine were associated with some kind of religious Management. (See Appendix D.) The functions of these Managements differ from area to area. Some headmasters, particularly those closely associated with a nearby mission, welcomed the co-ordinating powers of a manager, the help of an experienced treasurer and found facilities such as a duplicator and a typewriter very useful. Others questioned the role of the church beyond giving the school nominal legal authority and a certain direction in religious instruction.

Under the present Education Ordinance a secondary school must have a recognised Management. At present only the Government or the churches are recognised as Managers. Consequently some schools are nominally associated with a religious body for this purpose. Two schools apparently owing allegiance to religious Management are not even offering Religious Knowledge as a school subject. For further comment see The Kenya Education Commission Report. Vol.2. paras: 631-637.
Without exception every school has either a 'School Committee' or a 'Board of Governors', there is apparently no distinction between the titles. In some cases the committee or board is the group who got together to raise the money and found the school, in others it is an executive chosen by the local inhabitants to run the school they have established. Where a management exists the committee is responsible to a management committee but as in many cases this is only nominal it is a fair generalisation to assume that the local school committee or board is the body responsible for the school. The composition of the committee differs from area to area, but two major types of member can be distinguished:

(1) Local men who are prosperous and respected enough to take on the role of leaders in establishing the school. In some cases these men are illiterate and fairly conservative in attitude though not necessarily so.

(2) Local men who by virtue of their positions as teachers, civil servants or church ministers or their success as traders or farmers have gained the respect to be able to act as advisers and innovators. In several cases politicians, both local and national have acted as catalysts in co-ordinating the desire for a school into a working programme.

Individual headmasters expressed concern about their boards of governors and school committees, in two major respects.

(1) That many committee members only had a very hazy notion of what a secondary school should do and how it should be run.

(2) That committee members were very worried by the possibility of school funds being misused and therefore were very suspicious about the way school money was spent.

In general however headmasters recognised that for committees to be accepted by the local people it was sometimes necessary that men of limited education be given responsibilities. Ideally a committee needs a balance which will help it keep the community's confidence whilst permitting it to use available initiative to the full. Where committee members are ill-educated or suspicious then it is the headmaster's task to work with them and most headmasters felt that with sincerity, tact and patience a good working relationship can be developed. A general recommendation was made that courses or conferences for Harambee School Committee members were needed both to give recognition to the committee members and to give them a clearer picture of their responsibilities.

It was felt that any attempt to standardise or control boards might cause hostility but it was agreed that it is necessary to establish clear responsibilities for school committees or boards of governors and give advice to them, in the running of the schools, particularly in the following fields:

1. Establishment and sitting of new schools.
2. Finance
3. Appointment of staff and conditions of service
4. The School curriculum
5. Discipline

A national advisory council on which local boards could be represented might help to give advice on these matters and a suitable handbook could be prepared.

School administrative duties vary greatly, boarding schools require more work in organising sleeping accommodation and food, although in some cases only hostel buildings are provided and the students cater for themselves. Full boarding schools are usually only established where there is a very wide student catchment area or for girls.
In running their schools a few headmasters had clerks to help them but even so the administrative burden is heavy and all headmasters asked for guidance in the form of short courses and handbooks in such duties as:

1. Office management and filing systems
2. Pupils' records
3. Preparing timetables
4. Staff relations and responsibilities
5. Career guidance
6. The legal aspects of a headmaster's duties
7. Typing and the use of duplicators etc.

The issue of finance is of such overriding concern that to treat it adequately it has been included as [Appendix E.]

(ii) Education in the Harambee School

In establishing their new schools the committees and headmasters intended to aim at the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate, and although headmasters are cautious most of them are still planning to take their schools on to this examination. Whatever its merits the school certificate syllabus imposes on any secondary school a rigid, largely academic curriculum and tends to dictate the type of teaching. Success lies in the way good teachers are able to work within or go beyond its requirements to meet the interests of their pupils. Few harambee school teachers have the experience or the teaching materials to adapt the syllabus for their less able pupils, and in their attempts to train students for the examination they are forced to use examination orientated methods. Thus, even where students are successful in the examination it is likely that they will have received a very narrow education.

Although the great majority of schools have not yet reached Form 2, it is clear that much is being copied from the established secondary schools. Attempts are being made to offer a full curriculum, but there are signs of expediency, particularly in Science, which, in terms of teaching knowledge and equipment, is the most difficult area for harambee schools to cover. Several schools only offer Biology and three concentrate solely on Health Science. Others do offer General Science and in some cases Physics and Chemistry, though there is some evidence that these are being reduced in favour of Biology and Health Science for examination purposes. English and Mathematics are given fairly heavy weighting and schools normally offer History and Geography too. Swahili, Religious Knowledge and Physical Education are taught in most schools and it is heartening to see a general attempt to broaden the curriculum with non-examination subjects such as Music, Art and Current Affairs. There is no evidence of any practical/handicraft work for boys and only two schools offer any domestic science for girls. No school teaches Agriculture but 19 schools have farms on which students work, in some cases taken over from or shared with primary schools. (For a breakdown of subjects see [Appendix F.])

The normal school week consists of forty 40-45 minute periods. In some schools preparation, private study and games are included in this, in other they are extra. From the schools represented at the conference it was found that the number of periods involving teaching in Form 1 ranged from 26-42, with an average of about 36.

The Kenya Junior Secondary Examination: All headmasters were vitally interested in the new Kenya Junior Secondary Examination which is being taken for the first time in November 1966. The syllabuses for the different subjects which cover the first two years of secondary education have only recently been produced and guidance is urgently sought in preparing schemes of work and selecting suitable books for these syllabuses. Some headmasters were trying to follow the Inspectorate circulars but they found the changes involved confusing and the prospect of entering students for a new examination at such short notice disturbing. During his talk Mr. Kanina stressed that this examination has been developed to help the new schools by giving them something to aim at and giving their pupils a chance to gain a tangible qualification to help them find employment.
Headmasters accepted the principles behind the examination but asked that:

- more information should be given about the purpose of the examination and what it will lead to;
- special provision should be made for boys in harambee schools who do well in this examination to go on to government aided secondary schools. Places often occur in these schools at the Form 3 level, and these could be given to able harambee school pupils;
- more guidance be given in the development of suitable schemes of work and the selection of textbooks;
- a wider range of subjects should be offered in the examination;
- the K.J.S.E. should replace the Kenya English Test as the pre requirement for the School Certificate Examination.

Extra-curricular activities: The older boarding schools have a tradition of extra-curricular activities, which have an important function in helping to give pupils a broader cultural perspective than the narrow academic curriculum allows. Most harambee schools are trying to provide extra-curricular activities, and many teachers help students to organise clubs and societies and lead activities such as drama, debating and of course games and athletics. In some cases teachers combine such activities with their own interests, such as music or country dancing but they make heavy demands on a teacher's time and are subject to the availability of staff.

A number of factors affect the quality of education given in the harambee schools:

- Staffing: The character and continuity of the school leadership is all important; a capable, committed headmaster must be secured. The enthusiasm and competence demonstrated at the conference showed that this is possible. It was generally felt that a headmaster should be a trained teacher, should have obtained a School Certificate and that experience as a primary headmaster was of immense value. However it was also clear that some men who did not have these qualifications had taken up the responsibilities of running a school and because of their interest and commitment to the school were proving to be able leaders. A breakdown of headmasters' qualifications at the conference is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Number of Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>P.1. (some had taken G.C.E. 'A' Level examinations)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge School Certificate and teaching experience</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form 4 level and teaching experience</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.C.E. 'A' level and teaching experience</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of East Africa graduate and Dip.Ed.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian trained graduate</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian and Dutch graduate and teaching experience</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.I. Diploma University of East Africa and teaching experience</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The staffing ratio in the present harambee schools with a small number of classes is one more teacher than the number of classes, although it is higher in the bigger schools. As with the headmasters, the permanence and commitment of the staff is as important as the academic qualifications. Few schools have a long enough history to show the pattern of staff movements but ironically it seems that the less academically qualified teachers are the ones who are more likely to remain and develop a permanent interest. Graduates are very rare and teachers of Higher School Certificate level are also few and generally temporary. The great bulk of the teaching is carried out by P.1. teachers (School Certificate plus two years teacher training) and untrained teachers who have passed a Cambridge School Certificate.
It is clear that many of these teachers are well able to handle the schools during the first two years, although their loss from the primary schools must cause apprehension. For the work required in Forms 3 and 4, however, it is too much to expect the majority of School Certificate grade teachers to keep up with more than one or two subjects, which they will have to do in these small schools and clearly headmasters are very worried by the prospects for staffing their third and fourth forms. Two headmasters reported having P.2's working in their schools and two schools were using untrained School Certificate failures. On average, teachers work a 27 to 30 period week and give some help with extra-curricular activities. Staff housing is an important charge for schools in rural areas, where teachers cannot be recruited locally and most schools provide some form of accommodation or are planning to do so. The whole question of staff recruitment is so important that to treat it fully it is included as (Appendix G.)

b) Selection and the abilities of students: The method of selection varies from area to area and seems to turn on how the school was founded. Where local collections were made the people who gave money usually have first claim and there is a tendency to restrict the entry of pupils from outside the local area. In schools founded on a wider basis, sometimes with grants from co-operatives or local authorities, the catchment area tends to be bigger and the quality of the K.P.E. more important. Most schools allowed some pupils to enter without a K.P.E. certificate in the first instance but there is now a general tightening of standards and headmasters are insisting on a K.P.E. pass as the minimum entrance requirement although this is proving a 'bone of contention' with some committee members, and however, it is too much for some headmasters to handle. Where there is competition headmasters consider K.P.E. results, primary school records and the results of interviews. Age is an important factor, but with a proviso that he does not appear likely to cause disciplinary problems it was felt that age should not be held against an older student.

The conference stressed that all final decisions on admittance must rest with the headmaster, though he should work in cooperation with the school committee. It was also pointed out that the present Ministry of Education forms which are sent to harambee school headmasters cause unnecessary work and expense because even though a boy may select a harambee school and is put on the headmaster's list he will go to an aided secondary school if he gets good enough marks. A new method of selection is needed for harambee schools which will allow them to choose after the government schools have completed their selections.

The final factor in selection is the ability to pay fees and the initial building fund charges. There is some wastage because of inability to pay fees and this is likely to increase as schools develop.

Class size is an important issue related to selection. Briefly, the smallest class reported was 12 and the largest 31, with a mean class of 37. This size of class is too large for good teaching and the Ministry of Education inspectors have found even larger classes than the figures quoted above. School policies differ to some extent, and some headmasters had difficulties with their boards on this issue, for smaller classes tend to involve higher fees.

Headmasters stressed that pupils vary greatly in ability; some are well able to cope with the syllabus and could go for higher education if the opportunity arose. Others, by struggling hard, derive benefit from their schooling, but there is a significant proportion who lack the aptitude and interest for academic School Certificate work. As the rigours of the course become a reality, the more able boys retain the desire to carry on with academic work but some less able boys would gladly drop out as soon as reasonable wage employment can be secured.
Many less wealthy pupils only wish to go as far as K.J.S.E., hoping that this qualification will lead to employment.

c) Teaching materials: Most schools try to provide the essential text books usually on the scale of one between two, and stationery. Headmasters asked for up to date advice on what books to buy and where to buy them. The normal blackboard apparatus and a few wall maps etc. are usually available but by and large this is as much as most schools can afford. Headmasters stress that they gradually hope to build up supplies but that this is a very slow process. Only a few schools have tried to establish laboratories and provide lists of essential equipment have been circulated by the Science inspectorate very few headmasters have the knowledge to work out priorities and consequently as the schools progress the teaching of science becomes an increasing worry. Typewriters and radios are fairly common and have a high priority and some schools have duplicators, although running costs restrict use. A few schools have libraries but getting enough books to keep pupils reading is a problem for all and in this respect headmasters made a general appeal for books of any kind from other schools, charitable institutions or private individuals.

d) Accommodation: Basic accommodation in the form of classrooms, offices and stores have been secured in most schools, often where schools have either replaced or been attached to primary schools but only eight schools have laboratories, 10 have libraries and 9 have halls whilst 2 use nearby churches.

Nearly every school has land available to build on and to develop facilities. Capital is the limiting factor and in this respect the review and publication of suitable plans for self help buildings and equipment similar to those in the Kenya Education Commission Report, would be helpful.

Aspirations of Parents and Pupils

Whatever the difficulties it is clear that the present aim of any harambee school is to provide their children with the type of secondary education they understand that given in the present aided secondary schools. Such secondary schooling in itself is an important mark of status for a parent. Investment in it has proved to be the most profitable use of family funds for many years and commands a strong emotional appeal for fees from richer relatives. Parents lack a clear understanding of the academic abilities of their children and it is only natural that whatever the overall national manpower and employment picture is the great majority of parents believe that their children will 'make it'. Nevertheless, there are indications that the realities of the country's economic position are gradually being felt. Wage employment is becoming harder to find at the lower education levels and even School Certificate holders are finding it harder to get the types of posts they hope for.

There are increasing campaigns to warn people of the need for rural development. These are percolating through to rural communities and small scale farmers and traders are showing returns for their efforts. Indeed, one school committee has gone as far as officially naming its school 'A Harambee Agricultural High School'. It is true that no 'Agriculture' exists on the timetable, but this may be an indication of the difficulties of introducing it, rather than its unpopularity.

After two or three years' experience many harambee school committees are more aware of the realities of the lack of teaching staff, and the varied abilities of the pupils. Headmasters are pointing out more and more clearly the problems involved in Forms 3 and 4 education and the examination prospects. Parents remain adamant that they won't the best for their children and until they can be helped to recognise the value of another approach they will cling to the School Certificate as the ultimate goal.

However, headmasters felt that there are indications that some school committees would be prepared to look at other educational approaches, particularly for the less academic children. Consultation between the Ministry and local committees is very important and special courses and conferences for harambee school committee members would be of great benefit.

Recent tentative research studies show that whilst at primary school almost a hundred per cent of the pupils want to go on to secondary school, unemployed primary school leavers, a year or so after they leave school, are more divided in their choices and a significant proportion would prefer wage employment. One group of such boys, who are members of a "School Leavers' club at Kiuya, expressed serious doubts about the quality of harambee school education and the chances of getting a School Certificate. Some of them agree that they are not really interested in the type of work done in a secondary school and would prefer the type of training given at the Christian Industrial Training Centre, Nairobi, or a course at a Farm Training Centre, if they were given land. They realistically point out that any such possibilities are remote and there is almost no permanent employment to be found. Consequently, the harambee school seems to present the only route to better prospects. A school place would at least give them something purposeful to do, would give them recognition as secondary school pupils, reduce the amount of chores and physical labour expected of them at home and improve their chances with girl friends. Thus, if their parents could afford it, they would try to go to a harambee school or a private school.

To sum up the present education situation in harambee schools, it seems fair to say that if the great majority of these schools continue on their present course without help and guidance, much of their endeavour will be wasted or frustrated.

Economic and Social Considerations.

There are certain other factors which need to be taken into account. The first is the obvious manpower and employment implications of a very sizeable increase in secondary school leavers over and above the National Development Plan manpower projections. Another is the opportunity cost of the harambee school movement in terms of local investment. A rough calculation shows that for a family, the cost of four years education is between 2,600 and 3,000 shillings per pupil in school fees and donations; enough capital to bring considerable returns.


2. The report of the survey on 'High-Level Manpower Requirements and Resources in Kenya 1964-70' contains estimates that show the total requirements during the six-year period for those occupations which require a Form IV education or better to be about 54,400. The total supply of Form IV leavers during the same period is estimated to be about 55,000 or an amount which is quantitatively adequate. There are serious qualitative problems, however, which are not revealed in reviewing these total figures. Shortages in some occupations, such as teachers, skilled office workers and certain skilled craftsmen, will persist through the Plan period despite the intensive efforts to meet the anticipated demand from local sources.
if invested in tea, cotton or grade cattle. Further, the investment pattern itself is worrying. At present 40,000 shillings must be raised before a school can be registered and capital development is normally paid for immediately. There are no loan arrangements to allow the school to be paid for out of long term returns from agricultural development. This is clearly creating a very heavy demand on local capital resources during the early years of the school. In certain areas where labour is needed, harambee schools cause a labour shortage, particularly for families in the transitional stage of relying on adolescent labour before enough capital is built up to hire workers. Interviews with school leavers in North Tetu, Nyeri, suggest that the attitudes of parents differ over this problem. Some fathers who could afford school fees keep quite able boys at home to help with the farm, sometimes arousing the boys' resentment. Others send the boys to school at the expense of the farm which suggests once again a case for integrating the school holidays with planting and harvesting times.

The social implications of the harambee school are still largely open to speculation, but several factors are becoming clear. Secondary education is a mark of status, both for parent and student, and experience from other parts of the world suggests that it is sought for this reason, even when economic returns become doubtful. Because of this, secondary education becomes a divisive factor, only the more prosperous families can afford fees for the full period of education, consequently making the distinction between themselves and the less wealthy more clear. In cases where general levies are imposed or co-operatives provide subsidies, the poorer are subsidising the education of the wealthier. The secondary school's function as an agent of improved standards and national cohesion is an accepted one but the rate at which the school raises aspirations, alters patterns of authority, reduces responsibilities to family groups and consequently alters the rural/urban orientation of the population, needs careful consideration. In this respect the effects of the present harambee schools on attitudes towards agriculture need examining. A final factor is the geographical distribution of the schools and the extent of their catchment areas, for the present uneven balance could exacerbate both local and provincial rivalries.

3. THE FUTURE OF THE HARAMBEE SCHOOL

The present role which the harambee school movement is playing in actual development is a difficult one to assess, but certain features seem to be fairly clear. It is, for the present, helping to meet an intense popular demand for secondary education. In certain areas it is offering an outlet for large numbers of primary school leavers without employment and is thus providing a partial answer to the rapidly increasing problem of the younger school leaver who is too young to be employed, even if employment were available. The unfortunate aspect of the harambee school movement is that through the ironies of history it is involved in trying to provide an educational answer to what basically is an economic problem. "Either to the unemployment problem has been solely due to a lack of education or technical experience. Reaching Form Four seemed the 'coup de grace' to one's economic problems." 2

If secondary education increases outside the bounds of future employment projections this will no longer be so. Secondary education per se is no answer to the developing unemployment problem; at best it is an expensive way of occupying children until they are old enough to be 'genuinely unemployed'; at worst, if the traditional academic curriculum is attempted, it leads to large numbers of young people with a type of knowledge for which there is a strictly limited number of opportunities and which is hard to relate to the realities of a largely small scale farming economy.

1 It is probable that secondary education has a very much greater ability to attract money from relations outside the immediate family group concerned with the home farm and that such money would not be forthcoming for agricultural development.

2 Quoted from a 4th Form student's essay on 'Self Help Schemes', E. Apol, Form 4B, Alliance Boys' High School, Kikuyu.
Yet in practical terms Kenya must find an answer to the large numbers of primary school leavers too young for employment and in doing so must take into account efforts and desires of parents expressed in the harambee school movement. In theory the answer would seem to lie in trying to alter the role of the harambee school from that of imitating the aided secondary schools, with their academic emphasis and selective function, to one of providing a realistic education for young people to enable them to play the parts which the process of rural development will require of them. Such innovations are much easier to express than put into practice. Throughout the history of education in underdeveloped nations a search has been going on to find a formula to match education with the needs of economic development. A variety of 'technical', 'industrial', 'practical', 'agricultural', 'community development' schemes have been tried but by and large, these have floundered because they have not been able to show the tangible short term rewards hoped for and because local people have invariably been much more interested in education as a means of social mobility and a route to the developing wage earning sector of the economy. With committed personnel some small scale ventures in education for rural development have succeeded, but as yet there are no precedents which could have immediate large scale application.

In trying to find an answer Kenya joins many other nations in the need to review the present distribution of her educational resources and her educational philosophy. Whilst there has been much discussion about the need to control or restrain harambee schools, the movement is now clearly established and in many areas is still being encouraged. Recognising the importance of these schools, the need to integrate their work within the total development effort formed an important part of the discussions at the conference and a summary of the findings are recorded below.

**The place of the Harambee School in the Education System**

Underlying all discussion was the question of the place of the harambee schools within the total educational structure and the extent to which the government can develop future plans with the harambee schools in mind. The K.J.S.E. already provides a more realistic goal for the harambee school to aim at, and in a sense a convenient breaking off point. The Kenya Education Commission stresses the need to hold at this point all but the very best self help secondary schools which would have to be inspected and recognised by the government. In general the headmasters accepted this in principle but stressed that this implied a need to create opportunities in the National Education System for Form 2 leavers. The following suggestions were made:

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

2. Special arrangements must be made for the more academically able pupils, not only to give these pupils a fair chance, but to show parents that the able children are being helped. This could be done in two ways:
   a) that the government add extra Form 3 and 4 streams to some of the established schools for children who do well in the K.J.S.E. Such schemes in the bigger schools could be given a commercial or technical slant.
   b) that where possible a group of harambee schools should arrange for one central school to cover Forms 3 and 4, taking the better children from each of the schools in the group. Providing the curriculum was approved such schools could possibly receive government help. Already some managements are considering schemes for doing this.
If these arrangements were possible many harambee schools would be free to concentrate on education up to K.J.S.E. and possibly to consider certain optional/practical courses for examinations such as the City and Guilds paper on Tropical Agriculture at the post-K.J.S.E. level. Once again government help could be used to encourage the type of courses most suited to an area's needs.

The report on 'Further Education, Training and Employment of Primary-School Leavers' was unfortunately not published until after the conference. Such ideas as the need for 'pre-apprenticeship training', for urban youth 'pre-commercial training', for students in the early years of secondary schools who might go on to local authority commercial colleges, concur with the views of conference members. Above all there was agreement with the need for an education in 'down to earth' practical skills that would be useful both as preparation for employment and everyday life. One serious suggestion which arises is that the ideas expressed in this report about the 'Village Polytechnic' might be related to harambee schools. Such a move would have to be investigated very carefully and cautiously. It could be seen by parents, at least in theory, as implying a dilution of the type of education given in a harambee school, because of the more limited time spent in the classroom. There would be a need to safeguard the chances of pupils more academically and make arrangements to fit such a programme in with the K.J.S.E. However, the possibility of offering a much wider range of subjects, with students able to select options, including practical skills as well as basic subjects, deserves consideration.

Towards a new Curriculum

The Conference agreed that there is an urgent need to reconsider the purpose of the harambee school curriculum and to develop a new approach to secondary school teaching to give it the flexibility required to meet the greater range of aptitudes, interests and needs of the students now entering the schools. Basic subjects such as English and Mathematics need to be taught so that they can be used easily by the second form and fourth form leaver in such tasks as: keeping the accounts of a farm, writing up a proposal for a loan, lending a simple manual on motor car maintenance or fertilizers, selecting paperback books for entertainment and further education, and being able to act as a secretary or treasurer to a local development committee. Subjects such as History and Geography need to be slanted much more towards social and economic conditions prevailing in the society the students are living in and the requirements of citizenship. One vital area for review is the teaching of science. There is a demand for increased science teaching in the secondary schools on the grounds that the scientific skills are the key to economic development. The question at point is what kind of scientific skills are needed at this phase of national development. Our secondary school science curriculum is almost a copy of the science curriculum in Britain, an industrial country, where opportunities for post-school in-service technical training abound. In a primarily agricultural country where so many people are keenly interested in owning land, secondary school science education should provide students with basic knowledge to enable them to take an interest in farming and the processing of farm products, where necessary enabling them to find, read up and understand the application of modern techniques in their own businesses. Changes in the secondary school curriculum are needed along these lines, especially in the harambee schools where the present pure science syllabuses are, through lack of resources, being neglected, and where ex-pupils are likely to be involved in some aspect of rural development.


2 For a much more detailed discussion of the place of science teaching in secondary education see J. Moris, Kericho Conference paper 'The Education of the Farmer'. Section E.
Whilst urging revision in the total approach to secondary education, headmasters recognised that this would be a long term process and that in the meantime they needed short term answers to their problems. There is concern about the narrowness of the present examination subject spread, and interest in the Commerce, Handicraft and Agriculture papers offered in School Certificate, but it was pointed out that they knew little of these subjects and needed equipment and trained staff to consider them further. Such subjects would need to demonstrate their value in terms of employment prospects and financial returns, but the headmasters themselves were strongly in favour of increasing the practical/vocational elements in harambee school teaching if help could be given. School committees and parents would probably be apprehensive but in most cases headmasters felt that they would be able to persuade them to experiment with such changes.

Three major classes of subject were considered:

1. **Agriculture**

There was great interest in this subject, especially when it was realised that it is now an accepted S.C. subject. Most schools had land and some already had farms on which pupils worked.

Problems: (i) the lack of skilled agricultural instructors, (ii) the suspicions of parents about how much 'practical work' would in fact be spent digging the teachers' 'shambas' rather than learning, (iii) the lack of suitable equipment.

Most headmasters however emphasised that if instruction and equipment could be found and agriculture became recognised as an examination subject it would eventually prove a popular subject with pupils and parents. A suggestion which comes to mind is that perhaps the new day secondary schools should also be included in the A.I.D. experimental agricultural education programme although with emphasis on 'middle level technology'.

2. **Commercial Subjects**

Again there was much interest in these subjects. Lack of equipment and instructors proved to be the main drawbacks. However, if grants could be made to provide typewriters and bookkeeping stationery headmasters felt that teachers would gladly take vacation courses to prepare themselves to teach these subjects at a simple level. Many headmasters had already taught themselves to type and to do some elementary bookkeeping in the course of their duties.

3. **Craft Subjects**

The great problem with such subjects is the expense of the equipment and materials. There has long been a debate in the primary schools about the merits of cheap local crafts as opposed to more useful but expensive studies of woodwork and metalwork. Some primary schools still have tools which they are unable to use because of lack of instructors and the cost of materials. Perhaps there is a case for collecting these and giving them to the new day secondary schools. Cost will be the deciding factor in the development of craft subjects.

It should be understood that practical/vocational studies in harambee schools should not be established to produce skilled craftsmen. This is the task of the technical trade schools or apprentice systems. Anyhow opportunities and markets for local skilled men are limited. The purpose of this type of teaching should be to provide the pupils with knowledge and give their education a technological base on which they can develop the skills required to run a better farm or shop and to enable them to learn faster if they are fortunate enough to find employment requiring technical/practical skills. At present all these subjects will have to be included within the existing examination structure.
New syllabuses need to be designed and included in the K.C.S.E. and adaptations made to the present Cambridge range of subjects to fit the syllabuses to local facilities and conditions. Courses offered by other examination syndicates could be considered. Further, special help will be needed in providing instructors who can work in the schools. In-service courses are one answer, part-time instructors another. A flexible and imaginative approach is needed and there must be liaison between the various ministries likely to be concerned.

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

a) Small scale pilot projects, capitalising where possible on goodwill and competent local leadership must be tried out first.
b) Each area must be treated on its own merits and plans must be made to suit local conditions.
c) The local leaders responsible for the running of the school must be identified and consulted very fully. Recognition must be given to them.
d) Care must be taken to involve all interested bodies in the planning: Community Development, the Administration, the churches, other government ministries, the local party leaders, etc.
e) A wide publicity campaign, pointing out the problems facing these schools and publicising successful experiments is needed.
f) Finally, any scheme which offers aid or help must 'start where the people are'; this means giving help with problems which the schools are facing now. This will develop confidence, create goodwill and if handled carefully could lead naturally to a reappraisal of the needs of the pupils and the function of the school.

4. HELPING THE HARAMBEE SCHOOL

Underlying this whole question is the assumption that whatever the arguments for restraining or changing the role of the self help secondary schools, in the short term at least, they are here to stay.

In practice the two initial concerns of the headmasters were the problems of obtaining finance and the recruitment of staff but throughout the conference they also expressed concern about the type of education that schools were giving, both in terms of quality and aim. Of course finance and staffing are very important factors, but underlying these issues is a need to review the whole basis on which harambee schools are founded, the resources they have available and the contributions to national education which they are best suited to make. To do this will take time, and even where plans can be formulated they must be kept flexible enough to meet the approval of the local committee, and the development of other sections in the education plan. Thus there must be an awareness of the phasing, by which schools can be aided with their teaching and helped to re-align their aims to meet the needs of their pupils more realistically. With this in mind the following suggestions were made:

The Overall Picture

1. The contribution of harambee schools should be considered in the Educational Section of the National Development Plan.
2. A National Advisory Body, on which elected members of local committees, respected national figures, and the various interested organizations are represented should be convened to give advice to the Ministry of Education, to act as an organ by which the schools can air their opinions,

For instance: City and Guilds, The Royal Society of Arts and the Certificate of Secondary education.
to advise school committees and keep them in touch with the national economic position, and finally to help as an impartial arbiter in the maintenance of standards in the schools.

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

4. Harambee School committees should be encouraged to seek advice from government Education Officers and their headmasters should join the Headmasters' Association.

5. Plans to help harambee schools must be drawn up according to the conditions of each school, or group of schools, in consultation with the local leaders responsible for the school. At first small pilot projects should be carried out where conditions are suitable.

An Advisory Service

Throughout the conference detailed suggestions for improving harambee school education were put forward and the final task of the conference was to consider ways of co-ordinating these suggestions and putting them into practice. The suggestion for some form of special advisory service for the development of low cost self-help secondary education was supported unanimously. Such an organisation could combine the roles of offering immediate aid to the schools and carrying out the negotiations and research necessary to develop new approaches to self help secondary education. Services which might be offered are:

1. Practical enquiries into improving the organisation and running of the present schools, leading to:
   a) the production of simple manuals,
   b) conferences and in-service courses for committee members, headmasters and senior teachers in such subjects as:
      (i) School organisation,
      (ii) Financial control,
      (iii) The purpose of the school,
      (iv) The curriculum.

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

3. In-service courses and workshops for headmasters and teachers in:
   a) Subject preparation,
   b) Teaching methods,
   c) Adapting and improving the curriculum.
Suitable schemes of work, teaching notes, instruction manuals etc., could be circulated and explained at such courses.

4. Various teaching aids such as:
   a) Lists of textbooks and reference books best related to such schools
   b) Advice on the use of schools broadcasts and producing radio lessons specially geared to harambee school needs.
   c) A lending library of film strips and reference books specially related to school courses.
   d) Mobile libraries, laboratories and film units, set up on a provincial basis. They would need to be programmed in with the school activities, but there is no need for schools to keep rigidly to a conventional timetable; for instance, a mobile laboratory for two days a term under expert guidance, would remove the need for expensive school laboratories.
Teachers could cover the rest of the term's work with demonstrations, possibly with special demonstration kits prepared for harambee schools and sold to them cheaply.

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

5. To provide cheap duplicated materials to be used to supplement the limited number of text books. Workbooks and exercises in English, Mathematics and Science could be prepared by experienced teachers. In the long term, experiments could be made in designing suitable programmed materials.

6. The co-ordination of the work of harambee schools with the educational work of other agencies, e.g. the correspondence courses being established by the Board of Adult Studies; the agriculture education experiments of the Ministry of Education, training courses run by the Ministry of Agriculture, in-service and promotion courses run by the Institute of Education and the work of the Curriculum Development Centre and the University Department of Education.

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

8. To co-ordinate and encourage voluntary help to the schools. For example, gifts of books and equipment from overseas and advice and help from local maintained or assisted schools.

9. To provide advice on the siting and establishment of new schools.

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

Such a service may have attractions for international aid as it would only need to be a temporary measure. As schools become more settled and headmasters and committees more experienced it would lose its significance and its long range projects and equipment could become the concern of some other body, for instance the Curriculum Development Centre, or a broad based Institute of Education. The development of such a service would offer help to all registered self-help secondary schools and the very nature of the service would raise standards by requiring schools to make real efforts to improve themselves on the lines which advisors indicate. Headmasters felt schools would be very happy to do this, providing the school committees were consulted fully. It was agreed that schools which were not prepared to co-operate should not be included in the scheme.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this conference was to bring into focus education in the self-help secondary schools. This report has given a brief survey of a broad and varying scene. Throughout the conference a number of important facts stood out: the enthusiasm and ability of the headmasters themselves, the tremendous investment of local finance and effort, the very difficult problems which the schools face and the crucial need for a better related curriculum. In theory such outstanding determination and such a heavy commitment of resources seems to justify the proposals made. In practice it must be recognised that
education can only bring the returns required of it as part of total development pattern. Self-help education has much to recommend it, but support must only be given to it within the context of ensuring optimum national development.

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