Values Education in Kenya:

Christianity and African Tradition:

A Study of Contrasts and Continuities in Education

JOSHUA OTIENO OBUHATSA

BA (EDUCATION OPT.), MA (EDUCATION)

Thesis submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy.

2000.

CURRICULUM STUDIES GROUP

University of London, Institute of Education.
This thesis addresses the perceived need for a justifiable and coherent values education paradigm in Kenya's Education. It focuses on contrasts in education policy with implications for values education. The first two post colonial education reports: the Ominde Commission (OC) 1964/65 and the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies (NCEOP) 1976 agree that education should promote socio-economic and political development. However, they disagree over the role of religion, particularly, Christianity and African Socialism in underpinning values within this development. This thesis attempts to present an argument that in contemporary Kenya's secondary educational context, there is a need for a holistic values education paradigm. If a Christian curriculum is to be viable, in order to be relevant both to the lives of young people and to the developing context of Kenya, Christian related values education must connect with the whole human environment to make Christianity meaningful, relevant, implicit and applicable to life. The OC recommends Judeo-Christianity to underpin the values, but later contradicts this stance. It consigns ethics to the 'Hidden Curriculum', doubting whether values education can be part of a formal school curriculum. The NCEOP radically reverses the order, rejecting religion particularly Christianity. It paradoxically recommends African traditional values, which are of course, themselves, implicitly religious. These contrasting views concerning the theory of knowledge in this educational context are problematic. Through documentary, discourse, and theoretical analysis of and commentary on relevant documents and literature together with a supportive descriptive questionnaire, this thesis argues for the possibility of applying contextualisation, a theological construct which involves a number of concepts, to education; a philosophical framework which relates religion to the context of the learner and could provide a coherent values education paradigm. Part one of the thesis establishes the contrasting views and elaborates key points of tension. Part two analyses the philosophical issues involved. Part three presents and analyses research findings. Part four investigates the contextualisation continuum to draw some conclusions at the level of
general principles and make some tentative proposals at the level of Curriculum. Part five summarises the study with recommendations and conclusions. My vision is that a Judeo-Christian based values education paradigm within the contextualisation continuum will coherently underpin the holistic development of Kenyans for their own good and that of the society.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is impossible to thank by name all who have made this thesis a success. Mr. Michael S. Totterdell, my supervisor, has made an invaluable contribution to the success of this thesis. Dr. Janet Harland, the research tutor in the academic group invited me to her home, and made useful contact with my sponsors. Dr. Joe Cairns kindly requested my sponsors for a scholarship extension and was involved in the thesis writing. Emeritus Professor Ulrich Becker of Hannover University Germany, former Director of the World Council of Churches Education Sub-Unit and his wife Inge Becker, provided the scholarship through the WCC. The support of the National Council of Churches of Kenya, through its General Secretary the Rev. Mutava Musyim was significant.

Mrs. Mary Higginson, formerly, a Cross Links Missionary in Kenya, supported me with distinction as well as introducing me to the Holy Trinity Church, High Wycombe, Hazlemere, Bucks, which, under the Rev. Clive Collier, generously subsidised the WCC sponsorship. James and Alison Hazelton, Peter and Rosemary Dixon, Keith and Angela Pound, Dr. and Mrs. Edward Waluszewski, Gordon and Penny Pearce and Diana Powell from the same church played important roles. The Rev. Paul and Nicy Roberts' home, in Woodley, Reading, became an oasis in times of sickness, fatigue, loneliness and discouragement. They mobilised the Woodley Team Ministry, to support me at the end of the WCC scholarship. Michael, Georgina Wild and their son Charles made a unique contribution by offering me accommodation in 1999. Mark and Carol Morgan of Woodley proofread the thesis and redirected my vision. Richard and Marie Graham of Bournemouth supported me generously. Onifade Oye Kule, Lanre Dessaoul and Stella Taiwo Oluyumi contributed in significant ways. The Rev. Fred and Eileen Welch former CMS missionaries who were both government teachers and Inspectors of Religious Education in Kenya were resourceful. David and Eda Powell of North Finchley helped with literature. The Library staff at the Institute, the Senate, the SOAS and the CMS were supportive. My wife Janet and our children Grace, Alexander, Faith, June and Jairus patiently endured my long absence from them. I thank every one for their support.
Values Education in Kenya:

Christianity and African Tradition:

A Study of Contrasts and Continuities in Education

Table of Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glossary</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 1: Introduction

1:1 Introduction                              15
1:2 Style, Method and Content                  15
1:3 Analytical summary                         15
1:4 Agenda                                     17
1:5 Conceptual Issues                          21
1:6 Method and Structure                       29
1:7 Evolution of Thesis                        35

Part One: Contrast in Education Policy


2:1 Introduction and Context                   37
2:2 Church and State Relations in Early and Post Independence Era 41
2:3 Ideology and Structural Influences         47
2:4 The OC, Terms of Reference and Underlying Value Assumptions 53
2:5 Critical Analysis and Appraisal            63

Chapter 3: Demotion of the Christian tradition as a Curriculum Subject: National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies (NCEOP) 1976.

3:1 Introduction                               65
3:2 The NCEOP, Context and Key Findings        67
3:3 NCEOP Policy Implementation.               70
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3:4 Religion, Values, Issues and the Spectre of Colonialism</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 Summary, Analysis and Appraisal of Contrast in the Education Reports</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 4: Pre-colonial African Society - Education and Values

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4:1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:2</td>
<td>Traditional African Values</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:3</td>
<td>Critical analysis and appraisal.</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter 5: Anti-Colonial reaction as the background to the Commissions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5:1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:2</td>
<td>Contextual Theologies</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:3</td>
<td>Africanisation and Anti-Christian reaction</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:4</td>
<td>Varieties of African Theology</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:5</td>
<td>Summary, Critical Appraisal and Conclusion</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Part Two: Contrast over Religion and Ethics: Pragmatic Issues

Chapter 6: The Christian Tradition in the Curriculum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6:1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:2</td>
<td>Western Missionary Ideology and Education</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:3</td>
<td>Curriculum and OC Education Goals</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:4</td>
<td>CRE: Its Curriculum Status</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:5</td>
<td>Critical Analysis and Appraisal</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7:1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:2</td>
<td>Religion and Ethics</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:3</td>
<td>The Secular Ethic: Provenance</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:4</td>
<td>African Socialism and Social Education and Ethics: (SEE)</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:5</td>
<td>Critical Appraisal: Summary and Conclusion</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Part Three: Research Evidence

Chapter 8: Clarification of the contrast between the OC and the NCEOP in relation to empirical evidence from research findings

8:1 Introduction
8:2 Documentary analysis
8:2:1 The Cultural Contrast
8:2:2 Hermeneutic Contrast
8:2:3 Philosophical Contrast
8:3 Summary of findings
8:3:1 The Key Epistemological Question
8:3:2 The Key Hermeneutic Question
8:3:3 The Key Cultural Question
8:3:4 The Curriculum Policy Question
8:4 The Questionnaire procedures and findings
8:5 Sampling frame and design
8:6 Discussion of Research findings in the light of the empirical study
8:6:1 Epistemological Polarity
8:6:2 Ideological and Hermeneutic Polarity
8:7 Critical appraisal and conclusion

Part Four: Proposal for a Tripartite Contextualised Values Education Curriculum

Chapter 9: Proposal for a Tripartite Contextualist Values Education Curriculum

9:1 Introduction
9:2 Missiological contextualisation and its cognates
9:3 Educational contextualisation
9:4 Critical appraisal

Part Five: Summary, Recommendations and Conclusion
Chapter 10: Recommendations and Outcome

10:1 Introduction 263
10:2 Summary of the study 264
10:3 Findings on research question one 266
10:4 Findings on research question two 270
10:5 Findings on research question three 270
10:6 Kenya's philosophy of education 271
10:7 Values education curriculum 275
10:8 Teaching methodology 279
10:9 Study limitations 279

Bibliography 284

Appendices

1 Church Memorandums 312
2 Population Statistics 328
3 The Kenya Constitution and Education Act 1968 335
4 Educational Statistics 340
5 Secondary RE syllabuses 345
6 Objectives of Social Education and Ethics 347
7 Characteristics of African Socialism 348
8 Questionnaire and Summary Sheets 353
8:1:1 Age distribution 361
8:1:2 Teaching experience distribution 362
8:1:3 Religion distribution 362
8:2:1 Popular values education basis 363
8:2:2 Activity best promoting values 366
8:2:3 Causes of violence in Schools 369
8:2:4 Condemnation of CRE by the NCEOP 371
8:2:5 Improving values in the school curriculum 373
8:2:6 Strongest social group influencing youth values 375
8:2:7 Societies/Clubs best contributing to youth values 378
8:3:1 Missionary role in education 380
8:3:2 The strongest values neutralising influence on pupils 386
9 Sample Contextualised lesson plan 389

Table in the Text
6:1 Responses by province- Junior secondary school Syllabuses 158

Figures in the text
9:2:1 Educational hermeneutics 255
9:2:2 Educational contextualisation 258
9:2:3 Curriculum development stages in values education 260
The Glossary

This section clarifies terminology, concepts and abbreviations considered necessary for the successful understanding of the study.

**African Socialism**
This is the political ideology adopted by Kenya and other Third World countries to spell out their socio-economic and political strategies for national development. In the 1960s, Western Socialism of the Marxist type was attractive to the Third World because it seemed to be a better alternative to the European Capitalist imperialism characterised by capitalism, monopoly, and political exploitation. Therefore Latin America, Asia and Africa found in Socialism a weapon to fight Western imperialism. In Kenya African Socialism included cultural and religious components unlike in Western Socialism. The National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies 1976 recommended that the values of African Socialism would underpin socio-economic and political development in Kenya instead of Christianity. In this thesis, African Socialism is used alternatively with African tradition, African cultural heritage, African traditional education and traditional African social ethics.

**ARH/ATR**
African Religious Heritage is alternatively referred to as African Traditional Religion(s). African Socialism consists of this, although there is no syllabus based on this in Kenya schools. In the thesis it is referred to as ATR or ARH and sometimes as traditional African social ethics. It is really what the NCEOP recommended as Social Ethics Syllabus to replace religion in values teaching.

**ATE**
African Traditional Education.

**Attitude**
When we speak of someone’s ‘attitude’ to a thing, one generally refers to strong feelings, deeply rooted feeling or convictions, and psych-physical orientation towards or a way from something, that they either like or dislike. There is also often some associated notion that attitudes are to some extent irrational and that this makes them unamenable to rational argument or persuasion. Attitudes are notoriously difficult to change and the problem of attitude change is generally regarded as one of the most difficult in any undertaking of education.

**ATWT: Association of Third World Theologians**
A group of theologians who are concerned that the gospel will be preached and taught in a manner that it will relate and be applicable to life in the developing world. In their view, Christianity holds the key to the end of poverty and political unrest in the Third World.
Belief
A belief is both a proposition or a statement of an idea or contention as true or existing, and our psychological assent to it after holding it as true. The important point is two-fold: one is the content of the proposition, the other is the emotional commitment we have to that proposition. We make a commitment to a proposition or statement as true on various grounds- that of some external authority, that of evidence, that of the force of our own perceptions, memories, intuitions, and so on. But there is always an affective element involved in our assenting to or holding of a belief: some proposition, statement or idea is put forward to us (often with some persuasive force) or something occurs to us (often with considerable resonance) and we see it as a notion or claim that can be entertained, assented to, accepted, and espoused. Sometimes we espouse such claims or notions with a very firm opinion; this can extend run to a state of intense psychological conviction (often) some-one accepts that something is true almost in spite of the evidence, and this comes close to prejudice). Or it can go the other way and involve the stance of doubt, in which one extremely hesitant about the strength that one can give to one's claims that something is to be taken as true: in such a case one may be prepared to do no more than merely suspend disbelief.

CCEA: Christian Churches Educational Association
A department of the Protestant National Council of Churches of Kenya responsible for educational issues related to Education Policy and Protestant church founded educational institutions in Kenya.

Conscience
Conscience is sometimes taken to be the name of some inner disposition, sense or organ in human beings: it is often associated with the idea of the 'moral faculty', which some people believe all humans have. We do not know whether there is any such thing, however: it is more likely that when we speak of 'conscience', all that is implied is a strong internal awareness of thought or actions that we ought not, to be having or doing. Reference to conscience is a 'facon de parler': phrases involving the word can be interpreted along such lines as the following: 'to have a conscience' is to be sensitive to moral considerations, 'to have no conscience' is not to be sensitive to them; 'to consult ones' conscience' is to exercise one's moral judgement, and so on.

CRE: Christian Religious Education
This has been associated with the terms RE (Religious Education), RI (Religious Instruction), RK (Religious Knowledge), BK (Bible Knowledge) or simply Scripture, Catechism, or Divinity. These other terms were dropped in 1978, when the Ministry of Education Inspectorate adopted CRE or Christian Religious Education to give the subject a distinctive educational implication as opposed to other meanings. The subject is alternatively referred to variously as the Christian Tradition, Christianity, Western Missionary Christian Education. Throughout the thesis, it will be referred to as CRE.
Decontextualised Christianity implies Christianity in its Western garb. Theologians are calling for contextualising Christianity to relate it to the African context.

EATWT: Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians
A group of theologians who are concerned that the gospel will be preached and taught in a manner that it will relate and be applicable to life. In their view, Christianity holds the key to the end of socio-economic and political problems in the Third World.

EATWT: Evangelical Association of Third World Theologians
These theologians have similar concerns about Western Missionary Christian performance in the Third World, but not from a culturally radical position. They emphasise adherence to the Biblicist view of Christianity and see missionaries as having been genuine and sacrificial in their dominical call in the world.

Educational Contextualisation:
The intention by a teacher to effectively communicate or transpose knowledge, worthwhile values, beliefs, skills, attitudes and evaluations from his own context to that of the child in such a manner that it is intelligible. To achieve this the communicative act will have to be hermeneutically sensitive and pedagogically sound using various ways, but with wide ranging implications for the transformation of individuals, institutions and society in general.
Ethics is Greek (‘ethos’, ‘ethe’) and means the same as ‘morals’ in Latin (‘mos, mores’) and for this reason the two can be used more or less interchangeably in ordinary language. However, there are special uses: in one of them ‘ethics’ connotes the rules of conduct recognised in certain fields of human activity, professions, vocations and the like, meaning a normative set of principles or morals determining and guiding appropriate behaviour in that (the ‘Hippocratic Oath’ is a good example of this).

8.4.4: System of Education
Eight years of primary, four years of secondary and four years of university education. Currently, this is the system of Education in Kenya having been recommended by the Education Report 1981.

Harambee Schools
The word “Harambee” means putting efforts together to accomplish a task. Immediately after independence, Kenya’s first Head of State coined this word as a political slogan to inspire Kenyans to work together in order to reconstruct Kenya’s economy. Schools were significant in this reconstruction. Many secondary schools were founded through these efforts.

KANU

KCS: Kenya Catholic Secretariat
This is the Catholic Secretariat also handling educational matters on behalf of the Catholic Church in Kenya.

KCSE: The Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education
This is awarded after four years of secondary education. It is the only certificate of secondary education in Kenya. Both CRE and SEE are offered for this certificate. Throughout the thesis it will be referred to as KCSE.

KIE: Kenya Institute of Education
The Kenya Ministry of Education curriculum development centre.

Morality
The conduct of ourselves in relation to other people, and the rules in regard to us, and the way in which we agree between us to regulate ourselves in our interpersonal transactions by the adherence to a set of principles.

Nyayoism
Contemporary Kenya’s political ideology coined the Head of state the KANU party leader based on Christian virtues of Peace Love and Unity.
NCEOP: The National Committee on Educational objectives and Policies, 1976
This was the second National review of education in the republic of Kenya. It sustained the Ominde Commission 1964 recommendations for a human economic theory of education, but rejected the Ominde Commission recommendations for a religious paradigm of values education in Kenya. It is referred to throughout this thesis as the NCEOP.

OC: The Ominde Education Commission Report
This was the first national review of education in the republic of Kenya. It is in two volumes, part I, 1964 and part II 1965. It made recommendations for a holistic educational philosophy with CRE as the values basis. Throughout this thesis it is referred to as the OC.

Positivism/Logical Positivism
Terms, which originally referred to the claim that science had displaced theology and metaphysics as the sole legitimate means for seeking truth, informing action and governing society. Currently logical positivism is more frequently used to imply that all cognitively meaningful utterances are either true by definition or testable in principle by scientific method narrowly conceived. In this thesis both positivism and logical positivism are used to mean reliance on scientific means for ascertaining truth.

PWPA
Professors World Peace Academy of Kenya: This is a private group of intellectuals who come together to handle educational issues and publish their ideas.

SDA
Seventh Day Adventist Church Education Secretariat

SEE: Social Education and Ethics
The NCEOP originally recommended the introduction of ‘Social Ethics’ underpinned by African Socialism outside religion. However, because of its content, which excluded religion, and the obscurity of the term, curriculum developers included religion and changed the name to Social Education and Ethics. So SEE has elements of African Socialism, but in Kenya schools it is a mixture of mainly Christianity and other religions and some traditional African Social ethics. I have used SEE interchangeably with African Socialism in this thesis to refer to it in its secondary school context.

TSC: Teachers Service Commission:
This is the government para-statal that employs teachers in Kenya schools and colleges of education.

TWT: Third World Theologies/Third World Theologians.
Values education
This is the initiation into values and morality, therefore, is concerned with helping us to understand that human life is beset with obligations. For without such an education in values and morality we should be significantly impoverished in our attempt to come to terms with the demand we face in our lives and to exercise our informed choice in order to make that process manageable, tolerable, and possibly even enjoyable. We develop and articulate the reasons which both satisfy us and are open to public evaluation from any particular value judgement or moral decision or for any general moral code that we may make for ourselves or come to adopt, within the institutional framework of our human personhood. These beliefs rest upon certain notions about what constitutes right and wrong our most basic beliefs concerning the Meaning and value of human life and the importance of social and community cultures in sustaining and enriching it- what one ought to do, as well as an awareness of what ‘ought’ language, in the realm of interpersonal conduct and social relations, commits one to.

WCC-World Council of Churches.
Chapter 1: Introduction

1:1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the whole thesis as follows:

- Section 1:2 style, method and content;
- Section 1:3 analytical summary;
- Section 1:4 the agenda;
- Section 1:5 conceptual issues;
- Section 1:6 method and structure
- Section 1:7 evolution of thesis.

1:2 Style, Method and Content

This thesis is in five parts. The first part consists of five chapters, the second part two, and parts three to five one each. Each chapter begins with an introduction, which spells out the organisation of content. A brief recapitulation to link with the previous chapter, or section precedes the statement of objectives and significance of the present chapter to the ongoing debate and methodology. It also spells out the various content sections, which include, first a description of theme, then its analysis. An appraisal of the argument in the sections is then given with a summarising analysis to point the reader to the next chapter. Footnotes are included where necessary. A bibliography and appendices end the thesis.

1:3 Analytical Summary

Part One: Contrast In Education Policy (chapters 2-5)
This section describes and analyses the contrast between two education reports: Ominde Education Report, 1964/5 referred to in the rest of the thesis as the ‘OC’ and the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies Report, 1976 referred to as the ‘NCEOP’ in the whole thesis. Chapter one introduces the agenda, method and structure. Chapter two describes and analyses the OC developmental strategy culminating in a recommendation for a Christian religious basis for the values education. Chapter three describes and analyses the NCEOP with its premium on the values of African Socialism. Chapter four analyses the pre-colonial African Education, the basis for African Socialism and its place in values education. Chapter five describes and analyses the ideological dimension of the contrast.

Part Two: Contrast over Religion and Ethics: Pragmatic Issues (chapters 6-7)
This section discusses the NCEOP assertions that religion, especially, Christianity failed to underpin social ethics because of its formal status in the curriculum. Chapter six examines the Christian tradition in the school curriculum. Chapter seven explores religio-ethical and cultural issues.

Part Three: Research Evidence
Chapter eight integrates the research findings by documentary, discourse and theoretical analysis with the questionnaire.

Part Four: Proposal for a Tripartite Contextualist Values Education Curriculum
This section in chapter nine investigates the contextualisation continuum as a method to maximise the strengths of both African Socialism and CRE and to minimise their weaknesses in order to provide a more coherent values basis.

Part Five: Summary, Recommendations and Conclusions
Chapter ten makes observations, conclusions and recommendations based on the research findings.
This thesis is about the complicated situation resulting from problems involved in appropriately interpreting Kenya’s post-colonial non-aligned ideological stance. Democratic African Socialism was preferred over Western Capitalism and Eastern Communism in national and socio-economic development (Kenya, 1965). Education policy makers in Kenya have agreed that the goals of education should be to promote national economic, social and cultural development. They have, however, been divided in their understanding and interpretation of the State ideological stance of non-alignment. Should the values of Democratic African Socialism underpin educational agenda or should Judeo-Christianity? The OC recommended that Christianity should underpin a human capital economic theory of education, national unity and responsible African citizenship. Cultural values were to underpin African personality, African identity and a psychological basis for Nationhood. The NCEOP recommended that the human capital economic theory of education, national unity, mutual social responsibility and personal development should be underpinned by the rural values of Democratic African Socialism. Christianity was radically challenged and muted. The contrast between these two education reports forms the main agenda of this thesis.

This contrast presents a problem for education policy makers who have tried to define a coherent, relevant, and justifiable values education basis at Kenya’s secondary phase of education, ie. for the young people who are about to start their own lives. How should the school prepare them for life? On the one hand, a narrowly based academically oriented and economically centred educational policy in Kenya challenges the purpose of education as a means of holistic human development in preparation for life. While on the other hand, secular cultural values threaten to occupy the centre stage despite prevalent seminal curriculum views that cultural analysis in education ought to include belief and morality systems, Lawton, (1989). According to Sheffield, (1973) and D’Souza, (1987) the British educational pattern has been joined by the OC to the African tradition. However, D’Souza adds that an American secular system has been
added to the traditional education by the NCEOP. D’Souza asserts that a British pattern
would have both a religious and secular basis, while an American pattern would have a
secular basis with emphasis on science and technology. He implies by this trend a
competition between British ‘Creationists’ and American ‘Evolutionists’ and seems to
see it represented in these two commission education reports. He concludes that
ethnocentrism in Kenya was swamped by internationalism.

Commenting on the recommendations of the two Education Reports he (1987: 125)
asserts:

Within education too, polarisation was evident: Creationists competed with
Evolutionists in the interpretation of knowledge, while rifts emerged between
arts and sciences, between academic and vocational education, and between
pure and applied research.

D’Souza’s categorisation of British and American education into creationism and
evolutionism leaves much to be desired. His notion does not just reflect the true
situation of education in these two countries. The division is not as explicit and as neat
as he puts it, rather it is more complicated.

In America, where there is now the separation of State and religion, the only way to get
religion into the curriculum is to get it in to the secular curriculum. Religion attacks the
secular curriculum where it is weak and religion has an opposing view or alternative to
explain Darwin’s theory of evolution. So now in many states, evolution and creation
have equal time while the open argument between creation and evolution becomes a
public issue. But this state of affairs cannot be described as evolutionist. In the UK
where religion and state are not separate, religion is expected legally to be taught in the
school system. RE must elaborate the relationship between religious and scientific
explanations of creation or evolution. There is no pressure to introduce creationist
explanations in the secular curriculum. It is not a public issue and there is no open
battle. Although Kenya has carved her philosophy of education from the British, I
cannot describe the tradition either as creationist or as evolutionist. But in Kenya like in
Britain, religious education is legally recognised and taught in the school curriculum although in Kenya, religion and State are separate. However, scientific and religious explanations of origins are discussed either in CRE classes or in science classes. But in Kenya also the situation seems to be gradually becoming monist. However, it is not a public issue either.

In discussing the problems attendant to values education formulation in the developing world it has been observed:

> In developing societies, especially those in which governments have chosen to emphasise ethnic heritage, the task of values selection is more problematic. Not only is there selection to be made between competing indigenous traditions but often with a Western oriented modernising tradition. It often takes strong state presence to make the selection process work. (Cummings, Gopinathan, and Tomoda, (eds), (1981:5)

In the case of Kenya, there is competition between the Western and the African traditional heritage. This thesis seeks to establish the cause of this competition. My argument is that the State has not made a coherent selection let alone made it work. This thesis is a contribution towards making a recommendation for such a coherent selection, one which appropriately acknowledges and seeks to build on the values base embedded in the Kenyan cultural legacy.

To succeed in recommending a coherent selection this thesis will investigate the selection of the best traditions from Christianity and African cultural heritage. This view is supported by the 1963 recommendation of the Protestant and Catholic churches on education in independent Kenya.1

---

1 The churches recommended: "In Kenya today, an educational system closely adapted to the changed circumstances and needs of the country must be worked out: such a system would take into account the best traditions of the people. With all this the church is in complete sympathy and pledges fullest cooperation. Her concern is that the full religious development of her children be assured. The church is convinced that an education system without religion can bring only disaster (Appendix 1).
While the churches appear to be concerned that there shall be both religious education teaching in the school curriculum and the best traditions of the people, they do not define “best traditions”. This thesis will attempt to do this.

The main point of the churches was that education in independent Kenya would be justified if it considered a coherent philosophy by which Christianity and African tradition might seek to promote holistic human development. The churches were also not just concerned with values education as such, but the whole of educational philosophy in independent Kenya. This thesis is more specifically concerned with the need for a justifiable and coherent paradigm of values education. It raises the question of whether, how and in what form, religion and culture can still make a contribution to values education. The aims of this study can be summed up as:

- Establishing the causes and implications of the contrast between the OC and the NCEOP over the role of religion and African Socialism in values education for secondary schools.
- Investigating the possibilities for a justifiable and coherent values education basis for the education context.
- Recommending a justifiable, relevant and coherent values education paradigm to become the policy basis of future pedagogic and curriculum development.

These are all important issues because it is apparent that the need for a basic rationale for values education has never been resolved, let alone the question of how far this basic rationale should be derived from Christian teaching. Furthermore, it is widely agreed among most curriculum theorists that despite the current emphasis on technical, scientific and vocational studies, a well rounded curriculum should attend to all aspects of human development including the spiritual.

There are good sociological reasons for suggesting that no society could exist if it lacked any one of the following nine subsystems, though it might be the case that some of them are more important than others in industrial societies from the point of view of formal education. The systems are the
Although Lawton makes these comments within the western context, where religion has been strongly challenged by a naturalistic world view, he still implies it in the belief system. In Kenya, where the world view is strongly religious, the belief system might be the last thing a balanced educational philosophy would want to ignore. Without being partisan, the fact that the majority Christian religion forms 82.1 percent of Kenya’s population (Jonstone 1993) would justify the uncontested inclusion of religion in the curriculum as a way of accounting justifiably for cultural analysis. Lawton’s perspectives confirm the legitimacy of what the churches in Kenya are calling for in the philosophy of education. Then again, there is manifestly some confusion about values education in Kenya as exemplified in the disagreement between the OC and the NCEOP and the current level of concern about values generally. There is also some confusion over values education’s contribution to the proper religio-cultural dimension to the development of responsible African citizenship in Kenya. This thesis will analyse these issues. It seeks to clarify issues related to personal, social, cultural, spiritual and moral development.

1:5 Conceptual Issues

The theoretical issues within this thesis raise the question of the nature of the relationship between what schools can do and what society wants. Can the school curriculum underpin accessible societal values? According to Fagerlind and Saha (1983), the Structural Functionalist theory says “Fix the school and you fix the society”. This implies that when social decadence occurs in society, the school curriculum may be changed to address the situation. It is, however, more sophisticated than that. The problem of who is to fix the school remains unanswered. If the government fixes the school, then the status quo may be maintained as the ruling elite will want schools to reflect their ideology. This theory assumes also that the school alone forms the whole
picture of the values society reflects but this is contestable. Fagerlind and Saha, (ibid), state that this theory has been criticised for its conservatism and for focusing solely on the static aspects of society to the neglect of change, social reform, development, process, conflict and dissent. Schools, nevertheless, may be one part of the strategy to resolving social decadence, within a coherent values paradigm.

Weber has stated:

Conflict exists where the efforts of one group to obtain a desired goal obstruct the efforts of a second group to achieve its desired goal. Conflict becomes struggle, when one of the competing groups takes action to reduce the capacity or opportunity of the rival group to achieve its ends or gain ascendancy over it. (Cited in Anderson 1970:27)

As a characteristic of Kenya's education, conflict is endemic. In colonial Kenya, missionaries, the colonial administration and settlers each had different perspectives as to educational rationale for Africans. The conflict between the two education reports seems to be more advanced, however, than that already mentioned. First, the conflict may be considered at international level between two competing paradigms of British liberal and religious and American secular education seeking to influence Kenya's educational thinking. Second, the conflict may also be interpreted as being between religious and non-religious world views in which Christianity and secular values are locked in a battle for supremacy over national and human development. The attempt by the NCEOP to erase Christianity from Kenya's educational context raises questions about the purpose of education in Kenya. This conflict can therefore be said to be epistemological and this thesis is an attempt to restate the relationship between religion and morality, as well as the relationship between secular aspects of culture and religion in values education. Third, the conflict can be analysed as ideological. Christianity has been interpreted as a foreign intruder trying to usurp African culture.

There are lingering tensions between Christian and tribal leaders throughout sub-Saharan Africa, which is mostly Christian. Some conflicts require only persuasion and dialogue within the churches and the wider society. But others call for fundamental changes in national laws and constitutional guarantees.
New alliances are forged as clerics, lay persons and civil society leaders work together to pursue similar goals. (Okite, 1999:30)

Okite catalogues the following countries to substantiate his assertions. He observes that in Kenya reforms have been instituted in the austere traditional burial customs which require a widow to lose the husband and the husband’s property. In Ghana, the government banned the Ga tradition of ‘sacred silence’ at the start of the harvest festival based on traditional notions of fertility which Christians were forced to observe. In Swaziland, Christians have turned to the law for protection from traditional social practices that go against their Christian beliefs and ethics. Churches have joined hands with civil society organisations to challenge in civil courts the traditional authority of princes in the marriage and family life of their subjects. In Tanzania churches are appealing to the government to rescue elderly women being hunted down and killed on suspicion of ‘practicing witchcraft’ whose fear is still widespread in tropical Africa.

Finally, the conflict turns out to be political and economic. Anti-Colonial reaction by the African elite regards missionary presence and performance as a subset of western European imperialism in the Third World in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in which missionaries are being accused of acquiescence. If the conflict can be resolved to some extent then there can be hope to move beyond the incommensurable and confusing perspectives in the understanding of values education in Kenyan education.

In connection with this, there is also the need to restate and analyse the role of traditional African education in values. Then there is the already stated relationship that exists between the curriculum and religion as a values paradigm. This relationship may promote or hinder the successful teaching of values. The complicated philosophical and pragmatic implications and their consequences require cogent analysis. For example, what relationship is there between religion and ethics? What would be the implications for values teaching via a secular basis or a religious basis in human development?
This is a philosophically pertinent question in Kenya where for values education, the present emphasis is on a secular ethic underpinned by and derived from African Socialism, while it formerly reflected a religious idealism. This view of the NCEOP raises issues because of the religious world view of African Socialism. If religion were to contribute to human development positively, how best might this be understood and presented in the curriculum? The OC believes that if religion is taught it may promote intellectual, moral and spiritual development. However, it will be seen that the OC also contradicts itself. This study is an attempt to resolve some of these controversies.

**Literature Review**

This study is all based on literature review in the form of documentary analysis. This section serves a small purpose to introduce the documentary and discourse analysis in the rest of this study on the possibility to recommend a coherent and justifiable basis for values education in Kenyan schools.

**Values education.**

Hardly any research has been done in Kenya on values education. Values education as a whole is a gradually developing concept in Kenyan education. Even studies in religious education have yet to be done. It is difficult to find theses in the African context on these two areas. The present SEE syllabus in Kenyan secondary schools was meant to be secular moral education, but it is beset with many problems. Bennaars (1989) has wondered whether it should not be referred to as Personal Social and Moral Education, but he has argued that it should be secular. However, it has been prepared and included religious education. This makes it complicated and it is still an unclear area of study.

**Christian Religious Education (CRE)**

Otiende (1984) supporting the NCEOP stance on African Socialism as the basis for civic and moral education, investigates the inception of the western Missionary ideology in Kenya (CRE) and argues that African traditions outside religion should be taught instead to underpin moral education. This raises questions, which his study does
not fully address. However, he acknowledges that Christianity would have been more successful as a moral education basis had it used the African cultural context as a basis. But he does not show why currently, Christianity should not be contextualised in the African milieu. He disowns his stance on African cultural heritage as a basis for moral education in Kenyan schools when later (Otiende, 1989) he challenges African cultural values and asserts. This study is not just on CRE, nor moral education per se, but on how to contextualise CRE in the African milieu to generate a viable values education paradigm addressing the spiritual, social, moral, cultural, and related existential needs of the Kenyan young people.

Gatumu (1996) is a study on the attitudes of secondary school teachers and pupils towards CRE, in which she emphasises the intellectual role of CRE, and argues that although CRE is expected to address the question of values education which teachers and pupils appreciate, the question is never raised by education authorities. This study is an argument that the Ministry of Education can be reminded that there is a need in Kenyan education for values education to be introduced emphatically. It concentrates on how religion, basically contextualised Christianity in African tradition in Kenyan education can be used to underpin a coherent paradigm of values education.

Nyaga (1991) in an MA thesis reviewed the possibilities for teaching a multi-faith syllabus in Kenyan schools, but she did not relate her dissertation to values education, let alone contextualisation. Nor did she address the problems such a basis would raise in Kenyan education even for religious education. The present study argues that the Kenyan constitution emphasises a monofaith approach in RE teaching. This approach is

2 "Viewed from contemporary perspective, ATE has some obvious limitations given the changing, pluralistic nature of Kenyan society...ATE catered only for the specific needs of particular ethnic groups and fostered powerful gerontocracies suspicious of change and challenges. It also promoted segregation by gender through its system of role allocation and learning. One may add here the inseparability of religious and moral education as a further disadvantageous point. ATE has the potential of promoting tribalism, parochialism, conservatism, sexism and religious intolerance, thereby retarding the evolution of a genuine Kenyan national identity" (Otiende 1989:56).
still viable and my argument is that Christianity should be contextualised in the African milieu to underpin values education for the majority Christian children.

Hearne, (1983), has blamed missionaries for divorcing the teaching of Christianity from the African cultural context and making it abstract and alienated and confusing for children. He does not explain exactly how it is alienated and confusing. He suggests that religious education teaching should seriously consider applying incarnation as a theological construct to make it meaningful to learners within their cultural context. But he does not specify how this should be done. Nor does he raise the issue of values education. However, his views imply contextualisation. The present study argues for a departure from the current academic centred approaches to CRE teaching and urges that contextualisation as a method should be employed to link Christianity to the African context and the existential needs of the learners.

Obuhatsa, (1991) in an unpublished MA dissertation, investigated whether social and moral values were considered in the teaching of CRE in Kenyan schools. The findings were positive. However, the investigation revealed that a more coherent contextualised curriculum for it was needed, but it did not address or analyse contextualisation. This study is a follow up of the dissertation and investigates how best to make CRE underpin these values by contextualising it in the African milieu.

**Educational Contextualisation:**

Mojola, (1987) has stressed the need to take the child’s context seriously in CRE teaching involving African culture to promote understanding, relevance, implication and application. Although he recommends contextualisation, he neither unpacks it as a concept nor explains it as a method. He does not refer to the question of values education. This thesis unpacks the concept of contextualisation and applies it to education suggesting that a new contextualised tripartite project including historic Christianity and the synthesised elements of African tradition related to the child’s existential context could be a viable values basis for youth in Kenya.
Kanyoro, (1987) has complained that the teaching of religion in Kenyan church and school contexts is irrelevant. It has concentrated on an abstract presentation of Christian principles divorced from their first century and African contexts so that the principles have become abstract and inapplicable to life. She recommends that a new vision for teaching effectively with implications for transforming character should be put in place. She recommends the traditional African approaches in which religion was related to life in its teaching in order to engage with people’s lives both in church and school. She implies contextualisation for values teaching, but does not mention it nor come out clearly on how and whether CRE and African traditions could be used to form a basis for values education. Her view that traditional African ways of teaching should be used in contemporary Kenyan education raises serious questions, which she does not address. This thesis is concerned with values teaching in Kenyan education and seeks for modern ways of presenting values education effectively and with implications for children’s values.

A German scholar Ernst Karl Nipkow (1986) is a presentation on “Religious Education in Germany: Development and Problems”, to religious education teachers at West Hill College Birmingham England. He directly mentions the need for contextualisation. He argues that this makes religious education ideological to deal with ethics, morality and values. However, he does not unpack contextualisation. He insists that it can be applied to a multireligious situation. In this thesis contextualisation has been unpacked and an argument presented that it is an innovation in Christian based values teaching especially in the developing world.

**Life Approach Method**

Brolchain, (1983) concentrated on the ‘Experiential Taxonomy’ in religious education in Kenya, but neither did he discuss contextualisation nor did he raise any issues relating to Christianity and the African cultural context. He emphasised the academic advantages of using Life Approach as a method in CRE teaching in Kenya raising
questions which he does not handle, but the question of values education was not raised. This thesis argues that Life Approach as a method standing alone has failed in Kenyan education. Nevertheless it can still be used as part of an eclectic approach to contextualisation incorporating all the available methods that are open to the transcendent dimension and to the child’s experiences. No other study in Kenyan education has been carried out on life approach.

So far no study has taken the education reports in Kenyan education seriously and analysed what they recommend for values education with a view to either following their recommendations or questioning their assumptions and suggesting changes or more meaningful ways of teaching values education. This study has analysed the NCEOP and the OC for this purpose and proposes a way to limit the contrast in their education policy thrusts on values. The fact is that, so far, no relevant research on a coherent and justifiable values education basis, let alone on the contextualisation continuum has been carried out in relation to Kenya. This thesis is an argument that a coherent paradigm of values education for Kenyan schools might consider Christianity and African tradition in relation to the whole human context; anthropological, existential, and cultural in an attempt to relate the Christian religion to Kenya’s societal-root paradigms. According to Montefiore societal-root paradigms are:

The unconscious assumptions which underlie the thinking of a society and by which its members live their lives. A set of assumptions about the fundamental nature of the universe, human kind, or the ways in which people behave, which are so deeply held by the members of a society so as to be essentially unquestioned by them (Montefiore, 1992:72).

Societal-root paradigms in Kenya may encompass education, science and technology, culture, history, the economics, religion and socio-political themes.
This thesis adopts documentary, discourse and theoretical analysis as its methodology. It focuses on contrast in two education reports concerning a justifiable paradigm for values education in Kenya’s secondary school phase. While this is not a quantitative research project, it seemed necessary to check by a descriptive questionnaire the responses of the teachers of CRE and SEE and elicit their views on values education to supplement documentary and discourse analysis. Without making elaborate claims, this method relates the study to current practices. Kenya’s political ideology is based on African Socialism which teachers are acquainted with. They are the chief consumers of the Education Commission Reports, which form their professional, educational and philosophical framework. Documentary analysis thus seemed the most objective methodology to arrive at reliable data whilst also taking account of the discourse of official publications with their pronounced predilection towards policy advocacy.

Cohen and Manion (1994) list some advantages of documentary analysis:

It can –

• contribute to a fuller understanding of the relationship between schools and society...between teacher and pupil;
• yield insights into some educational problems that could not be achieved by any other means;
• lead to an understanding of the dynamics of educational change;
• lead to increased understanding of the relationship between education and the culture in which it operates.

These advantages seem to justify the adoption of documentary, discourse and theoretical analysis methodology for this study. Bulmer, (1987) has asserted that while in quantitative social research concepts tend to be pre-formed and fixed, in qualitative research, concepts tend to be fluid and emergent. Discourse Analysis seems to allow the emergence of concepts necessary for theory formulation in education. Banister, et. al (1994) assert that in Discourse Analysis, the social world becomes the text or rather as a system of texts which can be systematically ‘read’ by a researcher to lay open the psychological processes that lie within them. The social world or the text can be either a
speech or document. It was easier to understand by discourse analysis the emphasis society puts on values education through the school curriculum in Kenya and the government implication that schools can be used as the State ideological dissemination apparatus. By quantitative study it would have been difficult to deal with some of the ideological, theological and philosophical issues handled here through documentary analysis (Burrow and Milburn, 1986). The researcher read between lines and discovered hidden meanings either intended by the writers of policy on education in Kenya or unconsciously implied. The discourse analysis was a break in the positivist fetish for figures to an exploration of meaning. Meaning is changing and language is composed of many ‘languages’ or ‘discourses’ (Banister et.al, ibid). The language of Education Policy Documents lent itself to many ‘languages’ and ‘discourses’ worth discovering and interpreting for new meanings within that social context. These seemed to be important advantages, but this method had some limitations. I was denied access to confidential, but very important primary documents in the Kenyan Ministry of Education and in Protestant and Catholic Church archives. Furthermore, I discovered that a sound theological and philosophical, intellectual basis and a proper grasp of the historical issues involved in the Renaissance, Reformation, Industrial Revolution, Enlightenment and Romantic, the modern and post modern epochs in the west, especially in Western and Central Europe would have been a real asset. Much more time and also funding is required for this method to be fruitful.

The study revolved around historical, ideological, philosophical, theological and educational issues, but it is not a historical or philosophical study as such. Watson (1982: preface), Professor of International Education at Reading University England, has rightly recommended that those who write on colonialism and its bearing on education should do so in a balanced manner. He vividly observes that some have tended to be apologists of the colonial rule, others have tended to take to a highly critical and politicised, usually Marxist or neo-Marxist position. Watson has justifiably cited writers like Carnoy (1974), Fanon (1967); Mannon (1964), Memi (1965) who seem to have radically taken to highly critical and politicised Marxist positions with
regard to colonialism and educational development in Africa. This study, however, is not directly researching colonialism and its implications for educational development in Africa. Its concern is with the teaching of religion and ethics in values education. It merely refers to historical issues for clarification where necessary.

I employed a questionnaire to tap secondary school teachers’ views on values education under socially and politically very constraining circumstances in Kenya in the early 1990s. Furthermore, a Kenyan Professor of Education, Waiyaki (1989), has rightly argued that since it is difficult to decide on what material to use for values education because of the nature of the youth, the material derived quantitatively can be inundated with several assumptions, inequalities, inadequacies and even distortions. To avoid this, we need to use approaches in which the youth are the generators of their own values. He has argued that participant observation as a method has the added advantage to bring the researcher and the observed into a dynamic process of interaction. He argues that such immersion in the lives of those people one studies is very different from the distances maintained by experimenters and survey researchers. It enhances the kind of interaction, which would perpetuate the production of in depth information following careful registering, checking and rechecking, recording of various activities, perceptions and attitudes and finally interpreting their meaning. But the problem with these approaches is that they would have required longer time and much funding, although they would have been the best for my study. However, they could be postponed to post-doctoral research with more time and funding. But this is not to argue that quantitative research is irrelevant to this study.

The basic advantage of a simple structured questionnaire in this study was that individual respondents had an element of personal freedom of choice and independence facilitating a measure of reliability in their responses. Although the research findings were not generalisable, they confirmed the findings by documentary and discourse analysis.

31
The study basically investigated the period between 1963 and 1976 when Christian religious education claimed a privileged position in Kenya's school curriculum. Anthula and Theodore (1993) have divided the history of the education for the African in Kenya in two; between 1900 and 1924, and between 1924 to 1940. But since this is not a study of the history of education in Kenya, it concentrates on values education basically within the period specified.

The study has concentrated on analysing all aspects of the present impasse in values education in the secondary school context. It focused on the changing philosophy of education, rather than on the history of Kenya's education in general. However, the history of education in Kenya, and its changing philosophy, started much earlier than the advent of western education and has continued beyond 1976. This was taken account of by extending the investigations to 1999. The study is based on original education reports, statistical abstracts, and Development Plans between 1964 and 1988, all being publications of the state. The Professors World Peace Academy of Kenya held a seminar at which more than ten Kenyan scholars presented papers reviewing CRE, S.E.E and A.T.E in terms of their suitability as values bases in Kenyan education. Use was also made of historical church conferences on Kenyan education. There is much publication on education in the Third World but the very limited time and sponsorship restricted me. I have also benefited from official correspondence between the Kenyan Ministry of Education and churches, especially between 1963 and 1994 and some of the circulars to schools on CRE within the period of the study. I have had the privilege to be part of a churches delegation to His Excellency President Daniel Arap Moi and heard him rehearse some of the important connections between the State and the churches in Kenya's educational development. Consultations and discussions with some of the former British Missionaries in Kenya now in England proved useful although not all were relevant to the thesis. More discussions with outstanding scholars like Professor Andrew Walls former Director of the New College Edinburgh, Dr. E. Shorter a Catholic Missionary and scholar in Kenya and Professor Ulrich Becker of Hannover University, specialist in Protestant Theology enlightened me on many issues. The CMS Library at
Waterloo which was very helpful is well stacked with material in my field of study. The University of London Senate House is another place that provided access to good sources. The School of Oriental and African Studies, the St. Mary's Mill Hill School Institute of Mission Studies at Barnet in North London, the Christ for All Nations Mission school in Hertfordshire and Cross-Links Overseas Missions Office in Lewisham were useful resource centres to name only a few.

Part one of the study falls between 1963 and 1976 presenting the educational agenda of political and socio-economic reconstruction polarised between either religion or secular African Socialism underpinning the development.

These reports analysed were written under varying socio-economic and political influences. The actual original documents used in this study were the policy booklets for Kenya's Education system meant for the public at large. Being the first report after independence, the OC 1964/65 avoided cultural radicalism in relation to the formal colonial power, Britain. There was an ugly colonial past to break away from, but the selection of a proper replacement was crucial. The OC decided to retain the best traditions reflected through a western Christian ideology, educational philosophy and a capitalist economy. The NCEOP 1976 Report later resorted to cultural radicalism, taking a particular secular liberal stance. The two documents therefore appear philosophically and ideologically polarised in this study. However, both are central to the study and inclusive of the time as well as originating from people who have the interests of our country at heart. The documents are therefore not necessarily what they appear to be on the surface. There is deeper grammar to them which has significant ideological overlap and ideational complexity.

The second part of the study engages more pragmatic, ideological and epistemological issues raised by the recommendations of the reports. It analyses and assesses the divergent views of the practical and theoretical effects on values through ATE, CRE and SEE. The study analyses and assesses relevant aspects of the missionary and post
colonial periods after 1976. Noteworthy here, will be the objectivity with which religion was presented for academic purposes and the misreading of this by the NCEOP. These factors have philosophical and sociological consequences for values education. It then concentrates on the NCEOP objections to religion as a values education paradigm.

In part three the research findings are presented and analysed. By a constructive approach, using research evidence and further theological analysis in part four of the thesis, I propose a tripartite contextual values education basis for Kenyan values education. Contextualisation as a possible model to resolve the values impasse is analysed. The sources used are text-books and journals on theological education and contextualisation.
Evolution of Thesis

Throughout my educational career, I have been interested in finding a way to teach religion and ethics within a holistic approach. In 1989 I was asked by *Interlink* publishers at the World Council of Churches Geneva to contribute an article in their journal. Although the topic was 'Religious and Moral Education in Kenya Schools', I did not at the time understand the subject well, but this experience created a longing in me to research values education.

My reading of the NCEOP on the relationship between religion and ethics and its recommendations on values education within Kenyan education raised issues making me feel that it warranted a response from a concentrated study. My present study had its origin in this. My MA thesis (1991) on *Social and Moral Values via CRE in the school curriculum* introduced me to the present study. My employment in Kenya as a tutor, curriculum developer and co-publisher in Christian religious and moral education for more than ten years has exposed me to the research context. I have served on Government Education Policy making bodies between 1976 and 1994. I have presented papers to teachers, teacher educators, church leaders, religious education advisors and education officers on aspects of Christian religious and moral education. As Director of Curriculum, liaising between the Ministry of Education, churches and parents in Kenya, I have had access to relevant correspondence. I have also had the advantage of being a national examiner in the subject at several levels and interacted with senior personnel in the field.

I spent the 1993/94 academic year, in Kenya on part time study. I was then employed as "Education Consultant" by the National Council of Churches of Kenya. Part of my assignment was to facilitate a national consultancy on the ‘New Education Bill 1994’ in Kenya. The consultancy proposed meaningful changes in Kenya’s education policy.
One of the problems I am faced with in being part of the context I am writing from is the temptation to lack neutrality. However, absolute neutrality is not a possibility. Any one in my position might suffer a similar difficulty. But this does not necessarily put me in a disadvantageous position; on the contrary it may help me to be more precise; relevant and objective in my presentation. Concerning this, MacIntyre (1990:17) rightly observes:

We...have learned from...Thomas Kuhn...that relative to any particular type of enquiry, there are always at least two modes of conceptualising and characterising the data which constitute its subject matter, a pre-theoretical (although not of course pre- conceptual) prior-to-enquiry mode and a mode internal to that particular type of enquiry which already presupposes one particular theoretical or doctrinal stance and commitment rather than another...there is no way of identifying, characterising, or classifying that particular datum in a manner relevant to the purposes of theoretical enquiry except in terms of some prerequisite for rather than a barrier to an ability to characterise data in a way which will enable enquiry to proceed.

Partly, the purpose of research is to share one's views on a controversial area. I dedicate this thesis to my parents, my father, the late Mr. Jairus Otanga Obuhatsa and my mother Mrs. Veronica Obuhatsa, for their sacrificial commitment to the success of my education.
CHAPTER 2: The Premium on Christianity for socio-economic and political development: the Ominde Commission 1964/65

2:1 Introduction and Context

The contrast between the first post colonial education report, the Ominde Commission (OC), and the second report, The National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies (NCEOP) with regard to the theory of knowledge in Kenyan education forms the core of this study. The focus is on whether religionist or secular liberal ethics should underpin values education. This chapter describes and analyses the Ominde Commission’s report, highlighting its recommendations for a holistic educational philosophy. In particular, the chapter highlights the Commission’s espousal of a religious view of knowledge in which Christianity underpins values education. However, this report is contradicted by the NCEOP in favour of a secular view based on the assumption that a secular ethic may be underpinned by and derived from African Socialism. The entire thesis is a response to the urgent need for a justifiable values education paradigm for Kenyan schools.

After a brief overview of the study context and Kenya’s socio-economic and political scene, I describe and analyse the Church and State relations. I then discuss ideology and structural influences on the OC recommendations. Finally, I review the OC, terms of reference and underlying value assumptions.


---

1 See Appendix 2 which gives a United Nations forecast of Kenya’s population from the 1950s to 2000s and graphs for more details.
But according to the latest World Bank (1999) population statistics, Kenya’s population is 29 million with 49 persons per sq. km, but rural population density is 492 per sq. km of arable land. The population growth is 2.5 percent while life expectancy is 52 years. The fertility rate is 5 births per woman. The urban population is 30 percent of the total. At the time of publication, Kenya is a multiparty State now ruled by the Kenya African National Union (KANU) party.


Kenya is agrarian with only 9.0 percent of arable land. According to the Minister for Agriculture (Nation News Papers 1998), the agricultural sector is the springboard to the country’s envisaged industrialisation status by 2020. According to the latest 1999 World Bank statistics, income from Agriculture is US $ 2,528 millions. The sector employs 80 percent of Kenya’s labour force, and contributes 25 percent to the GDP. This sector also accounts for 60 percent of Kenya’s exports. The main agricultural exports include coffee, tea, fruits and vegetables. Major export markets include the UK, Germany, USA, the Netherlands, and the Preferential Trade Area (Africa). Tourism, based on Kenya’s 40 National Parks,
provides another important source of income. But Kenya’s current value debt, according to the latest 1999 World Bank statistics, is $ 4,872 millions (internet).

Cultural tribalism has peripheralised political harmony and shattered the economy. According to *People News Paper of April 30th-May 7th 1998*, Kenya’s Finance Minister stated that the growth of Kenya’s economy had virtually come to a halt. The economy grew annually at an average rate of 2.6 percent during the last seven years barely enough to keep pace with the rate of growth of population. Income per capita had fallen from US $420 in 1980 to US $260 in 1998. The latest World Bank 1999 statistics show that GDP has now fallen to 2.1 percent per annum, although the GNP (Gross National Product) per capita is $340. Foreign aid per capita is $16.

The minister further stated that the proportion of the population living below the poverty line had risen from 44 percent in 1989 to over 50 percent in 1998. In addition, the Minister stated that the current account deficit in Kenya’s balance of payments had increased from 1.2 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in December 1996 to 4.4 percent in February 1998.

About 85 percent of the population is a highly deprived peasantry, some of whom are illiterate and reside in rural areas with scant social amenities. The economy is a rural urban dualism consisting of a low wage informal sector composed of middle working class Kenyans. The big towns harbour a tiny, economically parasitic minority who control a great part of the country’s wealth. The minority is mostly composed of agents of foreign capital in the manufacturing and distribution business who control political power. The economy is bedeviled with official corruption.

Against this socio-economic background the question is raised as to whether it is the secular liberal values of African Socialism or Christian values of the majority religion which may effectively contribute towards the alleviation of gross socio-
economic decadence in Kenya. The OC sees Christianity as the ideal values basis to underpin social responsibility in human and national development. However, the NCEOP has argued that, since in its view, Christianity is an inadequate values paradigm, a secular ethic underpinned by and derived from African Socialism would be a preferable alternative. The rest of the thesis concentrates on analysing this contrast and its consequences.

The compilation of the OC was preceded by a series of international and local committees, conferences and reports on education to prepare African countries for independence. The 1961 Addis Ababa conference of African States sponsored by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa and UNESCO recommended that African countries preparing for their independence should emphasise education for economic development. The traditional cultures and values of these countries were to be seriously taken into account for social development. However, African countries should not insulate themselves against coherent and relevant foreign cultures. Education should, on the whole, fulfill the requirements of independence (UNESCO, 1961). Dore, (1997) has added that the years of the early 1960s were for Africa, the honeymoon years of independence when there was much optimism for educational development. He continues that it was the UN’s First Development Decade and in 1961, the UNESCO laid down a grand plan for the achievement of universal compulsory and free primary education by 1980.

The KANU Manifesto of 1963 underscored the significance of education in the eradication of poverty, ignorance and disease, and expected the OC to promulgate a new post-colonial educational policy to this effect. In the same breath, KANU invited churches in Kenya to continue their contribution to nation building through

---

education and in other ways. Kenya's first Head of State who personally praised and invited churches to continue their contribution to national development, especially through education did not elaborate what contribution he expected churches to make nor do we know whether he understood the contribution he meant. Citing Britain: Advisory Committee 1925, Dore (1997), has stated that the British government statement of educational policy had expected the mission-dominated education in Kenya to make the African conscience sensitive to moral and intellectual truth; to impart some power of discrimination between good and evil, and between reality and superstition. It is clear from this that the education the British government wanted Kenyans to receive was basically to promote morality and literacy among others. The Africans, however, longed for the education that would put them on a par with Europeans and Asians professionally and academically in the colonial modern sector (Anthulas and Theodore 1993). The British government, however, determined to give Africans education suiting them for subordinate jobs in the colonial set up. The Addis Ababa Conference, 1961 had criticised the policy and practices of missionary education for being negligent, parochial, evangelistic and intolerant of the traditional African worldview, while the missionary methodology was irrelevant to the pressing socio-economic issues in Africa. Missionaries could, of course, have done better. The contribution of the churches to national development is highlighted in Chapter five.

2:2 Church and State Relations in Early and Post Independence Era

Separate international church conferences; firstly, the Protestant conference in 1962: All Africa Conference of Protestant Churches at Harare in Zimbabwe (AACC,1963) and secondly, the Catholic church conference 1965: The Pan African Catholic Education Conference at Kinshasa in Zaire (KCS, 1982),

---

promised full support to government efforts in national development especially in education, (KCS, 1982). The strategy for educational contribution by the Protestant churches was:

Christian education can therefore mean not only a particular form of education but the activities of Christian teachers in secular institutions. This activity includes both the thinking of Christians in seeking to understand God’s purpose in education and their participation in planning and teaching. It can be described as Christian involvement in education.

(AACC, 1963:34)

The Protestant churches understood their new responsibility in education as ‘Christian involvement’. This implied a changed relationship with the government. The best strategy would be to let the Judeo-Christian ethic underpin values within State secular education. This is the way secular education would fulfill God’s purposes. This implied the secular and sacred educational traditions competing. Although this gives us the Protestant strategy for contributing to the development of education, we still do not know what vision they had for sacred education. In this respect, they saw themselves as messengers of God to promote personal, spiritual, moral, social and intellectual development. This would be holistic education geared to promoting positive Christian beliefs, attitudes and values for responsible citizenship. The churches’ statement to the OC in 1963 (appendix 1) seems to reveal the Catholic and Protestant view of the rationale for a sacred approach to education.

The government recognised this role of the churches and let them continue with it. But the government and the churches did not have a shared understanding of the actual role and its purpose. The OC understood spiritual and moral development in utilitarian terms for socio-economic and political development only, while the churches understood it in terms of proselytisation. But the premium on holistic education for responsible citizenship represented a coherent purpose for a religious educational tradition.
The joint statement of the churches to the government just before independence summarised the vision and strategy of the churches in education see (appendix 1).

This joint statement seems to reveal that the churches may not have been quite sure what relationship to expect with the new government in independent Kenya. However, these fears were allayed when the churches were invited to work hand in hand with the government for Kenya’s development. The churches’ concern that the full religious development of their children be assured, expressed fears, but at the same time was open to various interpretations. For there is a religious development that would be educationally acceptable while proselytisation is not the concern of the school. The churches’ vision to provide religious foundations for the well being of society implied that pupils’ holistic development would be the ballast for strong morality and responsible citizenship in the society. These are necessary factors for development, progress and peace in Africa.

Surprisingly, while these sounded realistic resolutions, particularly for independent Kenya, the parochial approach was retained in religious education for nearly two decades after the recommendations of the OC were published and implemented. The Protestant churches, (AACC, 1962) remembered that the 1961 Addis Ababa Conference had criticised the policy and practices of missionary education in Kenya. The Protestant Churches thus interpreted their role in education as going beyond the pastoral and the academic and included sponsorship of their schools by contributing to all aspects of educational development. This would also ensure the future survival of the church in Africa (Cotter, 1982). But this role would evolve under strict conditions. Catholics shared the same vision.

The other influences on the deliberations of the OC on education in Kenya after independence were the values of African Socialism and some clauses of the Kenyan constitution. African Socialism is based on African cultural and religious values and ethics, which aim to promote organic/functional communitarianism and
mutual social responsibility (appendix. 7). The constitution of Kenya is the basis for the laws of Kenya (appendix. 3).

The recommendations of these committees and conferences, besides specific terms of reference, guided and influenced the recommendations of the OC on the new education policy in independent Kenya. They emphasised broad-based educational planning which would ensure that educated youth were not overproduced and under-utilised. But apart from the constitutional position of religion what is the policy on religion in independent Kenya?

Chepkwony (1987) has analysed three different approaches to the relations between Church and State. The first one dates back to the times of Theodosius, and later Constantine in the fourth century. The Christian religion became the faith of the Roman Empire in which there was close relationship between the Church and State in those countries that have traditionally constituted Christendom. Even after the power of the church as a major political institution came to an end, the idea of Christendom continued to persist. In this relationship the church was meant to uphold state authority and bless its policies when required.

Chepkwony’s first approach reflects the relationship between the church in Kenya and the government during colonial times and after, until the mid 1980s when the churches started to clash with the government over certain national issues. In the times of Kenya’s first Head of State, the churches were described as the praying department of the government (Okullu, 1984). In return, the state was expected to protect the freedom of the Church to ensure that it could undertake religious functions.

In this approach, where the “two kingdoms theory” is apparent, religion and State are separated as two distinct realms. But despite their distinct identity, the religious as well as the political are protected. Within this theory of “the two kingdoms”, prophecy has tended to cease or is used to serve the interests of those in power.
Subsequently, the degree of the participation of the church in the daily life of the State depends on the relationship it is able to develop with those in power. There have been complaints that before the 1980s the prophetic role of the church in Kenya was non-existent (Okullu, ibid). This first approach fits in well with the colonial period and the period before the mid 1980s, when CRE enjoyed high profile in Kenya’s school curriculum mainly because also the Churches co-operated with the government unlike to day when they are regarded as another unregistered political party.

A second approach, Chepkwony (1987), continues is one of revolutionary involvement of the church in political life and a willingness to opt for violence if necessary in order to bring about social justice. This approach was advanced during the time of the reformation by people like Thomas Munther in Germany, against the Catholic and emerging Protestant Churches. In recent years it has been advanced by Christian socialists such as Camilla Torres in Latin America. On a local scale it can accurately be said that in Kenya churches have opted for a confrontational relationship with the government, but violence has not been the norm. Nevertheless, the churches’ role in education has been experiencing difficulties with the government since the late 1980s.

The third approach, Chepkwony, states, is that advocated by those who disassociate themselves from the first two approaches above. They view religion as a private matter between an individual and God. It should, however, be noted that although this approach separates the spiritual from the secular, it has hardly managed to stay neutral in day to day political affairs. Stanley (1990) has observed that churches in Sub-Saharan Africa were not sure how they might relate to Independent African governments.

Chepkwony further observes that the relationship between religious groups such as local churches and political authorities is not merely based on pragmatism and expediency. Rather, it involves theoretical formulations which have certain bearing
on Government policy objectives as a whole. The theoretical formulations and their effect can be localised in the policy of religion, which encompasses individual and corporate religious liberty. Individual religious liberty entails guaranteed freedom and autonomy for any individual adherent of any religious tradition. Corporate religious liberty is the right for a religious group to pursue its religious practice in a corporate form and to proclaim its message within and outside the group. Individual liberty in certain instances may be generally acknowledged while it may be more restricted in its corporate mode.

Related to these elements of religious policy, Chepkwony continues, is the manner in which the Government relates to the predominant religious traditions and whether it allows these religious traditions to contribute to its policy objectives. The secular state ideal makes a clear ideological distinction between religion and politics, between Church and State, and does not make reference to religion in general or to any specific predominant tradition to contribute to and guide its policies. On the other hand, a Government can adopt confessional policies whereby it subjects its policies to specific claims of truth, norms, values and structures of a given religious tradition.

However, in between and within the secular-state ideal and the confessional, there are variations depending on ideological and religious considerations, which are further defined by other pragmatic references when alternatives are applied. For example, when all religious traditions have equal status, a liberal religious policy is adopted when the religious aspect of society is acknowledged, but national affairs and practical policies vis-à-vis general problems in a multi-religious environment are not subordinated to any specific religious tradition. Within the secular ideal option of religion, there is thus, the liberal option that is open to the role of religion as a source in national development and a Marxist option which takes a critical view of religion.
The Marxist perception of religion is that it has no basic contribution to the transformation of socio-economic relations. But within the Marxist option, individual religious liberty can easily be recognised, whereas corporate religious liberty tends to become problematic. Kenya, Nigeria and Ghana have adopted liberal religious policies while Algeria, Libya and Egypt have adopted confessional Islamic religious policies. Instead of the Portuguese confessional policy of religion, Marxist Leninist options have been adopted in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau. Chepkwony's analysis of Church and State relations may appear to be coherent, in Kenya, however, the policy in practice seems to be neither liberal nor confessional, but a mixture of the two. The liberal policy is the documented one but the confessional policy seems to be quietly in operation. The influence of Christian principles in Kenya has been noted despite the moral inconsistencies of certain government officials maintained therein. It is not the church principle that the government has a quarrel with, per se, in Kenya. It is with particular powerful church individuals or the existing vocal church government that the government is wary of. The future participation of the church in educational development may remain at moral and material support level.

2:3 Ideology and Structural Influences

Therefore with the coming of independence, African countries were to pave their own national development policies. For most of these countries this development would be enhanced through sound educational policies. Davidson (1971) has asserted that African countries needed a political ideology to be able to plan national development. Kenya's political context therefore called for rallying educational policy behind political aspirations. Kleinig (1982) has observed that education policy can never evade the political concerns of a country. African Socialism therefore spelt out what was the political view of education in relation to national development in Kenya. Democratic Socialism, rather than Western Capitalism and Eastern Communism, was the political stance declared by Kenya's first head of State. The most immediate developmental need was to unite Kenyans.
The country also needed to develop its resources to provide economic stability as well as delivering other social services (economic, health, education) to the people who had been deprived especially educationally. African Socialism seemed to highlight the path to realising the needed development. The Head of State coined a political slogan ‘Harambee’ meaning ‘to pull together’. This word inspired Kenyans to work together especially in the field of education to provide education for the young people. The OC immediate concern was to build on what the colonial government had started and plan for Kenya’s future. Therefore it never took to radical cultural nationalism. This explains its tolerant ideological stance with regard to western values. It recommended an academic, but holistic educational philosophy. Mass education was needed for economic development. Christianity was preferred in the inculcation of responsible citizenship.

All along the government has been guided in its approach to developmental matters by the declarations contained in the KANU Manifesto. In this we declared that our country would develop on the basis of the concepts and philosophy of Democratic Socialism. We rejected both Western Capitalism and Eastern Communism and chose for ourselves a policy of positive Non-alignment. (Kenya, 1965:x).

The political context called for an ideology to define and underpin values to resonate with the traditional African, economic, social, moral, ethical and political values binding society together. In Kenya, this would enhance economic development and equal distribution of the hard earned national political and economic cake (Kenya, 1965). But this has never been the case in Kenya. It is therefore important to define “ideology” first before defining ‘Socialism’ and its cognates. According to Scruton:

Any system and all embracing political doctrine, which claims to give complete and universally applicable theory of man and society, and to derive there from a programme of political action. An ideology in this case seeks to embrace everything that is relevant to man’s political condition and to issue doctrine whenever doctrine would be needed in forming or changing that condition (Scruton (1983: 435).
African Socialism as an ideology is a political doctrine used to explain how Kenyans would now live in their post colonial era. It outlined what values would bind them together socially, economically and politically. It explained the responsibility of the government to its citizens and how citizens would relate to each other in society and to the ruling party. African Socialism would remain as a frame of reference in all such matters in future. However, it can be successfully argued that Kenya took to Capitalism for quick economic development, rather than African Socialism which seeks to hold people at the same pace in economic development. Tanzania is a good example where people were to work together and share economic produce, but they have had to turn to Capitalism. But then what is African Socialism? Before defining African Socialism, it is useful to recall Scruton’s definition of Socialism. Scruton (1983:435) defines it in general as a system of production relations that is supposed to characterise the transition stage between Capitalism and Communism. The means of production are taken in to social ownership whilst the State persists as an administrative machine upholding a new order of legality, and a new system of rights in such a way as to permit the emergence of a true common ownership and eventual abolition of the State. But Socialism in the West differs in many ways from African Socialism, and even African Socialism does not mean the same thing in all countries. However, a full discussion of this is beyond the scope of this thesis4. The following definition of Socialism would combine western and Third World conceptions:

‘Socialism is a western political, economic, moralist, and rational ideology which is also, egalitarian, religious, and cultural when applied in the Third World’

But my definition does not include the wealth and intellectual fat that accompanies Socialism in the western sense.

The following is a distillation of the principles of African Socialism as understood by KANU at independence:

Political equality; social justice; human dignity and freedom of conscience; freedom from want; disease; ignorance and exploitation; equal opportunity; higher growing per capita income and equal distribution (Kenya, 1965:5).

The OC promulgated a balanced educational policy emphasising broad based education. But later on, reapplying African Socialism to education, the NCEOP emphasised the underpinning of all aspects of education via African Socialism. This raises questions for critical analysis and commentary.

In 1990, the World Bank Africa Technical Department published papers on the Implementation of African Educational Policies. The Director of the Technical Department Africa Region appointed the Vice Chancellor of Kenyatta University Nairobi Kenya, Professor George Eshiwani, to prepare the discussion paper on Implementing Education Policies in Kenya. Eshiwani was also appointed to coordinate and compile reports of the discussion papers from twenty seven other African countries (UNESCO, 1991). In 1993 Eshiwani also published on Education in Kenya since Independence. His paper, (UNESCO, 1991), his book, (Eshiwani, 1993), and the OC, (Kenya, 1964/5), including other relevant sources are critically analysed here.

Recognising the missionary role in establishing the Kenyan education system, Eshiwani, (UNESCO, 1991) asserts in this report that during the colonial period, missionaries dominated the provision of education. He also observes that the colonial regime operated on three main strategies: self-sufficiency, the racial composition of the colony, and the idea that colonies should develop their own resources to avoid draining the imperial treasury. Within the complex framework of these principles, the colonial administrators were to initiate and direct
development of social welfare in their respective territories and finance them from internal sources.

Consequently, the colonial administration in Kenya resorted to racial discrimination. On the pretext that each of these four races; Europeans, Asians, Arabs and Africans, had attained different heights of social, political, and economic development; and that each needed the kind of education that would preserve its culture and prepare its people for their appropriate roles in society, African education was, in terms of purpose and curriculum, restricted and abandoned to missionaries without adequate support. European children were exposed to metropolitan assimilationist education patterned on the independent secondary school model of England. The model asserted that children educated in England would return to Kenya as political leaders and the higher echelons of management in the manufacturing and banking industries. Asians and Arabs, of course, would be the junior clerks in the racially bedeviled establishment.

The effects of financial discrimination were further strengthened by the vast disparity characteristic of the different educational systems within the country. Settlers ensured that all Africans were taught were the Pestalozzi’s three Rs- Reading, ’Riting and ’Rithmetic (Barnard, 1964). Africans were not to aspire to equality with Europeans. Their education would not go beyond what was required of labourers on settler farms. Education that might make Africans self-sufficient in their rural areas was repugnant to the settlers. The excuse given for not giving Africans academic education was that it might strain African brains! The colonial establishment thus succeeded in thwarting African educational needs by devoting the bulk of their educational resources to non-Africans who represented a small minority of the population. The quality, scope and objectives of African education were restrictive, diminutive and narrow. As late as 1963, out of an African secondary school going age population of 829,700, only 10,593 or 1.3 percent pupils were in school as compared to 3,265 of European secondary school going age represented by 3,300 or 98.9 percent actually at school. The irony is that more
African pupils who should have been at school were not there, while European children were invariably present. Under normal circumstances, the opposite should have been the trend.\footnote{See Appendix 4 with tables showing the varying populations at school according to the school going ages. Anthula and Theodore in Mangani J. (1993) give the most articulate account of the racism in colonial education in Kenya.}

Eshiwani concludes from the above arguments that at the time of independence, a large majority of children of school age were not going to school, and only a small number had passed through the system. The acute shortage of educated and trained local manpower urgently needed for economic and social development of the nation was evidence of this. The colonial system had also not been concerned with national cohesion, since this would have hindered colonial exploitative strategies. Instead, education had been tailored to divide races, in order to set the European above everyone else. The other consequence was that Africans came to associate formal education with high economic returns and a passage to modernity without responsible action as represented by the European paradigm. Even allowing for the elements of African nationalist rhetoric reacting to the colonial past, and the selective evidence of this which Professor Eshiwani considers, clearly, colonialist education represented, at best, a disingenuous agenda and, at worst, a travesty of educational justice. The OC, like Eshiwani, noted that in colonial times Kenya had been stratified along racial lines. It was a mere geographical expression divided into four different races, the Europeans, Asians, Arabs and Africans. The OC thus observed that:

It was, in fact, a caste system, with rigid boundaries...The African majority were left with educational prospects which despite popular pressure, were limited by sheer numbers, the modest means placed at their disposal and the social and occupational role to which they were restricted (Kenya, 1964, 21).

However, an extremely negative interpretation of colonial education runs the risk of ignoring some of its positive consequences. The OC has noted, for example,
that although Kenya must go her own way it would be unrealistic to underestimate the British tradition from which she has carved her own educational philosophy.

We would think it churlish to gainsay the great benefits that we have gained from our English educational heritage (Kenya, 1964:25).

2:4 The OC, Terms of Reference and Underlying Value Assumptions

Professor Ominde was invited on 19th December, 1963 by Mr. Otiende, the first African post colonial Minister for Education, to head the first post-colonial commission of enquiry into education in Kenya. Consisting of 14 members, all Kenyans, the committee started to work on 15th February 1964 and handed in the first part of the commission findings on 22nd October, 1964. The commission solicited consultations from Britain, America, the Peoples Republic of China and the former Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (Kenya, 1964). The terms of reference asked for the formulation and implementation of educational policies which would ensure:

- cultural development,
- national and economic development in terms of manpower,
- national unity, and
- equal educational opportunity.

These terms of reference also considered financial and personnel resources, and the provision of the necessary facilities for adult education.

The committee perceived their rationale as to change the atmosphere of education and to endow it with new relevance, and a point of departure for future development. Kenya’s independence called for a new idiosyncratic national educational system consonant with the African situation. Indeed this was a formidable task for the OC, (Kenya, 1964). The commission handled virtually all
aspects of education including primary, secondary, adult, technical, commercial, teacher and university education.

The commission therefore recommended new national education aims. These included:

• national unity;
• national development at the social and economic levels;
• social equality;
• individual development and self-fulfillment;
• respect for and development of the cultural heritage and
• international consciousness.

The Christian ethic was espoused to underpin this development and this chapter will concentrate on values within it. The expansion of education was the hub of the entire educational review for several reasons, especially to underpin economic development and fulfill the objectives listed. Bokongo (1992), has asserted that by 1949, there were only 3 secondary schools for Africans in Kenya offering the Cambridge Overseas Examination which increased to 23 in 1956 and to 65 by 1960. The implication of this is that between 1844 and 1960, the missionaries and the colonial government had succeeded in establishing 65 secondary schools throughout Kenya for Africans. This means that it took them 115 years; nearly one secondary school every two years! According to Beecher (Kenya, 1949), the first secondary school was built in 1926, and by 1939, over ten years later, three more schools had been constructed, six more schools had been opened by 1949, of which only three were offering the Cambridge Overseas Examination. The motivation behind the delay in exposing Africans to secondary education can only be guessed.
Therefore the OC saw the need for an exponential and quantitative expansion of education which was more of an economic than a social service. The primary need was to provide professional, administrative, technical and other forms of skilled labour. According to the *Development Plan* 1966-1970 (Kenya, 1966), the training of personnel was crucial to education in order to Africanise the economy. Education thus became the seed and flower of economic development.

The Development Plan stated:

> Education and national development are so closely related in a developing country that it is almost impossible to speak of one without the other (Kenya, 1966:305)

The Sessional Paper No.10 noted:

> The immediate objectives in education are to expand secondary level facilities rapidly as it is important to training manpower, the acceleration of manpower, Africanisation and increasing and providing more places for primary school graduates (Kenya, 1965:40).

*The Development Plan* 1970-1974 (Kenya, 1970) emphasised supply of middle and high level manpower. Jobs requiring formal education had been filled by 1970, but other more skilled jobs including teaching, skilled office personnel and certain craftsmanship had not been filled by 1970. A 1964 manpower survey had revealed that jobs requiring secondary education, apprenticeship or trade/technical education were only 45.6 percent Africanised (Kenya, 1965 part II.)

Secondary education was aimed at laying the foundation for further education, training and work. To ensure the expansion of secondary education, first year secondary classes (Form I) streams in aided schools were to be increased from 57 in 1965 to 148 in 1967 and 253 in 1970. Enrolment would change from 33,500 in 1965 to 65,500 in 1970. Secondary school teachers were to be increased from 1,700 in 1965 to 2,900 in 1970 for forms I to VI (Kenya, 1966). The Commission, however, warned the government that indiscriminate expansion of Harambee secondary (self-help) schools would be educationally unrealistic since these schools
could not meet the specifications to qualify as secondary schools (Kenya, 1965, part II para.606). The overproduction would result in poorly trained unemployed graduates at all levels, a liability to socio-economic development\(^7\). Appendix 4 below shows forecast expansion between 1973 and 1978. The classes were to be increased from 2487 with 90,990 pupils in 1974 to 2978 in 1978 with 111,950 pupils. The stress was on applied subjects rather than arts. This trend was bound to have devastating consequences socially and economically with too many unemployed graduates.

According to the Development Plans, between 1963 and 1970 stress was on mathematics and science subjects to produce professionals, managerial and supervisory personnel for economic development (Kenya, 1964). Between the 1970s and 1980s technical and commercial syllabuses were stressed to make Kenya technologically and scientifically self-reliant (Kenya, 1970). Between 1970 and 1983 (Kenya, 1974) the aim of secondary education was to develop more "A" level maths, science and technology classes than the arts. These applied subjects included industrial education, vocational agriculture, home science, and business education. During the 1970s Christian religious education started to become unpopular at the 'A' Level classes since it was considered uneconomically oriented and academically unchallenging\(^8\). The teaching of Christian values at this level was weakened. The NCEOP emphasised this recommendation and encouraged maths, science, and technology a decade later, probably worsening the situation for religious values teaching. The emphasis on science, maths and technology was still recommended by the NCEOP while the teaching of religion was condemned.

The OC considered cultural values important basically in promoting political agenda and in recapturing African personality and identity. It would also underpin a

\(^7\) See Appendix 4 showing educational expansion.

\(^8\) According to the Circular Letter INS/c/1/Vol.11/73 to Heads of Secondary schools through all Provincial Education Schools Inspectors—'the East African Advanced Certificate of Education, Christian Religious Education with relevance to Curriculum Establishment in 1978'—dated 8th June

56
psychological basis for national consciousness. However, the OC asserted that cultural values would be like “sinking sand” if they underpinned western Science and technological production. To realise a new version of modern Kenya, and underpin industrial production, western values would be significant. This OC view can be justified although it still raises issues with regard to decontextualising Christianity and education as cultural analysis and the contribution of the African and the western world-views to curriculum.

The OC has been described as a masterpiece of philosophy of education (Eshiwani 1993). Its recommendations included cultural, personal, utilitarian and social aspects. The question is raised why it generously recommended Christianity for values education, but diminished the role of African Socialism in it? Probably it was composed of members who were Christians and who had just emerged from the colonial system and therefore belonged to both sides of colonialism. The problem with the OC is that, although the Christian world-view was recommended, it was not viewed too important in human development, but more in the economic and political agenda of the State.

A secular ethics programme for all groups was condemned. The OC felt that such a programme was not only unwanted by all the groups, but it was also not a good substitute for religion. Another reason for its rejection might have been that it would be ineffective in spiritual development. But a secular ethic may be necessary for information in moral decision making as well. However, the OC did not define the ethics they implied. Geisler (1980) describes ethics in three categories: descriptive ethics as an in depth area of academic study in moral philosophy, meta-ethics as the analytic study concerned with analysing the language of ethics and prescriptive or normative ethics, an area of ethics which recommends moral standards.

1977, heads of schools were requested to encourage students to take a ‘A Level CRE’
It is not impossible therefore to teach normative ethics in lower classes. It depends on how the curriculum is planned and for whom it is intended. Straughan, (1988), has argued that even small children can be taught ethics if it is well planned. The OC may have identified traditional African ethics with a negative understanding of secular values and confined them to mainly a political function. The OC thus decontextualised religious education teaching so that it could not interact with the immediate cultural, anthropological and existential context of the children. This trend was consequently adopted by churches, which continued to decontextualise their Christian teaching. The OC commented:

Only by example and by parables can ethical values be brought home to children of tender age. Ethics, a distinct study, might be approached in the sixth form, but it is better taken up by adults, who have experience of life's situations and can interpret them in formal ethical terms.

(Kenya, 1964, parag. 68).

This view of the OC in effect consigned values education to the hidden curriculum. Teaching ethics outside religion is a position that can be supported. This was the assumption of the OC. However, the OC implied that ethics and religion are different disciplines. What is more, the implication is that moral education therefore can only be taught through religion. But later on the OC claimed that moral education could not be taught through religion. Bennaars, (1989) has argued that one of the problems that have made it difficult to prepare and teach values education in Kenyan secondary schools is conceptual confusion. One of the problems this thesis will seek to clear is the conceptual confusion within Kenyan education in the relationship between ethics and morality and ethics and religion. The NCEOP was confused over whether or not religion was part of African traditional ethics and morality. The OC thus dissociated religion and ethics, but laid emphasis on religion for spiritual moral and social development to promote responsible action for economic development, although this remained unimplemented.
A similar line of reasoning was also taken in the areas of moral development and moral education, which the OC considered along with social development as "non-curricular" objects of education (Kenya, 1964, para.417). These two fields of study were considered because an appreciation of them was helpful in teaching curricular subjects and in meeting the school's responsibility for moral and social development of their children. However, the OC still felt that moral development and moral education were little understood and were not substitutes for religious teaching. The view of the OC seems to have been simply that religious teaching replaced all the needs for teaching moral development, reasoning and behavior. This position of course can be supported. The OC claimed that moral education and moral development were little understood and the OC could have been right in Kenya's school context, but not in general. Although moral education was little understood in Kenya's educational context, the OC did not demonstrate a clear understanding of it either. It regarded moral education as a non-curricular subject.

This implied that moral education could not have been a curriculum subject with its own syllabus, aims, content, a teaching methodology and probably teachers. A situation that may have contributed to the social decadence in Kenya a decade later. But Kleinig (1982) has argued that moral education can have its own curriculum. The OC may have had a point in that there was no curriculum or teacher training facilities for this course in Kenya at that time. However, efforts were not made to resolve the problem. The hidden curriculum alone would not have substituted a syllabus. This thesis seeks to argue that in fact it is possible in Kenya to plan and teach moral education and moral development within values education. The OC retorted:

Moral development in particular, is a subject of special concern for every teacher, though it is at present little understood as such...This must include the realisation that it is not religious instruction, still less an abstract teaching of "ethics", which is the principal agent of moral growth, but the opportunity to face, and to make moral choices (1965.parag.17).
The view of the OC here on moral education becomes even more complicated. In order for moral development to occur, deliberate steps to teach it must be taken. This is in order to give children content from which to reason and make choices. Lawrence Kohlberg’s content free values clarification approaches used in America are quite contentious and according to Elias (1989), Lawrence Kohlberg accepted that some form of moral content would be necessary to help children in decision making. The OC was convinced that this would be accomplished through the teaching of Christianity rather than secular ethics or African cultural values outside religion which would only promote a psychological basis for African personality and nationhood. Every teacher may have been concerned about moral education, however, a definite syllabus and teacher education for moral education would have been required to make it a reality.

The view of the OC that neither religious instruction nor the abstract teaching of ethics would promote moral growth was a contradiction to its earlier views that 'religion would promote moral growth if well taught' (Kenya, 1964, para.71). It may be acknowledged that religion can be taught for other purposes than the inculcation of morals. But the view of the OC that children might grow morally as they interacted with dilemmas is Kohlberg’s unsupported stage development moral theory. Professor Groenewegen (1989), Chair of Religious Education Department of Kenyatta University Nairobi, Kenya, in a seminar paper has asserted that there is much confusion even in Kohlberg’s own mind about the exact meaning of the stages of moral development. This, Groenewegen asserts, arises from the lack of clarity on whether these stages merely represent levels of moral reasoning or also levels of morality. This thesis argues that religious content provides for moral formation and decision making if so designed.

The OC was convinced, despite the problems listed that the meaningful teaching of religious programmes would provide the spiritual and moral needs of children as was the case in traditional African communities. We have seen that this position
on religion and morality can be supported. This is the view taken by several African scholars.

Sheffield (1973) has argued that by giving Christian religious teaching a prominent place in its new educational system the OC sought to retain Kenya's traditional cultural values. Sheffield's views implied contextualization of Christianity, but traditional religious values were seen by the OC as inadequate to underpin African Socialist values which were consigned to the hidden curriculum through other subjects. Western values including Scientific and technological production and Christianity would not be contextualized. African values would only serve a political purpose. It became necessary to sieve the values and adopt western ones as well in order to precipitate a true version of modern Kenya OC (Kenya, 1964, para. 36). However, the OC did not indicate how this would be achieved. This thesis is an argument that the contextualised Christianity may be one way of achieving this. The OC was also demonstrating its understanding of human nature which requires spiritual development. I have argued that there was no definite follow-up to prepare a religious syllabus to help children at primary and secondary schools to develop morally, spiritually, ethically and socially (King, 1984). All the same, the OC maintained a religious view of knowledge albeit in obfuscation. The young people were to combine Christian and traditional values not for authentic spiritual and moral development, but for the nation's economic and political development. The Commission ironically retorted:

None of us wants to see reproduced in Kenya the experience of drift towards an atomised, depersonalised urban way of life that has proved one of the gravest human problems of the industrialised countries of the world. That means that we must reconcile personality and organisation. It is manifest that education has an important part to play in preparing for this reconciliation (Kenya, 1964:25).

The Education Act 1968 implemented the OC recommendations. Local authorities took over the management of schools while former church school managers became
sponsors of their former schools with rights, privileges and responsibilities (appendix 3).

To promote the cultivation, preservation and appreciation of African values, the following curriculum changes were made. Local history, music, literature and dances replaced European syllabuses. Local languages, especially Kiswahili which is spoken by most Kenyans became the national language and was taught at all levels of education. Civics on the socio-economic and political scene stopped promoting British issues and instead concentrated on Kenyan issues. But a hidden curriculum would not promote effective values teaching.

By 1972, more 'A' Level science streams were opened, although by 1974, the expectation to provide skilled manpower through science and mathematics had still not been fulfilled. The University did not have enough qualified candidates to read science subjects and train in scientific occupations. There was a dire need for engineers, technicians, medical doctors and scientists for the social and economic development of the nation. Higher School Certificate results were even poorer than the Arts subjects. This reduced the number of locals entering the civil service and the private sector in these specialised fields. This happened despite the enrollment of 'A' Level students doubling between 1965 and 1970, with intakes increasing by 167 percent from 1,800 in 1965 to 4,800 in 1970. Despite the removal of fees at 'A' levels of school by 1970 performance did not improve.

It is important to note that no reform was done in Christian religious education to provide values education. African values were not directly included in school curriculum. The first ecumenical CRE syllabus for primary schools was released to schools between 1981 and 1989. It was not until 1990 that the ecumenical syllabus for secondary schools was completed! There was no values education curriculum, even one based on religion.
In 1965, 85 percent of all government jobs were Africanised. On the whole 73 percent of all jobs in the civil service and private sector which required skilled manpower were still held by Europeans and Asians (Brolchain, 1983). Africans formed 83 percent and 91 percent of the education officer posts in Kenya in 1966 and 1969 respectively. Africanisation in all wage-earning employment in both public and private sector rose from 89 percent in 1963 to 95 percent in 1979 (Bokongo, 1992). Posts not filled by Africans required long experience and training in mathematics and science oriented subjects; Africanisation could only be possible if passes in these areas at Higher School Certificate improved. By 1989, when 'A' Level classes were phased out, science teaching had not yet improved. Indiscriminate expansion of self help secondary schools led to the overproduction of poorly qualified unskilled school leavers flooding urban areas and competing for non-existent jobs in the civil service and private sector. By 1976 social decadence in Kenya had hit crisis levels.

2:5 Critical Analysis and Appraisal

The OC made 218 recommendations affecting all areas of education. It promulgated new goals for education in independent Kenya, outlined new procedures in the management of education and redefined the relations between the government and the Missions which had been managing education. The OC recommended Africanisation of the civil service and expansion of secondary education to meet the high and low level manpower requirements for economic and social development. On the whole it exalted the place of religion for training in social responsibility in the economic development. It condemned the teaching of secular ethics for moral and social development, except for the restoration of African personality and nationhood, but resisted African values as a basis for C.R.E. Christianity was thus decontextualised (Walaba, 1983; Mugambi, 1989; Moyo, 1992; Malusu, 1994).

In the esteemed view of Kenyan scholars, the OC promulgated utilitarian, cultural, social, and personal goals of education. It was quite a masterpiece (Eshiwani,
1993; Otiende, Wamahi and Karugu (eds) 1992). I note that, although Christianity was firmly backed by the new government in 1963, given a privileged position in the constitution, redefined by church conferences, explained in the policy on religion, given a special position in the OC and implemented by the Education Report Act 1968, surprisingly, the NCEOP rejected it as basis for values education in the same system of education ten years later. One of the aims of this thesis will be to investigate why this happened. In the next chapter I analyse the views of the NCEOP on religion and culture in values education.
CHAPTER 3: Demotion of the Christian Tradition as a Curriculum Subject: National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies (NCEOP) 1976

3:1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the NCEOP, in order to highlight its concerns for educational reform to address socio-economic issues. It indicates its contrast with the OC over Christianity and African Socialism in values education. The OC, among other things, recommended Christianity to underpin values education to promote social responsibility basically for political and economic development. But in rejecting secular ethics, it still recommended African Socialism for the restoration of cultural aspirations, values of African personality, identity and a psychological basis for nationhood, a political purpose.

This chapter concentrates on the NCEOP concern over the social decadence and the contrast this raises with the OC on the policy of values education via Christianity and African Socialism in Kenyan education. The chapter focuses first on the economic concerns of the NCEOP, and the economic and religious causes of social pathologisation. The contrasts, their causes and the complexities involved in the religio-cultural interpretations of each of the education reports are exposed. The cultural, ideological, and philosophical issues raised by the contrasts are further analysed in subsequent chapters.

The period between 1964 and 1975 saw the implementation of the resolutions of the OC. The 1964/70 and the 1970/74 Development Plans (Kenya, 1964 and 1970), recommended the same aims for education, but before long the government realised that the goals were not being achieved. While unemployment was rampant, social pathology was endemic. The reason being that the OC recommendations had promoted an academically oriented education linking educational attainment to employment acquisition. The transitional period during which the government objective was to
expand educational opportunities had come to an end. By 1970, there were no more jobs in the public sector except those that required special skills which most of the secondary graduates did not possess (Kenya, 1976). This implied that the quantitative expansion of secondary education had not satisfied the need for the provision of skilled manpower for economic development and Africanisation. Nor had the emphasis on Christian values been effective enough to limit social pathology. More and more poorly trained secondary school graduates were still moving to urban areas to compete unsuccessfully for non-existent jobs in the modern economic sector.

Universal Free Primary Education (UPS) had been available from 1974. Vast, but indiscriminate expansion of secondary education had been realised. Better supervised education with well qualified teachers was now in place. Better curriculum with applied theoretical subjects was also available. These were backed by quality education text books locally produced in the country and a great improvement in laboratories for science. Secondary teacher education had also been established. However, a solution to rampant unemployment, acute social pathology and the lack of sufficient skilled manpower was still lacking. Hence, the need to review the education system. A number of education reviews recommended various changes. The Ndegwa Commission of 1971 stated new educational goals which emphasised the need for education:

- to serve national development;
- to promote national unity;
- to train in mutual and social responsibility;
- to promote social equality;
- to develop and respect African culture; and,
- to focus university education towards the production of high-level manpower and the socio-economic development of the nation (Kenya, 1971).
The recommendations of this commission indicated that the OC recommendations had not had a serious effect in these areas. The Inspectorate had become too busy to supervise the actual implementation of the OC resolutions (Otiende, Wamahiu and Karugu, 1992). This implied that the recommendations on CRE were not put into effect. This trend contributed to social pathology later.

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) (1972) report had stated that neither the formal nor the non-formal education system then current was adequately meeting the socio-economic demands of the nation (Otiende, et.al. 1992). The school system was therefore to be restructured to incorporate the teaching of pre-vocational subjects from primary level. Primary education was to be lengthened by two years and redesigned to cover basic education. It was, however, The Development Plan 1974/78 (Kenya, 1974), which really broke new ground in educational policy by stressing that constraints had been imposed on development by the under-utilisation of human resources and the lack of appropriate skills at all levels. The education system was called upon to provide, among other things, the high-level skills needed for Kenyanisation, economic and industrial growth, the vocational/technical training for employment and promotion of attitudes favourable to the development

3:2 The NCEOP, Context and Key Findings

Consequently, the government appointed the NCEOP in 1976 to restructure the educational system bearing in mind that, above all else, education would relate to employment opportunities. The quality of education would improve and also become more cost effective. These terms of reference were meant to guide the second most radical educational reform in Kenya since independence. Concerning this, the NCEOP noted:

It was also, made clear to us by the Government and the public that the results of our deliberations were expected to have far-reaching effects on the objectives, structure and content of the education system and that we were
therefore expected to provide the Government with the frame work for introducing these far reaching changes (Kenya, 1976:8).

One of the tasks in this chapter will be to assess to what extent the NCEOP pursued and achieved what was laid down in the terms of reference.

The NCEOP set out in 1975 to define new educational agenda for the second decade of Kenya’s independence and formulate a specific programme of action for realising them within the nation’s financial constraints. There was strong American presence on the committee. A Mr. P.J. Gachathi, chaired it and handed in the findings in December 1976. The main intention was to introduce structural change to replace the OC.

The OC had joined a British academic and non-secular pattern of education to the African traditional one. The NCEOP added the American secular pattern, with six years of elementary education and three years technical secondary education to combine arts, science and technology to the African traditional. Education for Kenya’s second decade of independence, had to be more specific and better focused to tackle socio-economic problems plaguing society rather than satisfying the quest for education.

The committee outlined two main problems affecting the system of education. First, the formal education system had come to be seen by the public as the best access route to achieving the advancement of the individual, society and the economy. The system of education had become highly selective. While the rest were unaccounted for, only a few students had managed to be employed in the modern sector. The objective, structure and content of education was meant to produce few individuals who were well equipped for placement in the modern sector of the economy. The system produced unequipped secondary school leavers unemployable in the economy. But the NCEOP did not accept that this had been the result of the government neglecting OC recommendation in 1964/65 to curb the expansion of self-help secondary schools
which had no facilities for secondary education. There was competition between these unemployable individuals over the few openings in the modern economy. Job seekers were increasing and flooding the cities, while the qualifications demanded by employers were rising higher and higher as it took longer to obtain employment.

Frustrated youth had turned to anti-social activities refusing to accept that any job opportunities might be found in the rural areas. It was important to change the view of the public that academic qualifications led to automatic employment. This would help address the issues of socio-economic change in the country. There was a need to change the distortion in the planning of education and the over financing of it. National resources had accordingly been concentrated on this at the expense of other equally necessary services for social change.

The NCEOP recommended that the system of education be restructured to include Ministries of Basic and Higher Education and expenditure reduced and concentrated on improving the quality of education rather than quantity. The expenditure was not to exceed 30 percent of the current national income. The severely competitive and selective certificate of primary education (CPE) which was a test of only academic skills at the end of seven years was thought to be too stringent and was to be done away with. Higher education was to be reviewed and made fee paying.

The expansion of secondary education was to be narrowed while university education would be expanded and made relevant to socio-economic development. Harambee schools were to be taken over by the government while a Commission of Higher Education would be appointed to streamline university education. The curriculum was to be reviewed to make content more relevant to the socio-economic reconstruction. Emphasis was to be put on the teaching of the values of African Socialism. Old maths was to be well planned to replace new maths recently introduced. Sciences also were to be well planned. The concentration on art subjects was to be strongly discouraged
and some humanities colleges were to be converted to other uses while some of the humanities teachers in secondary schools were to be transferred to primary schools to teach junior secondary classes of Basic Education. The quality of teacher training was to be improved. A way of co-ordinating Harambee institutes of technology outside the government school system was to be devised.

3:3 NCEOP Policy Implementation

The OC pattern of 7-4-2-3 (7 years of primary, 4 of secondary, 2 of Higher School Certificate, and 3 of university) was restructured to 9-4-3 (9 years of basic education which comprised 7 years of free primary education and the last two years of fee paying secondary education to become the junior secondary school, 4 years of secondary and 3 years of university). The Ministry of Education was split into two; basic and higher. Basic education included all primary teacher training colleges, schools and special education. As in Sweden and Norway, basic education was to be compulsory. Higher education included all secondary schools, teacher training and technical colleges and institutes of technology. Science and technology were emphasised at all levels of education for faster economic development and provision of employment.

The curriculum would be prevocational training using the project approach to economic development and national unity. Special junior secondary training colleges would be a phenomenon of basic education. Comprehensive education would be emphasised in forms 3, 4, 5 and 6 after which most of the students would move on to university or more advanced training for a career. The culture of arts, science and technology became important. Curriculum change would promote the democratisation of the decision making process by forming a national curriculum committee including the Inspectorate, the university staff, the Kenya Institute of Education staff and teachers in the development process. Increased importance was put to science and technology by including agriculture; business education; maths as a compulsory subject at primary
school. Compulsory science; maths and book keeping would occur at levels 8 and 9. Selected secondary schools would be converted to science schools. The development of a national culture would be more seriously planned than in the OC. African Cultural values, which it had been alleged, were incompatible with Christian values, were to underpin modernity, scientific and technological development. The teaching of traditional ethics would replace the teaching of Christianity, which was seen as not coinciding with African cultural values, which must be an integral part of national cohesion. The language policy was changed to make mother tongue the medium of instruction in lower primary classes while English remained at the upper primary classes with Kiswahili as compulsory throughout the education system. The rationale was to develop cultural aspirations, but later we shall see that this was a questionable strategy. Cognitive and affective skills would be tested in national exams. The Kenya National Examinations Council would be established to replace the East African one. The Teachers Service Commission would be decentralised for easier organisation of the teaching profession. The centre of educational reform was thus the junior secondary age phase.

The NCEOP, none the less, was on target to recommend restructuring the primary school to junior secondary. Its view that primary school children were dropping out of school too young to be on their own was justifiable. The introduction of technical education and training colleges was also in the right direction especially if it would guarantee employment. The recommendation to focus technical training to the development of the rural areas was an apt one, especially if well planned to coincide with employment opportunities or funding youth to start off self employment. This would have had the added advantage of reducing unemployment and hence reducing social decadence by caring for the greatest number of school leavers. It would also have solved the problem of the supply of middle-level skilled labour giving room for specialisation in high-level manpower by the few in higher education including
universities. A minimum level of basic education would have been ideal for each citizen.

The realisation that the principles of African Socialism had been neglected in education came out more strongly, but the rejection of Christianity still raised questions. Therefore the teaching of traditional ethics replaced Christianity which was seen as not coinciding with African cultural values. The values were to be an integral part of national integration, but such a radical stance against religion remains questionable and has caused confusion in Kenya as to what should be a justifiable basis for values education at the secondary phase. Necessary changes were accordingly made to underpin education in national unity; mutual social responsibility; social, educational, cultural, economic, scientific, technological, and professional ethics via the tenets of African Socialism.

The major criticism of these recommendations is first that they were unrealistic in terms of their implementation. To create the Ministry of Basic Education throughout the system meant that all primary schools in the country would be changed to junior secondary schools by introducing two years beyond the 7th year. The implementation cost for practical education would be colossal. The cost of taking over all Harambee Schools and tripling the number of universities would rise beyond the stipulated 28 percent of the current national expenditure. It also meant that technical colleges to train graduates of junior secondary schools would be built, but if the training in the schools and in these colleges was not linked to specific employment opportunities, the problem of unemployment would be compounded. This restructuring would, in turn, require the training of more teachers and planning their salary increases. Comprehensive education would be strengthened at the four years of secondary education. Expansion of university education to rally behind these changes would be more costly than the rest combined. The Mackay Report (Kenya, 1981) simply dismissed some of the NCEOP recommendations as impossible to finance and restructured the education system to
8.4.4. (8 years of primary, 4 years of secondary, 4 years of University). The Mackay report, however, disregarded more meaningful educational recommendations in terms of improvement of the quality of education. The Mackay recommendations could, therefore, have been to implement the NCEOP changes within available resources over a more reasonable period of time. This was a less attractive alternative to adopt in terms of structure, relevance and costs to all stakeholders.

Second, the language policy to make mother tongue the medium of instruction in lower primary schools, would not only lower educational standards, but also permanently retain some teachers in their rural schools.

Third, the radical emphasis on education for employment would defeat the purpose of education as holistic engagement in human development and worsen the already delicate situation of unemployment and social decadence. The strong crackdown on humanities and the forceful removal of humanities teachers from secondary schools was reductionist and would directly interfere with the hidden curriculum that promoted values education. The role of religious education in this was directly restrained. The OC had recommended teaching of humanities to promote cultural values. The effects of a human capital economic theory of education found greater latitude in the NCEOP than in the OC. Pupils were led to develop a false conception that education minus socio-ethical training, especially via religion is a guaranteed function of economic success. According to circulars from the Government Inspectorate, between 1976 and 1994 students were increasingly abandoning humanities to pursue sciences, maths, economics and English, which were promising for future employment. This may partly explain why after 1976 there seems to have been more violence in institutions of learning than before. The climax was in 1991 when 91 girls were raped and killed in one of the schools and a similar pattern was repeated in several other schools afterwards (Daily Nation, July 15, 1991)
I have described, analysed and criticised above the major focus of the NCEOP of structural change to redress the economic situation. The NCEOP also paid attention to social pathology. It highlighted several reasons why rampant social decadence had hit post colonial Kenya. In particular, it cited educational emphasis on foreign economic values, the rapid secularisation of society and the alleged failure of Christianity as a curriculum subject to underpin values in Kenyan education. The NCEOP (Kenya, 1976) noted that foreign economic values had dominated over ethical values in the school system in general.

The problem with the complaint of the NCEOP was that capital intensive technology was really a function of rapid economic development as desired and planned for by the government. Naturally it would not have eliminated white-collar mentality, nor would white collar employment have been irrelevant to such technology, instead it all needed careful co-ordination and planning as earlier predicted by the OC. The solution of the committee to readjust the economy towards meeting the basic internal needs of the core African community was in the right direction but they did not define the “basic needs” and “the core African community”. The view of the committee to use labour intensive technology may have been designed to retain unskilled labour, but it defeats the meaning and purpose of technology if human resources continue to be used, except, of course, when unskilled labour is really needed. It all sounds ironic because the committee continued to complain about the lack of skilled labour in the economic development. Its criticism of foreign economic values sounds rather ironic given the committee’s craving for technology and science in the school system, which really promoted foreign economic values. But the inference of the committee that economic values in education tended to dominate over socio-ethical ones can be justified. However, the influence of Christianity was indiscriminately condemned for social decadence rather than the untrammelled economic impulses as mediated by socialistic experiments in central planning.
This condemnation of western education and its promotion of a white collar mentality and narrowly based materialistic and individualistic tendencies may be itself partly to blame for social decadence. If there was anything Africans wanted and still want it is western education. Over four hundred schools were started by Africans in Kenya in colonial times to provide better quality western education. In the post independence era, the mushrooming of schools under government supervision was a frenetic activity, let alone the role played on self-help basis to create more schools:

By and large, education has been treated by both individuals and government as a means to economic and technical ends. For the individual it has been seen as the route to material well-being and for the government as the source of skilled individuals to run an increasingly complex economy and society. To be sure, official rhetoric and teachers exhortations stress the socialising role of schools in inculcating desirable adult values, but there is little evidence within schools that rhetoric has been followed by any serious attempts to make real changes (Court (1974:19).

The NCEOP then complained about educational development tending to respond to the basic career and income aspirations of youth and their parents with heavy migration of school leavers to urban areas compounding social problems. ‘The income policy of the country’, observed the NCEOP, ‘had geared towards allocating and rewarding jobs on the basis of formal education attainment’. The NCEOP ought to have accepted that the government had not implemented the OC recommendations properly. Its view that the solution would be for the education system to impart new economic values and goals for young people and parents to include positive values for rural careers and local technological production would depend on how effective this attitude change would be. However, if it succeeded and was well planned, it might have solved the question of up-country migration by school leavers. This, however, would still not solve the currently endemic problem of economic values dominating education. The seeming understanding of ‘formal’ education by the NCEOP excludes ‘technical’ education by private institutions! Yet, the NCEOP does not define the difference.
The NCEOP complained that although the need to expand secondary education had been met by 1970, the medium and high-level manpower directives had not been met. Education still remained the most important element in economic development. The expansion of education, however, had not been matched by a similar expansion in income earning opportunities. This resulted in an over-production of school leavers in relation to the available jobs. The OC had observed:

Many of the children in those schools would not in fact receive an education that could justify the description of secondary, and measured by the standards of Cambridge School certificate it was...virtually certain that most 'Harambee schools in their present condition would produce disastrously poor results(Kenya, 1964:73, part I; and 1965:20, part II):

The obvious consequence of this trend, as the NCEOP noted, was that:

Formal education became mainly oriented towards passing examinations and obtaining certificates rather than in helping the student to grow all round as an integrated human being... a major discrepancy had developed between education for passing examinations and education for adaptability. This was compounded by the fact that the formal education system caters only for the academic attributes of students, while it ignores the discipline and psychomotor skills important in enabling the persons concerned to contribute effectively to social and economic development (Kenya 1976:15).

The concern of this chapter is that the indiscriminate emphasis on education for economic development promoted an overproduction of poorly trained secondary school graduates lacking in both practical skills for economic development and ethical values for life. In the opinion of the NCEOP, this trend later led to acute social pathology.

The isolation of the schools from the harbingers of traditional values was another reason given by the NCEOP for social decadence in Kenya. The schools being boarding and mainly located in urban areas kept children away from the positive traditional ethical influence of the community. The NCEOP argued that this was a further effect of the economic values emphasis in education. Hence the NCEOP noted:
One of the ways of achieving this is to integrate schools more closely with the systems of values and other useful traditional practices found in the communities in which they are located. It must be remembered, however, that while the community would like to see children learning and upholding high social values, the relative isolation of schools from the traditional values of the communities around them has tended to breed alienation rather than social integration. This is because of the very high economic returns that parents and children expect from formal education alone (Kenya, 1976:2).

The parents could not justifiably be blamed for schools being in urban areas of the country. Further, localisation of schools would also contradict the government policy of promoting national unity through education which involves scattering secondary school children throughout the country. National schools, colleges and universities are a case in point. The question is whether this move alone would promote the preservation of common traditional values in local communities.

The assumption by the NCEOP that traditional values would still be existing in local communities would require careful empirical backing. It can be shown that rural communities in certain parts of Kenya are even more westernised and ethically permissive than some urban centres in other parts of the country. The great imbalance in Kenya’s development in which some provinces have been more advantaged than others defeats this view of the committee. It may be true that some parents may influence the values children hold positively if they went to school daily from home, but the NCEOP itself is equivocal about this (Kenya, 1976). Even if the parents had time for their children, the question is whether the children would not challenge the traditional values parents might give them if they did not tally with modern values. Nor should the NCEOP have assumed that all parents would be interested in imparting traditional African values to their children.

The NCEOP came closest to addressing this problem. They observed that a great deal of indiscipline in schools was basically a reflection of an open and increasingly affluent society in which the lack of insistence on strict discipline and the upholding of valued
social constraints have been tolerated to unprecedented levels in the country. In this respect Kenya shared with many other countries of the world the problems of youth unrest arising from increasing affluence, social openness and improved means of communication. The mass media in any country has great influence on the values the young people hold. Television, (terrestrial and satellite) radio, the movies, videos and now the ‘Internet’ are major influences. The question is whether according to the research carried out by the NCEOP, there were any local communities in Kenya immune to these influences. Mojola, (1988), in his seminar paper to secondary school teacher educators asserted that secularisation, privatisation, pluralisation and relativisation were a real threat to the positive moral influence of religious values in schools in Kenya. The implications of this in the context of education remain to be assessed. In the next section, I review the NCEOP claim that Christianity failed to underpin values and this was the major cause for social decadence in Kenya.

3:4 Religion, Values, Issues and the Spectre of Colonialism

The NCEOP has asserted that one of the strongest causes of social decadence in Kenya was the decontextualised teaching of Christianity and the neglect of African values.

Another fundamental force in African traditional life was religion which provided a strict moral code for the community. There are however reasons why the formalised teaching of religion cannot continue effectively to teach the ethics of society. For example religious and ethical teaching of Christianity did not use the strongly religious and ethical beliefs of African society as a foundation. It tended to declare the latter as sinful, primitive, heathen and totally irrelevant in a society which the missionary was aiming at civilising. Herein then was one of the most fundamental failures of many foreign religious teachers who thereby failed to recognise and teach the universality of the moral basis of religion within the African society (Kenya, 1976:6)

The recognition of the NCEOP that African religious heritage should have been used as a basis for the teaching of Christianity by missionaries is quite significant. The NCEOP
implied that Christian values needed a basis from which to make sense to Africans and a clear relationship with the African milieu. This involves homiletic and secular educational teaching principles for relating, applying and implying religious principles to the learners’ life and context. On the whole, experiential taxonomy (Steinaker and Bell, 1979) is an important teaching approach especially in concretising the knowledge and values of religion. However, contextualisation implies much more than just experiential taxonomy. Kenyan scholars and theologians share the view that if missionaries had contextualised their teaching Christianity would have successfully promoted human and national development. The point to note is that the NCEOP was not, per se, calling for this contextualisation. The contrast implicit in this is that the NCEOP no longer recommends Christianity as a values basis while the OC and The Third World Theologians call for its contextualisation.

According to the NCEOP, more serious was the failure of missionaries to contextualise their Christian teaching in the prevalent oppressive colonial situation. Did Christianity have any answers to the socio-economic and political situation in Kenya then? The teaching of Christianity in their view did not seem to have concerned itself with the suffering of Africans under the colonial onslaught, instead it seemed that missionaries had supported the colonial regime by teaching Africans to submit to colonial authority regardless of their plight (Mugambi, 1992). In this respect Christianity was associated with the western imperialist onslaught on Kenya and so it tended to be rejected by some Africans. Consequently it could not form an adequate basis for values education for those people. The NCEOP vividly observed:

For example, Christianity was itself brought into the country by Western religious teachers during the colonial rule, a time when there was also strong resentment by Africans against colonial domination. Western religion, therefore tended to be rejected from a social and political point of view because it was seen as a pacifying tool of the colonial master (Kenya, 1976:6).
These issues equally concern Third World Theologians who detest the effects of the unholy alliance between Christianity and Western imperialism. But their argument differs from that of the NCEOP (Stanley, 1992) in that for some of the Third World Theologians, imperialism discredited the good intentions and consequences of Christianity and that the situation can be rectified through Africanisation of Christianity. The political elite, in common with their Marxist mentors in the west, seem to be set on ridding the world of Christianity. The view of the NCEOP that Christianity should have been used to contribute to the lifting of the colonial burden from Africans is partly justified by Christianity itself. The word 'partly' in this sentence recognises that Christianity, rightly understood, opposes any anti-human activity. But sometimes it has been used to justify oppression. This is another sharp area of contrast. The NCEOP views are an indirect indictment of the OC who seemingly not only recommended Christianity conservatively and dogmatically for Kenya's educational context in spite of the alleged historical problems, but also perpetuated its alienation from the African context by decontextualising it.

The NCEOP also asserted that religion was inadequate as a basis for values education. It was necessary thus to separate the teaching of ethics and morality from the teaching of religion. While for the NCEOP a secular view of knowledge should have underpinned human development, the OC and the Evangelical Association of Third World Theologians recommended a religious view. The NCEOP said:

It has become increasingly clear that the teaching of ethics of day-to-day activities has continued to be confused with what is strictly the teaching of religion. Religious teaching concentrates on such matters as relationship of man with the divine, brotherhood of man, values of justice and moral expectations in terms of good and evil. The teaching of ethics should, however, go into the details of the social norms underlying all aspects of human behaviour irrespective of whether one is religious, atheistic, agnostic or adheres to any other belief. Ethics for example teaches the moral importance of sound financial control in personal and incorporated business regardless of whether or not the persons involved are religious. It also teaches the moral implications of modern development in the scientific and
The contrast here is in the perspectives of each of the two groups in terms of the nature of knowledge and its function. The Evangelical Association of Third World Theologians maintained a religious view in that the spiritual nature of man calls for religious development which in turn may have positive consequences for the, moral, socio-economic, and political scene, especially in responsible action and this position can be supported. But unlike the OC, the radical liberal Third World Theologians and the NCEOP viewed Christianity probably with the emotivism of Gerald Moore; the scepticism, atheism and existentialism of Nietzsche (MacIntyre, 1989). These philosophical moorings of the various views on religion and morality which spawn various moral positions also call for further analysis and critical commentary.

The NCEOP next asserted that Christianity had spearheaded the infiltration of an entirely foreign culture into Kenya. It had introduced, educational, economic, scientific, technological, cultural, social and religious values and a whole western world-view that had obliterated African values regarding them as inapplicable and obsolete in the modern world. It had altogether thwarted African cultural and religious approaches to the socio-economic and political issues. Western education had introduced in Africa the unpleasant spirit of individualist values of competition and materialist self-aggrandisement through the emphasis on economic values and white collar-jobs. This had resulted in the sidelining of social ethics and values by a relentless concentration on the academic aspects of education rather than holistic human development. Christianity had introduced western science and technology which despised, rejected and replaced African religious and cultural approaches to problem solving. The western economic, cultural and social values underpinned by Christianity had totally fragmented Kenyan society, especially upsetting family relations, parental authority and splitting society between Christians (readers) and non-Christians (the low status
members of society since they did not embrace western values). Hence, the NCEOP implied, Christianity and all that is Western ought to be got rid of. The NCEOP opined:

The coming of Western religion created among the Africans the so-called “Asomi” (readers) who aped western ways and looked down upon any indigenous cultural practices... This process of alienation became successful through the exaltation of the supremacy of western religion, technology, and social values and down grading any African traditional values and approaches to problem solving. As a result the fundamentally valuable ethics of African society have in many cases been abandoned under the influence of foreigners whose alternatives have often been accepted blindly. The question now is whether the adopted systems of cultural values have the same basic value in terms of social survival and quality of life in the rapidly changing world of tomorrow in the environment of a developing country like Kenya. There is increasing evidence that they do not (Kenya, 1976:9).

It cannot be doubted that Christianity has had a deep impact, some of it not positive on the African local situation and that the NCEOP may have been partly right. But the OC did not see this as an immediate hindrance to the role of Christianity in human and national development.

The NCEOP lastly asserted that the divisive nature of religion had failed to promote acceptable morality and social ethics underpinned via Christianity. Moreover, religious diversity and unhealthy parochialism among Christians had not promoted common values to be adhered to by all members of the Kenyan society. The rural values of African Socialism which promoted African Democracy and Mutual Social responsibility would be introduced in the secondary school curriculum through the teaching of civic and moral education to make the school system address social pathology and make the necessary corrections of the cultural, religious and socio-ethical aberrations made by foreign teachers in Kenya. This problem requires more analysis. The NCEOP noted:

This need is made urgent by the continually ineffective public condemnation of social problems such as corruption, nepotism, tribalism and due lack of the
necessary supporting moral and civic education. Ethical training should emphasise parameters of national integration, principles of communal life such as reciprocity, mutual self-reliance, co-operation and self-help. It should also emphasise the principle of equity as a social concept in education and social development (Kenya, 1976:9).

It can be summed up that the NCEOP viewed the failure of Christianity to underpin values education in Kenya's educational context to be a function of Christianity's alleged ideological, philosophical, theological, historical and educational implications which require further analysis in the rest of the thesis.

The NCEOP concluded finally that on the whole, schools had no time to teach children values:

This is because the schools are geared entirely to the passing of formal examinations The question now, therefore, is how the education system is to build into an organised system of teaching the values of society to the youth (Kenya, 1976:3).

The solution of the NCEOP that promotion of national unity would resolve the problems of unemployment and social decadence leaves a lot to be desired as the rarest commodity to obtain in Kenya still remains national unity. But this raises a further question, which the NCEOP has not answered. Can the Ministry of Education per se share in the blame for social decadence in Kenya? The NCEOP has indirectly and justifiably blamed the Ministry of Education for overproducing unqualified secondary school leavers who lacked employment and resorted to anti-social activities. But was this the only way the Ministry contributed to social pathology through its administrative machinery?

On behalf of the Protestant churches, (NCCK, 1991) asserted that poor administration, and gross political interference in the life of the learning institutions were to blame for social decadence in schools. The role of church sponsors merely existed in black and white. Churches had been ridiculed and denied their constitutional right to help in the disciplinary matters of their sponsored schools. The ethical values had become
impossible to uphold in the absence of the spiritual ingredient in the school. The lack of implementation of cultural education had estranged youth to their own motherland and so they lacked identity. The poor connection between education and employment, which usually ended up in unemployment, is a serious cause of social decadence as youth face a hopeless future. On behalf of the Catholics, the 1991 Kenya Episcopal Conference noted the same points as the NCCK, but added that social decadence in schools was a reflection of what was happening in the larger society as a whole. The replacement of religion with secular ethics in the school curriculum had failed to resolve the situation (appendix 1). The system of education had become very expensive, unfocused and poorly organised; a factor that led to hopelessness. Even allowing for political rhetoric by the churches, the current system of education has proved difficult to control resulting in parents being overburdened financially and their children being overburdened with a heavy curriculum. The neglect of the legal system governing education would not be advantageous to the smooth running of education. It cannot be ruled out that the Ministry of Education shares the blame for social decadence in schools. The view of the churches that the religious element in education has been eroded cannot be ignored. Contemporary moral debate in Britain seems to be highlighting the neglect of religion as a possible cause of eroding values in schools and families in England (Cross-Links, 1990)

Although the OC has been also commended for its utilitarian, cultural, social and personal goals for education in independent Kenya (Eshiwani, 1993), it has been criticised for its conservatism and adherence to a British bookish academic pattern (Sheffield, 1973). However, it can be argued that in intention, the OC was balanced and coherent, but in its implementation the economic values dominated over the social and ethical. Religion was recommended, but for economic reconstruction and national unity rather than for human development. The OC, however, maintained a sacred view of knowledge, rejecting the American secular pattern (Kenya, 1964). The NCEOP recommended an incoherent narrowly based materialistic education planned to resolve
the economic crisis, but was oblivious to the crucial issues of authentic spiritual, moral and social development usually realised through religion, especially in the African universal understanding of it (Kenya, 1976). Ironically it adopted an American secular pattern earlier rejected by the OC, but rejected the whole western world-view with its culture, technology, science, social, religious and moral values! Its strong recommendation for technology and science to improve pre-vocational education for employment is therefore paradoxical. The confusions in the two reports require more unpacking. Although the concern in both is values for economic development, their disagreement on the roles of religion and culture in underpinning economic development also raise wider questions for scrutiny and analysis.

The matter is further complicated by the fact that they both disagree on the place of religion in African Socialism, but espouse African Socialism in political development. Even when the OC recommends religion because of its putative moral role, the recommendation is not followed and fully implemented while its concept of Christianity remains decontextualised. The NCEOP, however, rejects religion regarding it as ethically inadequate altogether. The OC retains a decontextualised Christianity rather than African Socialism, asserting that African values were ethically inadequate as they could not underpin spiritual, moral, social development and technological and scientific production. The OC justifies its stance by arguing that to precipitate a realistic version of modern Kenya, Christianity must play a vital role. The OC thus directly clashes with the NCEOP which lambastes Christianity for destroying African religious and cultural values, which, in the NCEOP view, have more survival potential and adequacy to underpin modernity. However, in its place, the NCEOP recommends decontextualised African Socialism, but without any acknowledgement of its religious dimension.

The two reports to some extent agree in their ideological criticism of Christianity, though the OC does not link Christianity with European imperialism. The OC,
however, condemns Christianity sparingly, complaining indirectly that Christianity should not bear the blame for relativising and weakening African cultural values. The OC further argues that the entire western secular system, which has atomised and depersonalised westerners, has strongly challenged African values and must not be condoned in Kenya. However, the legacy of the British philosophy of education as the foundation for contemporary Kenya’s education must be appreciated. The NCEOP strongly condemns Christianity: firstly, for limiting the impact of traditional values in human and national development and at the same time not replacing them adequately; secondly, for becoming the medium for the proliferation of the entire western worldview of education, science, technology, society, culture and its values in Kenya. Thirdly, for obliterating African values and disregarding their traditional worth in the technological and pragmatic arena thus delivering Kenya an unreliable means of societal survival. The imperialistic and philosophical criticism, however, encapsulates the major part of the NCEOP objection to the Christian religion underpinning values education and thus forms a major plot in their overall solution.

3:5 **Summary, Analysis and Appraisal of Contrast in the Education Reports**

The OC claimed that values could be generated through the Judeo-Christian ethical agenda and the *NCEOP* claimed that values would rather be generated through a secular ethic. However, they both share the same notion that values are about agenda of conformity, that instrumentalist values develop the work force and provide stability. They differ in their strategy as to how that can be best realised and in particular in their place of religio-cultural tradition with the nexus of education and social cohesion. The NCEOP sees it as minority interest and considers it with a lot of influence needing to be curtailed. The OC gives it considerable significance, but not in a way that acknowledges the need for appropriate contextualisation into the indigenous culture and post colonial situation.
The primary consideration, which seems to be dominating the reports, is an economic one. It is material advancement rather than education understood as personal development or as having intrinsic values in itself that preoccupies both reports. Less attention is given to having a better educated population as a basis for democracy, which African Socialism claims to be about. Both have too readily assumed that the chief purpose of education is to have an efficient, compliant and competitive work force. In particular, a work force that has got a skill development in it to take over executive management posts, but they seem to just pass over the fact that the chief end of education as has been understood in Western and Eastern traditions, (Cummings, Gopinathan, Tomoda, (1988), even as in the African pre-colonial tradition, has been to create a population of citizens worthy of democracy and freedom. But freedom does not create citizenship’s right, rather good citizens create freedom and the right democracy.

Both in the Western and in the Eastern traditions also, education is seen to be having very important impact on ones own personal development, ones own well being, ones own capacity to flourish; but not merely materially, but also spiritually, aesthetically and morally. Education ought to concern itself with development of individuals for the citizenship of the democracy in a new nation state. As a by-product it is also important for the ethics of the work force. For while the primary focus of education is the quality of what good citizenship is; its virtues, its character, and self development of individuals, as a by-product of these values is seen as improved productivity at work due to an appropriate work ethic.

In Kenya as elsewhere, values should be contextualised to take account of the anthropological, religious and existential situation. Yet neither of the reports has a contextualist understanding. The OC view of religious and moral education is decontextualised; the NCEOP notion of an African Socialist ethic is similarly
decontextualised. Neither addresses the inter-contextual educational milieu within the modern era; within the Western influence and in relation to the changing nature of religion. The two reports tend to see values as constituting a conformist agenda derived from some sort of outside expectation linked to productivity. This misappropriation of the values for ulterior ends is the core of the problem with both of the reports and leads to a truncated concept of values education. I will argue for a contextualist religio-ethical approach to values that takes on board the context of African Socialism, Christian interaction and transformation of that and the challenge of the modern era with its western enlightenment package.

The sharp contrast in the education reports demands a satisfactory resolution so that an appropriate basis for considering the learning contexts and importance of education for personal development above all else is put in place for Kenya’s secondary school young people. My analysis of the context depicts the problem of the content of the NCEOP proposals peculiar thrust and points out the need for further analysis. I have outlined and analysed the OC and its recommendations for utilitarian, cultural, social and personal goals for education and indicated their shortcomings. I have also analysed the NCEOP and with its narrowly based goals for education and indicated their shortcomings. The sharp contrast between them, which is the problem, has also been delineated. It can be said that the contrast raises serious historical, educational, ideological and philosophical questions, which require reconceptualisation in order to recommend a possible way out of the present values education impasse. In the next chapter the cultural heritage and associated values are considered.
CHAPTER 4: Pre-colonial African Society: Education and Values

4:1 Introduction

In this chapter I describe and analyse the African world-view and pre-colonial ‘Values Education’ generally. The chapter seeks to answer a number of questions. Whether, and to what extent pre-colonial African values were adequate for the traditional society, have relevance in the society today and should be added to the curriculum and for what purpose. The National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies 1976 has alleged that Western Christianity has denigrated African religious beliefs and values, but it has not formulated an effective values alternative. The Committee views this as one of the causes of social pathology in Kenya. This polarisation raises issues for further analysis and critical commentary. In order to do this, I define culture and relate it to education and values and describe and analyse Kenya's diversified cultural phenomenon. I define the world-view in general, present the relationship between world-view and culture, and discuss the functions of a world-view. I define the African world-view, then put African values into perspective and finally analyse traditional African values. The sources used in this chapter are scholarly works both from the African and Western academics reflecting their respective contexts. Wanjohi (1982) is a classic review of pre-colonial African Education from a Kenyan Professor of Education. Stanley (1992) is a collection of published research findings on Protestant Missions and British imperialism in East Africa in the 19th and 20th centuries. Lawton’s writings (1989) and (1993) are seminal reviews on culture and education. Kenyan Professors Mugambi (1989) and Mbiti (1969) reviews represent African religions, culture and education by distinguished Kenyan scholars.

Stanley, (1992:170), defines culture as an intricate system of beliefs, of values, of customs, and of institutions which express these beliefs, values and customs. In some sense culture binds a society together and gives it a sense of identity, dignity, security, continuity and purpose. The customs and social structures of any culture are the visible expressions of underlying beliefs and values, which together
comprise the "world-view" of that group of people. In this chapter, culture will be understood in Stanley's terms. The many African ethnic groups are each separate cultures with disparate beliefs, values, attitudes and practices, yet with some similarities. Given religion in the sense of underpinning African beliefs, values and attitudes, it can be concluded that the African world-view is religious.

Stanley's definition of culture raises a number of issues worth considering here. His view that culture is an intricate system of beliefs, of values and customs which bond society and give it continuity gives culture a normative function. The world-view aspects of this culture are the beliefs, values and attitudes that govern the way a particular group of people understand and interpret their world. The inclusion of religion in this definition is another important factor because it further confirms the normative nature of culture. The question is how this relates to education.

Lawton (1989) has stated that education is concerned with making available to the next generation what we regard as the most valuable aspects of culture. He adds that education is the passing on of values, knowledge and skills regarded as particularly worthwhile. This implies that education not only preserves and passes on culture, but also uses culture to provide cultural development.

An influential OFSTED discussion paper (1994) has defined cultural development as pupils increasing understanding and command of those beliefs, values, customs, knowledge and skills which taken together, form the basis of identity and cohesion in societies and groups. Pre-colonial education in Kenya could be interpreted as having performed this function. Moreover, Kenya's cultures are linked to religion. In the next section we discuss Kenya's cultural phenomenon. Jacobs has observed:

As far as cultural heritage and tradition are concerned, Kenya... is a mosaic of many cultural traditions, or better yet, a kaleidoscope in which there is constant movement and activity. One phrase can summarise the cultural scene in this lovely land" says Jacobs "infinite variety". (NCCK, 1972:40)
The cultural map of Kenya, according to anthropologists, Andrew Fedders and Cynthia Salvadori (1982) falls into five major groups: the ancient inhabitants, the Cushitic-speaking peoples, the Nilotic-speaking peoples, the Bantu-speaking peoples and the non-Africans.

The anthropologists further assert that the earliest ancestors of the human race may well have originated in Kenya as far back as five million years ago. They insist that much of the infancy of the human species was spent in Kenya's borders. The three groups of indigenous ancient inhabitants were the Boni, the Sanye, and the Dorobo. They conclude that it was in Kenya that man evolved bipedal and erect, capable of reflection, skilled in the use of tools and later in the techniques of their construction. Fedders and Salvadori mention their sources as being painstaking excavations, bones, stones, middens, museums and scholarly works. These sources give originality, authenticity, and primacy to their record. They also mention the presence of this history in the peoples and cultures of Kenya, sources they fully exhaust.

Since the ancient inhabitants of Kenya, according to the sources above, seem to be represented widely in the world, it would seem to be difficult to describe their culture and so map out their educational activities. It cannot be doubted that they were religious and that whatever primitive education, they had derived its values from religious beliefs.

The Cushitic people are today represented by the Somali, Rendile and Ghalla and represent an agricultural culture. They introduced into Kenya the customs of male circumcision and cattle keeping and languages from southern Ethiopia. They have been Christianised.

The Nilotic were non-fish eating people from Southern Sudan. They are represented in Kenya by the Kipsigis, the Nandi, the Sabaot, Tugen, Elgeyo, Marakwet and Pokot. They practice male circumcision and tend to be more committed to their
ethnic groups in terms of identity. They have also become Christians. They are a
traditional peasant people.

The Bantu form the bulk of the population in Kenya. They include the Kikuyu, the
Kamba, the Luhya, the Kisii, the Kuria, the Mijikenda and the Pokomo. The Luhya
are said to be the representative group of the Bantu cultures. Their name means
"those of the same group". They were peasants and had politically well organised
groups. Their values were strongly religionist and included taboos of various kinds
regulating relationships in the community. They have also become Christians.

The leading group of the Arabs are the Swahili and Shiraz occupying the Eastern
Coast of Kenya with Islamic cultural values. The Arabs introduced caravan trade,
commercial centres, the Arabic language and literature, architecture, music, crafts
and an Arabic lifestyle. They are fast becoming Christians.

Asians had been in East Africa for nearly 1,000 years before the British
Government imported other Asians from Bombay to build the railway. Those who
came to Kenya to build the railway were mostly from the working class. They were
skilled in technical work, building construction skills and general engineering.

The only contact Asians had with Africans was through trade. Their religion and
language had limited impact on Africans. Indian Muslims influenced Africans to
some extent with predominantly Islamic values. Some of the Asians have become
Christians.

Berman (1975) has asserted that modern missionary activity in Africa traces its
origins to the exploratory zeal of Prince Henry of Portugal in the 15th century. The
Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama reached the Kenyan coast at Malindi in 1498
and in his company were several Roman Catholic missionaries. This was the first
European and Christian group to reach Kenya. The Portuguese constructed Fort
Jesus at Mombasa from the late 16th to the 17th centuries.
More European missionaries reached Kenya in the mid 19th century followed by explorers, travellers, sportsmen and other types representing the sub-groups of the English speaking imperial Victorian tribe. The English colonised Kenya introducing Victorian culture characterised by an industrialised and acquisitive expanding capitalist economy in demand of new sources for raw materials and markets in which to sell its industrial products. In 1888, the Imperial British East Africa Company was given a Royal Charter. Kenya became a British East Africa Protectorate in 1895. In 1904, the first government sponsored settlers arrived with others sucked in from South Africa, including Scots, Welsh, Irish, Canadian, English, Australian, and New Zealanders. Following this, wave after wave of European, American and Canadian missionaries moved in, built churches, schools, hospitals with great devotion, and succeeded in making an unprecedented impression upon almost every ethnic group in Kenya. The British resolved to impose their English-speaking cultural characteristics on Kenya. They aspired to influence Africans materially, morally, culturally and religiously.

Currently, there are over 100,000 Europeans in Kenya, nearly half residing in Nairobi area displaying three characteristics: an overwhelming urban-oriented lifestyle, an innate belief in expanding economic enterprise as a progressive ethic and a proliferation of bureaucrats to man the plethora of international organisations which they spawn. Thus the European invasion of Kenya spawned a scientific, technological, secular and religious cultural movement that has ever since threatened to overwhelm the Kenyan cultural past.

Coming from Victorian England, in which Christianity and culture were identical, the 19th century Europeans confused their world-view of theology with that of ideology. They did not distinguish between Christianity and cultural influences of the time which were distinctly European. Greek and Romantic influences were confused with influences that reflected Christianity. The 19th century Europeans were not able to distinguish between liberal Christianity, and orthodox Christianity.
The culture they brought to other parts of the non-western world and their understanding of the development of that culture happened in a confused manner in which they acted in an uncritical and relatively unsophisticated way.

This approach brought serious cultural conflict between Europe and those countries, Kenya included. Stanley (1992) asserts that one of the reasons why there was this approach to the rest of the world by Europe was that they saw the foreign cultures as religiously neutral and potentially evil.

Secondly, they interpreted Victorian British culture as the premier culture. Thus it was a model of Christian culture and society for the rest of the world to emulate. This culture in their view had been shaped by the Bible. Thirdly, they brought with them the neo-Darwinian social-evolutionist theory of development. This theory posited a progression from a primitive or hunting form of subsistence, via subsequent stages of pastoral and agrarian forms of economy to commercial stages of civilisation. In these terms heathen societies were primitive and far removed from civilisation.

Fourthly, their pragmatic assumption was that what had happened elsewhere in development would repeat itself in other parts of the world. Armed with such mentality, representing colonial and Christian values, the Europeans set in motion a lasting cultural clash between Europe and other parts of the world. A more detailed account of the Christianity culture confusion is given by Paul Tillich (1959). The introduction of western education was the most effective medium by which European culture was stamped on Kenya. In the next section I define the traditional African world-view with which the Europeans had to contest.

A world-view could be defined as a set of assumptions about reality shared by a community of people. Geisler (1980:77) defines it as “A pair of glasses through which one views the world.”
Holmes (1983) defines it as the confession of a unifying perspective with its cosmological aspects. There are therefore two things to a world-view: a unifying perspective or values, beliefs and attitudes, and a cosmological perception offered by the unifying perspective. The development of a world-view starts from pre-philosophical intuitions. It has a strong narrative and a theology which may be atheistic or theistic, dualistic or pantheistic, etc. Religion can spawn a world-view because of its unifying perspective based on beliefs, values and attitudes, and the cosmology to which the values relate.

The pre-theoretical beginning of a world-view is a world picture (weltbild) which arises from one's life world (lebenswelt). A formulated world-view is the 'weltanschauung'. One's Lebenswelt therefore consists of values and a cosmology which when systematised becomes the world-view. We can state the same point in a different way that a world-view can function at theological and ideological levels. A world-view theology refers to the unifying perspective in that world-view. A world-view ideology refers to the cosmological or cultural aspects of the world-view.

World-view and religion are both aspects of culture. Culture represents the total non-biologically transmitted heritage of the human race. Moreover, culture consists of the complex structuring of each of the vast array of components of which life is made up. This includes language, rules, ethics, customs which people manifest in daily life. But along with this there are inner assumptions of culture by which the outer manifestations are guided. These guiding inner assumptions are values, beliefs and attitudes. These form the world-view. So the surface level behaviour in a culture is controlled by its world-view, the inner level assumptions. Culture therefore provides the world-view glasses through which we view our world. Sometimes people confuse their world-view with the outer level of cultures because they see other cultures primarily in terms of their world-view.
Holmes (1983) provides a detailed account of the functional dimensions of world-views. Since a world-view is the inner level of a culture by which the world is perceived, the functions of world-view include explaining reality and answering questions of how things got here and why they stay here and what their destiny is.

The second function is that of evaluating and validating. This evaluating is controlled by the kind of reality one gets from ones world-view. A theistic world-view provides a different value system from a naturalistic world-view. The third function is assigning and prioritising commitments. A world-view helps to arrange and prioritise what we commit ourselves to. Some people may commit themselves to employment; others to the family, others to God, etc.

The fourth function is interpretation. A world-view provides its adherents with a universal interpretation of situations. The fifth function is integrating. This involves relating each aspect of culture to all others. A common world-view provides the basis for applying the same principles and values in all and same areas of life. The last function is that of adapting. When there is a change in culture or a new idea; the world-view guides in adapting or changing certain ideas. In the next section I employ this schema to look at the traditional African world-view.

In addition to standard texts, I am drawing on three well known authorities Kenyatta (1938), Mbiti (1969) and Mugambi (1992). They contribute from religious studies, anthropology and related studies. We have noted in the section above that the distinctive number of tribes in Kenya is difficult to establish. This creates related difficulties in outlining what Kenya's contemporary culture really is. Consequently, a clear and coherent description of the African world-view becomes even more elusive. In addition to the problem of multiculturalism, there are certain peculiar problems related to research by anthropologists and others that make it difficult to precisely and coherently define the traditional African world-view.
Mugambi (1992) has observed that most of the data collected by researchers on the concepts of God in traditional Africa, where religious ideas hold, have been influenced by Christian beliefs about God and cannot be assumed to be reliable. Other serious research, however, still makes the problem of reliability and authenticity complex. Evans Prichard (1965) asserts that some anthropologists never came to Africa although they have written anthropological books about Africa.

Mbiti observes the following in connection with prejudice by early anthropological researchers.

These earlier descriptions and studies of African religions left us with terms, which are inadequate, derogatory and prejudicial. They clearly betray the kind of attitude and interpretation dominant in the mind of those who invented or propagated the different theories about traditional religions (Mbiti, 1969:9).

But another research problem has resulted from this. Kato (1975) and D'Souza (1987) have observed that African scholars in retaliation against western imperialist and racist attitudes, are prone to exaggerating in their writing about their own world-view. Such approaches to African peoples and their culture defeat an honest attempt to depict an authentic African world-view. A Kenyan anthropologist Okot p'Bitek (1970) insists that African research should expose and destroy all false ideas about African peoples and cultures perpetuated by westerners. African writers should present the institutions of African peoples as they are. Ogot BA. (1971), in this respect, has cautioned African writers to avoid excesses and be realistic.

Ogot p’Bitek’s prudent judgement is fully reflected in Kato (1975), an evangelical Christian theologian who sounds warnings against what he calls "Universalism" by African Christian Theologians. He critically analyses Mbiti’s work and accuses him of theological generalisations and oversimplifications through which Mbiti tries to glorify African traditional religions. He accuses Mbiti of blithely applying Christian concepts of God to the concept of God in traditional religions and thereby claiming
that African traditions are to Africans what the Old Testament is to Israel. Okot p'Bitek (1970) criticises Mbiti more sharply for this naïveté. He observes that some African Christian scholars such as Mbiti are dressing up African deities with Hellenic robes and parading them before the western world. Oruka (1990) has supported p'Bitek for rejecting the concept of a high God in traditional African religions such as that found in Judaism and Christianity. But this remains a minority view among Kenyan theologians and scholars.

African scholars are divided between a naturalistic anthropocentric African worldview and a religious theistic one. Those who argue for a supreme being or high God in African religions also argue for a theistic even a monotheistic world-view in Africa. Mbiti (1970) represents those African Christian theologians who deny the worship of ancestors or idols in traditional African religions. He sees the African worldview as teleological, theistic and anthropocentric. He has, however, been criticised (Kato, 1975) on the grounds that his research can hardly be reliable, having covered 270 African tribes in one year and ignoring the possibility of outside influences on the African traditional understanding of God.

On the same note Okot p'Bitek has denied that for traditionalists the world had a purpose and that everything in the Universe was created to serve either an internal or an external purpose, or both. However, he recognises that religion provides a people’s world-view and governs their lives. Indeed, although an atheist, p'Bitek recognises the importance of a theistic world-view. He claims that in Kenya both the Traditional African Religion and Christianity comprise the world-view, although the ruling elite have sought to deny it.

Mugambi (1989) and Mbiti (1969) assert that the African world-view is a hierarchical system in which God, spirits, man, animals, plants and inanimate phenomena are ontological categories. Such a world-view should include:

A position concerning the nature of reality (ontology) a statement concerning the nature of knowledge and what constitutes personhood.
Are persons substances or processes? Are they individuals or manifestations of single cosmic process or both? What is the relation between physical and psychological properties, if both are acknowledged to exist? A view about the nature of human history - African religions see man as created by either the Supreme Being or his agents. An identification of the fundamental values which individuals ought to pursue, and a specification of their relationship to individual norms. (Axelson 1979:184).

Axelsen's view of the characteristics of a world-view is coherent and comprehensive. In the next section we study three of the ontological categories in the African world-view.

In all Kenya's ethnic groups God has a name. Mbiti (1969) has claimed that there is no African atheist because all Africans take God's existence for granted. The contention among African scholars is as to whether there is a High God in Africa or whether there are tribal deities. Mbiti (1972) shows God as High in Africa and with similar attributes as in Judaism and Christianity. Only that the African concept is not as explicit as the Judeo-Christian. Africans believe that man's wisdom and power is nothing as compared to God's. Africans also believe that God is the Creator of both Man and the universe. However, some tribes believe that lesser Gods and spirits help God in the work of creation (Mugambi, 1989).

The ancestors, referred to as the "living dead" (Mbiti 1969), form the most influential spirit world to man. Mugambi (1989) has observed that when a man dies in the traditional African world he remains in the world invisible or spirit form. He continues to live in it and occasionally visits his relatives. His relationship with the living depends on his former moral relationship with them before he died. The importance of a good moral and social relationship is that when he dies he does not leave a curse behind. Any curse left by a dead person affects his relatives permanently.

According to Jomo Kenyatta (1953:266-7) the Kikuyu people of Kenya divide the departed spirits or the ancestors into three categories:
a) Ngoma cia aciari: the spirits of the fathers or mothers which communicate directly with the living children to advise or reproach them as they did in their life time.

b) Ngoma cia moherega: the clan spirits which are concerned with the welfare and prosperity of the clan, administering justice according to the behaviour of the clan or any of its members.

c) Ngoma cia riika: the age group spirits which are interested in the activities of their particular age groups. This group is sometimes called tribal spirits because it is the age group that unifies the whole tribe. They regulate tribal affairs.

The dead are believed to be re-incarnated (Metapsychosis). Children are named after their own sex of the dead. The dead are believed to have come back through the new born.

Mugambi (1989) asserts that the African world-view is one dimensional and consists of the earth and the sky, but man and spirits spatially exist on it in their different forms.

The survival of man on the visible world depends on how he morally and socially relates to the invisible world which includes God, and so even his relationship with others in the visible world is not a matter of choice. He must behave in conformity with the traditions, customs and the moral expectations of the community as founded and established by the invisible world.

Economic pursuits depend on the knowledge of the environment, how much man can manipulate and overcome nature (Adeyemo 1978). The cultural ontology of the African man puts him right at the centre of the environmental stimuli.

Africans have their own ontology which is an extremely anthropocentric ontology in the sense that everything is seen in terms of its relation to man... Man is the centre of this ontology: the animals, plants and natural phenomena and objects constitute the environment in which man lives,
provides a means of existence and, if need be, man establishes a mystical relationship with them (Mbiti, 1978:21)

The Traditional African world-view does not have an elaborate eschatology that includes heaven and hell. The Christian world-view can be said to be three dimensional in that its doctrine includes Heaven above, Earth in the middle, and Hell under the Earth. Only in a few ethnic groups does the African world-view include hope for a better life than what man experiences materially here and now.

In the 'One dimensional traditional world-view', cosmological balance must be maintained. Man's basic motivation for societal existence is the preservation and affirmation of life. Coherence and harmony are achieved through vital participation in a common life which is the basis of all family, social, political, and religious institutions and customs. Life is a dual but an inter-related phenomenon involving the interaction between the good and the bad, the seen and the unseen, the living and the dead, the physical and the spiritual. Natural disasters and social calamities disturb him and urge him to control and manipulate in order to avoid their consequences, (Adeyemo 1978). In the next section I shall consider Pre-Colonial African Education and values. The values arise naturally from the world-view, which has of course been strongly challenged by Christianity, secularity, science and technology.

4:2 Traditional African Values

Bennoars and Njoroge (1986) assert that there is in Africa a strong case for a traditional educational theory that was strongly value oriented and transmitted a well defined social ethic emphasising both survival and trans-survival values. This applies to Kenyan traditional education.

Kenyan indigenous education was based on a comprehensive educational philosophy which moulded character and moral qualities, developed physical aptitudes and combined manual activities with intellectual exercises. Pupils were
taught geographical facts including climatic patterns, rains and rotation of seasons. Scientifically they were taught names of plants, trees, animals, birds, grasses and their uses (Bokongo, 1992). They also learnt specialised skills to become wood-carvers, tanners, blacksmiths, hunters, bee-keepers, medicine men (Sheffield, 1973).

Traditional education in Kenya aimed at creating unity and maintaining social cohesion by retaining the status quo. It inculcated feelings of group supremacy. Individualism was subordinated to co-operation. No direct competition was allowed; community living was fostered. Sheffield (1973) has observed that the harsh economic and geographical, sometimes political conditions, necessitated the co-operation and contribution of everyone. Hard work was a distinct mark of the educative process. On the whole, education was geared to physical, moral, personal, social, intellectual and spiritual development. Values teaching revolved on character formation acceptable to the group. The young were expected to learn how to relate to people of all types in their community.

Intellectual education included clan and ethnic group history, philosophy of life, law, custom and reasoning. Songs and stories were intellectual exercises used to recall the feasts of clan heroes, aspects of group language, poems, narratives, community discussions, legends, lullabies and stories. Abstract thought was learned through riddles, sayings, folk tales, tongue twisters and problem solving skills of all sorts (Bokongo,1992). Education was aimed at the preservation and survival of the community. It encouraged a communitarian spirit which encourages an organic functionalism among that tribe. Kenyatta (1938) has argued that African education was life long from birth to death. Having briefly discussed African traditional education in Kenya and the world-view that underpins it, I now move to the system of values supported by the world-view.

Mojola (1988), has criticised certain western colonialists such as Wilson (1952) for writing very negatively about African values. In his writing Wilson (ibid) has
implied that Africa was morally bankrupt and underdeveloped, and that Africans had no sense of right and wrong. He has described Africans as immoral, uncouth, cannibalistic, blood-thirsty, lacking respect for human life, unprincipled, lacking self control or self discipline, given to gluttony, wantonness, sexual orgies and all manner of evil. An example of this is as follows:

Those who have their homes in Kenya should not so greatly need reminding of the evil days, because there is enough of barbarism remaining today to suggest the savagery of the past (Wilson, 1952:3).

Although Mojola (1988) criticises Wilson, he forgets the tragic events of the Mau Mau emergency period in Kenya in 1952, when there was a lot of bloodshed as Africans fought for their independence from Britain. Wilson must have had these dark events in mind when he wrote about African values in Kenya. It is possible he lost a number of white relatives during the war. This also raises the question of whether we should whitewash the inheritance of African values. Some aspects are clearly manifested in recent history in Africa: the Congo, the Hutu and the Tutsi, the Sudanis etc. African values have had their share in the dark side of human actions. So Wilson is not altogether wrong although he does overlook the fact that worse bloodshed has occurred in Europe. So this view of man’s depravity can apply everywhere in the world.

Lamin Sanneh (1993) has argued that although certain missionaries asserted that African culture was sinful, and set out to destroy it, African culture had negative values which after the translation of the gospel into mother tongue languages were dropped by Africans themselves. Strayer (1978) has similarly argued that some of the African Christians did not need to be told which negative values to drop.

Oosthuizen (undated) argues that while Christian ethics are theocentric, African Traditional ethics are anthropocentric. Their life centre (lebensmitte) is a person. They are humanistic, but not secular humanistic. Concerning the humanistic basis for traditional African ethics, Wiredu (1980) asserts that they are non-
supernaturalist. However, Wiredu seems to be secularising and westernising African values. Africans pray to God through priests, elders, and ancestors. They believe that since God is good and created all things, the goodness anything has derives from God (Mbiti, 1972). However, African traditionalists were not theologically articulate and elaborated on this. The revelation of God in traditional African religions is not as clear and complete as in Judaism and Christianity. Traditional Africans did not claim traumatic salvific encounters with God, but most Africans hold God as pure, holy and good. Indeed, this may be why Judeo-Christianity has been so readily accepted in Africa. Mbiti (1986), has asserted that the coming of Christianity has clarified what was unclear about God in traditional religions.

The link between religion and ethics in traditional African education was obvious. Although a strongly religious one-dimensional world-view characterised African thinking remarkably, it was in its connection with ethics that religion was strongest.

The Israelites patterned their lives on given and revealed religious morality. African religions orally provide an ethical dimension. African ethics are religionist:

The binding factor of religion also provided society with a moral code since morality was largely sanctioned by religion. ...the value systems of many African societies are based on a number of principles which can be summed up as follows: (Moyo, 1992:33)

1. Life is the greatest thing in the whole world.
2. Man's humanity has an inalienable worth.
3. The good of the individual is a function of the good of the community.
4. The solidarity of the extended family is supreme.
5. The Universe is friendly and this implies a belief in a benevolent Creator God.

Connected to the role of religion in traditional African values is the idea of authoritarianism.

Moral Education seeks to lead a child from a simple conformity to rules, to feeling the attraction of values, and finally to hearing the call of the ideal. It intends to lead him from a simple adaptation to social constraints to the creation of his own norms; from a legalistic attitude to one which
is the result of reflections; from imposed obligation to one which is accepted and internalised. (Wanjohi, 1972:20)

Moral autonomy could not be completely ruled out in traditional African society.

Bound by custom and tradition in their moral educational task, the parents, elders and older sons in the family and clan were always subject to the unseen world of ancestors in what they taught. But one must observe that in modern society lineage is one of the fast dying customs (Wanjohi 1972:122).

Having placed moral authority in the hands of beings who are not of flesh and blood, Wanjohi (ibid) comes out with an elaborate explanation of why this authority cannot be challenged or ignored.

The Black African conception of parentage places the ancestors at the centre of the existence of the living... The ancestors are obviously always on the side of custom and established authority of which they represent the most efficacious support. Man can revolt against a flesh and blood father, but not against invisible fathers who are omnipotent, omnipresent, and on whom one has no hold.

But while this system of authority may function in some rural parts of Kenya, it is absent in some of the urban areas which are influenced by western values. Oosthuizen (undated) argues that there is a close connection between authority and morality in African society. The breaking up of society affects morality in a disturbing manner, but morality has not been blindly accepted or merely mechanically assimilated without discussion and reflection. Moral obligations carry rules of conduct, the violation of which brings about a ‘moral’ or ‘ethical’ sanction. This may be defined as a reaction of reprobation by the community toward a person whose conduct is disapproved of.

To press the point of moral autonomy home, Oosthuizen exalts the rationalism of traditional morality:

To describe the traditional African system of morality as merely authoritarian, an obedience for obedience's sake, overlooks the great amount of ethical reflection which takes place in this community. There
is much public discussion, matters are talked over and reasoned out. A case is argued for days and it is an accepted fact that Africans are good lawyers. The traditional African is not merely emotional. In spite of his mythological beliefs, he is a rationalist in the full sense of the word although he is continuously confronted by supernatural powers which disturbs his logic of reason (Oosthuizen, undated: 83).

Oosthuizen who seems to have been a missionary anthropologist and probably knew a particular African society negates what most anthropologists from the west would normally accept about traditional Africans. Oosthuizen, however, does not sufficiently emphasise the communal nature of African morality. A person reflects mainly on how to choose what is commonly accepted in society. For what is accepted in society has been accepted many generations earlier probably with modifications. What is accepted in society has been sanctioned by the invisible world. Taboos govern moral reasoning.

Contributing to the debate about the concept of authority and morals in the traditional African setting, Wiredu (1980) has made the following assertions: first, that the traditional society was founded on a community of shared beliefs in the wisdom of age; second, that this also involved the sanctity of chieftaincy and the binding force of the customs of usage of African customs. It cannot be assumed that traditional systems of authority, whether formal or informal, must have been felt to be authoritarian within the traditional milieu itself. As we reflect on traditional society from a present urbanised existence, it appears to have been authoritarian and aspects of authoritarianism can still be felt in present society under changed circumstances. Wiredu's observation seems to make sense, given the fact that the entire society was under the authority of the unseen world against which society was helpless.

African traditional values were society or group centred rather than individualistic. As Pairault (1972:15) has observed:

It is not in front of himself but in front of his equals and through them that an individual knows how to judge good and evil.
This, in principle, rules out the competitiveness and self-centred characteristics of the west. According to Menkiti, communal morality gives the authentic and accepted meaning of personhood:

Personhood is the sort of thing which has to be attained, and is attained in direct proportion as one participates in communal life through the discharge of the various obligations defined by one's stations. It is the carrying out of these obligations that transforms one...to a widened maturity of ethical sense - an ethical maturity without which personhood is conceived as eluding one (Menkiti, 1979:162).

Consequently, Menkiti argues that when one has attained personhood, then this entitles one to certain rights within the community. This is so because the basis of such rights ascription has now been made dependent on a possession of a capacity for moral sense. This is a capacity, which though it need not be realised, is nonetheless made most evident by a concrete exercise of justice towards others in the ongoing relationships of every day life.

One of the most prominent of the African values is the value of community. Communitarianism is the modern terminology applied to the phenomenon of community sharing or central to a values system. Menkiti (1979) asserts that communitarianism conceptualises different community interactions in the African and western understanding. He distinguishes *Methodological Individualism* as used in the West to apply to the term "community" or "society" where stress is placed on the aggregate sum of individuals comprising it and the thoroughly used collective "we" as implied in the term "community" or society" in the African sense. He clarifies the issue further by distinguishing between three senses of human grouping. The first, is what he calls "collectivities" in the truest sense; the second, which he calls "constituted" human groups; and the third, which he calls random collections of individuals. He refers to the African human grouping as "collectivities in the truest sense". In the African sense there is assumed to be an organic dimension to the relationship between component individuals. He asserts that this is different from the understanding of human society as something "constituted". This implies a non-organic bringing together of atomic individuals.
into a unit more akin to an association than to a community. This, to him, is the sense in which community is implied in the West.

Those varied conceptions of community point to varied concepts of personhood. In traditional African thought, the concept of personhood is not something possessed at birth. It does not merely refer to rationality or soul or will, or memory - the factors that define personhood in a western context. In the traditional African concept, man is defined by reference to his or her environment in terms of community. For Menkiti (1969), the African view of person can be summed up in this statement:

I am, because we are, and since we are, therefore, I am.

But how is the African view of personhood defined by community? Menkiti (1979) points out that the reality of the communal world takes precedence over the reality of individual life histories. And this primacy is meant to apply not only ontologically, but also in regard to epistemic accessibility. It is rooted in an ongoing human community that the individual comes to see himself as man, and it is by first knowing this community as a stubborn perduring fact of the psychological world that the individual also comes to know himself as a durable, more or less permanent fact of this world. The key point in communitarianism is that it provides a sense of identity and belonging without which an African has no roots of existence. Menkiti thus brings out the core of communitarianism in Africa.

The second way community defines a person is that he or she comes to belong to it both genetically and linguistically. In these ways he belongs to a specific human group. The sense of self-identity is made possible by belonging linguistically and genetically. The language he speaks constitutes his mental dispositions and attitudes - a very important factor in this process of socialisation. As his navel points to the umbilical linkage to generations past, so his language and the associated social rules point to a mental commonwealth with others whose life histories encompass the past, the present and the future. While the past refers to the
living dead, the present refers to the elders, parents, the rest of the men, women and children. The future refers to the yet unborn.

The community further defines a person in process terms. A person is not a mere substance (Axelsen, 1979). According to this view, people become persons after the process of incorporation. Without this, people cannot claim to be persons. This implies that personhood is something to be attained or achieved. Someone is not a person just because he is born of human seed. Becoming a person involves going through a long process of social and ritual transformation until one attains the full complement of excellencies seen as truly definitive of man. In this long process of becoming a person, the role of the community is to catalyse the process as well as prescribe the norms, for that community.

Depicting the learning of personhood in the African understanding, Menkiti claims that a person could have a soul, rationality, will and memory but still fail to attain personhood. For personhood is something at which one could fail, at which one could be competent or ineffective, good or bad. The African emphasises the rituals of incorporation and the overarching necessity of learning the social rules by which the community lives, so that what was initially biologically given can come to attain social self-hood and become a person with all the excellencies implied by the term. Menkiti is here recalling the four main rites of passage by which an individual is incorporated in the community. These could be referred to as the four stations of life. Birth, initiation, marriage and death are the four main rites of passage through which an individual experiences incorporation. These rites of passage are still strictly followed in some parts of Africa. It is actually expected that after marriage one should be well along in one's process of becoming a person. There is a qualitative difference between old and young, this is an ontological progression. The change is expected not only in features, but in the core of the individual's being. The final stage in the process of development into personhood is when the dead person has nobody alive to remember him and pour libation, then the spirit becomes an it. The person loses the name. At birth, the person has no name and
when he dies and no one alive remembers him, he loses his name and becomes an it - just as a baby is an it at birth. A person comes as an it, and returns as an it.

We have already noted that a person in the community is entitled to certain rights as long as he carries out his ethical duties. Communitarian societies in Africa emphasise the realisation that other people are existing as well. Personhood is attached to and proved through the fact that the individual is morally mature.

Although it is difficult to establish the exact nature of the African ethical systems in comprehensive and systematic forms, probably evaluating them with western eyes as well as reading into them western ethical theories, elements of rule utilitarianism seem to be evident in African morality. Rule utilitarians judge a class of actions by their results. They hold that the keeping of certain rules will eventuate in the greatest good (Geisler and Feineberg, 1988). In the African traditional context, an act may be said to be right if, and only if, it also conforms to the rules and regulations established by the community through years of practice and tradition, and the rules are believed to promote harmony and well-being in the community, (Mojola, 1988).

This would then be a consequentialist or teleological rather than deontological morality. In the African case, there are no elaborate moral theories per se. Morality, however, is humanistic, but cannot conclusively be said to be naturalistic, non-supernaturalist or secular humanist. African morality is to some degree heteronomous and subject to the supernatural world, which hierarchically begins from community elders and ends up in the supreme being.

According to traditional African belief, God was conceived of as a person concerned and interested in the affairs of man. He was thought of as a spirit whose will could be known by ordinary members of the community, mainly through diviners. Sometimes he might make His will known through the ancestors who would be offended if any members of the community failed to conduct his life according to the will of God (Mugambi 1989:62):
Mugambi's concept of God in Traditional African Religions as portrayed here contradicts his earlier views. Mugambi presents God in the African world-view as not a "person", a view, which he maintains, is purely western. Oruka (1990) comments on Mugambi's (1974), article "The African Experience of God". He asserts that Mugambi is one of the scholars who see African religions involving empirical and experimental concepts rather than as mystical and metaphysical.

It is important to mention here that many of the people I know have argued that the traditional or indigenous African religions, unlike Christianity are based on the empirical or experimental conceptions and not on mystical or metaphysical beliefs (Oruka, 1990:28).

Viewed from a theistic world-view African religions appear mystical and metaphysical. Mugambi's own tribe have a creation myth deeply rooted in mysticism and metaphysics. As I have argued above, although there may be some atheistic tribes in Africa, none of which can be positively identified, Africans maintain a theistic ontology and therefore a theistic world-view leading to a supernaturalist, but humanistic morality. The African understanding of God, however, is more through His self disclosure through creation, than in the Christian and Judaistic sense, in which God reveals himself decisively in other ways too.

4:3 Critical Analysis and Appraisal

Whether and to what extent traditional values were adequate requires investigation. The preceding discussion seems to show that they were sufficient for underpinning spiritual, moral and aesthetic values. Some of the problems were that the values were ethnocentric and heteronomous.

Whether and to what extent pre-colonial values relate to contemporary society is important. The NCEOP (Kenya, 1976) argued that lack of such values had resulted in social pathology. The values would have to be carefully selected to converge with modern society. The OC (Kenya, 1964, part I) recommended that to form a
version of modern Kenya, positive values would be selected to contextualise western values.

Whether and to what extent they should be added to the curriculum and for what purpose has been partly answered above. The children brought up in towns might not understand them. This might be sorted out by recommending coherent objectives and content for a religio-cultural basis of values education. There is a need for a new curriculum of values education drawn from Kenya’s Traditional context, the societal root-paradigms and the Judeo-Christian paradigm. This would be existential and promote responsible citizenship, international consciousness. Niebuhr’s typology for contextualisation, especially the paradigm of Christ changing or transforming culture (Holmes, 1986), with modifications might be applicable to Kenya. This approach would involve translating Christian values to relate to pupils’ context and find resources in traditional African lore. As a contextualised world-view, Judeo-Christianity in the African context might promote learners' ability to explain and evaluate aspects of life, validate behaviour and assign priorities for allegiance. The pupils might also be able to interpret situations conveniently, pursue life in an integrated fashion and adapt to external and internal pressures for change.

In this Chapter I have surveyed generally and briefly, the cultural map of Kenya and concluded that it has an "infinite variety". I have also reviewed the African world-view and discovered that it is ethnocentric, dynamic and basically theistic, although for some of the anti-religious elite it is conceived of as essentially naturalistic and humanistic. A contemporary African world-view in Kenya ought to draw upon traditional African heritage and the societal root paradigms. But it is doubtful whether this alone is sufficient to provide a justifiable source for the content of values education. The view of the NCEOP that African values alone should be taught to underpin social ethics can be challenged on the grounds that it is not possible on this basis to form a coherent curriculum of commonly accepted values. Secondly, this would deny the learners of the Christian world-view, which has,
together with African heritage, underpinned values education in Kenya for nearly two centuries. But if positive aspects of African values related to Christianity are taught together with it, the problems above might be solved and a curriculum of Christian religious moral education, responsive to the African context, would be feasible. In the next section I review the Anti-colonial reaction as the background to the commissions.
CHAPTER 5: Anti-colonial Reaction as the Background to the Commissions

5.1 Introduction

The NCEOP and the reactions of Third World Theologians are related. The previous chapter has presented the African traditional society, its world-view, education and values and concluded that aspects of it are still relevant to Kenya's educational context, but not in isolation from the religious milieu shaped by the African experience of Christianity. This chapter continues to analyse and assess the anti-colonial reaction against western missionary Christianity and its operation in Kenya. This reaction is reflected in the views of the NCEOP that African traditional social ethics should replace region as a whole, but particularly Christianity in the underpinning of values education in Kenyan schools.

The argument in this chapter is that the NCEOP and TWT ideological allegations against western missionary activity may have been an over-reaction. I first analyse Karl Marx' views of religion, man and imperialism, since his socialist ideas were imported by the African elite to fight western colonial imperialism. I review the TWT and NCEOP assertion that the nineteenth and twentieth century western missionary enterprise in the Third World acquiesced in unholy imperialism. I assess the religious and theological imperialist allegations. Finally I review contextual theologies and their potentiality for contextualisation. Use is made of education reports and relevant literature. Theoretical and discourse analysis is the method adopted.

The concern of Third World Theologians (TWT) to contextualise Christianity in theological education in order to relate it more coherently to the African context could be a paradigm for the values education school curriculum. The Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT) was launched at Dar-es-Salaam in 1976 (Abraham, 1992). The participants came from all over the Third World including Africa, Asia, and America. Coincidentally, in the same year the NCEOP reviewed Kenya's educational system. The view of the TWT was that if Christianity was contextualised in the African milieu, it might be more understandable and
transformational. They implied that because of its premium on the sacredness of human life Christianity might be currently relevant for resolving Africa’s sociological, political and economic woes. This thesis will argue that similarly, the contextualisation continuum, if applied to the secular teaching of Christianity through Kenyan schools, may underpin values:

In development studies, particularly in a phase where dependency theory is being reconsidered, reference to cultural and religious factors proves to be increasingly important in order to identify areas of conflict and possible forces of revolutionary change (Chepkwony, 1987: 15).

This chapter will seek to identify some of these areas of conflict and suggest approaches to the teaching of values in order to resolve the values impasse in Kenyan education. The anti-colonial reaction by the NCEOP and the TWT manifests in similar forms. The allegations were that past missionary theological and cultural imperialism had hindered the salvific, socio-moral formation and therapeutic role of Christianity in Kenya (Kenya, 1976; Stanley, 1992).

The purpose of TWT is to liberate Christianity from its dependence on the cultural imperialism of western theology and compromising association with western political expansion. However, the TWT are in fact not unanimous in their understanding of “imperialism”. Whereas some of the evangelical theologians understand missionary enterprise from a humanitarian stand point like the OC, radical liberal theologians lump it together with imperialism like the NCEOP. African theologians also differ in their perspectives of African theology and its role in Africa. An examination of these contextual theologies emanating from Africa, especially Kenya, and the views of the NCEOP will be done with regard to western imperialism and contextualisation in values education in Kenya.

At present, the Christians in the Third World are struggling with this unholy alliance with the political and economic imperialism which has been dominant in Africa and Latin America. The attempt to get rid of the alliance is reflected in the Liberation theology which links Marxian analysis of oppression and exploitation with Hebrew themes of social justice. Another perspective of the struggle is that which is prevalent in Asia and a bit in Africa, that of religious imperialism whereby the
indigenous religions are not taken into account for meaningful dialogue with western culture
(Song in Chepkwony, 1987: 15)

Song singles out Liberation theology underpinned by Marxist analysis and its attempt to get rid of the alliance. He further links this to the Hebrew Zionist themes of social justice. Although Song’s analysis raises more issues for analysis and critical commentary.

5:2 **Contextual Theologies**

Song’s view of religion in Marxist terms is quite interesting. The problem Song does not raise is that liberation theology uncritically adopts an atheistic Marxist critique of religion essentially depicting Christianity as illusory and therefore unable to offer any solutions to human suffering anywhere in the world as well as being part of the ideological super-structure. The Liberation theologians are saying in effect that Christianity cannot be reconstructed and repackaged to relate to Third World needs more meaningfully. The application of Marxist views implies the unconditional elimination of transcendent religion as a whole from human vocabulary; that any religion of transcendence as opposed to immanence is an unnecessary burden to human life (Hebblethwaite, 1981). This of course might be what the NCEOP represented, but not all TWT subscribe to this since their concern is to present Christianity in a manner that it might underpin the reconstruction of Africa.

Marxists analyse religion as supporting the western political and economic monopoly by merely consoling the oppressed as opium would console and soothe a troubled mind, but not remove the deeper psychological problems. Karl Marx defines religion as:

The sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the people
(Hebblethwaite, 1981:31).
The implication of this statement is that men's oppressed conditions give rise to religion as justification and consolation for their suffering, but only at the level of fantasy. Religion is both an expression of and protest against real suffering. Man must throw off its chains and then the need for this illusory consolation will disappear. Hebblethwaite (1981) has depicted Marx earlier analysis of man as a product of society rather than as an abstract individual. In this analysis man's projections of religion are a phenomenon of an alienated consciousness. The religious element in this case is a social product, reflecting a particular form of economic and social structure, in which the majority of men are alienated from the product of their labour and thus from their true selves. Religion is therefore the heart cry of an alienated, atomised man. Religion is part of the ideological super-structure reflecting the real infrastructure of alienated economic relations in society such as those in colonial society in Kenya as depicted and asserted by the NCEOP. If Song understands Christianity in this light then he implies that religion is merely a psycho-social construct of man and not really revelational. In effect, he means that Christianity should be ignored as something illusory. In which case it cannot be really related to human well being from a liberal radical Liberation theological point of view. This seems to coincide with the views of the NCEOP about the role of religion. But is man a mere product of society or is man of any sacred worth?

It can be admitted that in some cases Christianity has supported injustice, but where this has happened, it could be seen as anti-Christian by invoking authentic Christian principles. As has been noted by Hebblethwaite, Marx' tirade against Christianity has turned from the consolatory function of religion for the alienated masses to the use of religion by the oppressors to justify the status quo. The gross moral outrages perpetrated by churches in the course of history, the inquisition, the crusades, and the like can still be denounced by the self-critical Christian moralist. Much more damaging is the accusation that moral insight in to the value of personal being and its encouragement of practical charity and self-sacrificial love can mask and mollify the structural inequalities and injustices in the social order, and in the international economic order too. It is recognition of this combination of connivance in unethical
and privileged social and economic structures with the cultivation of practical love of
the neighbour that induces moral confusion (Hebblethwaite, 1981).

Chepkwony has observed:

In Africa and Latin America, the role of the church as a social institution as
well as a popular movement in different societies necessarily prompts for
an assessment in the process of national integration and social change...This
ongoing theological reflection is a theological effort to redefine the
message of the gospel for those countries, particularly in view of the
historical role of the church, which often was contrary to the present search
for a just society. Historically, the activities of the church have proven to be
fundamentally ambiguous (Chepkwony (1978:15)

The generality, overstatement and the assumption that all missionaries and their
societies could be lumped together with the motives of imperialists does not
appreciate the struggles and unparalleled, even unprecedented labours and sacrifices
by people like Dr. David Livingstone of Scotland in Central Africa. Even the
stopping of slave trade in itself, however, pretentious and hypocritical it may have
been, must have been meant for good and is worthy of praise and this does not have
to be partisan.

Jesus of Nazareth and the greatest of saints like St. Francis of Assisi, and Mother
Teresa of Calcutta are rumoured to have explicitly recognised that pure love of the
neighbour could only be shown by those who renounce the social and economic
structures of the day. Christianity, above all, claims to derive its moral authority and
worth from transcendental sources, which Marxism may be said to be arbitrarily
denying. But this view in turn can be challenged from the observation that probably
not all Christians believe or practice this. This then raises the question of whether it is
the religion itself or its adepts who should be blamed. This is also where the OC and
the NCEOP disagreed. Neither is there agreement among the TWT on this matter.
Should Christianity be eliminated from values teaching because of this? This question
can only be answered in the long run as we follow the arguments.
But Marxism itself can be criticised for its dehumanising effects, tendencies to totalitarianism, neglect and denial of essential human values. Song and the NCEOP seem to be uncritically committed to Liberation theology with its premium on Marxist analysis despite contingent weaknesses with historic Christianity. This also calls for self-critical examination by those who claim to be Christians. This means some claim that to contextualise liberation theology in its radical form, one must deviate from orthodox Christian theology to radical liberal theology. But orthodox theology can be positively liberational. Education is a form of liberation. It liberates from ignorance. Christian orthodox theology can be positive liberation theology with its premium on the Christian ethic of love. Outstanding Christians in history have been seen as liberators in this respect. Such a positive orthodox Christian liberation theology can therefore be contextualised.

At this point, it may be useful to define imperialism:

Perspectives:

The concept of imperialism has evolved, changing in meaning over several centuries. It has undergone twelve distinct changes in meaning since its first use in France in 1840 (Stanley, 1992). This thesis is concerned with it to the extent that it relates to missionary movement and colonialism in the Third World. The term, according to Stanley (1992), denoted the desire to restore to France the glories of national greatness which was hers under the emperor Napoleon Buonaparte. In this case it signified positively the rule of emperor Buonaparte unlike in the twentieth century when Napoleon Buonaparte was regarded as a despotic ruler in connection with imperialism.

In the twentieth century therefore, imperialism became associated pejoratively with foreign and colonial rather than domestic policy in Europe. Palmer (1962:149; 1979: 203) asserts that in the nineteenth century it meant the use of a nation to acquire, administer and develop less materially advanced territories primarily for trade, prestige, sometimes to offset a strategic danger, real or imaginary. Other reasons
included the need to settle the overpopulation in the home country, find markets overseas for mass produced goods, new sources of food and raw materials or simply the advantages of better communications and better medical knowledge contributed to make the period between 1880 and 1914 a climax of imperialism. Imperialism is:

The policy of a State aiming at establishing control beyond its borders over people unwilling to accept such control. Imperialist policy always involves the use of power against its victims. It has therefore often been considered morally reprehensive and the term has therefore been employed in international propaganda to discredit an opponent's policy.

(Goetz, 1986:35).

This description of imperialism is reminiscent of the scramble for Africa in the nineteenth century by Europe and its use of power against helpless African nations. Stanley's (1992) assertion that this was a positive concept of imperialism is unjustifiable. Stanley then distinguishes between three types of imperialism. Colonisation which refers to the activity of an imperial power to colonise and settle in the colonies like the British colonies of Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, Kenya and Canada. Colonialism refers to political or economic control without settlement. Neo-colonialism refers to informal colonisation which may be economic or political, but the coloniser still exploits the colonised. Palmer, (1979) adds that Neo-colonialism is a twentieth century phenomenon. Conclusively, Stanley (1992) observes that essential to imperialism is control by an alien national or racial group. Such control may be primarily political, or primarily economic, and need not imply formal territorial rule. It may also be contrary to the original intentions of the imperial power, or only indirectly related to those intentions. He probably says this in order to qualify his notion of positive imperialism. However, imperialism is prima-facie likely to be against the wishes of the people being colonised.

Langer's definition of imperialism is:

The rule or control, political or economic, direct or indirect, of one State, nation or people over other similar groups, or perhaps one might better say the disposition, urge, or striving to establish such rule or control

(cited in Stanley, 1992:34)
Stanley's criticism is that Langer's emphasis on imperialism as an act of will by the expanding power is disputable. But Stanley does not defend his position convincingly. Langer's definition is in keeping with the original meaning of imperialism and even the twentieth century understanding of it whichever way it is defined. It is not imperialism if it does not imply some sort of will power for economic or political action domestically or in another country by the imperial power. What Stanley ought to have emphasised is that imperialism need not always carry the pejorative stigma. It need not always be capitalistic and monopolistic at the same time, but most of the time it tended to be. This is despite the fact that sometimes the colonised countries have benefited from colonialism or colonisation. Probably this is what one might say in connection with the missionary activity in the Third World. To identify all missionary work with capitalism may be naive and ignores the suffering and sacrificial services of some of the missionaries.

The communist understanding of imperialism in terms of a capitalistic monopoly is justified given the motives of imperial powers in the colonised countries. The British Imperial East Africa Company and the Cecil Rhodes Company in South Africa can be quoted as examples. Whether they brought profit home or not is not the issue. However, the problem with uncritically understanding imperialism as a capitalistic monopoly is that it rules out any positive effects of imperialism and lumps together philanthropic and humanitarian endeavours by such people as Dr. David Livingstone the Scottish missionary in Central Africa with the exploitative motives of business companies like those mentioned. With regard to this uncritically negative portrayal of imperialism Stanley (ibid) remarks.

Mao Tse Tung, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and Frantz Fanon completed the growing equation of imperialism with western colonialism in the Third World, thus ensuring that the theory of capitalist imperialism became the dominant orthodoxy for explaining the origins and objectives of western colonial possessions. According to this popularised orthodoxy, all forms of western imperial expansion were the product of the capitalist pursuit of easy profits overseas, which was the brutal reality beneath the veneer of imperialist philanthropic sentiment. In collaborating with imperialism therefore, Christian missions were promoting western capitalism.
It can be shown that some of the Third World theologians see missionaries not only as theological and cultural imperialists, but as capitalists as well. But the tragic histories of some of the Third World countries might in part justify the claims. What Stanley or anyone else may not deny is that capitalism and monopoly can sometimes be two sides of the same coin, whether imperialism is by the British or the Russians. On the other hand the problem with Stanley is that he does not see how any missionary would have promoted capitalistic imperialism. He cannot free imperialism of its links with capitalism and monopoly. He does not also establish a clear case for absolving some missionaries from imperialistic attacks by the Third World, although his view that “all missionaries, including those who laboured in Kenya, should not be lumped together with imperialists” can be justified.

Third World Theologians, however, are more concerned with some kind of western missionary Christianity that supported colonialism, but left the Third World in economic, spiritual, political and social slums. In terms of Kenya:

Missionary preaching presented a universal Christ who was not interested in the liberation of Africans from colonial domination and exploitation. This made many Africans to be negative in the struggle for independence. Consequently many East Africans have become indifferent to Christianity (Mugambi, 1992:39).

This claim is quite complicated as it strikes at the root of the Christian ethic of love and that Mugambi is raising a valid point. However, the fact that 82.1 percent of Kenya’s population is Christian does not support his point of view. Although the NCEOP did not find any use for missionary religion, it can be successfully argued that the missionary record in Kenya was generally good and that is why at independence, missionaries in Kenya, unlike in some other African nations, were invited to stay and continue to promote development. Kenya’s first head of State, President Jomo Kenyatta, referred to Christianity as the “Conscience of Society (see appendix 1)

These words came from the highest government official in the State. So some of the attacks against missionary work in Kenya associated with the allegations of
imperialism are perspectival and may be problematic. This seems to support some of the positive OC recommendations on missionary Christianity in values education.

The third issue to be raised is whether missionaries really had supported the colonial agenda. The NCEOP has alleged that missionaries used Christian Religious Education to soften Africans so they could submit to colonial exploitation. The missionary perspectives of mission were quite varied. But here it is important to point out that not all the missionaries who worked in Kenya could be justifiably accused of collaborating with the negative colonial agenda. It may, however, be true that some of them clearly identified with the colonial agenda. Presbyterian Missionaries in Kenya are accused of this:

Arthur was condoning forced labour which carried with it reflections of slavery and this at a time when he could have been aware that compulsory labour was contrary to the spirit of trusteeship which was being restated at international level (Aldridge 1974:145).

Aldridge (ibid) contrasts Arthur's views with the views of Arthur's colleague opposed to colonial oppression. Opposing Arthur's acquiescence agenda, Barlow stated:

We believe that the moral and spiritual development of the children of the soil is of as much importance as the financial prosperity of the conquerors. Although we sympathise with the employer who is loosing money from shortage of labour we do not agree that the native races were created simply for the benefit of the white man.

Aldrich (1974) asserts that although the Scottish missionaries left a high record of faithful and responsible service in Malawi, they changed their style when they came to Kenya and allied themselves with the evils of the colonial government. However, this may be true of the Scottish missionaries in Kenya as documented by Aldrich, but it cannot be generalised about all missionaries in Kenya. Neither is it the view of all Kenyans that missionaries identified with the colonial agenda. It has been claimed that the missionaries who supported the colonial government outnumbered those who opposed it (Strayer, 1978).
Perspectives of missionary relationship and acquiescence in the colonial agenda are subjective. Mugambi has extensively quoted Wellborn to illustrate incidences of missionary colonial fraternity and other missionary weaknesses.

By and large, it has been the national, rather than the Christian, identity of Europeans which has been obvious to Africans. This is so even in the case of missionaries, who may be wholly unconscious of their national bias. Europeans have been, after all, the living witness of Christianity. Seen through them it has appeared to Africans primarily as a supernatural coat of paint for a sense of national superiority and determination to dominate others. (Mugambi 1992:38):

Strayer (1978) has recorded that Arch Deacon Owen of Maseno in Western Kenya was so opposed to colonial exploitation of Africans that the colonial government nicknamed him “Arch Demon Owen”. The point remains that the NCEOP view, that Christianity failed to underpin values because of its colonial links is controversial. Clearly, NCEOP needed to distinguish more sharply between the political, ideological and imperialistic issues related to missionary Christianity and the philosophical, epistemological, metaphysical and ontological issues in Christianity related to values education.

5:3 Africanisation and Anti-Christian Reaction

The anti-colonial reaction due to theological alienation is stated: the Asian theologian Tissa Balasuriya has asserted;

It is not merely western missionaries, but western theology itself which has been a hand maid of western expansion; an ally at least, in the centennial exploitation of the other continents by the North Americans. The combination of the ‘sacred’ duty of civilising, baptising, and saving the pagans with the military, economic, political, cultural domination by Europe over our countries has been disastrous for Christianity itself (Stanley (1992:11).

Although this view of the theologian tallies with the NCEOP views, it is not necessarily true of Africa in general. It can be proved that Africa is hosting the fastest growing Christian population of the world. Theological imperialism may have been practised and sometimes with justification, but it does not seem to have affected the
expansion of Christianity in a significant enough manner. The complaint of the NCEOP that this had ignored the universal role of religion in moral education in Africa was justified, but it implies that it can still be contextualised. The military claims by Balasuyira can certainly not be supported in the case of Kenya. Had this been the case then no missionary would have been left in Kenya when the country became independent.

The question of Christian foreignness is another issue:

The image that Christianity is a foreign religion, a western religion, a white man’s religion, is one of the most serious handicaps to effective evangelism in Africa and Asia today (Nicholls, 1979:11).

The question is whether Christianity, which has been in Africa for almost two centuries should still be seen as foreign.

The second issue is whether its link with western teachers constitutes an epistemological question with regard to its ethical adequacy as a values basis. Certainly, some Africans may have been put off by missionaries who might have failed to uphold Christian standards. However, Mugambi (1989) has argued that Africans were able to differentiate between missionary weaknesses, and the truth and authenticity of the Bible. This is why when colonialism was expelled form Kenya, Christianity remained and expanded.

Addressing the same issue, Dah, (1989) has cogently argued that there is a difference between the gospel and the human vessels used to transport it to Africa. The vessels, being human, were of course fallible.

Stanley (1992) has stated that the purposes of contextual theologies derive their wider political context from the reaction against all forms of colonial dependency and the accompanying surge of revolutionary Marxism in both the west and the Third world in the late 1960s. Contextual theologies are self-conscious reactions against the hegemony of the western intellectual tradition in theology. They allege
that the missionary involvement had consistently disseminated a culturally alien theology and thus destroyed indigenous cultural values exposing the colonised peoples to the imposition of western rule.

Many African writers have asserted that the missionaries aimed at destroying African beliefs, practices and teachings which they regarded as evil. The ideological dimension of European expansion and exploitation is seen to have been supported and strengthened by this missionary activity in the Third World. According to Stanley (1992) this ideological side of European imperialism surfaced through western intellectual theological dominance, foreignness and cultural ethnocentrism. Theologically, missionaries presented a religion that was culture bound and alienated from the lives of African people. Some missionaries have also been accused of cultural superiority. Regarding cultural superiority Hastings (1976:3) has commented:

At the time most missionaries tended to despise both African culture and African capacity. They believed that the Christian religion must go with the European culture and European leadership. Already African Christians were becoming conscious of this contempt, resented it and frequently saw the future of African Christianity in a very different way.

(Hastings, 1976:3)

Some of them were also confused over the difference between authentic Christian values and the Victorian culture which they claimed had a Biblical basis (Stanley, 1992). They taught their own culture instead of gospel values. Contrasting Early Church and modern missionary approaches to evangelisation, Mugambi has observed:

This approach (early church) of relating the Gospel to religious, philosophical and cultural backgrounds of the peoples being evangelised was generally not followed in the nineteenth century missionary movement which introduced Christianity to the East African interior.

Mugambi (1989:33)
We cannot blithely generalise Mugambi’s angularly radical perspectives of missionary Christianity. There were genuine missionaries who loved Africans and who sacrificed their lives in Kenya.

Sanneh, (1993) has argued that although the western missionary enterprise aimed at destroying African cultural foundations with the hope that then the gospel would be well absorbed, they actually undid themselves by translating the Bible into vernacular languages of the Third World societies. He asserts that the translation project presented Africans with the gospel in the languages they would understand. The languages availed the gospel to all ages and sexes. This, he argues, is unlike some other world religions in which a professional language is used so that sections of the society have no access to the teaching and beliefs of the religion. He also argues that the African religious world-view, with its close relationship with Judeo-Christianity, amounted to a theological continuity which deeply enriched African understanding, expression and appropriation of Christianity. The ethical teachings of Christianity which emphasised the equality of all races before God fomented political feelings and nationalism that later led to independence struggles in Africa. He asserts that for fear that the translation of the Bible into indigenous African languages might lead to political radicalism, the French, the Belgians and the Portuguese prohibited the translation of the Bible into the mother tongues of their colonies.

The translation of the Bible in the mother tongues of the believers was a milestone in making the word of God available, but Sanneh does not discuss what advantages translation may have had in terms of classroom situations of Christian teaching and how this related to culture. What did missionaries say about culture in their actual teaching? And even where Africans were the teachers it may have depended on whether the hermeneutic task was effectively done. The effects of theology on culture do not stop at translation they become more important homiletically and in the actual discussion between the teacher and the learners. It is possible that this is what the

---

1 Sanneh (1993) is the only extensive work that attempts to deal with the copious accusations against the missionary enterprise in Africa and the alleged cultural strangulation, but does so in a coherent and balanced manner.
Third World theologians mean when they refer to intellectual western theology alienated from life, but it is equally possible that this is just polemic or the rhetoric of anti-colonialism. This is currently a problem whether in secular or church teaching.

Ayandele, (1966:175) indirectly anticipates Sanneh’s views when he asserts that ironically the Christian missions who heralded British rule in Nigeria also began the process of its termination. For the church became the cradle of Nigerian nationalism, the only forum for nationalist expression until the beginning of Nigerian owned press after 1879, and the main focus of nationalist energies until after 1914. He adds that the educated Nigerians were pre-eminently equipped for a nationalist task by their learning and the circumstances of their age. Unrestricted access to the Bible, with its notions of equality and justice, provided the early converts with a valid weapon which they were not reluctant to employ against the missionaries who brushed these ideals aside in church administration and in their relations with the converts. In Kenya, colonial officials tried to stop missionaries from teaching Africans that all races were equal in the sight of God (Strayer, 1978).

The assumption that if missionaries had employed the African background positively then they would have succeeded in teaching the values ignores certain facts. First, in many cases missionaries may not have been trained teachers. Second, for some missionaries, African education was not a priority over evangelism. Indeed some of the missionary teaching was to promote literacy and numeracy.

Needless to say, missionaries had serious linguistic difficulties. They had to reduce African languages to writing to have some success in their work. Writing about the language policy in African education, Baudert, (1931) listed some of the problems they encountered. They stressed the importance of preserving the African language, and at the same time missionaries had to teach in vernacular to be able to communicate effectively. The first problem they faced was the variety of vernacular languages used in one tribe. There were a number of dialects branching from one main language. The smaller languages were not used widely. The main language
might cover only a few thousands of people. This made it difficult to print the necessary books. Second, the capacity of vernacular languages to convey new ideas or develop and create new expressions was frequently limited. This made it difficult to teach religious education which involved many new European spiritual expressions. The native languages needed a lot of work if African literature for mental nourishment was to be prepared by educators.

The worst problem was the reluctance of Africans to be taught their vernacular languages by foreigners. They preferred to learn either English or French, which in their opinion were the secret of European material and educational success. The problem was further compounded since the western teachers of the African languages needed to learn the languages. Missiological studies, anthropological and sociological research were not as well established as to day. The sacrifice paid by early missionaries to work in pre-modern Africa was considerably enormous.

The difference between the TWT and the NCEOP is that the latter wanted all western influence whether Christian, cultural, scientific, or technological to vacate Kenya. An alternative view might be contextualising Christianity in the African cultural and existential context. Christian theology has originated from a foreign cultural context and it needs to be made relevant to the African context, if it is to be meaningful. This applies to theological education as much as it does to formal Christian religious education teaching.

The other related question is whether the fact that some missionaries ignored certain African values was not itself a positive thing. The answer to such a question depends on whether the values dropped were in effect positive or negative. In the understanding of some missionaries:

African religions were not only debasing, but demoralising and not far from the worship of a demon-possessed and transitory world.
(Dah, 1989:4)
Naturally, in the opinion of Africans, this was not so. Even those who subsequently became Christians did not regard their cultural roots as uniformly bad. But Dah has also noted that missionaries contributed a lot of good to the African society. In other words, missionary values have played a positive role in African society. He states that missionaries helped eliminate some of the negative aspects of African culture. He quotes examples such as cannibalism, human sacrifice and tribal warfare. He quotes slavery as one of the evils afflicting Africans which missionaries helped eliminate.

It is an accepted fact that Kenya has greatly benefited from Christianity. In Kenya, for example, there were taboos that hindered some people from enjoying certain aspects of their culture. As some Africans see it now, the coming of Christianity to Africa brought with it a new perception of a personal God and a freedom that has been spiritually fulfilling. Bad practices that accompanied initiation were eliminated. The introduction of education, medicine, and agricultural practices was quite significant. Mbiti, (1984) has argued that some of the most significant contributions of Christianity to Africa have been theological.

The concept of eschatology in Christianity has added a future time dimension to African thought. Although the concepts of God in Africa seem to be close to the Judeo-Christian ones, the latter understanding has enlarged the African understanding especially with regard to the concept of a Saviour. In chapter four I noted B’pitek’s reluctance to accept Mbiti’s imposition of Christian concepts of God on African concepts. Still according to Mbiti, (1971), Christianity has all the tools and instruments for guiding personal morality and spirituality in building character (honesty, truthfulness, hard work, responsibility, etc) in equipping people to meet the trials of life such as sexual immorality, family tensions, feeling of loneliness, (especially in the cities), in caring, loving, and giving the feeling that the individual matters infinitely as a person, as a human being. He states that the Christian faith is a deeply human affair; it puts the person at the centre; it loves him and transforms him. Chepkwony (1987) has researched on the role of the non-governmental organisations.
in national development in Kenya. Her case study was the National Council of Churches of Kenya which has existed in Kenya for over fifty years. She has brought out a clear record of the high socio-economic, political and educational role of the Council’s performance in Kenya. The best disciplined and academically well performing schools the country has ever had were missionary, founded on strong Christian ethics. Ten of the first Cabinet members of Kenya’s Government had been educated at the Alliance Boys missionary High School. Products of the same school system were known for their responsible citizenship, transparency, seriousness of purpose and a stubbornness of will in Kenya’s first civil service known to have been the best managed then in Eastern Africa (Stanley, 1992). The problem was that there were very few such schools in the nation.

The effects of the Christian ethic in Kenya are further supported by the fact that the most disciplined Army in East Africa, apparently influenced by Christian principles, is Kenya’s. Kenya’s unique political stability in turbulent Africa may be seen to be as a result of this Christian ethical influence. As an aspect of the social gospel, the prophetic role of the church in Kenya is quite pronounced. Thus the impact of the Christian ethic to Kenya’s development is strong.

Mugambi, (1995), states that the politics of missionary performance in colonial Kenya should now come to an end and scholars should concentrate on how Christian principles might be best applied to contemporary Kenya’s development. This can be partly done through the school curriculum and implications for contextualisation are quite considerable when it comes to the consideration of how Christianity may be positively Africanised.

In the next section I examine varieties of African theology in some detail. These theologies generally argue that Christianity could still be contextualised to relate coherently to human development in Kenya. But what are they? Kato, (1970) is the only research that has dealt with contextual theologies in Africa at reasonable length and forms the basis for the following study.
Varieties of African Theology

A review of some of the TWT which raise similar ideological issues raised by the NCEOP will further determine whether the contextualisation continuum called for in theological education could be viable in values education. The review is limited to the theologies in Africa, especially, Kenya, i.e. African Theology, African Christian Theology, and the Biblicist Christian theology.

Exactly what African Theology represents is not clear:

African Theology, as it now begins to be called, is increasingly being discussed. It is all too easy to use the phrase "African Theology", but to state what that means, or even to show its real nature, is an entirely different issue (Mbiti, 1971:185).

Moyo repeats the same point:

The typology of African Theology can be developed from different points of view: the denominational or confessional viewpoint, and the endless diversity of sparring partners such as the African traditional religion, and the contemporary political social situation in which people find themselves. Since even in Africa we are dealing with a number of sources and differing human experiences we can in the end expect to be confronted with diverse African theologies (Moyo, 1983:95-107).

Moyo is therefore making two points why African Theology is difficult to define. It springs from different theological perspectives as well as sources and human experience within Africa. By different theologies and sources probably he refers to the radically liberal and fundamentalist Biblicist theological perspectives. Different human experiences may refer to the anthropological, historical, socio-economic, religious, and political.

This difficulty to define African Theology is also reflected in Bediako's (1998), he is unable to draw a clear distinction between African Theology and African Christian Theology. The same problem shows up in his undated article (undated:14-20) in which by failing to accept that there can be equally justifiable but different views of African Theology depending on one's theological stance he condemns Kato's evangelical views of African Theology. I can define African Theology as:
The indigenous theological understanding in Africa by Africans characterised by different commitments and conceptualisations; the theological understanding underpinned by African religions as opposed to Islamic, Hindu and Christian religions.

Moyo's typology can be helpful in trying to categorise various perspectives of African theology, but not in the order in which he arranges them. The most radical view would be what Moyo refers to as the African traditional religion. It would represent Agbet's view that African theology is based on the pre-Christian religious consciousness and experience in Africa. In this view, Africans can be "saved" without Christianity because it is both foreign and imperialist. In this respect, African theology is more radical than Black theology which emphasises a racist understanding of Christianity.

According to Agbet

We may think of different kinds of theologies, e.g. Christian Theology, Islamic Theology, Old Testament Theology, Hindu Theology, African Theology etc. Consequently when we talk about "African Theology" we should mean the interpretation of the pre-Christian and pre-Muslim African peoples experience of God (cited in Kato, 1970:57),

Kato has stated that this perspective of African theology seeks to vindicate the dignity of the Oppressed Black Man, but unlike Black Theology it does not claim a Black Messiah, nor does it lay claims on the monopoly due to the race or skin colour like 'Ethiopianism'. The universal salvation of Africans lies in African traditional religions. Extreme religious consciousness is what gives the African his significant place among God's creation. Like Black theology, African theology emphasises the theme of Negritude (African personality, identity and authentic existence), and human concern almost to the neglect of the spiritual needs of man. The two theologies do not give place to the Biblical fact of individual salvation. Indeed they largely seem to ignore Biblical concerns. Cleagie has observed:

In the Old Testament and in the Synoptic Gospels, God is concerned with a people, not with individuals. Yet, the slave Christianity that we were taught told us that God is concerned with each individual...The group concept is historic Christianity. Individualism is slave Christianity (Kato (1970:63)).
According to Kato (ibid), these views of African Theology are represented in Kenya by Mbiti (1969) who observes that in the African society counting people and live stock is forbidden partly for fear that misfortune would befall those who are numbered, and partly because people are not individuals. In African theology, like Black theology, the notion of personal salvation or personal faith in Christ is rejected. Consequently, responsibility for sin is a community not an individual matter. But in traditional African society, the idea of salvation as Mbiti has noted was unknown. The view of a personal God was firstly, theologically absent and secondly, experientially unknown. Ritual performance accompanied cleansing ceremonies to heal the community sparing it from punishment by the ancestors for an offence. This was expected to restore social harmony, peace and order. It is this same world-view that we find represented in the view of the NCEOP that Christianity had divided Kenyan society between the Christians (Asomi) and the non-Christians. This word “Christian” has sometimes been used in Kenya to refer to those with literacy and numeracy skills that sets them in a special social category. This perspective misrepresents Christianity and underpins the NCEOP position that Christianity should not be used as a base for teaching values. The idea of corporate repentance is not altogether unknown in Judeo-Christianity and it makes Judeo-Christianity even more intelligible by Africans. The Old Testament idea of repentance is corporate as God called not just individuals but all Israel to repentance. Not that individual repentance was unknown as the prophets were representatives of this, but that corporate repentance was more pronounced. In Christianity also the idea of corporate repentance is practiced through liturgy in various denominations. But the idea of personal salvation being prophet Jeremiah’s Old Testament idea is more pronounced in the New Testament. In the New testament, corporate repentance is more meaningful among people who have first experienced personal salvation. Some of the TWT reject the New Testament idea of personal or individual salvation.

The second view of African theology may be the view represented by Idowu who gives Christian newness a minimalist perspective while emphasising its foreign
characteristics. He insists that the African pre-Christian religious consciousness and experience continues in to the Christian experience. That there is therefore no discontinuity when one becomes a Christian. This is a minority view among theologians in Kenya who subscribe to the theology of individual salvation. Bediako (undated article in Themelios) takes the same view and adds that one has both the old and the new religious experiences which gives identity to African Christianity. He criticises Idowu's view that Christianity is foreign to Africa. The continuation concept is quite complicated and might imply different theological perspectives. Nevertheless, contextualisation is already implied in such a view. According to Bediako, Mbiti sees African religions as preparation for Christian revelation, but this can convey different meanings to people. Is it a historical, chronological or theological preparation? The assumption may be that the African world-view makes it easier to follow Christian ideas. This presents rich opportunities for contextualisation; a fact which supports the NCEOP view that missionary approaches would have been more successful had they contextualised their teaching. The Old Testament is historically, theologically and chronologically the preparation stage for Christianity. Promise, expectancy and fulfilment are Old Testament characteristics which make it preparatory for Christianity. Jesus used Jewish anthropological, theological, religious, social, historical, political, economic, moral and existential contexts to teach Christianity more successfully than his predecessors had taught Judaism.

The fourth view of African theology is the denominational or liberal evangelical theology in which there is distinction between African Theology and African Christian theology. In this vein Molyneux (1993) defines African Christian Theology as the theological reflection in Africa which relates to an understanding of the Christian Gospel in relation to life and existence in Africa. It is the quest for African selfhood. African Christian Theology is thus concerned with relating Christianity to African personality, life and total context. The situation may be anthropological, but theology lays emphasis on the Bible as a whole as its main source. Its argument is that missionary approach to Christianity ignored the African background and made it
difficult for Africans to appreciate Christianity in its fullness. This is an evangelical understanding of African Christianity within which the contextualisation continuum can find possibilities within values education.

The other definition of African theological concern is the conservative evangelical one as represented by Kato (1987). He insists that the search for African identity is syncretistic. He argues that there can only be Christian Africans, Christian Asians, Christian Europeans. The common identity of all Christians is their being in Christ rather than their cultural backgrounds. He rejects the views of liberal African theologians as implicitly syncretistic and universalist rather than Christian. But he argues that the African cultural background should be taken seriously if the Gospel is to be related to the lives and experiences of Africans. He argues that God himself became man to be able to reach man. This implies that he had to speak to man from within man’s anthropological, cultural, religious and existential situation. Kato holds orthodox theological orientation in which teaching values could find possibilities for contextualisation.

What is important for this study is whether the theologies analysed are suitable for contextualisation in values teaching in Kenyan education or not. Where they can be contextualised, this has been indicated as far as possible. The view of the NCEOP to eliminate Christianity from Kenya has found some support in a number of the theologies while in others it has not been supported. This implies that the credibility of the theology involved will be decisive for deciding whether Christianity can still be used as a basis for values education in Kenya schools.

5:5 Summary, Critical Appraisal and Conclusion

Various African theology perspectives have been surveyed above. Mbiti (1971), Moyo (1983) assert that a clear definition of African Theology can be elusive. In distinguishing of these perspectives, I have argued that Agbet represents the radically revisionist, but conservative, perspective of African theology in which African
religions are the theological basis for reflection and the normative for cultural experience.

A liberal religionist stance is exemplified in those like Ballidu Idowu for whom Christianity has retained its foreignness while its newness is minimal since it is represented in the African pre-Christian religious consciousness and experience. The third perspective is Bediako’s which does not distinguish African Christian theology from African theology. These theological perspectives, already analysed, emphasise African personality, identity and authentic experience. Some of them reject Christianity, while others seek for a specifically African Christian contribution to world theology.

The next perspective is that of so called African Christian theology which maintains the view that Christianity has not yet penetrated the African anthropological, religious, and existential situation. It has not become fully African and reflected African aspirations and experiences. It is the main stream view reflecting a broad based perspective of relatively orthodox and traditionalist African theologians. This fact further negates the Idowu and Bediako view that Christianity is the continuation of the African pre-Christian consciousness and experience. African Christianity is a liberal evangelical position represented in Mbiti’s stance.

The final perspective by Kato represents the conservative evangelical theology. It rejects the rest of the views and emphasises biblical distinctiveness and authenticity. It condemns the continuation perspective potentially as syncretistic. Kato is the champion of this Biblicist view of theology, but he appreciates the importance of contextualisation to make Christianity understandable, implicit transformational, and applicable to real life. This seems to be the level at which contextualisation in values education in Kenyan schools may be most successful as it seeks to contextualise the authentic bible message. The other view is that since Christian religious education in Kenya is secular ecumenical, a carefully planned curriculum might contextualise the rest of the theologies as an aspect of societal root-paradigms.

This chapter has been reviewing the ideological assumptions of the NCEOP why missionary Christianity may not have underpinned values in independent Kenya’s
educational and social context. In doing so it has also looked at alternative perspectives. It has first addressed the question of the link between missionary Christianity and colonialism in the Third World in general and in Kenya in particular. Can missionaries be justifiably accused of an unholy alliance with the colonial agenda? In general we found out that some can legitimately be accused of this in certain parts of the Third World. But this cannot be generalised even in those countries since it can be shown that some of the missionaries were philanthropic and really humanitarian distancing themselves from the colonialist agenda. In Kenya, both parties were present although the good work of missionaries speaks for itself in various contexts and continues to have a transformational and developmental potential. I have concluded that there are opportunities for contextualisation of Christianity in values education. Theological and cultural imperialism was another issue considered. Globally, missionaries seem to have been guilty of negative attitudes towards non-western cultures and religions. Some reasons why this could have happened in educational work were given. But this perhaps provides the underlying rationale for considering how Christianity might be contextualised to relate it to the societal root-paradigms, anthropological, cultural, religious and existential situations.

The alleged ideological alienation of Christianity and its perpetuation of the western cultural, scientific, technological and world-view onslaught on Kenya can be shown to be paradoxical in contemporary Africa’s self understanding. It can also be argued that African traditional values are a poor basis for underpinning western scientific and technological advancement in modern Kenya. A transcultural situation is called for in which African values must be allowed to fraternise with Christian values to formulate a true version of modern Kenya and contextualise. It can be concluded that both the TWT and the NCEOP could be justified in some of their ideological allegations without providing a decisive alternative that would hinder a positive contextualisation strategy.
Part one of this thesis has investigated the contrast between the OC and the NCEOP and its causes. Some of the causes have been analysed to be conceptual, ideological and philosophical. At the time the NCEOP made its observations, international thinking on educational development had shifted emphasis from human development to economic development. The two education commission reports therefore used different paradigms of what development meant. The OC had used norms in the English speaking world in which emphasis was on human development. The NCEPOP was normed on the thinking of the third world and its cultural and economic needs against the developed world and its achievements. The NCEOP thinking reflected the desire of the developing world to think for itself in matters of development rather than be guided by foreign ideologies, a form of neocolonialism. In general it has been concluded that the NCEOP overlooked other important issues although it blamed social pathology in Kenya on the western missionary activity in Kenya’s education.

The NCEOP still blamed Christianity for social decadence in Kenya ignoring many issues including: the indiscriminate production of school graduates who could not find employment; the emphasis on a human capital economic theory of education for individual, social, national and economic development at the expense of ethical values; poor school management, corruption and politicisation of education; the alienation of schools from the harbingers of traditional values in rural areas; the divided attitudes of parents and teachers towards the humanisation of children; the influence of secularisation and affluence internationally; the lack of a values education curriculum in the schools for a very long time. On the whole the laxity of the Ministry of Education and the churches to provide a coherent values education curriculum based on Christianity and African values.

The NCEOP may have unconsciously over-reacted ideologically and consequently made poorly examined and unjustifiable allegations which have increased the values education impasse in Kenyan education and need to be unpacked and resolved. It also raises the question of whether the NCEOP did not deviate from its terms of reference.
or whether some other hidden agenda did not influence its views on social decadence in the country, particularly in connection with Christianity.

The NCEOP radical espousal of utilitarian, political, and cultural goals for education and its condemnation of the ethical adequacy of religion is problematic. One notices the tendency of the NCEOP not only to over-emphasise African values in the education system as a whole, but also to contextualise the socio-economic and political scene in the African traditions for utilitarian rationale. The emphasis on technology, secular scientific and humanistic values makes the NCEOP view of knowledge secular. Such cultural radicalism is reminiscent of the Pan-African spirit of Socialism with its aversions to western imperialism. But African Socialism has a religious foundation which the NCEOP pays little attention to in its stress on cultural secular values. One gets the feeling that it is not quite African Socialism being emphasised, but some emergent offspring reflecting a more humanistic and secularist ideology. It seems to be reminiscent of Paul Freire’s (1970, 1972) philosophy of education in which education is seen as phenomenologically existential; as a cultural action for freedom, although not permitting the cultural conservativism of the past in the Third World. The NCEOP recommends the application of African Socialism while it condemns foreign cultural and social values as well as condemning religion whether Western, Eastern, or African. This is rather capricious and ambivalent as tradition is both rejected, but indirectly accepted at one and the same time. It also indicates some confusion in the views of the NCEOP which requires more cogent analysis. It is regrettable that the NCEOP unlike the OC, did not more clearly define its stance.

Njoroge and Benmaars (1986) analyse the influence of radical and liberal philosophies of education in Africa. They argue that the radical criticism of education in Africa is usually an expression of political philosophy which has an ideological perspective, often Marxist in orientation. It frequently goes beyond the philosophical and becomes revolutionary in character via education. From its views one may deduce that the NCEOP recommendations seem to border on this and one may sense Marxist
socialist influence in the background. In point of fact, Communism and Capitalism as ideologies were condemned in Kenya right at the eve of independence and Kenya has maintained that stance ever since. Njoroge and Bennaars (1986) continue their analysis with the observation that the liberal criticism of African education stems from a normative concern. Through a scientific analysis, African education is normatively criticised, that is in terms of values, ideals, and norms to be transmitted through education. Educational reforms are then made to meet this need. The NCEOP somewhat falls in this category, but it does not deal with the normative dimension alone as it is also concerned with economic issues. Its particular criticism of education does not seem to reflect a clear underlying educational philosophy. It is not like the OC which maintained a clear non-secular British educational philosophy of basically academic orientation. The philosophy is neither progressive nor conservative because the NCEOP adheres to African traditions while uncritically rejecting religion along with potentially positive foreign social, ethical, technological and scientific values.

This seems to introduce another emerging theme in African thought characteristic of the African critical class, an elite, who seem to be uncritically and unsuccessfully rejecting not only an ontological and anthropocentric traditional African world-view, but religion per se. Wiredu (1980) is critical of the metaphysical concepts of African religions, but at the same time he values religion for its role in the African world-view. He conceptualises African religions as mainly empirical, purely humanistic in scope. Kwame Nkruma, who held a monistic view of the universe and espoused dialectical materialism, seems to have been one of the earliest liberal African philosophers. Monism is basically a denial of other-worldliness which does not deny religion although it is an affirmation of future contingency as over against eschatological hope. Nkruma held this concept in connection with African religions. The opposite of monism is theism which espouses other-worldliness and has a future hope of liberation from evil. Dualism which is an alternative is a concept which sees the spiritual good and the evil locked in an eternal battle. The monistic view of African religions has been briefly discussed by Mugambi (1992). Professor Mbiti’s
(1969) claims that there are no African atheists are relevant here. Upholding a monist view of the universe, the NCEOP therefore tended to deplore the Christian world view in Kenyan education. In the next section, I examine the rest of the NCEOP allegations which seem to raise pragmatic and philosophical issues.
CHAPTER 6: The Christian Tradition in the Curriculum

6:1 Introduction

Part one of this thesis has responded to some of the NCEOP allegations that Christianity failed to underpin values in Kenyan education. My conclusion was that the NCEOP had ignored a number of issues, which might have contributed to Kenya’s social pathologisation, and additionally may have uncritically and simplistically condemned Missionary Christianity. In part two, I discuss more NCEOP allegations that western Missionary Christianity had not and could not have underpinned social ethics effectively in Kenyan society. The allegations were first, that the formal teaching of Christianity had not successfully underpinned social ethics, and second that because, in the NCEOP opinion Missionary Christianity was ethically inadequate, a secular ethic underpinned by and derived from African Socialism would be ethically superior and should underpin these values. These claims seem to raise philosophical issues into which part two delves.

The NCEOP assertion that religion in the school curriculum failed to underpin social ethics in Kenyan society raises a number of issues. There is, however, a sense in which the improper planning and teaching of CRE might limit the potential of the Christian ethic to underpin societal values (Kleinig, 1982). However, that is assuming that the Christian ethic could only influence society through the school curriculum. The NCEOP also failed to acknowledge the influence of foreign cultures, materialism, secularism and related challenges of modernisation. The electronic and print media is not the least influential on social values which the NCEOP overlooked in its analysis of the situation. Despite the
poor implementation of the OC recommendations, the social influence of the Christian ethic could not have been completely reduced. The failure of the NCEOP to distinguish between the impact of the Christian ethic on society informally, and its impact through formal schooling ignored other channels of possible informal education and involvement through which Christian values might have influenced the society. In chapter five I referred to the role of Christianity in Kenya’s development.

In this chapter I analyse and assess the first allegation of the NCEOP that CRE failed to underpin social ethics. Christianity could thus be accused of failing to limit social decadence in Kenya. But what are social ethics? Could they be underpinned via CRE?

Social ethics does not seem to have one general meaning. Yeats (1995) and Allen (1986) define social ethics as a normative ethical reflection that focuses upon social structures, processes and communities, especially those that are large and complex, such as government, economic life, or international politics. It is typically concerned with issues of war and peace, social justice in the political and economic order and between the sexes, and business ethics (economic and medical ethics). Both writers agree that social ethics need not be split from the rest of Christian ethics because they imply involvement of all kinds. Christian ethics have to do with man to God and man to man relationships. Social ethics are therefore included in Christian ethics.

Analysing social ethics, Bennaars (1989) states that the Latin word *mores* meaning traditions, conventions, was historically a direct translation of the Greek word *ethos* which also had exactly the same meaning as customs, conventions. Ethos therefore came to stand for the moral norms and standards of a social group. The word ‘ethics’, however, has acquired two meanings. We can distinguish between ethics as a *process* and ethics as a *product*. As a process, ethics covers the study of
morality, ethos, moral norms and standards. As a process, ethics can be classified as descriptive ethics, normative ethics and meta-ethics. As a product of moral philosophy, ethics are any set of moral standards by which societies regulate the moral standards, and the moral conduct of their members. Examples are professional ethics, religious ethics, and Islamic ethics. Such ethics originate from society. The NCEOP seems to have meant ethics as a product bearing on all aspects of human life.

According to the NCEOP (Kenya, 1976), traditional African social ethics covered initiation, marriage, childbearing and education, sickness, death, food, drink, shelter, social life, community service and environmental adaptation. They also include organisation of settlements and land use systems, basic techniques of production and distribution of benefits; also human relations, family kinship and political systems, values and beliefs, symbolism and ritual, ancestors and religion.¹

This NCEOP view of social ethics for contemporary Kenya is interesting. Some of the topics could be taught in geography, environmental science, agriculture, civics and economics rather than say values education or CRE. The NCEOP did not clarify which aspects of the curriculum should concern themselves with social ethics. The specific inclusion of beliefs, values and religion while at the same time condemning religion is arbitrary. The inclusion of social life and human relationships separately is another interesting fact. The NCEOP focus was on traditional African rural values, but as their selection includes religion it could not have underpinned a secular ethic as envisaged. Since Christianity includes social ethics, a well planned curriculum according to the OC would have met the need. Implicitly, the NCEOP called for a justification of Christianity as a school subject.

In this chapter, I consider, in an introductory manner, the western missionary Christian ideology. I assess the overall contribution of the curriculum to education

¹ The objectives, content, and other related issues can be consulted in Appendix 6 in this thesis.
in terms of the OC educational goals and the place of the Christian tradition in it and the NCEOP allegations. Finally, I assess whether CRE may still be justifiable within contemporary Kenya's educational context. The sources for this section include education policy documents and related literature in the African and western contexts. The method employed is policy and discourse analysis.

6:2 Western Missionary Ideology and Education

This section analyses and assesses early western Missionary Christianity in Kenya; its motivation, assumptions, strategies, rationale, and accompanying problems. How did Christianity as an ideology encounter individual and national development in Kenya? Did it underpin the social ethic?

The study of missionary education is really the study of the provenance of western education and the western Christian ideology in Kenya. In the earlier part of the nineteenth century, Evangelistic Christianity came to life in Europe through the increasing concern for the spiritual purpose of life and the importance of the Christian revelation (Anderson, 1970). This was exemplified by the Biblicist tradition of the Wesleyan Evangelical Methodist Church in England. Talking about this period Barnard states:

John Wesley (1703-1791) travelled about the country, preaching justification by faith and directing people's attention to the simple truths set out in the gospels... Methodism did much to civilise and educate their inhabitant. The individual must be taught to read and understand and search the inspired scriptures if he was to be able to make them a personal possession and so achieve salvation. Protestantism generally tended to encourage popular education. Methodism trained among the workers a generation which later was to take a lead in the struggle for political reform. Many of proletariat found in the Wesleyan Chapel the opportunity for the development of talents and the gratification of instincts that were denied expression elsewhere. And in chapel life working men first learnt to speak and to organise, to persuade and to trust, their fellows

(Barnard, 1964:49)
Barnard shows how the Christian approach to education in Europe in its natural environment may have succeeded. But when this was transferred to Kenya, by missionaries many of whom were the product of evangelical backgrounds, it encountered new circumstances. With a diminished health, material, infrastructural, cultural and linguistic environment, the work of missionaries was greatly restricted. However, they still brought to Kenya a monotheistic, spiritually salvific, transformational, intrinsic and therapeutic Christian ideology, which swamped the traditional African anthropocentric ontological religious world-view with a theocentric world-view.

In Europe the Industrial Revolution brought about a rapid expansion of industrial cities with corresponding expansion of urban population and resulting social problems. Modernism in England started with the industrial revolution around the 1760s. It brought with it good government, material progress, prosperity and social problems characteristic of urbanisation and industrialisation. Thus he observes:

But although the government was largely in the hands of the nobility and the county families, the people generally were content with the existing state of things and were not imbued with ideas of progress and change. The country on the whole was prosperous; wages tended to be good and prices low. Yet this very prosperity and ease of life led to relaxation of manners and morals.

(Barnard, 1964:12)

The Wesleyan church was roused by urgent need for missionary work among the urban population by the Evangelical Revival movement, which addressed itself to social reforms. However, the issues addressed by the Wesleyan group greatly differed from what missionaries in Africa faced. Whereas the Wesleyan Church addressed itself to educational, spiritual and moral problems sparked off by industrialisation, missionaries in Africa were called upon to resolve more severe socio-economic, cultural and political problems. Western Missionary Christianity as an ideology sanctioned the necessary theology of mission.
Missionary work had been going on in Europe and America before attention was
turned to Africa. The moving stories of explorers and traders about human misery
under the slave trade and about the “Dark Continent”, “ignorant” of the Gospel,
aroused much interest in Europe and in North America (Kinoti, 1976). The British
church tradition of offering elementary education to the industrial poor to improve
their living standards was then imported to Kenya. By this time, education in
England was influenced by the educational theories of the French writer Jean-
Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) and the Swiss writer Pestalozzi (1746 -1827).
Pestalozzi, who formalised Rousseau’s philosophy of education, introduced a
curriculum made up of the three ‘Rs’ (Reading, ’Riting and ’Rithmetic’), together
with industrial work, and physical education including play and drill. Rousseau in
talking about the learning process of the boy Emile said:

Finally from fifteen to twenty, comes the education of the sentiment. After puberty
the passions begin to awaken and Emile is at last introduced into the society of his fellows and helped to learn his duties
wards them. Education is now moral and religious; Emile must eschew
evil and do good, but this must be inculcated through contact with his
fellows. Now, too, he can study the ways of men in literature, history and
art. At the age of eighteen the existence of God is revealed to him
because he is capable of forming an abstract conception which before
was impossible (Barnard 1964: 36).

Pestalozzi, however, argued that education must be for the whole man from the
start,

Education is the development and cultivation of the possibilities native
to the human being. The educator’s duty is to assist ‘nature’s’ march of
development so as to secure a natural, symmetrical, and harmonious
progress. Education must be religious, since man has a divine origin and
end and is therefore by nature concerned with religion. Education must
also develop the whole man—the head, the hand, and the heart; and it must
encourage and guide self-activity, because it is life and experience which
educate (Barnard, 1964:38).

The development of schools in Africa, underpinned by this philosophy, took place
alongside their British counterparts. Africans, however, resented the attempt by
missionaries to use schools for evangelism. The missionaries to Africa seem to
have started from the view that evangelism would meet the greatest area of need in African life. Christian revolution and therapy were perceived as foundational for the rest of development. The elimination of some of the austere African traditional values and attitudes, the propagation of the idea of a personal God, a future hope and a positive self-image must have been therapeutic, transformational and a psychological watershed. This foundational role of Biblicist Christianity was most significant in terms of its transformational and therapeutic potential. It would lead to development in all spheres: spiritually, socially, morally, economically, politically and culturally (Sanneh, 1993). The influence of the Christian love ethic and the stress on the value and dignity of the human being were seen as a watershed in the socialisation and humanisation process.

Missionary understanding of education was underpinned by the ideas of Rousseau and Pestalozzi' philosophy of holistic human development which were current at home. But when Sir Battle Frere, previously the British governor in Bombay, visited the coast of Kenya in 1873, he criticised missionaries for their pietistic approach to education. Writing to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he wondered why the European missionaries had abandoned their earlier principle of the assimilation of evangelised peoples into full European culture. As Roland Oliver put it:

Scriptural authority was irrelevant...the earliest records of missions to the barbarians of North Europe showed that the missionary unit corresponded as closely as possible to a fully organised Christian community and was concerned to teach not only religious dogma and morals, but all the arts of civilised life (Oliver, 1953:49).

Frere was rightly concerned for African development. If missionaries had ignored scriptural authority and had not taken a pietist approach to evangelism then their theology would have not been transformational and therapeutic. Moreover, authentic scriptural authority provides for holistic human development. However, some of the missionaries may not have fully implemented this scriptural authority as in the case of the Church of Scotland, whose record of work was high in Malawi
but diminished in Kenya. Nor does a pietistic approach to evangelism preclude full community concern.

Isichei, (1995) has observed that Africans did not accept missionary education for its moral and spiritual purposes alone, they were more interested in education for development as a whole.

Adam Smith (1776) defended the need for full education of citizens thus:

> A man without the proper use of the intellectual faculties of a man is, if possible, more contemptible than even a coward, and seems to be mutilated and deformed in a still more essential part of the character of human nature (Barnard 1964:45).

If missionaries had implemented this view of education in Kenya, they would have helped Africans to development rapidly intellectually, materially and spiritually, but as it were, missionaries concentrated on spiritual development. Some reasons may be given why some of the missionaries did not expose their African converts to full western civilisation. For example, Strayer (1978), has asserted that some of the missionaries feared the secular influence metropolitan education might import to Kenya to harden Africans from accepting the gospel. But this was baseless fear. Anderson (1970) has observed, for example, that after receiving metropolitan education Indians asked for their independence from British rule too early in the late 19th century, but that was India. So when the British moved to Kenya, they confined metropolitan education to whites and Asians.

Murray (1985), a Church Missionary Society historian, has incisively depicted the conditions under which the CMS, which later sent Missionaries to Africa and the East, was formed in 1799. This, she observes, was the last year of a century in which religion had increasingly come under attack in Europe. Church power to defend itself or challenge society had greatly diminished. Supernatural Christianity was then challenged by Deists, especially David Hume who expressed outright
scepticism. Christian standards among the demoralised parish clergy were very low, and both higher and lower clergy became increasingly self-seeking and lazy. Christian teaching, then, hardly influenced British society ethically and morally in any significant way.

Material prosperity coupled with immorality had paralysed religion in England and disfigured the late 18th century:

The eighteenth century is by no means so dark a period as it is sometimes painted, but it was disfigured by drunkenness, cruel sports, gambling, and immorality... The church which for the most part was sunk in lethargy, did little to check these evils. The French observer Montesquieu, who was himself an admirer of England, said there is no religion in England...if one speaks of religion, everyone laughs

(Barnard, 1964:12).

The eighteenth century missionary zeal in Britain and overseas had deteriorated significantly. Evangelism in Africa and Asia was necessary to preserve the Gospel.

A civilised man who has no fear of God is indeed ten times worse off than a savage of Africa who fears his charms and leaves his neighbour's property intact. When God's judgement would fall on Europe, the faithful remnant will find a hiding place among Christian communities abroad (Oliver, 1953:53).

The spread of Christianity to Africa and the East was partly motivated by the pressure to preserve Christianity from secular and humanist attack. Missionaries might never have come to Africa had they not been propelled by these conditions. They aimed at establishing peasant communities in Africa and Asia to protect Christianity from secular influences. However, whatever the motivation, the outcome could be emancipatory.

European interest in Africa was not confined to missionaries. Some missionary societies preceded colonial powers. On the whole, missionary activities coincided with the scramble for Africa by European powers. The period between 1846 and
1958 marks the limits of the missionary educational era in Kenya. The earlier visit of the Portuguese Catholic Missionaries in Mombasa in the 15th century had made little impact, having been erased by Islam in 1631 (Mugambi, 1989).

Missionary activity in Kenya was not very pronounced until 1901, when the Mombasa railway was built to open up Uganda. By 1916, there were fourteen different missionary groups in the country later joined by two other missionary groups. The occupation of Kenya’s interior was a frenetic activity with sharp competition between these missionary groups sometimes accompanied by confrontation (Musembe, 1989). The stiff competition for converts and land for missionary activity, with the occasional open confrontations, did not present Christian values positively to Africans. Christianity, nevertheless, successfully influenced and restructured African life permanently, replacing most of the traditional African ideology.

Conflict has been historically endemic in Kenyan education. The colonial administration, missionaries, settlers, and Africans all had their different rationale for education. Writing about education under a German Missionary Society, the Basel Mission in Cameroon, Gwanfogbe (1995) has observed that religion was taught for inculcating Christian principles and the ethics of work.

In Kenya some of the Colonial Education Reports and Commissions, flawed by a politically racist approach, recommended a fairly limited curriculum that would meet some of the African aspirations which later helped in the political struggles against colonial domination. The 1925 White Paper on ‘Education Policy in British Tropical Africa’ declared that Christian moral education would be emphasised both in schools and colleges alongside secular education (Beecher Report, Kenya 1949). Anthula and Theodore (1993) have observed that from 1804 to 1945, educational opportunities offered to Africans in Kenya were substandard, sparse and designed to meet the desires of colonial government, settlers and
missionaries. They further observe that this education was designed to permanently relegate Africans to secondary citizens. Their views are backed by the fact that Kenyans had to struggle to set up their own independent schools to have access to metropolitan education.

The Beecher Report (Kenya, 1949), however, asserted that the missionaries whose main objectives were to evangelise through education did not have much success. Evangelism stressed spiritual development. Soon such missionaries realised that their scholars needed holistic education (Smith, 1973). This could be an escapist statement. The Bins Report 1952 called for balanced education by emphasising the teaching of Christianity, but this sounds ironical in a situation where there was no education to speak of in the first place.

The Bins Report 1952 stressed the deep rooted belief that religion must be the basis of education and that intellectual advancement as evidenced by good examination results, achieved at the expense of sound moral and cultural growth will not suffice (KCS), (1982:39).

Watson K. (1982) writing about colonialism and educational development has correctly observed that there was too little concern for developing mass education, adult literacy, vocational education and certainly higher education. Many of the current educational development problems can be directly attributed to the policies of the colonial powers.

Hearne, (1983), has asserted that missionaries laid a poor foundation for Christian teaching by decontextualising it. The NCEOP has lamented that missionaries destroyed African values; but it could also be argued that missionary teaching was transformational and challenged irrelevant African values.

This brief overview therefore seems to deliver Kenya a western Christian missionary ideology that effectively reversed the traditional African anthropocentric religious and ontological world-view, material and intellectual cultures. The records
held by the National Council of Churches of Kenya, reveal that nearly 50 percent of
the health and the educational services in Kenya currently are provided by the
Churches (Mugambi, 1989).1

Thus the impact of the Christian ethic to Kenya’s human and national development
could not be solely determined by Christian teaching in school. Furthermore, the
socialisation and humanisation of pupils is a shared responsibility between parents,
churches, schools and society in general. There are therefore other channels through
which children could acquire values informally even if the schools failed to do so
effectively. The influence of the Christian social ethic can be said to have
significantly impacted on Kenya.

6:3 Curriculum and OC Educational Goals

The OC came up with such educational goals, having included the utilitarian, the
personal, the social, and the cultural goals of education, as have been seen by many
to have pioneered in Kenya a broad based, holistic and coherent philosophy of
education (Eshiwani, 1993).

However, there was no planned explicit teaching of traditional African social ethics.
It was consigned to the hidden curriculum. The questions are whether Christianity
justifiably underpinned social ethics and whether it could form a justifiable basis
for values education now.

King, (1984) has argued that there has never been any religious values education
syllabus for Kenya schools, although the government has always expected one.

1 It is not the aim of this thesis to investigate the role of the church in Kenya’s development. Part of
this role has been discussed in chapter five. See also Chepkwony, 1987, The role of non-
governmental organisations in development: A study of the NCCK 1963-1968. I attended a
delegation by the churches to the Head of State in 1989 in which the Head of State reproved the
Minister for Education for not respecting the historical role of churches in Kenya’s development.
The Head of State directed that churches be fully involved in education and look after religious
However, there have been Christian religious and moral education syllabi, which
the NCEOP asserts were ineffective and unjustifiable. Hearne, (1983), has
categorised the development of CRE in Kenya since its inception in three phases:
the indoctrination phase, the religious knowledge phase and the secular ecumenical
phase.

The indoctrination phase implies the missionary period when the evangelistic
purpose dominated African education. Biblicist theology underpinned the teaching
of the early European Missionaries whose aim was to promote holistic human
development. The CRE potential to influence societal values should also be read in
its wider Christian social context in Kenya by missionaries.

The religious knowledge phase refers to the period when factual knowledge was the
objective for teaching religion in schools. Other names used for this were Bible
Knowledge, Divinity, Scripture, Religious Instruction. Welch (KIE, 1980), the last
European Missionary Inspector of CRE in Kenya, has stated that the syllabuses
taught in Kenya in the post war situation had been directly imported to Kenya from
Britain in the 1940s and continued to be taught until the late seventies.

The main theological position which underpinned social and political concerns in
Britain throughout the thirties was liberal Protestantism whose assumptions were
that:

The Christian faith could, and must, be commended in ways that took
account of modern scientific knowledge; that God was indwelling in all
humanity and therefore human beings could be responsive to goodness
and truth; and that the theme of the Kingdom of God in the teaching of
Jesus was a call to men and women to work for the steady encouragement
of all that is good in the world (Lord, 1999:6 cited in Reeves M (ed)
1999).

Lord’s view is that liberal Protestantism did not take seriously the effects of sin
which needed God’s grace to uplift people spiritually and morally. Unregenerate

education in Schools according to the Education Act regulations.
people would find Christian ethics elusive to practice in their lives. Hence Lord continued:

But liberal Protestantism’s endemic optimism too glibly translated the concept of the Kingdom of God into notions of fraternity and social betterment which human beings could reach if they put their mind to it (Lord: ibid).

McGrath (1995) has distinguished two meanings of theological liberalism. The positive notion implies an open mind to find out new theological ideas. He has defined the pejorative one as developed liberalism. A more negative set of meanings has, he suggests, three characteristics. The first is a tendency to place considerable weight upon the notion of a universal human religious experience that is incapable of being examined and assessed publicly. Experience becomes more perspectival than liberalism allows for. Second, there is a tendency to place too great an emphasis upon transient cultural developments, with the result that liberalism often appears to be uncritically driven by secular agenda. Third there is also a tendency to surrender distinctive Christian doctrines in an effort to become acceptable to contemporary culture. It was the Swiss theologian Karl Barth (1886-1968) who defended distinctive Christianity from such liberalism in the twentieth century in Germany by stressing the fact that Jesus alone was the Messiah, deliverer, saviour and redeemer of the world (McGrath ibid).

The RE syllabuses brought to Kenya from Britain in the 1940s came from the latter liberal Protestant background. Post war RE failed to engage with the life of children. It was evangelistic at best but at worst a form of translated down biblical studies academically accepted, but existentially irrelevant, it had no impact on life and was failing in that aspect of religious pedagogy, administration and curriculum development. Post war RE in England was a reaction against anti-intellectual, subjective religion by European identity with neutrality and positivism and science.
Freedman (1992) has asserted that the British missionaries who came to Africa between the 1930s and the 1960s had been trained along the lines of the Cambridge Theological School. They were taught Historical Higher Criticism of the Bible, which detached theology and practical life. They stressed a phenomenological approach to the study of theology and subscribed to liberal theological views of historic Christianity. Some of the missionaries who taught in Kenya during this period were products of the Cambridge system, who associated these syllabuses with some academic 'kudos' because of their links with Cambridge. The London and Cambridge 'O' and 'A' level GCE syllabuses were taught descriptively rather than normatively. An analysis of some of the past question papers at the Senate Library, University of London revealed that there had been little normative emphasis in RE syllabuses for the University of London GCE before 1987\(^2\). Welch has referred to the objective nature of the British syllabuses taught in Kenya:

This descriptive bias can be seen if the aims of the syllabus and of each paper are read. Paper 1, on the Gospel of St. Luke, required careful textual study from which the candidate was required to relate, describe, explain passages, but was never asked to connect those passages with contemporary Christian life.

Welch (1980:13)

The syllabuses emphasised the cognitive rather than the affective needs of the learners. This contributed to the failure of religion to undergird spiritual and moral development through the school curriculum. Commenting on the syllabuses she observes:

Cambridge School Certificate syllabuses introduced in Kenya in the 1940s imported an English type of examination structure and content directly from the English state school system. The London School Certificate for which I sat in 1939 as a pupil was little different from the

\(^2\) 'O' and 'A' level past examination questions and reports between 1958 and 1994 were reviewed at the Senate Library University of London. They all asked for recall and discussion of facts. Any reference to relevance to life started to be introduced in the late seventies, but more conspicuously from 1987. These were the London GCE exams also held in Kenya until the late 1980s.
Hearn’s third phase, the secular ecumenical when good teachers for CRE, teaching materials and methodology were in place refers basically to the later half of the eighties onwards, when secular ecumenical CRE syllabuses started to be used in Kenya. These syllabuses emphasised experiential taxonomy in which each lesson started with the life experience of the child and finally applied the message to the child’s immediate needs. However, this existential approach became difficult to implement for many reasons, but represented a departure from the British practice. However, criticism continues.

At the 1980 meeting of the review panel of the CRE Syllabus which the author attended, several reasons why CRE was apparently not meeting its expected roles were presented. The CRE syllabus was too wide to be completed in the given time. The syllabus was more knowledge centred for academic needs than for the life of the students. The objectives were unachievable and incoherent. The syllabus was decontextualised. The Kenya Institute of Education had conducted a survey in a number of secondary schools in Kenya in 1980. The following findings were tabled at the panel meeting:

Table 6.1: Responses by Province on the situation of CRE syllabuses in Junior schools by 1980. (ie. Numbers of schools by province using specific syllabuses)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROVINCE</th>
<th>Eastern</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Coast</th>
<th>Nairobi</th>
<th>Nyanza</th>
<th>Rift Valley</th>
<th>Western</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schools surveyed</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>068</td>
<td>044</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>1208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KJSE Syllabus</td>
<td>066</td>
<td>064</td>
<td>015</td>
<td>001</td>
<td>032</td>
<td>043</td>
<td>039</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DCCRE Syllabus</td>
<td>010</td>
<td>011</td>
<td>002</td>
<td>004</td>
<td>002</td>
<td>010</td>
<td>002</td>
<td>041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un-ExamSyllabus</td>
<td>005</td>
<td>005</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>002</td>
<td>006</td>
<td>006</td>
<td>003</td>
<td>027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Syllabus</td>
<td>001</td>
<td>002</td>
<td>001</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No CRE Taught</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>002</td>
<td>002</td>
<td>001</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>002</td>
<td>002</td>
<td>009</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>082</td>
<td>084</td>
<td>020</td>
<td>009</td>
<td>040</td>
<td>061</td>
<td>046</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. There was no CRE taught in 9 out of 342 schools replying to the survey.
2. In 5 out of the 342 schools, privately improvised CRE syllabuses were used.
3. In 27 out of the 342 schools old ie 1977 non-examinable CRE syllabuses were used.
4. In 41 out of the 342 schools the Catholic syllabus was used.
5. In 260 out of the 342 schools the official Protestant KJSE syllabus was used.

Overall this limited response partly explains why CRE did not effectively underpin values in Kenyan schools. The situation was better in the upper classes of secondary with both ‘A’ and ‘O’ levels Cambridge and London GCE syllabuses. The poor policy on syllabuses placed the teaching of CRE in disarray.

This, notwithstanding, there is still the question whether the current CRE curriculum for Kenya schools can be justified as a worthwhile syllabus⁴. Although the syllabus was last revised in 1992, some Kenyan scholars feel that it cannot be justified philosophically as a Christian religious education syllabus, let alone as Christian religious and moral or values education syllabus expected for independent Kenya. For example, Wanjala (1993:2) writing as the Kenya National Curriculum Specialist for CRE asserts:

> Concerning what is to be taught in the secondary syllabus we have a few topics touching on the Old Testament. These are scattered facts about Abraham, Elijah, Moses, and King David. Although the syllabus is intending to teach the theme of Faith, it does so in one dimension. It does not teach the topic in depth. It does not relate the topic to the experience of the learner. Nor does it relate it to the New Testament, the Church, African Heritage and contemporary society including the family and the government.

There is more criticism of this syllabus, but Wanjala is identifying one of the weaknesses of the syllabus, albeit a really serious weakness. The recommendations

---

⁴ The current CRE syllabus was first in coherently prepared by the Joint Churches panel of Catholics and Protestants in 1984, but it has been revised so many times. By 1983, it had become so mutilated that it could not show a clear pattern or themes.
of the OC resulted into long delayed changes in the objectives and contents of the subject. I have argued that there were no changes at the ‘O’ and ‘A’ level stages. An arbitrary, didactic, parochial approach was maintained at the first two years of secondary, each school teaching whatever it wanted for evangelistic or other purposes, or not teaching it at all. The problem, however, was not in the epistemological and ethical nature of the syllabus, but in the failure to plan it well.

Most of the views expressed about the nature of the CRE curriculum in this section imply different things. These include the poor planning of the subject, the liberal and confessional nature of the descriptive syllabuses imported from Britain. The decontextualised nature and irrelevance of all the syllabuses and the utilitarian approach to education in general in Kenya are other factors. The lack of a national curriculum for CRE at the junior secondary level although pupils sat a national examination and the lack of a Christian based values education syllabus contrary to government expectations have been the worst factors. This situation raises an important question.

The NCEOP has argued that religious education does not and cannot provide for values education in schools and should therefore be removed from the curriculum. What we need to determine is whether this task is beyond the scope of religious education or whether the short comings are due to inadequacy in the way in which CRE has been defined and taught in the past. If the latter we can assume that the curriculum planners in the Ministry of Education, and in the churches have failed to provide appropriate syllabuses, teacher education, and resources for the effective teaching of the subject. To determine this, the next section re-examines the curriculum status of the subject.

6:4 CRE: Its Curriculum Status

Is CRE justifiable as a curriculum subject for Kenyan secular education?
This question requires two answers: first, did CRE contribute to the OC national goals? Can the presence of CRE for that matter be justified in any school curriculum based on a secular liberal epistemology? The OC expected Christianity to underpin responsible citizenship and modern scientific production. It was to promote the goals of national unity, international consciousness and social equality. It was also to contribute to individual development and self-fulfillment.

Christianity was therefore given an official, legal, formal and privileged position in the curriculum by the OC, albeit paradoxically expecting religion to promote spiritual and moral development, for socio-economic and political purposes. The British academic emphasis still pursued and influenced the aims for teaching religion in Kenya schools after independence, but this need not imply that religion cannot underpin values. Had it been well planned, CRE could have had a more comprehensive and constructive role to play in human development. In chapter two I have analysed why the OC could have given Christianity such a privileged position in the school curriculum. The problem, however, was that the OC never pursued its resolutions to full implementation. The subject continued to be arbitrary at the junior secondary level, but decontextualised at ‘O’ and ‘A’ levels making minimal contribution to human development because of its lack of existential relevance\(^5\). But according to Jean Holm (1982) Christian beliefs should help a person to see how religion relates to life and the complexities involved in moral decision making. She acknowledges, however, that this does not always happen as it should since it is determined to some extent by the teacher agent. The catalogue of reasons why some teachers may teach religion poorly is endless.

Whether Christianity can be justified currently in Kenya as a curriculum subject raises more philosophical issues than can be adequately dealt with here. The

---

\(^5\) Samples of the syllabuses in the period discussed reveal that after the NCEOP 1976, there was some attempt to prepare coherent normative syllabus objectives and content although they remained decontextualised. In Appendix 6 some of the syllabuses used in the seventies and eighties have been provided
subject has been blamed by the NCEOP unjustifiably for social decadence in Kenya. However, Gatumu (1996) has asserted that the NCEOP threatened the position of CRE in the curriculum without suggesting how religious programmes might contribute more effectively to the moral development of the society where religion is a strong living phenomenon. As Gatumu points out the move of the NCEOP to eliminate CRE from the school curriculum has greatly weakened its popularity with teachers and pupils. According to the KCS (1982) to abandon a religious approach to teaching ethics would be disastrous to the whole structure of Kenya’s religious values since religion is the source of a people’s value systems and their motivation to follow the ethical tenets implied by those values. The pragmatic justification for perpetuating a religious dimension to the curriculum remains the fact that the African world-view is strongly religious. The problem with the NCEOP’s unexamined and absolute rejection of religion as a determinant in Kenyan education is its failure to reckon with this fact. Any failure of religion to underpin values in Kenya did not epistemologically and ethically lie with religion itself. But contingently, it failed to underpin values because the Ministry of Education and the churches failed to implement effectively the OC recommendations. They did not prepare and implement a more coherent, comprehensive and adequate Christian values-based curriculum and support it with appropriate teacher education and teaching resources.

It can also be argued in Kenya’s case that while Christianity claims to be the majority religion, social decadence is endemic. This may be parried by the rejoinder that Christianity is itself against decadence and its associated vices. As such, it is either to be used to reduce the pathologies of society or rejected as in the case of the NCEOP. Since the lament of the OC in 1964 that values education was unknown in Kenya, no serious effort has been made to meet the need. When the NCEOP condemned CRE and recommended the introduction of social ethics based on African Socialism in 1976, it seems to have worsened the situation of values education by adopting an extremely secular solution. Kenyan scholars argue
that values education cannot evade religion as a determinant (Mojola, 1988, Njoroge, 1986, Shiundu, 1989, Groenewegen 1989, Beam, 1989) and argued that to claim otherwise still requires clarification (Bennaars, Otiende and Wamahiu 1989). Moreover it can be stated fairly unequivocally that many Kenyan scholars would prefer a Christian based values education syllabus. This justifies a Christian based values education paradigm in Kenyan education.

There are three fields of thought and experience which a mature person must enter. He must understand something of the nature of other human beings, their needs and dreams, so that he can act responsibly towards them, and win response from them to himself; he must understand something of this nature because he can no longer leave the control of it to others; and he must find some sort of meaning in the chaos of experience, for he can no longer live at second hand with the selection of experience provided by his parents and teachers.

(Cox, 1983:78)

This need can also be justified in terms of Kenya’s constitution. The present constitutional position in which children of various faiths (Christians, Muslims and Hindus) learn religious education of their faith seems to satisfy both parents and the government.

For a Muslim youth to do Christian Religious Education rather than Islamic education is inappropriate. The religious educational process has its starting point in the learner’s experience of the religious outlook on life. For most of our young people this means education in the African religious heritage and in one other religious tradition, namely the one in which he grew up. The point is that he must learn to deal with the outlook, beliefs and values with which he came, in a responsible manner (Groenewegen, 1985:31).

Groenewegen has been Professor of Religion at Kenyatta University in Kenya for many years. He rightly reminds us of the education policy on religious education in Kenya. However, he does not condemn the multi-faith syllabus. Of course, the law on this allows children at seventeen and above to decide for themselves in matters of religion.
Christian theology has a significant contribution to make to human development even within a secular curriculum. Davies (1974) has asserted that a child needs divine help to develop fully his/her potential abilities. He implies that the spiritual development of a child relates to all other aspects of development. It is a Christian belief that Christian ethics in particular deal with the question of sin and strengthen the human will to make correct moral decisions and also effect them by drawing strength from supernatural sources (Peterson, 1986). Christian ethics were expected by the OC to relate to moral decision making about professional ethics, marriage, parenthood, leisure, wealth, responsible citizenship, relationship, authority, ideological issues, problem solving and suffering, emotional issues, literature, aesthetics, matters of personal health, history, war and peace etc.

Walt (1994) writing about the relevance of Christianity in its educational purpose in Africa has listed some views. This alone implies that African scholars see the important role of the Judeo-Christian world-view in human development in their continent as a whole.

- Christianity offers a coherent perspective on life; its world-view offers the unity of life. Cox, (1983) seems to support this view when he asserts that one of the justifications of religion as an educational subject is that it belongs to the six fundamental patterns of meaning which characterise human existence. He lists the patterns as: Symbolics (mathematics, and ordinary language), Empirics (the natural and human sciences), Synoetics (personal knowledge; human relationships) and Synoptics (history, religion and philosophy). In relation to this Cox, still argues that religion brings ultimacy in its integration with the rest of the subjects. It contrasts with the concepts of finitude, relativism, limitation, partiality and the rest. This helps people to find completeness, fulfillment, meaningfulness and purpose to existence through the Christian interpretation of life.
• Walt (ibid) argues that the Christian world-view is all embracing. It is a way of seeing the totality of human life from a theo-centric standpoint within the framework of biblical witness. As a businessman one has to practice responsible stewardship, as a politician one has to be a servant leader, as a husband or wife one has to be faithful, as a parent one has to be caring etc. Walt’s assertions imply that the Christian ethic defines for us our appropriate work and social ethics. The need for inner coherence is fundamental in human life and it is essential as it points to man’s place in the scheme of things for life to be fulfilling and worthy living. Some people seem to find that the finite aspects of life do not meet man’s deepest need for dignity, confidence, identity, fulfillment and wholeness. These characteristics of religion, especially Christianity, seem to ground religion in something more substantial and convincing than an appeal to a secular mode.

• Walt has added that Christianity solves the problem of negating, rejecting and replacing indigenous culture. It also does not have to indigenise, accommodate or Africanise from outside, because it renews and transforms from within. It can solve some of the problems of African identity because, according to the Christian world-view, we do not define our identity in terms of something, which we own or that we can produce. But we are created in God’s image, and we live in a close relationship of obedience to Him and His laws. This restores human beings to real dignity. Some Christians find Christianity giving them psychological rest, promoting a positive self-image and healthy social relationships. It does not seem to promote impersonal egoistical, existentialist or emotivist philosophies. This aspect of religion makes significant contribution to holistic human development.

The teaching of CRE in Kenya can also be internally justified. For some people, religion provides answers to certain questions eg. What is the purpose of life? Who am I? Where have I come from? Why am I here? and where am I going after
death? To these questions, no other area of knowing has an answer. Philosophy and science currently seem to be the main sources of answers to certain questions of human enquiry, but even if they should have answers to these questions, not every one would understand philosophy and science, or find their answers appealing. Certain spiritual thirsts in man can be explained and satisfied only through religion (Pieper 1952; Onyeocha 1991). As the Durham Report (SPCK, 1970: para.204) asserts:

Man is a creature who finds himself perplexed with the mystery of his existence. He knows that he is, and ponders why he is, what he is, and what he is for. From the start of recorded history, he has sought to find answers to the enigma of his origin and destiny, he has puzzled about the meaning and purpose of life. He has sought explanations for his pain, his suffering, and the fact of his finitude. He has sought value systems to provide dignity and direction to his life. The great religions of the world find their frame of reference within these ultimate questions which man has asked and continues to ask- questions which are part of the human condition.

Cox, (1983) has added that religion enlarges personal horizons by adding the religiously metaphysical to the natural and the concrete and provides faith to stand or fall by the noblest hypothesis.

Most of the content of religion is not repeated in other subjects. It remains a unique and worthwhile area of study. Unique in that biblical accounts, beliefs and values are not found in any other subject and worthwhile because it provides new useful, academic, transformational, and therapeutic knowledge. It deals with the religious questions and humankind's response to intimations of the transcendent. By offering a larger and alternative world-view, Christianity increases people's opportunities for choice of alternative ways of life. As the Durham Report has again noted (para. 205):

The existence of a religious interpretation of life is a fact of history and of present human experience. There are many millions of men and women throughout the world who find through their religious beliefs a
deep meaning and purpose for their lives and a system of values by which lives can be lived. There appears to be a ‘spiritual dimension’ in man’s nature, which requires to be expressed by a ‘religion’ of one kind or another...

One of the important dimensions of religion is therefore religious experience or a spiritual sensitivity to a spiritual reality in the universe, the feeling aspect of religion. Reid, (1986) has further asserted that this aspect of religion nourishes the learner since good religious education ought at least to include some spiritual nourishment for personal life. This is probably a universal characteristic of all religions, differently experienced and interpreted and expressed. In Christianity this is probably the most important dimension which aids in spiritual and moral development and application (Peterson, 1986).

Morality is an important aspect of CRE in the school curriculum. Holmes, (1984) has claimed that Judeo-Christian moral principles are the most inclusive and ultimate ethical concepts universally applying to all kinds of human involvement. He then singles out justice and love as the two principles, which are concerned for persons’ equitable treatment, for their highest good. Christianity with its premium on the sacredness of the human being assigns high value and dignity to man and condemns all forms of abuse and inhumanity.

Following on from these beliefs there is also the development of personality and character. Pring, (1987) has listed religious education with humanities and claims that they develop the person or they humanise the person in a cohesive way. He, however, asserts that only religious education can be entrusted with distinctive contribution to personal, social, moral and spiritual development of the person, particularly in the area of morality. He has queried why Paul Hirst has objected to this role for religion.
Pring, (1999:185) has also observed that:

When a comprehensive sense of educational aims and values is absent, the targets to be achieved and the standards against which the learner is to be assessed are severed from a consideration of the values worth pursuing and of the sort of society worth creating.

Peterson, (1986) has also suggested that Christian morality places relational responsibility between man and creation. Christian morality helps man to interpret his human and natural environment ontologically. In Christianity, man is sacred, created in the image of God, rational and moral. Man deserves respect from others. From a Christian perspective, moral positions like emotivism, subjectivism, and situationism are reductionist and nullify the importance of the sacredness of human life. Christian theism sees a morally mature individual as one who has been liberated from the egocentricity of childhood and endeavours to live a life of love and respect for God, other persons and nature. For a CRE curriculum to be justifiable fully in Kenya, it would need to engage with the learner anthropologically and existentially. It would need to consider how to engage other life stances in society.

A further rationale is that people need some authority behind the ethics they choose and since Christian ethics is transcendent, it can be seen as divinely authoritative in this sense. The inclusion of religion or Christianity in the curriculum in general remains an adaptive strategy to ground it in Kenya’s unique world-view. So an educational philosophy which seeks to do justice to the analytic and normative aspects of knowing will want to recognise the curricular legitimacy of religion (Frankena, 1972). The curriculum would need to consider the secular ecumenical context of CRE in Kenya. These are some of the reasons which justify the teaching of CRE in contemporary Kenya’s context on the assumption that it is presented in a pedagogically sound manner.
In this chapter I have disputed the NCEOP view that Christianity failed to underpin values in colonial and post colonial Kenya. It cannot be conclusively shown that the teaching of religion in the curriculum alone determined the social impact of Christianity in Kenya. The high record of Christian influence in Kenya's development does not support the NCEOP view that Christianity undid African aspirations and institutions for socio-economic and political development.

Arguably, social ethics is really what Christian ethics is all about. The nineteenth and early twentieth century missionaries to Kenya, armed with a holistic philosophy of education imported a spiritually therapeutic and morally revolutionary Biblicist Historical Christianity that strongly challenged contemporary Africa's religious man-centred, ontological world-view. They introduced the Christian world-view with its radical salvific, therapeutic, transformational, and eschatological dimensions to African spirituality and by and large it was highly appreciated by natives. The fact that the majority of the population of Kenya is Christian is another factor antithetical to the NCEOP views. Religion has been shown to be justifiable in the school curriculum and if contextualised, it would be a coherent and comprehensive basis for values education. It has been argued already that the failure of the Ministry of Education and the churches to provide a suitable curriculum, relevant teacher education, and suitable pedagogy was the problem. The NCEOP view that as a religion Christianity cannot underpin values cannot find justification. These are some of the reasons why in Kenya, the teaching of religion could be justified were it to be undertaken in a pedagogically sound way. In the next chapter, I analyse and assess the NCEOP view that African Socialism should replace religion as a secular basis for values education.
CHAPTER 7: The African Tradition (African Socialism) in the Curriculum

7:1 Introduction

In chapter six I have analysed the NCEOP allegation that western Missionary Christianity failed to underpin social ethics in Kenya's school curriculum, but for several reasons, I have concluded that CRE could still be a justifiable and coherent values basis for Kenyan schools.

This chapter concentrates on the more radical position of the NCEOP that secular liberal traditional African social ethics should underpin values in this context. The NCEOP assumes that religion and ethics are separate while Christian values are trivial and ethically inadequate. I argue that Christian morality may adequately underpin ethics in all areas of human activity. I refer to medical ethics to exemplify these views. I analyse secular liberal values, their provenance, and influence on education to establish whether this is what the NCEOP implied in its view of social ethics for Kenya.

I describe the NCEOP reasons for rejecting a religious values basis and analyse the western provenance of the secular liberal education underpinning secular values in the public school system. I argue that for several reasons, traditional African social ethics cannot currently form a justifiable values education paradigm. The sources used here are education reports and scholarly works. Theoretical, policy and discourse analysis is the method used. In the next section I review the NCEOP claims why religion and ethics should be separated.

7:2 Religion and Ethics

The NCEOP objections to a Christian religious basis for values education have been presented in chapter three. I revisit this with some detail. The NCEOP asserted
that Christianity could not underpin values because religion and ethics are independent categories.

Religion has continued to be taught in schools since independence and it has become increasingly clear that the teaching of the ethics of day to day activities has continued to be confused with what is strictly the teaching of religion (Kenya, 1976:7).

The NCEOP thus implied that the teaching of religion had not enhanced effective ethical understanding and living in society. The teaching of religion had been erroneously confused with the teaching of social ethics. These statements may have two different implications: first, that they intended to teach values via secular social ethics, and second, that they unknowingly taught religion. As pointed out earlier in Chapter two, the OC was unable to take a clear stance on whether ethics would be taught via religion or not, although it recommended the teaching of religion for spiritual and moral growth. The NCEOP asserted a decade later that the situation of values teaching had now been clarified. The best way to teach ethics was to do it through African Socialism outside religion. The teaching of ethics thus required an explicit traditional African social ethical basis with a secular underpinning. The NCEOP thus claimed that a secular ethic could be derived from and be underpinned by traditional African ethical thought in a way that it could not by Christianity, I have argued. Such an argument is flawed because the traditional African worldview is religious. Although a secular view of ethics may have some support, it can be shown to be a reductionist and flawed concept (MacIntyre, 1992). One of the issues implied by the view is that social ethics are not the province of religious believers alone. All people whether Christian or not can lead ethically acceptable lives. Ethics can exist independently of religion and it is that autonomous existence that provides a superior basis for curriculum development in the field. However, it is not possible in this thesis to discuss meta-ethical questions fully. It is not possible to argue conclusively whether ethics depends on religion or ethics can be on its own. But each of these positions independently seems to have some justification.
We have also come to recognise the phenomenon of human goodness, conscience and the moral sense, however, partially distorted, in all religious contexts and in non-religious contexts too. This combination of factors, the diversity and relativity of religious views of what is God's will and the undoubted fact of goodness and conscience outside Christianity or even religion, has led us to suppose that no one set of moral views can place itself beyond criticism.

(Hebblethwaite, 1981:12)

Hebblethwaite seems to correctly observe that people outside Christianity or religion altogether can be good moral agents however weak their will may be. He therefore confirms that good morality could have a secular underpinning. He also seems to imply that even religious people especially Christians can be good moral agents although such morality may still be problematic. However, the question is not whether or not people can live ethically good lives, the question is to what extent natural or secular ethics can be intrinsic, transformational, therapeutic, and applicable by the human natural will in a consistent manner (Davies, 1972). Christian theism holds the view that goodness in man, however faint, is a reflection of the goodness of God who created man. But the goodness of God in man has been marred by sin. For man to reflect this goodness fully, he needs help from God (Peterson, 1986). Of course his view is not above criticism, but if men were naturally able to live consistent good moral lives why are there still extremely evil acts persistently orchestrated by men in the world? This implies that the secular social ethics of modernity cannot effectively underpin positive consistent social ethics. However, even religious people, including some Christians, sometimes act in very evil ways. It is also true that some non-Christians have been known to demonstrate high moral standards in their lives. However, Christian theism acknowledges that its founder invites people to live with His help according to the revealed will of God and it can be shown that some Christians have lived good moral lives following the example of their leader.

Christians certainly believe that all goodness stems from God and reflects both God's own nature and His will for man. But the true good for man is further revealed, so Christians believe, through the saving acts of God, culminating in the story of Jesus and his Resurrection.
Hebblethwaite's view that for Christians all goodness comes from God only implies that Christian morality has a transcendent source. Whether this is of any advantage to Christian ethics we wait to see. However, he neither implies that ethics entirely depends on religion, nor does he imply that it does not. He ties these views together by the argument that even human natural morality is itself a reflection of the image of God (*Imago Dei*) in man. This seems to guarantee the ontological ground for all ethics. He seems to be appealing to creation metaphysics, which claims that all men are created by God and elicit or exhibit the rational and moral nature of God whether they are religious, Christian or not. This may account for why there are some universal moral values. Peterson, (1986) asserts that some basic values (love, justice, benevolence, etc.) universally found nearly in all cultures demonstrate that there is a common moral perception among people, in spite of the fact that they do not always share less essential preferences. We noted earlier, however, that Christian ethics claims a transcendent nature, which makes it more permanent, intrinsic, consistent and transformational than the secular ethic. Christian morality seems to be different from secular morality because there is a claim that it is further strengthened by divine help. Hebblethwaite refers to this by introducing the fact that the resurrection of Jesus seems to add further divine help to Christian morality.

At this point, a comparison between the secular and religious approaches to values may help clear up some of the perspectives on human development. Peterson, (1986) has observed that a religious approach is in many ways pragmatically significant because it nourishes the human being rationally on the lasting fundamental issues of truths, and great ideas about humanity itself, the moral quest and the meaning of our place in the universe. Peterson’s idea is cogent as it takes account of the fact that such an approach is permissible and grounded ethically and epistemologically in belief in God. In the African context this offers a robust critique of the secular alternative. There are pragmatic reasons for underpinning values. While a secular ethic is spatially limited, the Christian ethic holds that God
created human beings as moral beings capable of reflecting his holiness to some degree. Human beings are capable of knowing and doing what is right and ethical education concentrates on this making right knowing and doing practicable. Peterson finally observes that Christian ethical education does not focus completely on the natural channels of moral education ignoring God’s grace for moral living. The secular ethic only describes and informs but does not consistently and intrinsically enable moral application. By inherent anthropology, man is capable of good and evil and eschatologically these can be capable of therapy so that secular idealism can be made real. While the secular ethic is too narrow to allow adequate consideration to the relationship and predisposition that affects learning and character development, the religious Christian ethic seems to allow for this through its capability of therapy.

Mojola, (1986) raises the question of whether the Christian view of morality is valid and tenable. If not, then is the secular ethic therefore more valid and tenable? There is no space here for full discussion of all the issues related to this, but this is one of the most commonly voiced criticisms of the Christian ethic. The divine command theory of morals is the view that God has given or commanded certain revealed absolute rules of conduct, such as the Ten Commandments. Mojola raises the question ‘Is the divine command theory compatible with moral autonomy?’ He defines moral autonomy as the ability of a moral agent to have integrity and to make right decisions independently of undue external influence. In this way an agent’s decisions are said to be autonomous and a true reflection of the agent’s convictions and moral awareness. But Mojola defines autonomy narrowly by pinning it to the rationalist tradition. Moral autonomy has different meanings depending on the tradition within which it is being defined. There is no neutral ground between different standpoints (Kleinig, 1982). This also implies incommensurability in the modes of morality since in Christian theism it is claimed that morality is transcendent, sufficient, intrinsic and necessary. Mojola’s view also disregards the agent’s need for a tradition from which to start reasoning and making
decisions. Awareness usually presupposes enlightenment with information. This is where tradition is normally necessary for moral reasoning. Normal moral autonomy implies independent decision making derived from a given tradition.

A Christian view of the notions of heteronomy and autonomy which seems to ground morality in tradition is here cited.

The notions of heteronomy and autonomy are incurably ambiguous. The ideal of the vision of God takes us on to a place where it becomes absurd to assert man's independence against the very source of his own good. Man finds his true freedom in relation to the source of all being and value. There is no arbitrary heteronomy here, nor is man's moral autonomy overridden. In embracing the love that made him, a man's own nature as a lover of God and his fellow man begins to be realised.

(Hebblethwaite, 1981:65)

This states the Christian position that authentic Christian morality is based on a loving relationship and obedience to God which is finally for the good and freedom of the moral agent rather than an empty obligation. The moral agent senses dependence on God not only for moral operation but in all other ways. Being a moral agent in this case becomes an intrinsic responsibility in which the moral agent is spiritually and morally uplifted to apply moral decisions. The morality becomes intrinsic and automatic rather than mechanical or looking for rewards. This therefore does not raise questions of heteronomy or autonomy which imply the compartmentalisation of the moral life as opposed to the rest of the moral agent's life. Even if this theory is not free from criticism, it can be shown that some people have been so transformed by God and given a new understanding of spirituality and morality that those who had known them before, could recognise the change. Spiritual transformation by the grace of God as a basis for consistent Christian morality makes this morality real and practical. Secular morality depends on the ability of the agent to reason and decide rightly, but whether the agent effects the decision in practical living still remains a problem (Preistley, 1996).

Whether morality is autonomous or heteronomous does not guarantee its practical application. That is the most significant difference between these moralities. Christian morality involves both the human will and the mind.
It cannot be doubted that secular moralists demonstrate a great sense of justice and benevolence, but Christians speak of a divine human relationship out of whose resources man and society are to be transformed. The questions at issue are questions of truth. Are men alone in the universe and able only to inspire and encourage each other with ideals of life? Are there resources beyond their own that make the transformation and eventual perfection of human beings and human community? (Hebblethwaite, 1981:69)

These questions of truth locate Judeo-Christian morality as essentially exterior to man, until man is transformed and in good relationship with God, the source of that morality. Karl Barth quoted in Hebblethwaite, (1981) asserted that it is only from within our knowledge of God’s revelation of himself in Jesus Christ as our creator, reconciler, and redeemer that proper ethical reflection and action can take place. Barth, however, did not imply that no ethical consideration could originate from secular sources. Moral decision making is really ideological.

For Christian faith, moral life is not detachable from religious commitment, it is, rather, to recognise that morality is not a neutral category, but is linked to some wider perspective. It may be Christian morality or humanist morality, Islamic morality or even Marxist morality. It is never just ‘morality (Kleinig 1982:19).

Religious content has universally and historically been the basis for moral reasoning. Even in African traditional ethics, African tradition and religion is the basis for moral reasoning.

Cox, (1986) has proposed another way of relating ethics and religion. He suggests that we can establish the relationship by assuming that moral decisions depend on beliefs about the nature of human beings, the nature of the world in which human beings live and the responsibilities we have to the world and our fellows. Ethical education ought to recognise the connection between beliefs and decisions. He affirms that there is a plain link between moral education and religious education. He argues that if religious education includes a study of the beliefs that people hold and of how they respond to them, it can also impart an appreciation of the
inevitable connection between beliefs and moral decision. It can also impart an appreciation of the consciousness of what pupils themselves believe and how their beliefs are influencing their response to problems of conduct. What he implies is that morality would therefore be influenced by Christian or other beliefs. Cox’s view that decisions are influenced by beliefs firmly anchors ethics to the religious world-view. He defines values as:

Theories, or principles, by which you select your actions and bring consistency to them, and the theories by which you order your preferences and priorities and tests. They are shady, half understood, sometimes half-conscious ideas, which are influencing and determining your life style. (Cox (1987:8)

He lists community, personal experience and religion as the sources of values, but adds that the all important question is why someone would believe that values from any of these sources were true, imperative and worth accepting. The question is what the ultimate source of a set of values would be. Probably one would add that the authority of the ultimate source is more important than the nature of the source. The kind of source in terms of its influence on human destiny is the important factor.

There is a link between our values and our beliefs, and our beliefs are governed by what we take to be ultimately real. Further, there is some evidence that what an individual accepts as ultimately real is the result of a deep personal experience (Cox, ibid.)

Cox concludes that this ultimate reality is transcendental. ‘The experiences’, Cox asserts, ‘come in response to a deep human need for explanation and assurance’ Quoting James Hemming, he (ibid) asserts:

Human beings have always sought to know where they belong in the scheme of things. They need such knowledge to satisfy their hunger for explanation, to provide a centre, and significance, for their own lives, and to sustain and guide their communities.
Cox gives some reasons why a study of involvement in and recognition of the influence of beliefs should be a part of education in values. First, transcendental experiences condition a person's perceptions of reality. Second, an interaction with the values that a person has picked up from the surrounding community creates his or her personal value system. Such experiences have been regarded as religious experiences. This is one way of linking religion and ethics based on what are basically anthropological considerations.

Next, let us consider the NCEOP claim that the secular underpinned African traditional social ethics is more coherent, comprehensive and adequate than the Judeo-Christian ethic.

Religious teaching concentrates on such matters as the relationship of man with the divine; brotherhood of man; values of justice and general expectations in terms of good and evil NCEOP (Kenya, 1976:7).

According to the NCEOP, religion and ethics should be separated because:

The teaching of ethics (secular) should, however, go it to the details of the social norms underlying all aspects of human behaviour irrespective of whether one is religious, atheistic, agnostic or adheres to any other belief. (Kenya, 1976:6).

By implication, the view of the NCEOP was that secular ethics were more universal, adequate and applicable than the religious ethics: first, to the social norms underpinning human behaviour, second to underpinning the work ethic and last, to underpinning modern scientific and technological developments. Therefore ethics should be separated from religion. The wide ranging issues this raises are whether a secular ethical programme based on this is conceptually adequate and realistically achievable.

The NCEOP view highlighted the importance of values in human behaviour and in professional ethics. There was corruption, nepotism, tribalism and other vices
menacing Kenya. An ethical solution to the problems was imperative. But the NCEOP assumed that only secular ethics could provide a solution. But this is a questionable assumption especially in the context of a country where religion is ubiquitous and is significant in the lives of most of the population.

But what about professionals? Who is a professional and are professional ethics inexorably secularist? A professional may be anyone trained and certified in a recognised body of skills, who uses them to meet the needs of clients, and who intends to live up to levels of competence and ethics relevant to and prescribed by the profession and acknowledged by the public. This definition relates to highly skilled manpower, those using their mental competence in the service of others. However, it excludes a large group of manual workers whose roles are essential to the public and who also need a work ethic whether publicly defined or not.

Work ethics may be defined as an application of certain ethical rules or certain standards of ethical judgement or ethical decision making to specific problems related to one’s work situation. Such a work ethic reflects one’s ethical ideology or world-view. If one is an African traditionalist, one’s work ethic will be underpinned by the Traditional African religious world-view. If one is an ethical egoist then one’s work ethic will be an application of ethical egoism. Or if one is a Christian, the Christian world-view will influence the work ethic. One’s work ethic will also reflect the work ethic of one’s professional peers and world of work. Professions like teaching usually promulgate a code of ethics for their employees. Such codes of ethics are for guidance and discipline of members of a given profession. For example, the Republic of Kenya (1986) has formulated the Teachers Service Commission Code of regulations for Kenyan teachers. It defines the main terms and concepts of their profession and outlines their terms and conditions of service to abide by.
The Roman Catholic medical ethic as asserted by the Pope and presented here in part will illustrate the application of the Christian work ethic to a specific field of professional ethics. The Roman Catholic Pope John Paul II, in his address to members of the World Medical Association at Rome in 1983 made some observations. This represents the role of Christian medical ethics in scientific and technological advancement and its application to life in the area of genetic engineering and manipulation.

For us, man is a being created in the image of God, redeemed by Christ and called to an immortal destiny. These convictions then ring true, I hope, in the case of the believers who accept the Bible as the word of God. But since they lead us to the greatest respect for the human being, I am sure that they reach all men of good will, who reflect on the condition of man and are eager at any price to save him from whatever threatens his life, his dignity and his liberty. (Pope John Paul II, 1983:2)

In this address, the Pope placed Christian medical ethics within the framework of creationist moral principles which see man as sovereign, rational, moral, sacred and spiritual, made in the image of God and unlike the rest of creation. Drawing on creationist moral theology therefore, the Catholic Pope asserts that the church and the medical world are equally responsible for man’s well being.

Medicine is necessary first of all to help man to live and to surmount the handicaps, which impair the normal functioning of all his organic functions, in their psychophysical unity. Man is at the centre of the preoccupation of the church whose mission it is, by the grace of Christ, to lead him toward his integral development where the body has its part. This is why the ministry of the church and the witness of Christians are united in their solicitude for the sick.

The Pope reminded doctors of the rights of the human being which are the consequences of his dignity. The Pope then reminded the doctors of the Hippocratic oath they take to protect human life before they move in to practice. This implied that the doctors would be ruled by their conscience in such matters as abortion and euthanasia. He expected that they would oppose the ailment,

1 Catholic theology takes a strict view of abortion only allowing for it where an emergency is
whatever is contrary to life, but without sacrificing life itself which is the greatest good and over which we do not have dominion because God alone is the master of life and of its integrity. The oath adopted by the General Assembly of the World Medical Association in 1948 at Geneva reads:

I shall maintain absolute respect for human life from the time of its conception, even under threat. I shall never allow my medical knowledge to be used against the law of humanity (Pope John Paul II, 1983:3)

The Pope also reminded the doctors that these rights were rooted in fundamental principles, in the moral law based on being itself, which is immutable. Thus the Pope drew the attention of the doctors to the significance of respecting the Christian ethic in their handling of the sick.

The Pope, having laid the Christian foundation for medical ethics pleaded with the doctors in the matters of genetic manipulation and genetic engineering which he said posed a serious question to every individual’s moral conscience. Finally the Pope gave some guidelines on genetic engineering.

Genetic engineering and manipulation becomes arbitrary and unjust when it reduces life to an object. It becomes arbitrary and unjust also when it forgets that it is dealing with a human subject, capable of intelligence and freedom, worthy of respect whatever may be their limitations.

The Christian ethic presents a comprehensive and coherent professional ethic, which could adequately underpin all professional ethics, unlike the limited traditional African social ethic. While discussing the development of Capitalism in the West, Weber asserted:

The disinterested accumulation of treasure by Calvinists was contrary to traditional morality and would not find explanation in any other way than in the concept of ‘this world asceticism’ or ‘inner world asceticism’ of puritanism as focused through the concept of calling. The notion of ‘calling’ was introduced by the Reformation and refers basically to the involved, like when the mother’s and/or baby’s life is in danger.
idea that the highest form of moral obligation of the individual is to fulfill his duty in worldly affairs. This projects the Christian ethic in to day to day living and stands in contrast to the Catholic idea of the monastic life, whose object is to transcend the demands of mundane existence. (Weber, 1930:4)

Weber is emphasising the Protestant Ethic and its notion of ‘calling’ for a positive work ethic which might promote commitment, transparency and responsible action, a trait that in the Weberian view is uncharacteristic of traditional or secular ethics. In a distant way, the Weberian notion of ‘calling’ seems to support the OC view that industrialisation in Kenya needed underpinning by Christian ethics.

The blind separation of ethics from Judeo-Christianity would preclude its morally intrinsic nature, consistency, ethical adequacy, permanence, sufficiency, authority, and necessity. It would also limit the transcendental moral authenticity and dignity of the Christian ethic reflecting God’s own nature and goodness. I have also argued in the foregoing section that the separation of ethics from Christianity would deny children coherent transcendent ethical content for moral therapy, transformation, reasoning and application. The NCEOP conception of secular ethics requires some further investigation if we are to offer further analysis and subsequent constructive critical commentary.

7:3 The Secular Ethic: Provenance

The NCEOP recommendations to separate the teaching of ethics from religion actually implied the teaching of secular liberal values based on secular liberal education. But what is secular liberal education? And what are secular liberal values? The analysis of liberal and secular liberal education and its respective values will go some way to either justify or challenge the stance of the NCEOP to separate ethics and religion in Kenyan schools.
Quoting Kimball, (1986), Thiessen, (1993) asserts that there are many different conceptions of liberal education, all of which are built on two central notions. These include the oratorical and the philosophical conceptions. Both of these conceptions, according to Thiessen, (ibid.) and Halstead, (1996) have their roots in ancient Greece where liberal education involved the development of the mind and the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake. Thiessen, however, asserts that the oratorical conception of liberal education resulted from Greek orators' criticism of the speculative philosophy of Socrates and Plato who insisted on the endless pursuit of truth. Instead they argued that tradition should be passed on to the uninitiated to express the truth for all to hear and judge.

The tradition to be passed on to the uninitiated included the seven liberal arts the trivium (grammar, logic, and rhetoric) and the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music). The liberal arts curriculum was to train citizen orators to lead society from a basis of the virtues found in the great classical texts. Thiessen continues to analyse the etymology of liberal as used with regard to education. He states that in Roman antiquity, liberalise denoted "of relating to free men"...Thus liberalise characterised the liber, "the free citizen who was gentlemanly...magnanimous, noble...munificent, generous, as well as the studies, education, arts, professions in which the free citizen participated." The epistemological assumption of the oratorical conception, which was later adapted to Christian aims of education, was that truth could be known and expressed. Consequently the aim of education should be to teach students already known virtues, rather than to teach students how to search for the virtues. In this case, the oratorical conception of liberal education included religious education. The assumption here is that religious morality is revealed, commanded and discovered rather than invented.

Returning to the philosophical conception of liberal education, Thiessen states that it has its roots in Socrates, with his uncompromising, never ending search for truth.
Thiessen then introduces a more advanced philosophical conception of liberal education, which he says Kimball (1986) refers to as 'the liberal-free ideal of liberal education'.

Thiessen thus presents two conceptions of liberal education. He states that the word "liberal" underwent significant transformation from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. The earlier meaning was applied to the activities of gentlemen who were free by virtue of leisure. Thiesen's views seem to be echoed in Lawton and Gordon, (1996) who add that in the nineteenth century England, liberal education was meant for the upper class Christian gentleman as opposed to vocational or conditioning education for the lower classes. Lawton and Gordon seem to imply the oratorical conception of liberal education in which religious education was included. They add that today, a liberal education is a kind which broadens and therefore frees the mind from narrow prejudices and preconceptions. In their view, the philosophical conception, or the liberal or secular liberal, is now in place in the west. For example in England and Germany education is liberal, whilst secular liberal in France. Education in Kenya is conservative while still meeting some of the criteria that Thiessen identifies as traditional liberal. Thiessen's list of secular liberal values as quoted from Kimball (1986) includes freedom, autonomy, individualism, equality, science, and a belief in progress. These accordingly are the values central to defining the modern naturalistic worldview and so influencing secular liberal education. Thiessen then traces the origin of modern liberal values to the seventeenth century philosophers' quest for certainty. It was a timely response to a specific historical challenge—the political, social, and theological chaos embodied in the Thirty Years War (Thiessen, 1993). It was within this context of class-ridden war-torn Europe that intellectuals rejected religious authority and traditions, which were blamed for the problems of

---

2 Kraus (1997) Collier's Encyclopaedia, published by Newfield USA, has stated that the Thirty Years War fought all over Central Europe including France, Germany, Spain, Sweden and the entire Holy Roman Empire between 1618 and 1648 involved political and religious hatred between the Protestant and Catholic Europe.
society as being divisive and sectarian. We have earlier noted that the NCEOP condemned the teaching of Christianity with the allegation that it had divided society and antagonised families.

They searched instead for a solid foundation upon which to base society so it could become a "cosmopolis", a society that was as rationally ordered as the Newtonian view of nature. Thiessen sees this to have been the context in which the ideal of liberal education came to be reshaped in accordance with the agenda of modern liberalism. This is also what Lawton referred to above as current liberal education. The origin of modern liberal values was the condemnation of religious influence on society. This seems to be what the NCEOP called for in their condemnation of religion, let alone the elimination of Christianity from education.

The Enlightenment ideal of liberal education therefore emphasised the importance of subjecting western inherited systems of belief to doubt, to try to start with a clean slate, and to search for truth apart from tradition and authority. The oral, the particular, the local, and the timely were all viewed with suspicion. The Enlightenment period saw a philosophical and political revolution, which strongly challenged the place of the church in society:

A great deal of the most potent philosophical and political thinking of the time was being done in France. The movement known as the 'Enlightenment' has its roots in England, and Locke is an early representative of it. However, it is particularly marked and interesting in France, perhaps because of its relation to the Revolution. It sought its illumination from the light of reason; authority and tradition were pushed aside or discarded and protest was made against anything metaphysical or transcendent or beyond the interpretation of ordinary experience.

(Barnard, 1961:42)

3 Holmes FA (1983) has observed that the Renaissance and Newtonian science explained nature in terms of matter and motion only, which found parallels in a psychology of atomistic sensations combined by laws of association and a social philosophy of isolated individuals united by social contract. I refer to this as Methodological Individualism in which fact and value are independent categories. Such a mechanistic model has influenced the social sciences in which values are basically desires, physically produced and without normative weight, and that politics and economics have to do not with moral principles but with the rule of laws over constituent elements.
This was the view of the Encyclopaedists (Diderot, Voltaire, Rousseau and Montesquieu)

Quoting Kimball (1986), Thiessen argues that contemporary liberal education has seven defining characteristics: freedom, especially from traditional and a priori strictures and standards; rationality, critical scepticism; tolerance; egalitarianism; individualism; and finally growth of the kind which emphasis the search for truth. Religion is therefore rejected on the grounds of authoritarianism, tradition, indoctrination, the here and the now. Thiessen's views imply that the ideal of liberal education has brought religious education under increasing suspicion. Liberal education is now to free individuals from tradition, superstition, dogmatism, ignorance, and prejudice. In other words to free them from religion. To equate religion, especially Christianity to ignorance and prejudice raises many issues, which the NCEOP needed to consider before condemning Christianity from the school system. They cannot be considered here.

The Enlightenment ideal of liberal education could not tolerate a situation in which educational goals were subservient to religious goals. Liberal education came to be seen as incompatible with education based on religious commitment and Christian liberal education came to be seen as a contradiction in terms (Hirst, 1972). This is precisely the view of the NCEOP about religion.

I have analysed liberal education and the values on which it is based. Before the Enlightenment period, liberal education included Christianity, but after the Enlightenment, the philosophical concept of liberal education excluded religion. In other words, contemporary liberal education, what Thiessen refers to as 'the value-free tradition of liberal education' is based on secular liberal values rather than on liberal values accommodating religious values. Liberal education accommodating religious values relates to the oratorical liberal education in the
same way secular values relate to secular education. Can a link be established between secular education and liberal education?

Thiessen has analysed the developing relationship between secular education and liberal education. In his view, the liberal-free ideal of liberal education has acquired a secularist meaning. He has argued that in medieval Europe, Christianity was the foundation of liberal education (the oratorical ideal), but since the Renaissance period through the eighteenth century Enlightenment period, theology and religion were pushed into the background. This pushing of religion into the background implies the secularisation of society. With reference to western society, Thiessen defines secularisation as ‘centrally a reference to the gradual erosion of the influence of religious ideas and institutions on all aspects of society, culture, and thought.’ The recommendation of the NCEOP to underpin secular values by African social ethics was meant to separate religion from ethics. The aim was to implement secular liberal education or simply secular education.

Thiessen, like Grimwade (1986) says that the basic assumption underlying the Enlightenment ideal of liberal education is that secularisation is a positive process, a key ingredient in the progressive evolution of societies towards modernity. The sciences, rational morality, art, history, social and political thought are now considered autonomous areas independent of religious considerations. It could be concluded therefore that since the liberal-free ideal of liberal education seems to share the same values as secular education in a secularised society, we could talk of a de facto secularised form of liberal education. I can therefore simply talk of a system that has a secular basis rather than a religious basis for values education in certain western countries. Therefore in proposing the separation of ethics from religion, the NCEOP was in effect endorsing a secular basis for values education and consequently secular values. In the KANU Manifestos of 1979 and 1983, the government emphasised the application of traditional African social ethics to all policy making, implying the elimination of a religious, particularly Christian view
of life from the public sphere including education. However, the government seemed to have contradicted itself as the confessional policy of religion seems to be silently underpinning government planning and action as seen from the country’s political philosophy of Nyaoism couched in the Christian virtues of peace, love and unity. Also as I have argued, traditional African social ethics are essentially religious based.

The OC distinguished secular education and secular values from a secular school system in which religion would be the basis for values. The definition of a secular school system in that context was that the churches would transfer the management of education to the government, but they would still participate in education policy making and in the running of religious education in the schools they had previously managed. Secular values were condemned and consigned to the hidden curriculum while religious education was given explicit curriculum inclusion under a conscience clause. The NCEOP, however, was silent on the position of the churches in the new relationship. It could be concluded, therefore, that the rejection of religion as an educational subject was implicitly the sequestration of church influence in education as a whole. The NCEOP thus radically adopted both a secular school system underpinned by secular education and secular values. This raises two questions, first, whether the NCEOP really intended secular liberal education for contemporary Kenyan education and second, whether this paradigm would therefore be achievable and justifiable.

In response to the first question, I note that the NCEOP may well have intended that secular liberal education and the secular values based on it should be instituted into Kenya. The question is whether the NCEOP understood its own recommendation. It recommended traditional African social ethics (African Socialism) selected from the rural areas to underpin a secular ethic. Yet African Socialism is itself religionist. Traditional African social ethics from rural areas would raise many issues were they to be used as a basis for values education. The
NCEOP simply contradicted itself in terms of the wider semantic reach of its chosen terminology. The question is whether a post-critical educational discourse could be justifiable in Kenya's pre-critical discourse.

Njoroge (1986) has asserted that the NCEOP took to a positivist paradigm unawares, but assumed those secular values were altruistic. Njoroge's assertion is reminiscent of the OC 1964 lament that no one knew about moral education in Kenya and that moral education was therefore not a subject for the school curriculum, but this is mere conjecture. The NCEOP gave a succinct, but controversial analysis of what it asserted were the inadequacies of a Christian based values education. One can suspect an anti-colonial reaction, given the NCEOP allegations of Missionary acquiescence in the colonial hegemony. On the other hand it can be argued that no education committee of this magnitude would deliberately make arbitrary recommendations. It seems *prima facie* likely that radical secular influence on this committee could have originated from some of the western, especially American consultants who saw an opportunity to introduce the American secular liberal educational agenda to Kenya, that had been rejected by the OC in 1964. In which case, it was not the Kenyan members of the committee who were driving the subsequent recommendations.

The next question is whether a secular liberal educational discourse would have promoted a broad based, coherent and justifiable educational tradition for Kenya.

Being preoccupied with 'modernisation', particularly with economic development, the modern school-system is above all concerned with the training of a productive labour force and of highly skilled manpower. It is only indirectly, it seems, interested in the formation of human beings... modern education encourages neutrality and objectivity, inspired by the rules of science, technology and a rationalised economy. Modern education tends to be amoral or neutral in character leaving the modern student in a moral vacuum.

(Bennaars and Njoroge, 1986:169)

This seems to raise more complications for the relationship between religion and morality. Christian theism holds a human being to be a unity of rational, emotional, spiritual, moral and practical dimensions (Peterson, 1986). It assumes
that this will be undertaken in the context of a theistic world-view with appropriate reference to religious thought and experience. This appears to be consistent with the contemporary religious African world-view in which the secular and sacred categories are merged. A post-critical secular liberal educational discourse would be disconnected from contemporary Kenya’s pre-critical educational discourse. According to Peterson, (1986) a genuine philosophy of education could consider holistic human development at least to be open to traditions which claim to mediate the transcendent.

With this in mind, Njoroge (1986) has concluded that the NCEOP was unable to take a clear stance on the paradigm it actually wanted for values education in Kenya since it recommended a secular solution while indirectly recommending a religious solution. The discernible position is that it probably intended to recommend a religious basis for values education.

7:4 African Socialism and Social Education and Ethics (SEE)

What about the provenance, objectives and general procedures in the teaching of SEE in Kenyan schools. First of all it needs to be acknowledged that there was need for values education to correct social decadence in Kenya.

The operating Characteristics of African Socialism are defined as political democracy, mutual social responsibility and various forms of ownership (see Appendix 7).

In chapter two I raised the issue that the OC had proved unable to propose a coherent and comprehensive values education paradigm for Kenyan schools after independence. Secular ecumenical decontextualised Christianity was recommended for spiritual and moral development as long as it was presented, as ‘an academic subject on sound educational lines’ employing the common pool of
teaching methods. It would promote an academic purpose, national unity, and the values of compliance, transparency, and commitment for the development of Kenya’s nascent economy. The values of African Socialism on the other hand would underpin a political purpose as a psychological basis for nationhood and African identity, via the hidden curriculum.

The socio-economic causes according to the NCEOP, of social decadence a decade later, have already been rehearsed in chapters two and three. In the NCEOP’s eyes, there was therefore a need for an explicitly secular values education curriculum to stem social decadence.

Starting with the NCEOP, the view expressed, was that a return to the values of African Socialism and the general inclusion of African traditions in national policies would alleviate the situation. Shortly after SEE became part of the school curriculum in January 1986, following the implementation of the Mackay Report (1981). It was also recommended by the Kamunge Report (1988) and examined first in 1989. Thus decontextualised liberal African Socialism denuded of religious influence was introduced to take care of the children’s needs for personal, spiritual, social, cultural and moral education, which was presumed to be inadequately catered for through the teaching of CRE.

The introduction of SEE answered the call by African scholars to have their cultural values form part of the CRE school curriculum. King (1984) has carried out some research in values education in Eastern Africa and concluded that there is a move in all African countries to include African traditional beliefs and teachings in the religious education programmes. But according to King, these calls recognise the significance and inclusion of the Christian world-view unlike in the case of the NCEOP.
Kleinig (1982) has given some reasons why moral education should be taught. He has observed that moral education is necessary, because being a certain sort of person in relation to others is not a natural possession, but it is learned. As education, it involves the deliberate attempt to facilitate that learning in a way, which is conducive to the development of normal autonomy. Kleinig’s argument is valid and implies that it is important to deliberately plan for moral education within the African milieu as a subject in the school curriculum. It is with this in view that values education in Kenya’s educational context required attention as the NCEOP tried to do. The school is equipped with staff and materials for moral education. However, the problems with a curriculum based solely on African Socialism as proposed by the NCEOP are overwhelming. Such a concept cannot simply be re-appropriated to underpin values effectively and justifiably in modern times. However, some of its inadequacies can be redressed through a religio-cultural contextualist paradigm of values education.

Some of the weaknesses of SEE have been pointed out by a number of Kenyan scholars. For example,

> The interests of SEE should primarily be vested in helping the youth to cultivate suitable physical, psychological, ethical, and social attributes (Waiyaki, 1989:69).

But Waiyaki ignored the spiritual and cultural dimensions of growth which had traditionally been nurtured with a particular received tradition. He has criticised the syllabus for not originating from ethnographic research on adolescents’ real needs (Waiyaki 1989, ibid.).

One of the problems pupils’ face is that they are rarely involved in curriculum planning. In this case the NCEOP assumed that many pupils reject religion. The NCEOP promulgated a narrowly based utilitarian tradition of education without giving adequate consideration to the relationships and predispositions that affect learning and the development of character.
Bennaars (1989) has pointed out that the emphasis on the acquisition of knowledge for examinations (the diploma disease) in Kenya’s educational system precludes the subject from supporting pupils’ moral development. He has also pointed out that this subject is in the sub-group of humanities including Christian, Hindu and Islamic religious education; he doubted its success in this competitive atmosphere. Bennaars, however, does not raise the problem of the duplication of religious education content in SEE. This fact also undermines the NCEOP view that, SEE should be taught outside religion. It implies that curriculum developers appreciated the need for a religious basis for values. Karugu (1989) has also made several observations concerning the problems facing the subject. He has asserted that the success of the subject will be judged not only by the number of candidates who pass it in the examination. The judgement will be concerned with whether it has improved and enriched the moral development of Kenyans so that they may shun corruption, nepotism, dishonesty, and allied evils that afflict our society. What he could equally well have said was that ‘it might be easy for children to learn the subject, but they might not find it easy to practice it’. He has also raised the valid question of whether the school alone should be charged with the responsibility to train children in values. Put differently the question should be raised whether this subject alone could deal with social decadence in Kenya without additionally prescribing an ethical code of conduct for the adult members of society. Indeed, the summary condemnation of the religious contribution to values might itself exacerbate social decadence. The challenge of other ethical stances in society may also hamper its success, as there is no evidence to show that African families in Kenya continue to share the same values based on rural African traditions despite their different socio-economic status. Karugu’s observation stressed the fact that not all parents are capable of positively influencing their children with values without help from a school programme support. With less than 5% of Kenya’s population adhering to traditional African values (Mbiti, 1984) it is difficult for the
children from non-traditionalist backgrounds to subscribe to unfamiliar traditional values.

The other important issue Karugu (1989) raises is that the government's view that Mutual Social Responsibility implies co-operation and equal distribution of the national cake, is nowhere reflected and taught in schools and this includes the SEE syllabus. Issues of nepotism and corruption have also not been addressed through the syllabus' objectives and content. Karugu has further and emphatically repeated the fact that there is an inadequate treatment of issues concerning property acquisition, ownership and distribution in contemporary Kenya. Curiously, what little attention these topics have received has been provided in the religious ethics section of the SEE syllabus. He has finally pointed out that there is no specific teacher education programme for the teachers of SEE in Kenya. They need to be well grounded in religion, sociology, history, philosophy, and psychology to be properly equipped to fulfil such a mandate.

Otiende and Wamahi (1989) have gone further and listed some disadvantages of basing values education on traditional African Social ethics or African Socialism. They argue that these values are relative, parochial, ethnic, conservative, sexist and religiously intolerant. They cannot promote national, let alone international attitudes. The values foster powerful gerontocracies suspicious of change and challenges. They can promote conservatism rather than progressivism in contemporary Kenya. These values promote segregation by gender through their system of role allocation and learning. The present system of education seeks to promote equal opportunity in education rather than segregation, so there is a serious contradiction at the heart of educational endeavours. The government is busy trying to eradicate the same traditional values they purport to include in education by abolishing them in traditional education institutions wherever they are still practised. The point is also made that the NCEOP call to separate religion from ethics directly challenged African Socialism, itself embedded in religion. The
SEE syllabus has only a very small section on other religious faiths and traditional African teachings and beliefs. It is doubtful whether lumping together the three main religions in a small section of the syllabus and teaching them along phenomenological lines could coherently contribute to values education. There is a discrepancy between what the NCEOP expected of social ethics and the curriculum developers of the Kenya Institute of Education devised for the SEE programme.

It is interesting to speculate why the NCEOP wanted to shift Kenya to a post-critical educational discourse given the prevailing pre-critical educational context. Indeed, why the NCEOP should seem intend on eliminating the distinctive religious contribution to spiritual and moral development, which is every child's educational right, is mystifying. The intention of the NCEOP to eliminate the entire religious world-view from children’s educational experience amounts to depriving them of the opportunity to learn from the experiences of other people through the history of religion. This may alienate them emotionally, psychologically, and socially in terms of an authentic understanding of significant spiritual realities in their lives. Above all, the distinctive contribution of religion to the basic questions of human existence would be neglected with potentially serious consequences for the child’s full development and psychological well being. Perhaps the NCEOP saw education as being in some sense salvific and therefore as making religion itself redundant as a curricular component.

One of the intentions of the NCEOP was for African Socialism to promote the African family spirit of functional organic communitarianism, but this would not work without the foundational distinctive contribution of the religious ethic. For example, Judeo-Christian creationist theism views man as created in the image of God, rational, moral and sacred and so distinct from the rest of creation and responsible for the creation. The elimination of Judeo-Christianity from education implies that man will lose the sovereignty creationist theism bestows on him.
Similarly some scientists seem willing to treat man as an object through forms of genetic engineering and manipulation. It is basically on Judeo-Christian axiological principles that deviant and reductionist scientific and evolutionary views of man can best be challenged. For, science and technology as a whole, seems to have had their foundation in creationist theology’s projection of man’s dominion over the created universe and its assertion of the need for responsible dominion through proper stewardship. However, while nature may be sublime or awesome, it is never imputed with sacred status. Thus whereas in the Judeo-Christian World-view, man has authority over nature; in the African world-view man treats nature as sacred.

7:5 Critical Appraisal: Summary and Conclusion

In part two of this thesis, the concern has been to dispute some of the epistemological and philosophical issues arising from the NCEOP assertions that the teaching of Judeo-Christian values has failed to underpin social ethics in contemporary Kenya’s educational context. The most radical view expressed by the NCEOP has been its assertion that Christianity has failed to underpin values, and that social ethics should be taught so as to exclude religion. Chapter six has discussed and critically analysed the NCEOP view that Christianity did not respond to the problems of the pathologisation of society. The conclusion was that the NCEOP overlooked the significant transformational role of Judeo-Christianity in Kenya from the advent of European missionaries to date. I have argued that Judeo-Christianity is justifiable as a basis for values education, if repackaged within the African milieu.

In this chapter I have analysed the assertion of the NCEOP that a secular ethic can be derived from and underpinned by the traditional African social ethic. I have argued that this view of the NCEOP, which amounts to a proposal to teach values education via a secular-liberal paradigm but drawing upon indigenous mores, is
misguided. This approach, I have argued, revealed inconsistencies: the NCEOP could not successfully support the view that values based on African Socialism could be underpinned via a secular ethic. It was inconsistent to argue that African religions enmeshed in African Socialism could underpin values while other religions could not. The argument that religion was an inadequate values basis could not be conclusive. In fact the Christian ethic, with its premium on transcendence, seemed to be in many ways superior to a secular liberal ethic in terms of its ethical adequacy and sufficiency.

Originally liberal education included Christianity as part of the canon of classics required for broad based coherent education in the West. The separation of ethics from religion appeared to have resulted from adversarial views of religion and its role in society in the enlightenment epoch in Europe and America. The view that values education in Kenya could be underpinned via a secular liberal ideal of education is tendentious. It appears to be a post-critical educational discourse in attempting to operate a pre-critical educational context which is embedded in a strong ethnocentric ontological religious world-view in Kenya. Even in the West, it is not clear that a majority really hold views compatible with the tendency to argue that rational autonomy is a coherent and justifiable educational ideal (Ward 1983, and Allen 1982). This remains a controversial perspective even in a secular curriculum. It is at least questionable whether values based on secular traditional social ethics would underpin practical life and professional ethics more convincingly than the Christian ethic with its premium on neighbour love and justice for the individual. A secular liberal basis would have difficulty promoting justifiable, authentic and holistic human development while ignoring the significant role of religion in holistic human being. Judeo-Christianity in particular, with its premium on creationist theism seems to underpin an ethic, which raises the value and sovereignty of man while challenging arbitrary manipulation and exploitation of human beings. The NCEOP failed to find a solution to the values education impasse in Kenya’s educational context. Their
discernible stance, however, was one that really intended to recommend a religious basis to values, but couched in the rhetoric of liberal education's salvific intentionality.

I have concluded that aspects of African traditional social ethics underpinning African Socialism are still relevant to a justifiable values education paradigm for contemporary Kenya's education. A values education paradigm is certainly a necessity. The problem is that neither CRE nor SEE alone can provide a coherent and justifiable values basis in contemporary Kenya's educational context. A coherent, broad based curriculum, which is open to the influence of religion is necessary to underpin new aims, content, and methods in order to maximise the strengths of both CRE and SEE and to minimise their weaknesses. But the NCEOP secular policy on education has weakened and threatened the popularity and position of Christianity and religion in general in Kenya's school curriculum. This still constitutes a problem for CRE teaching. But the subsequent education commissions in Kenya, (Mackay 1981, Kamunge 1988 and Koech 1999) have, nevertheless, recommended the generous inclusion of Judeo-Christianity in education. The same policy has sanctioned the inclusion of SEE in the curriculum. There is legally, a possibility for a new curriculum to be formulated to seriously consider the transcendental role of Judeo-Christianity in human development. It would also consider the need for a contextualist nature of the curriculum to be more existential. It could also emphasise the need of specifically a religious based values education paradigm within this contextualisation continuum. Re-educating current CRE and SEE teachers through INSET courses and the provision of necessary materials would put the strategy on firm footing. In part three, I review the contextualisation continuum, which may be the means to a justifiable, relevant and coherent values education paradigm for Kenyan schools.
CHAPTER 8: Clarification of the Contrast between the OC and the NCEOP in Relation to Empirical Evidence from Research Findings

8:1 Introduction

Chapter 8 is the evidence from the research exercise which confirms that my analysis is a realistic option:

• that the research findings support and confirm my analysis;
• that my analysis is a legitimate option, a viable option within the views of teachers, their attitudes and their assessment. It would be dangerous if the findings conflicted with the teachers' self-understanding, their view of the situation;
• this is a policy commission from the professionals to make the kind of proposal I want to make. My analysis and the proposal are possible developments given the context of teachers thinking. They confirm the analysis. They give strong reasons to believe that the analysis measures with the pre-theoretical professional intuitions of a majority of teachers and it is directly confirmed by a significant minority.

8:2 Documentary Analysis

The contrast between the OC and NCEOP perspectives of Christianity and African Socialism as paradigms of values education is quite varied. The following is the data obtained from documentary analysis.
The Epistemological contrast:

- The OC strongly recommended Christianity as a basis for spiritual, moral, and personal development.
- The OC decontextualised it by not recommending use of the traditional African religious beliefs and teachings as basis for presenting intelligibly the Christian values.
- African Socialism would promote a psychological basis for nationhood, African personality and personal identity.
- The OC doubted whether religion would be instrumental in moral development.
- Ethics according to the OC would not replace religion and was not a curriculum subject.
- The OC did not understand the link between ethics, religion and morality.
- For the OC no one, even teachers, understood values education.
- Values education neatly belonged to the hidden curriculum via which young people grew up as copies of the adult society.
- The OC adhered arbitrarily to a religious view of education.
- The OC Promoted a human capital economic theory of education.
- The NCEOP asserted that religion was an inadequate values education basis and thus rejected it apriori.
- African Socialism was radically overemphasised as a values education basis, but without recognition of its indebtedness to the Christian tradition.
- African Socialism was recommended for values education in decontextualised form.
- A secular ethic could be derived from and underpinned by traditional African social ethics.
• The NCEOP contradicted itself over the relationship between African Socialism and African religions.

• The condemnation and rejection of Christianity, and religion in general, as a values education basis was therefore implicitly the condemnation and rejection of African Socialism as a values education basis.

• The NCEOP found it difficult to recommend a coherent values education basis outside religion as the American secular approach, on which it premised its proposal, has considerable limitations for human development (Hirsch, 1986; Doyle, 1994; Anderson, 1992).

• The policy on values education became difficult to propose, formulate and implement.

• By so doing, the NCEOP was arbitrarily adhering to a critical neo-positivist approach to values education in a pre-critical modern African educational context in Kenya.

8:2:1 The Cultural contrast.

• The OC appreciated the English educational legacy in Kenya and saw Christianity as one of the significant western contributions to Kenya’s human and national development.

• It was tolerant towards the European education tradition and the western missionary contribution.

• Christianity was seen as having coherently underpinned scientific and technological advances in the Occident and it was thought that it would do the same in Kenya and together with African Socialism form a new version of modern Kenya.

• African values would only be “sinking sand”, in their attempt to underpin Western secular values, scientific and technological production.
The OC rejected western secular liberal approaches to education.

The OC viewed Christianity as having enriched African religious experience by introducing a new, more coherent, and spiritually satisfying form of religion.

The view of the NCEOP that missionaries had ignored African ethical and religious teachings in their educational approaches was justifiable.

Nevertheless, the NCEOP rejected Christianity on ideological grounds.

This led to the paradoxical situation whereby western secular liberal, scientific, socio-economic, educational and technological values promoting Capitalism were imported and exalted in areas of socio-economic and political institutions and national development projects in Kenya.

The NCEOP rejected and silenced the western Christian world-view and its values uncompromisingly in human development whilst science, technology, education and culture in the West had had Christian underpinning (Morris, 1994).

The NCEOP rejected British legacies on education in Kenya, but only ironically adhered to them.

8:2:2 Hermeneutic contrast.

The NCEOP view of the word “formal” in relation to the curriculum was narrowly applied to the teaching of religious education.

Christian values could still have influenced society through informal sources even if it was not taught properly in school.

The absence of a “formal” and coherent approach to values teaching in Kenya’s educational context was probably a function of both limited missionary aspirations and, later on, of the social pathologisation of society in general.
The NCEOP ignored other negative influences in society on values.

Even if missionaries had wanted to provide assimilationist education, i.e. metropolitan education, with a robust ethical ideology of equal opportunity, the interests of the settlers and the colonial government would have constituted a serious complicating factor.

Christianity then, as a religion, could not be blamed for the failure of the education system to promote values education.

The NCEOP needed to distinguish more sharply colonial issues related to missionary religion and the epistemological and pragmatic issues related to religion in values education.

The socialisation and humanisation of children involves the home, church, school and society in general, therefore, the view that schools alone would be responsible for the values children hold in society was problematic.

Complacent attitudes of teachers and parents towards the socialisation of children could hinder positive human development.

The adult community constitutes a large share in the values society holds, unless a code of ethics for the adult population was promulgated it would be unrealistic to blame schools alone for social decadence.

8:2:3 Philosophical contrast.

• OC added to the traditional African educational philosophy at Kenya's independence in 1963, to the British academic philosophy of education.
• The OC appeared to have promulgated a coherent and balanced philosophy of education for independent Kenya including the personal, social, cultural and utilitarian aspects, but in practice, the utilitarian concerns overshadowed the socio-ethical concerns.
• Having silenced religion within the educational context, the NCEOP promulgated a narrowly based philosophy which, beyond reasonable proportions exalted the role of African Socialism in human development.
• This exacerbated the social decadence already at its worst in Kenya.

While the OC was unable to link morality, ethics and religion, the NCEOP denied the link obtained.

• However, the NCEOP was unable to sustain its own secular liberal stance although it arbitrarily shifted from a religious basis to a secular basis and later implicitly recommended a religious basis in African Socialism.
• The extent to which secular morality could promote goodness in people raised problems compared with Christianity, which condemns evil and reveals that without the help of divine authority people are naturally incapable of genuine goodness.
• The view that goodness stems from God and reflects both God’s own nature and will for man, of course, raised many questions.
• However, human sanctity and dignity do not seem to be securely established by secular explanations.
• The view that religion is linked to morality has been historically found in all religions. In the Third World, religion is essentially the basis of morality (Cummings, Gopinathan, Tomoda, 1988).
• The cognitive status of religious knowledge can be defended as real and revealed knowledge is then one of the forms of authentic knowledge.
• Contrary to the positivist position that religion is a matter of feeling, faith or conjecture, religious knowledge is both verifiable and falsifiable within appropriate categories. The social capital derivable from religion is actually measurable (Coleman, 1988, cited in Cornwall 1995).
• Epistemologically therefore religion is neither trivial nor inadequate as a values education paradigm. Religious knowledge is certainly personal, but it is rational rather than emotive.
• Rational autonomy as an educational ideal which seeks to negate this is disingenuous as it inevitably tends to depend upon some other philosophical (religious substitute) system.
• The traditional African work ethic is not necessarily superior to the Judeo-Christian work ethic in that it is primarily agrarian and has limited scope for adaptability.
• Christianity in particular is instrumental in the preparation of a motivated and committed work force desperately needed in the development of Kenya’s nascent economy as well as promoting national unity since the religion claims the majority of Kenya’s population.
• The Christian ethic, with its premium on the idea of “calling”, “self-sacrifice”, “inner world asceticism”, and social solidarity may be far more suitable in the African context than its secular rivals.
• In part this is a matter of complementarity. There are strong parallels between the Judeo-Christian and the African world-views, especially in relation to a sense of duty and neighbourliness.

8:3 Summary of Findings

The following are the key epistemological, hermeneutic, cultural and curriculum policy issues that I think should inform the empirical evidence.

8:3:1 The Key Epistemological Question

The key epistemological question is whether religious knowledge as such has anything of general value to say about the question of ethics that will impact on the
values basis conflict. So the key epistemological question is whether religion covers its epistemic reach, ethical issues in a such a way that can impact on values and, of course, both the OC and the NCEOP in their own way say it can. The OC because they do not understand that religion incorporates ethics as a primary element in its system, but all religions are metaphysical, moral, existential systems which have moral dimensions. The NCEOP thinks that ethics are basically autonomous, but in reality they are not, because they are derived from beliefs, attitudes and values from control systems all of which are interrelated to religion.

A value, as used here, in terms of ethics means something worthy of esteem for its own sake and which has intrinsic worth. It relates to the particular principles or standards of conduct by which a person chooses to live. Values are to do with matters that take place in the public realm and that we perceive and judge to be matters of importance. We desire them, we wish to be like them or to posses them, to replicate or emulate them. And we are willing to approve, praise and commend those objects, performances, to other people. These things give us principles to guide our conduct and to regulate our lives; and moreover they are principles which we can strongly commend to other people to follow.

8:3:2 The Key Hermeneutic Question

The key hermeneutic question is what the meaning of values education should be in the African context, and what it involves. It is how values education should be interpreted in religious terms, in secular terms or in general that does justice both to the religious elements and to legitimate secular aspirations. The teachers, however, know it intuitively.
8:3:3 The Key Cultural Question

The key cultural question specifically concerns the role of missionary Christianity in relationship to the colonial and post-colonial formative impact on education: to what extent that impact was positive and to what extent negative, and what capacity there is to build on the cultural heritage, both the Christian heritage and the African heritage.

8:3:4 The Key Curriculum Policy Question

The key curriculum question is what would be the most appropriate policy to adopt at this juncture in terms of moving forward, not just the debate, but the practice of values education?

- Should it be a revitalised CRE?
- Should it be a revitalised SEE?
- Should it be a secular traditional African social ethics that does greater justice to a contextualised Christian approach and that interacts appropriately with the African heritage at the theoretical level and the practical level?

In the next section I revisit the findings by questionnaire.

8.4 The Questionnaire Procedures and Findings

The complex Kenyan context reflects the economic, cultural, political, religious and social milieu in which values are taught at secondary school. The OC recommended teaching spiritual and moral development via Judeo-Christianity (CRE) whilst the NCEOP recommended the teaching of values via traditional
African social ethics (African Socialism). A secular curriculum underpinned via traditional social ethics never materialised. Instead the Kenya Institute of Education prepared the Social Education Ethics (SEE) curriculum, parasitic on Christianity but including aspects of the other religions in the country. The two competing paradigms of values education are therefore Christian Religious Education (C.R.E.) and Social Education and Ethics (S.E.E.). In order to access the views of the key professionals involved in policy and pedagogic innovation, it was thought to be highly desirable to survey a range of opinion using standard procedures between May and September 1994. What follows is an explanation of how those procedures were considered and implemented in extremely challenging circumstances. The limitations and constraints under which the researcher operated were peculiar to Kenya, but were also common place in many parts of the developing world. In particular, the need to limit the survey to the Nairobi region and the impossibility of following up the administration of the questionnaire by interviewing a sample of the respondents is accounted for. The frustrations involved in carrying out research in the developing world vary from country to country. Kenya’s infrastructure, for example, constitutes serious complicating factors for carrying out research in terms of transportation and postal services. Carrying out research as an insider brings with it insurmountable difficulties varying from the need to bribe one’s way to being denied access to certain sources of information on the dubious grounds of nepotism. These problems have been experienced by other researchers (Vulliamy G, Lewin K, and Stephens D. (1990)

However, the findings of the research appear to be consistent with the interpretation of the data given in this thesis albeit with a clear understanding that any implications drawn are only provisional. Given the foregoing, it would have been impossible to identify a target group for follow up visits and such qualitative research has needed to be postponed until circumstances are more favourable
which is likely to be the case in the context of post doctoral agency sponsored research.

The objectives of the study were:

1. Discovering teachers' views about the extent to which a curriculum framed around S.E.E. would promote a suitable paradigm of values education.
2. Ascertaining whether combining elements of contextualised Judeo-Christianity with the African cultural and religious heritage might provide the optimum alternative for pupils in the view of their teachers.
3. Finding out whether there are other factors outside the reach of formal education that conflict with the values of secondary pupils.
4. Finding out to what extent the present Christian Religious Education (C.R.E.) curriculum is considered a sound basis for education in values.
5. Finding out to what extent traditional African social ethics/African Traditional Religions (ATR)/African Religious Heritage (ARH) are considered as a sound basis for values education.
7. Finding out to what extent a multifaith curriculum is considered a sound basis for values education.

Teachers' views were examined under the following themes:

1. The most popular basis for values education currently in Kenya schools.
2. The co-curricular activities best promoting values in the school.
3. The causes of violence in schools.
4. Why the NCEOP condemned CRE in the school curriculum.
5. How values teaching might be improved in the school curriculum.
6. The strongest social group influencing the young people's values.
7. The societies or clubs best contributing to values within the school.
8. Missionary roles in Kenyan education.
9. The strongest negative influence on pupils' values.

8.5 Sampling Frame and Design

In addition to Nairobi Province which was representative of all characteristics considered necessary for the main study area, four schools in the rural areas were also surveyed.

According to De Vaus (1986), a sampling frame involves listing all members of the population and thereafter pulling out the names of those one needs to make a sample. The sampling frame used in this study was a list of all 130 secondary schools in Nairobi Province as obtained from the Provincial Education Officer Nairobi Province. The following characteristics were used to sample the schools.

a) At least 3 Boys schools
b) At least 2 Co-educational schools
c) At least 2 Boarding schools
d) At least 1 Roman Catholic Girls National School
e) At least 1 Protestant Girls Rural School
f) At least 1 Secular (not church founded) Provincial school for Boys.

Table 8:4:1

| Boy school | 1 | National School | 5 |
| Girl school | 2 | Provincial school | 6 |
| Secular school | 3 | District school | 7 |

210
Using the coding in the table above, the 8 schools were stratified as follows:

Table 8:4:2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Alliance Boys</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Alliance Girls</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Bukembe School</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Goibei Girls</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Lenana School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Machakos Boys</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Masii School</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Preciou’s Blood School</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, the following characteristics were considered in the sampling of the schools in the survey. Public schools only were used in the survey for the following reasons:

1. They admit on merit the best academically performing pupils through a
central selection board.

2. They admit pupils from schools with geo-political, ethnic and religious diversity, though many non-Christians prefer to go to their faith schools.

3. They are disciplined urban or rural District, Provincial and National schools.

4. They have adequate facilities and follow a national curriculum with uniform gender variations.

5. They have experienced, professionally qualified and recognised teachers.

6. All children study a religion of their faith and Social Education and Ethics

The sampling frame for secondary school teachers who number over 200,000, according to records at the Teachers Service Commission, would have been complicated to use, given the protracted adverse circumstances in which the study was carried out; even a sampling from Nairobi alone would have been difficult to organise. The researcher contacted teachers in their staff groups in the sampled urban and rural schools. He then approached the Assistant Director of Education who helped him have access to 300 additional teachers who were gathered at Kenya Science Teachers College which was a CRE and SEE Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education Marking Examination Centre in Nairobi.

By stratified sampling, the researcher obtained a sample of 101 teachers who filled in self-completion questionnaires. Stratification in sampling allows the researcher to consider certain characteristics of the population and then draw a final sample. In this case, the final sample had to include equal numbers of those teaching C.R.E. and S.E.E. The sample had also to include equal numbers of men and women. Finally, the sample considered ethnic diversity (the full list of examiners was confidential to the Kenya National Examinations Council and could not be released to the researcher for security reasons).
In addition to the characteristics outlined above, the teachers who were examiners of these subjects were the most competent academically and professionally. Among them were school guidance and counselling staff, patrons of religious and secular clubs, chaplains, subject and departmental heads. The teachers also represented most geographical parts of Kenya.
Table 8:4:3 Responses in the Sampled Schools in Nairobi and the Rural Areas:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOLS</th>
<th>TEACHERS</th>
<th>RETURNS</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alliance Boys</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alliance Girls</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bukembe</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goibei Girls</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lenana</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machakos Boys</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Precious Blood</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masii School</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>61</strong></td>
<td><strong>53</strong></td>
<td><strong>86.9%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cohen and Manion (1984:293) list four advantages of using questionnaires in data collection.

a) Many respondents may be reached through this method. This was the best method for data collection in my protracted conditions. My experience was that much depends on how the questionnaire is administered. Posted questionnaires may get lost, delayed or rejected. I went to venues personally whenever it was safe to do so to deliver or collect scripts, which ensured a high return rate.

b) It ensures accurate or reliable collection of data. But, of course, when some questions are poorly answered or not answered at all, one may not get reliable data. Some of the teachers in the marking centre returned uncompleted or mutilated and ruined scripts.
c) It is time saving. Again in my experience this depends on whether the researcher personally goes to venues and successfully delivers or collects scripts to reduce delays.

d) Anonymity encourages honesty. In the African context this depends on other subjective factors; some teachers returned their scripts uncompleted because they could not be identified.

Kidder (1980) asserts that the main disadvantage of the questionnaire is that it is impersonal. The researcher cannot get to the inner feelings of the respondent. But this really depends on the questions asked and what the researcher wants to know. In my case the questionnaire contained all the information I needed and, of course, they were all well answered except in the cases indicated above.

The questionnaires consisted of a personal background section and the key question section which sort to elicit respondents’ attitudes, values, beliefs, knowledge, preferences and perceptions of the role of religion and culture in values education in the secondary school curriculum in Kenya. The questionnaire was therefore significant in determining the beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions of this target group about the place of CRE, SEE, traditional African social ethics/ARH/ATR in values education underpinning for the Christian majority in Kenya’s Secondary Schools. Teachers were chosen as the target population because:

a) They are the most knowledgeable and experienced in relation to the key issues.

b) It could be expected that they would be the harbingers and models of the values they teach. In Kenya, Christian teachers are perceived as custodians and agents of Christian values.
c) They could be expected to be honest and realistic in their responses.

The researcher was licensed by the Office of the President of the Republic of Kenya, the Provincial Commissioner Nairobi Province, the Area Officers in Nairobi and the District Commissioner Machakos. Another licence came from the Kenya Catholic Secretariat. With valid licences, the researcher made contacts with principals and heads of the sampled schools. Heads of the CRE and SEE departments organised staff to complete the piloted and corrected questionnaires at their own time. At the examinations centre the researcher handed scripts to examinations officers who administered the questionnaire. The researcher returned to collect completed scripts one week later. That ensured independence and personal freedom by those completing the questionnaire contributing to high validity and accuracy of data collected. The personal presence and administration of the questionnaire by the researcher might contaminate the data, particularly in the African context where role relationships are mutable. Contacting respondents well in advance before administering the test items has been found in several studies to increase the response rate (Borg and Gall, 1983). This might be ideal in normal research circumstances, but in the context in which the researcher was operating, the immediate window of opportunity required quick action to take advantage of the available target group.

The data can only illuminate the findings by documentary and discourse analysis, the main study methodology. It cannot be generalised because only 8 out of more than 10,000 public secondary schools in the country were used. Although the teachers who filled out the questionnaire were professionally and academically competent, they would not be regarded as a valid national representation of teachers. The data will therefore be used as indicative rather than determinative.
In the next section I present the findings in percentages and averages (tables are provided in Appendix 8 in which graphic illustrations of the alternatives ranked (1) are compared).

1. From the responses in table 8:2.1, it was the view of 85 out of 164 respondents who ranked (1 out of 7) “current CRE syllabus” that currently CRE would be the most popular paradigm for values education in Kenyan schools. This represents the views of a significant majority.

2. From the responses in table, 8:2.2, it was the view of 60 out of 164 respondents, who ranked (1 out of 7) “Pastoral Activities” that the development of pupils’ values in the school was best promoted by pastoral activities. This represents the views of a significant minority.

3. From the responses in table 8:2.3, it was the view of 44 out of 164 respondents who ranked (1 out of 7) “poor administration” that it was the strongest cause of violence in schools. This represents the views of a significant minority.

4. From the responses in table 8:2.4, it was the view of 91 out of 164 respondents who ranked (1 out of 5) “other factors were ignored” that the NCEOP had ignored the real factors behind social pathology in Kenya. This represents the views of a significant majority.

5. From the responses in table 8:2.5, it was the view of 79 out of 164 respondents who ranked (1 out of 8) “Contextualised CRE” that to improve the values education curriculum at the secondary phase of education, Christianity must be contextualised within traditional African social ethics. This represents the views of a substantial number about a half the respondents that the teaching of Christianity must be contextualised within a framework that interacts with traditional African social ethics.

6. From the responses in table 8:2.6, it was the view of 108 out of 164
respondents who ranked (1 out of 6) "The family" that the strongest social group influencing pupils values was the family. This represents the views of a substantially significant majority.

7. From the responses in table 8:2.7, it was the view of 76 out of 164 respondents, who ranked (1 out of 7) "the Christian union" that the club or society in the school which best contributed to spiritual, social and moral development of pupils was the Christian union. This represents the views of a significant minority.

8. From the responses in table 8:2.8, it was the view of 53 out of 164 respondents who ranked (1 out of 5) "pornographic literature" that "pornographic literature" was the strongest influence acting as youth values neutralising agent in Kenya. This represents the views of a significant minority.

9. The strong agreement of 20, the agreement of 44, the uncertainty of 19, the disagreement of 60 and the strong disagreement of 20 out of 164 respondents to the question whether "missionaries established African education" represents the views of the majority that "missionaries alone did not establish African Education in colonial times".

10. The strong agreement of 21, the agreement of 39, the uncertainty of 27, the disagreement of 60 and the strong disagreement of 1 out of 164 respondents indicated the mixed views of respondents with regard to the claim that "missionaries did not acquiesce themselves in Western imperialism".

11. The strong agreement of 24, the agreement of 68, the uncertainty of 9, the disagreement of 42 and the strong disagreement of 21 out of 164 respondents is indication of the mixed views of respondents with regard to the claim that "Christianity eroded African traditional values".

12. The strong agreement of 29, the agreement of 85, the uncertainty of 12, the disagreement of 31 and the strong disagreement of 7 out of 164 respondents
is indication of a substantial majority view of respondents with regard to the claim that “Christianity contributed positive values to Africa’s development”.

13. The strong agreement of 62, the agreement of 73, the uncertainty of 6, the disagreement of 19, and the strong disagreement of 4 out of 164 respondents is indication of the substantial majority support of respondents with regard to the claim that “missionaries did not contextualise their teaching within the African milieu.”

14. The strong agreement of 27, the agreement of 70, the uncertainty of 9, the disagreement of 46 and the strong disagreement of 12 out of 164 respondents is indication of the substantial majority support of respondents with regard to the claim that “missionary teaching concentrated on spiritual development”.

15. The strong agreement of 34, the agreement of 95, the disagreement of 19, the uncertainty of 12 and the strong disagreement of 4 out of 164 respondents is indication of the substantial majority support of respondents with regard to the claim that “most missionaries opposed colonial oppression in Kenya”.

16. The strong agreement of 19, the agreement of 57 the uncertainty of 18, the disagreement of 58 and the strong disagreement of 12 out of 164 respondents is indication of the mixed support of respondents with regard to the claim that “Christianity was neither fully accepted nor fully rejected by Africans due to its colonial links”.

17. The strong agreement of 13, the agreement of 34, the uncertainty of 17, the disagreement of 69 and the strong disagreement of 31 out of 164 respondents is indication of the minority support of respondents with regard to the claim that “Christianity was too narrow to underpin values”.

18. The strong agreement of 44, the agreement of 63, the uncertainty of 22 the disagreement of 27 and the strong disagreement of 8 out of 164 respondents
is indication of substantial majority support of respondents with regard to the claim that “Christian values were widely accepted in Africa”.

19. The strong agreement of 9, the agreement of 64, the uncertainty of 8, the disagreement of 19, and the strong disagreement of 4 out of 164 respondents is indication of significant minority support of respondents with regard to the claim that “Christian values influence character positively.”

By way of observation it is worth noting that teachers were unable to identify pastoral activities as part of the societies promoting values. On the whole they did not interpret pastoral activities, societies and clubs as aspects of the hidden curriculum. The teachers accurately interpreted the cause of social pathology in the schools as being a function of poor administration. Their view was that the NCEOP allegation that CRE had been the cause of social pathology had ignored the real factors behind Kenya’s social pathology. They rightly indicted the missionaries for failing to contextualise their Christian teaching in order to promote positive values. A significant majority of the sample (51.83 percent) indicated that CRE was currently the most popular values basis. Only a minority (1 out of 164 teachers) indicated that to improve values in the school curriculum CRE should be eliminated. About half the respondents (79 out of 164 teachers) indicated that the best way to improve the teaching of values would be by introducing the African context. This implied that CRE or SEE on their own could not underpin values adequately. Not a single teacher had the view that African Socialism (traditional African social ethics or ARH, or ATR) would be a justifiable alternative. Moreover a very substantial majority of (163 out of 164) teachers indicated the views that traditional African social ethics on their own were inadequate as a values basis. The teachers then indicated that the best way to strengthen values in the school was through Christian pastoral activities. These activities are carried out as co-curricular activities through school worship services,
the Christian union and the Catholic Action/Young Christian Society (YCS). But a substantial majority (108 out of 164) teachers indicated that it was really primarily the parents’ responsibility to bring up children in acceptable values. Obviously it cannot be the entire responsibility of the school to develop pupils in values. In Kenya children belong to parents, but it does not imply that all children have parents. Many are orphaned children as is the case in many parts of Africa. The church and the school have important but limited parts to play. In Kenya and Africa generally, more so than in the West, the schools are expected to harmonise the values that children come with since they uniquely have the facilities to do so. However, the ideal is always that teachers and parents should co-operate.

The general trend discernible is that Christianity was preferred either on its own or within the African context. Teachers shared the view that the concentration by missionaries on spiritual development in their education was a positive move in itself as it facilitated the acceptance of new positive beliefs, values and attitudes which replaced very negative traditional values whilst building the existing positive values. This led to the teachers’ conclusion by a substantial majority that Christian values are more adequate than the traditional African ones, all things considered. Christianity is therefore not perceived as an inadequate basis for values education.

The view of the majority of teachers has been that missionaries alone did not establish Western education in Kenya. Others such as the colonial government and commercial groups played a role. Missionaries had their own views of what African Education should be although their views cannot be generalised. But in some cases the colonial administration and the interests of European settlers conflicted with the view of education as envisaged by missionaries and Africans (Anthula and Theodore, 1993). The implication here is that Africans themselves
played an important role in getting African education established. There was education in Africa before the arrival of missionaries, but it was not universal. Worse still it was neither reduced to writing nor sufficiently numerate. A majority of teachers, of course, shared the view that missionaries did not acquiesce in Western European imperialism. Instead, some of the missionaries opposed colonial oppression of Africans. But the teachers’ view that missionary values eroded traditional African values can imply two things. First, that although Christianity came to Africa at the same time as colonialism, it was well received and Africans widely accepted its values. On this basis, positive traditional African values were enhanced and ennobled by Christian values while most of the negative values were eliminated. This would in effect be recognition of what was a positive Christian contribution. Teachers would then share the view that missionary Christianity had successfully contributed to the positive development of Africa all round. Second, that Christianity, through its agents destroyed something quintessentially African and replaced it with an alien ideology. On this reading, some teachers would share the view that Christianity was essentially a destructive force. But this would be a minority view as it is clear from theological research all over the continent of Africa (Mbiti, 1969, 1972, 1984), that what Africans lost in the coming of the Christian ideology was replaced by a more positive, therapeutic, intrinsic, transformational, consistent and fulfilling religion. The discernible view of a substantial majority of Kenyans is therefore that missionaries were brought by God to Kenya to show them this more meaningful way of life (Mbiti, 1969). However, for various reasons, some of the Western missionaries were limited in their interpretation and communication of Christianity with implications for the effective transformation of Africans and their world-view. Africans have now taken their own initiatives to find ways to communicate effectively and apply the Christian world-view in their own context. If Christianity had negatively replaced the traditional African religious and cultural world-view, it would have been
rejected completely along with colonialism. However, there is another interesting view of teachers about Christian values. Teachers have no doubt that these are positive worthwhile values well received and widely accepted in Africa. However, the Christian values have not fully transformed some of the Africans who claim to be Christians. For example, I noted in chapter two that although Kenya claims to be majority Christian, we still suffer from corruption, even official corruption sometimes by people who claim to be Christians. But this characteristic of Christianity is not peculiar to Kenya as it is manifested by Christians elsewhere. Claiming Christian values alone is not the only mark of a genuine Christian (Priestley, 1996). However, the view of teachers together with the Third World Theologians is that Christianity is the only ideology that if well received and appropriated because of its transcendence holds the key for an African bright future. My research is partly due to this.

8:6 Discussion of Research Findings in the Light of the Empirical Study

8:6:1 Epistemological Polarity

The OC recommended Christianity for spiritual and moral development but decontextualised it by not recommending the inclusion of traditional African religious teachings and social ethics within the curriculum to serve as the context for relating Christian values to the lives of learners. The OC seemed to have identified African values with secularity, which the OC claimed could not authentically underpin human development outside religion.

The NCEOP view was that Christianity was not a justifiable basis for values education within the school curriculum. The reasons the NCEOP gave were that Christian ethics were not as adequate as the traditional African social ethics.
Instead, African social ethics should be instituted in the curriculum to underpin values.

Both the NCEOP and the OC offered analyses which contained contradictions in respect of the relationship between religion and African Social ethics. They shared a common notion that religion and ethics were not just separable but distinct entities. For the OC ethics was not part of Christianity and for the NCEOP religion was not part of African social ethics. But religion is part of traditional African social ethics and ethics is a central part of Christianity. Operating with these misconceptions the OC eliminated traditional African social ethics in values education and the NCEOP eliminated religion from values education. The teachers' responses are interesting in that they both criticised and agreed with some of these views. Agreeing with the OC, a significant majority of teachers indicated their view that “Christianity was the most popular” values education paradigm by ranking it (1 out of 7). “Multifaith teaching” was ranked (1 out of 7) by only 14, “contextualised teaching” was ranked (1 out of 7) by a substantial minority 71, SEE was ranked (1 out of 7) by 18, while “traditional African social ethics” was rejected by all. Noteworthy is the fact that 71 out of 164, a substantial minority, favoured contextualist teaching. None of the teachers agreed with the NCEOP view that traditional African social ethics was the most popular basis for values. The teachers’ view was that Christianity could provide a coherent basis for values education; however, a substantial minority indicated that this could be strengthened by contextual teaching.

Teachers, therefore can be seen as preferring a basis which used the traditional African social ethics as a context for Christian teaching in order to improve the values basis. Responding to the question which asked how values would be improved in the school curriculum, nearly one half of the respondents (79 out of
Teachers ranked “introduce African context in CRE” (1 out of 8). “Emphasise SEE” was ranked (1 out of 8) by a minority 24 while “Emphasise CRE” alone was ranked (1 out of 8) by minority 37. “Eliminate CRE” was ranked (1 out of 8) by only 1, replace “SEE by CRE in African context” was ranked (1 out of 8) by 18, while “ARH” was ranked (1 out of 8) by 8. Teachers thus criticised the OC for neglecting the African context. They agreed with the NCEOP about using traditional African social ethics in values education, but criticised the NCEOP for dropping religion from it. Above all the teachers’ views confirmed the views of the ATWT that Christianity ought to be repackaged and presented within the African context to reconsider some of the socio-economic and political issues afflicting Africa. But more analysis of the teachers’ responses in this item would be illuminating. They seem to be indicating that if individual subjects like the multifaith, ARH, SEE and CRE are to be taught on their own then CRE would be the most popular alternative. But if values are to be improved, then Christianity in the context of traditional African social ethics should be the most popular basis. They indicate negative responses to ARH, multifaith and SEE. When they are asked to indicate which societies and clubs or pastoral activities best promote values, they indicate Christian based ones. The pattern seems to put Christianity on the front line, but Christianity in the context of traditional social ethics seems to be the most suitable. Teachers seem to consistently indicate their choice of both Christian and African values in what to them seems to be the most coherent values basis. The OC and the NCEOP lack this consistency. Documentary analysis revealed that religion, especially CRE would form an adequate basis for values while a secular basis might not. The teachers views further support the documentary analysis view that contextualised Christianity would even be a better values basis. This is quite an interesting trend, which seems to suggest that a curriculum based on contextualised Christianity would be the best prospect with teachers. This not only complies with the views of the ATWT, but also implies that
teachers would like the African traditions taught as part of values education, but only in the company of Christianity. In this way they harmonise the polarity between the OC and the NCEOP views on values education and the conflict.

Three questions arise from this trend. First, why did the OC prefer Christianity to traditional African social ethics? The underlying reason could be that the OC inherited the British philosophy of education in which religion was seen as an important factor in human development (Shefield, 1973). Kenya’s first Head of State had publicly endorsed Christianity as Kenya’s conscience of society (Mugambi 1989). The missionary record in contributing to human and national development in Kenya was outstanding (Okullu, 1984; Galia, 1997). The OC had argued that only Christianity would be most instrumental in underpinning authentic human development. However, I have noted that the OC ignored African traditional values, which would have formed the context for understanding Christian values. Second, why did the NCEOP prefer traditional African social ethics? This had been long neglected, although it could have contextualised Christianity. The NCEOP expressed its anti-colonial reaction by rejecting Christianity on ideological grounds. But also the NCEOP implied the need for education as cultural analysis to include cultural issues. Like the OC, however, there was serious contradiction in this NCEOP move by neglecting religion. Third why did teachers agree with the OC that Christianity would be a suitable basis for values education? It may be argued that they were Christians, but only a significant majority 85 out of 147 Christians who responded to the question agreed with the OC implying that still not all Christians indicated this to be the most popular basis. They had other interpretations of the view. But those who chose it indicated that it was a justifiable basis for values education. The view of 79 teachers that Christianity should be contextualised in traditional African social ethics agreed with the NCEOP earlier view that if missionaries had contextualised their teaching
it would have promoted justifiable human development. The teachers view of contextualisation was more coherent and consistent than the rest of the views. This implies that the proper role of Christianity in values education in Kenyan schools requires more clarification.

The other related issue is that both the OC and the NCEOP were not quite sure how to relate religion to morality and ethics. Ethics, of course, is wider than morality, but not all ethics would be relevant to values education. However, this is where the OC failed to make the distinction by implying that ethics as a whole would not be a curriculum subject and that morality would not be taught via religion. The NCEOP resorted to an extreme secular view by completely separating religion from ethics and implying that a secular ethic could be underpinned by and derived from the traditional African social ethics themselves embedded in religion. This made it difficult for either the OC or the NCEOP to recommend a coherent and justifiable base for values education. However, the NCEOP discernibly intended to recommend a religious values basis (Njoroge 1986), while the OC arbitrarily recommended a Christian basis.

Teachers further indicated their view that religious based activities could enhance the acquisition of positive values by pupils. Responding to a question about which school activities would best promote the acquisition of positive values, out of seven different activities, a significant minority 60 teachers indicated “pastoral activities” as best enhancing values by ranking it as (1out of 7). “Clubs and societies” were ranked (1out of 7) by a small minority 10 respondents, “cultural festivities” were ranked (1out of 7) by a small minority 14. “School Assemblies” were ranked (1 out of 7) by a small minority 9, “adult examples” were ranked (1out of 7) by a small minority 20, while speech days were ranked (1out of 7) by
only very small minority 8. Pastoral activities in Kenya schools are basically Christian oriented.

8:6:2 Ideological and Hermeneutic Polarity

The NCEOP view that Christianity could be blamed for failing to underpin values was criticised by a significant majority 91 out of 164 teachers who ranked (1 out of 5) the view that the NCEOP “had ignored other important factors” which led to social pathology in Kenya. The most important factor causing violence in schools as far as the teachers were concerned was poor school administration and political interference. This view of teachers found support from the memoranda by Protestant and Catholic churches in Kenya to the Ministry of Education in 1991 (appendix 1). A very substantial majority response of 163 out of 164 respondents indicated the views of teachers that CRE should not be eliminated from Kenya’s school curriculum as recommended by the NCEOP. Ideologically the OC views to enhance Christianity in the school curriculum are supported by the teachers’ responses.

The NCEOP had observed that secularisation was a real challenge to morality the world over. The teachers further indicated that among other causes of social decadence in Kenya, pornographic literature followed by TV and movies were the strongest neutralisers of values. This also confirmed the research findings in America which indicated that the peer group had very little influence on the values the young people hold, contrary to what some people expect (Cornwall, 1993). Studies in England have revealed that the greatest cause of social decadence is pornographic advertising on TV and video shows (Crosslinks, 1991). But the other factors ignored by the NCEOP included the fact that Christian values could influence society informally through social welfare. The reference to Christianity

228
as the conscience of society must have implied the influence of Christianity beyond the teaching of CRE in the school curriculum. The NCEOP also ignored the negative influence of secular Western and oriental cultural influences and ideological pluralism in Kenya. But in a related question, which asked teachers the social group with the strongest influence on the values pupils held, 108 teachers ranked "the family" (1 out of 6). Only a small minority 24 ranked "the church" (1 out of 6), a very small minority 9 ranked "the society" (1 out of 6), a small minority 14 teachers ranked "the school" (1 out of 6), while 2 teachers ranked "none of these" (1 out of 6). This presents an interesting picture of teachers' understanding of their role in values education. The teachers seemed to be implying that the family and not the school should have been blamed for social decadence in Kenya. This confirms research findings in America and in England. Marie Cornwall observes:

In the 1960s, American sociologists were describing the declining importance of religion in every day life and the dire straits of the American family. There was more and more talk about the need for values education in the schools, since families were not imparting this knowledge to young people and both parents and social scientists felt that peer groups had much stronger influence on children and adolescents than parents. Since then, a number of research endeavours have demonstrated that: 1) parents have strong influence on their children, 2) religion continues to be important to a large segment of society, and 3) schools are not able to contribute to adolescent development in the same way as families and communities. The state of modern societies and the social problems they face encourage social scientists to return to their theories and empirical evidence to ask how might parents, religions, and schools co-operate in the socialisation of the next generation of citizens? (Cornwall, 1995: 58)

The NCEOP had asserted that parents and teachers in Kenya expected the socialisation of children to be the responsibility of the other, but teachers had expressed the view that this was not part of their employment. The teachers might be right in this but they influence pupils in more ways than just through the academic. The NCEOP view that social decadence could be blamed on the
teaching of CRE implied that teachers in the schools had failed in their socialisation responsibility.

It is not the entire responsibility of the school to promote the socialisation of children. In Kenya, children belong to parents. But this does not imply that all children have parents. Even if all children had parents the question still remains whether all parents are equally able to influence their children effectively with positive values. The church and the society at large have limited, but very important parts to play. However, the school in Kenya is expected to harmonise the values children bring to school since they have the facilities to do so. The best route it seems is for both parents and teachers to co-operate. But it is interesting that only two teachers indicated that none of the social groups mentioned had a strong influence on the values pupils held. They implied that pupils could invent their own rationally autonomous morality. This kind of thinking is quite ahead of contemporary Kenya's pre-critical educational understanding and has not proved conspicuously successful when applied in the Western context under the guise of constructivism.

Teachers also responded to the NCEOP view that “CRE was an inadequate values basis” Only a minority 26 out of 164 teachers ranked that alternative (1 out of 5), while a significant majority of 91 out of 164 ranked (1 out 5) the alternative that “the NCEOP ignored other factors”. In another question asking whether Christianity is an inadequate basis for value education, 13 respondents agreed strongly, 34 agreed, 17 were uncertain while 69 disagreed and 31 disagreed strongly. In other words 100 respondents indicated their view that Christianity is an adequate basis for values. By “adequate” teachers imply that Christianity as a religion has all it takes to make values authentic, intrinsic, therapeutic and effective. Christian theism regards its values as being consistent, permanent, and
transformational. This implies that the Christian ethic may be far ahead of the secular ethic in all its values underpinning functions.

The NCEOP anti-colonial reaction against missionary Christianity does not seem to have had much support from teachers' responses. While the NCEOP accused Christianity of dividing society and destroying its values, 114 out of 164 teachers regarded missionary Christianity as having positively contributed to Kenya's national and human development. Asked whether missionaries acquiesced in Western European imperialism in Kenya, a very substantial majority 129 out of 164 teachers opposed the view. This response leaves room for the fact that very few missionaries in Kenya went against Africans although most openly opposed colonial oppression. The evangelical wing of the ATWT sees most missionaries as having been humanitarian, philanthropic and sacrificial in their service to Africans. The stopping of the slave trade is a case in point. The OC recommended Christian values highly for Kenya's socio-economic development and reconstruction. The NCEOP ideological view that Christianity was a vehicle for the infiltration of Western scientific, cultural and technological values is unrealistic. Kenya has embraced a Western capitalistic economy and promoted science and technology in education, although the NCEOP has ironically rejected the Western world-view and its Christian values in human development. On the contrary, 107 out of 164 teachers indicated their view that Christian values have been widely accepted in Africa. The NCEOP failed to distinguish ideological issues related to missionary Christianity from philosophical and epistemological issues related to CRE.

8:7 Critical Appraisal and Conclusion

This chapter has presented and analysed empirical evidence to supplement the documentary analysis which addressed the contrast between the OC and the
NCEOP over values education in Kenyan schools. The contrast can generally be summed up as having manifested conceptual, philosophical, epistemological, ideological and hermeneutic inconsistencies. Although the views of teachers generally mediate between the OC and the NCEOP, they tend to overlap the views of the ATWT on missionary Christianity. The analysis has revealed that both the OC and the NCEOP are shifting compounds of contradictions in their notion and hermeneutics of religion and secularity in values education. However, teachers, whether Christian or not, consistently indicate that the best alternative for values education in Kenya is one which combines elements of the traditional African milieu with Judeo-Christianity. This overlaps the current ATWT calls for contextualisation of Christianity in the African milieu. There is no doubt in teachers' minds that the Christian tradition is, by far, a more ethically adequate basis than either the African tradition, the SEE, or the Multifath. The teachers' views do not converge with the NCEOP ideological tirade against missionary Christianity. The teachers agree with the OC and the ATWT that Christianity has made Kenya what it is and should continue to pursue this role even through education.

I am able to state that one of these three theses is fully supported by the empirical research. The empirical evidence:

- indicates that the current teaching context in Africa would be sympathetic towards the kind of initiative I am suggesting and there is no reason to believe that there would be any insurmountable barriers to its success.
- suggests that it is highly likely that were contextualised CRE to be appropriately implemented, a significant majority of the teaching force would welcome this as a strategic initiative and use their best professional offices to make it work.
illuminates my analysis in such a way as to suggest that a project structured around the contextualised teaching of Christian values strategically synthesised with viable elements from the African traditional heritage would be highly likely to succeed.

In Part four, Chapter 9, I investigate and propose a contextualist theory and methodology to the harmonisation of curriculum and teaching of values education for Kenyan schools.
CHAPTER 9: Proposal for a Tripartite Contextualist Values Education Curriculum

9:1 Introduction

The research and implications in parts one to three have led to the conclusion that to resolve the values education impasse in Kenyan schools, three obstacles must be transcended. First, the values curriculum of the future must be conceptualised to transcend the religion and ethics dichotomy. It has been established that Kenya remains in its largely pre-critical educational discourse in which religion and ethics are legitimately connected. It has also been established that Judeo-Christian ethics are intrinsic to its world-view as such they are consistent, transcendent, therapeutic and morally adequate. They are more adequate for educational purposes in the context of a developing nation than secular values. Second, there is the need to transcend the Christian and traditional African Socialist dichotomy. Religion and ethics are common to both, but our analysis has revealed that all cultures have the potential to conform to the norms of Judeo-Christianity and the values implicit in it. The Judeo-Christian ethic has thus impacted on Africa in such a way as to become normative for traditional African socialist ethics. There is no idiosyncratic element in the Judeo-Christian tradition - that is no ideological, philosophical or moral inconsistency that militates against its claim to justifiable curricular potentiality. However, the horizons of the two should fuse within the contextualisation continuum if a coherent values education curriculum for the future of Kenyan pupils is to be envisaged.

Third, there is also a dichotomy between the didactic teaching and pupils' experience. As a result both teachers and pupils find it difficult to interpret the
Judeo-Christian cum African Socialist paradigms and relate them to the national expectations and their own existential realities. Current CRE teaching is incoherent both to teachers and pupils. It barely satisfies the national criteria whilst the cultural, social, spiritual, and moral expectations remain disconnected from the flow of life and the wider cultural conversation. A conversational, dialogical, and participative style in which teacher and pupil challenge each other as they reform and are reformed by cultural knowledge on which pupils inner and outer environments are engaged, is likely to stimulate creativeness and learning by bridging these methodological deficiencies. The conceptual inconsistencies related to these dichotomies as found in the OC, in the NCEOP, as well as the gulf between their recommendations and the views of teachers have been considered in earlier chapters. This chapter sets out to propose a three dimensional values education curriculum for Kenyan pupils which is based on combining the historic Christian tradition with the insights of African heritage, establishing the national goals for education and buying purchase in the existentialist situations of the learners. In the next section I analyse the components of engineering the sort of values education subject curriculum envisaged by this project.

As our research has indicated, the NCEOP proposal for a secular traditional African social ethics curriculum was not instituted in schools. The KIE working together with teachers introduced a different values basis (SEE) heavily drawing on Christianity, but without reversing the NCEOP policy on values education. But both CRE and SEE are flawed in several respects and neither has engaged pupils effectively. The Weberian idea of conflict between competing paradigms can be reduced in this case by minimising the weaknesses shared by CRE and SEE whilst maximising their strengths. D’Souza’s view of polarisation between the secular and sacred paradigms in Kenya’s education system diminishes somewhat when their relationship within the contextualist paradigm is addressed coherently. The majority of teachers are committed to CRE teaching if they are well supported with teaching materials, teacher education, and appropriate curriculum and syllabus
reforms. Current provision in this area leaves much room for improvement if the credibility gap within the area is to be bridged.

There are some good examples of such a bridging process reflecting a nascent view of contextualisation. The "Life Approach" method now used in CRE teaching in Kenya demonstrates teachers’ attempts to contextualise their teaching, but teachers find it complicated and requiring much more time to think than other subjects. Our research findings showed that in the view of teachers the application of the contextualisation continuum might strengthen the teaching of CRE. If the contingent factors including policy, curriculum, pedagogy and teaching resources were in place, values teaching could be reconceptualised in the curriculum to form a viable syllabus within CRE. The teaching force have the aptitude to make it work. Contextualisation is certainly complex with multiple dimensions, but basically it is the refinement of our conceptualisation capacity to translate one thing into another so that it can serve the same purpose in another context. It is taking a set of skills of understanding and ways of operating together with core conceptual features and transplanting them into another frame of reference as a dynamic equivalent. This is something teachers in Kenya are well used to although it has not been well articulated or systematised.

A coherent values education curriculum has two poles. The content pole and the learning pole. The content pole consists of Christian teaching and its implications in relationship with African traditional heritage wisdom. The content pole should consist of selected Old and New Testament material, aspects of historical and contemporary Christianity in Kenya, ethical principles and maxims together with selected areas of African traditional and religious heritage. The learning pole consists of the national needs reflected in national goals for education and objectives. These in turn should reflect the societal-root paradigms and the

---

1 So far Kenyan scholars have not defined coherent ways to relate Judo-Christianity and the African tradition in the school curriculum to reduce the values impasse.
individual learner’s social, cultural, spiritual and existential needs. The content and learning poles interacting should promote the acquisition of certain virtues and qualities in the learner.

These values can be acquired through the teaching of CRE within this contextualisation continuum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Accountability</th>
<th>Caring</th>
<th>Commitment</th>
<th>Consistency</th>
<th>Dedication</th>
<th>Devotion</th>
<th>Faithfulness</th>
<th>Humility</th>
<th>Honesty</th>
<th>Loyalty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assurance</td>
<td>Completeness</td>
<td>Coherence</td>
<td>Courage</td>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>Endurance</td>
<td>Obedience</td>
<td>Politeness</td>
<td>Respect</td>
<td>Responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consideration</td>
<td>Decisiveness</td>
<td>Discipline</td>
<td>Forgiveness</td>
<td>Identity</td>
<td>Rationality</td>
<td>Sincerity</td>
<td>Transparency</td>
<td>Wholeness</td>
<td>Wisdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adaptability</td>
<td>Ambition</td>
<td>Integrity</td>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>Patriotism</td>
<td>Perseverance</td>
<td>Persistence</td>
<td>Purposefulness</td>
<td>Service</td>
<td>Thriftiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boldness</td>
<td>Confidence</td>
<td>Gratefulness</td>
<td>Orderliness</td>
<td>Peace</td>
<td>Goodness</td>
<td>Gratefulness</td>
<td>Patience</td>
<td>Truthfulness</td>
<td>Hope</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Teasing out the synergies and complementarity of Judeo-Christianity and African Socialism might provide necessary beliefs, ideals, role models, values, knowledge, attitudes and skills to carry on a successful cultural conversation. The learning pole would consist of the child’s inner and outer environments being formed to develop a positive self-image, discovering embedded knowledge about life’s fundamental, transcendental and existential questions. Conjoining these poles imaginatively might promote sound decision making mechanisms leading to acceptable, consistent, and coherent moral behaviour. It might uphold values and shape the capacity of young people for mature adulthood, responsible family membership and citizenship.

9:2 Missiological Contextualisation and its Cognates

Mojola is a Kenyan scholar, the executive Translations consultant of United Bible Societies Africa region, based in Dar-Es-salaam Tanzania. He has asserted:
The desire to free the Christian Gospel from foreign cultural domination, or from foreign cultural syncretism has led in many contexts to diverse theologies such as the Latin American Liberation theology; the Asian Theology of the cosmic Christ; the Mijungu Theology of Korea; Black Theology in the United states of America, in the Caribbean and in South Africa; the African Theology; the African Christian Theology and ecumenism in the context of other religions. The African Christian Theology seeks to root Christianity in African culture while stressing its liberation from Western cultural syncretism and religious domination (Mojola 1987:3ff).

Mojola’s purpose for contextualisation is that authentic Judeo-Christian values should effectively embed themselves within the physical, material, existential, religious, social, and anthropological situations. This may make them meaningful, relevant, implicit, applicable, and normative.

Hesselgrave (1991) claims that the word ‘contextualization’ was first used at the World Council of Churches in the 1960s. Shoki Coe and Aharon Sapsezian the directors of the Theological Education Fund (TEF) started to use the word at that time. They argued that it meant all that indigenisation had stood for, but went further than that.

It took into account the process of secularity, technology and the struggle for human justice, which characterised the historical moment of nations in the Third World. The third Mandate of the TEF was introduced as:

The widespread crisis of faith and search for meaning in life; the urgent issues of human development and social justice; the dialect between a universal technological civilisation and local culture and religious situations. (Hesselgrave 1991:35)

Contextualisation was coined by the TEF in order to enhance theological education in the Third World by encouraging a reconsideration of culture sensitive theologising and communication. It was meant to promote a real encounter between the church and the environment in which it found itself. Hesselgrave (1991) defines it as the process whereby representatives of a religious faith adapt
the forms and content of that faith in such a way as to communicate effectively. They commend some aspect of the faith to the minds and hearts of a new generation within their own changing culture or to people with other cultural backgrounds. Hesselgrave, however, seems to confine contextualisation at the level of communication. It may be more broadly defined as the process whereby the representatives of a religious faith adapt the form and content of that faith in such a way as to be able to communicate it effectively with implications for a new context. Hiebert, (1994), rightly observing that critical contextualisation should transcend the level of communication asserts that between 1850 and 1950 most Protestant missionaries in India and later in Africa rejected the “pagan” beliefs and practices of the people they served. They implemented the doctrine of the *tabula rasa*, that is the anthropological notion that there is nothing in the non-Christian cultures on which the Christian missionary can build and therefore every aspect of the traditional non-Christian cultures has to be destroyed before Christianity could be built up.

The reasons for non-contextualisation, were the emergence of colonialism and belief in the superiority of Western cultural ways and the superiority of the gospel. What the missionaries failed to understand was that all men were the creation of God and that the cultures they created had the common characteristic of good and bad aspects. Hiebert (1995:370).

The gospel values could ennoble the positive aspects of culture while challenging and judging the negative aspects. Hiebert (ibid) then succinctly defines contextualisation theologically as:

The embodiment of the Living Word in human cultural and social settings in such a way that its divine nature and power are not lost. True contextualisation is more than communication. It is God working in the hearts of people making them new and forming them into a new community. It is his word transforming their lives, their societies, and their cultures.
Hiebert thus introduces two levels at which true contextualisation takes place. The social level which involves the life of the missionary becoming incarnational in the lives of the people he is serving and the level which involves the missionary causing the word of God to be incarnational in the culture of the people, that is cognitively, affectively and evaluatively. Hiebert presents a more comprehensive view of contextualisation. However, his is primarily a theological mode of contextualisation. In an educational context, contextualisation will carry different connotations and imply a method which while seeking to communicate effectively and transforms lives, will not pursue missiological objectives as such. So contextualisation in education would go beyond the theological meaning and implications used in a missiological context.

Pobee (1986) asserts that genuine theological contextualisation defines theology as the study which seeks to express the content of the gospel in the clearest and most coherent languages available by participation in and reflection upon the Good News of God’s activity in the world culminating in Christ. He (ibid p.4) then adds the following observation:

The ultimate goal of theological education is therefore the renewal of the church and the material and spiritual formation of people. It involves both the rationality and character development after the model of Jesus Christ in a real world.

He emphasises the need for contextualisation to start from the non-negotiable revelation of God in Christ which should challenge the context, social, cultural, economic or political issues. Contextualisation should not start from the context or the problem, which the community faces, and then with its predetermined framework, seek to formulate the Christian message. This makes it a crusade or a programme rather than revelatory. Pobee implies that a biblical rather than an existential approach promotes effective contextualisation. He is implicitly critical of the liberal approaches to contextualisation while affirming Hiebert’s approach in which God’s word must be allowed to speak to the minds, and hearts transforming
them in their context. Whether this does justice to the biblical wisdom literature, narrative or parables is doubtful.

The contextualiser must understand his own culture from which he is to transpose the message of the Gospel. He must also understand the inner and outer environment of the people for whom he wants to contextualise the message. This takes us back to Hiebert’s social and cultural contextualisation. In true contextualisation, the contextualiser must meet these two criteria. His own life, theological position, and the way he lets the message not only communicate, but also transform the people’s minds, hearts and values. Using another word “Inculturation”, a Kenyan theologian, Walligo asserts:

As Christ himself chose to become man in order to save humanity, Christianity has no alternative. It must enter every human culture and time to express this same reality while underlining the importance of cultures as the instrument and the means for realising the incarnation process of the Christian religion. Inculturation is the honest and serious attempt to make Christ and his message of salvation ever more understood by peoples of every culture. It means the reformulation of Christian life and doctrine into the very thought patterns of each people.

(Walligo 1986: 12)

We may move further and distinguish between contextuality or context and universality. There are theological elements that do not vary with context. They are constants whether the context is African, American, Asian, European. Universality therefore refers to what is carried over as non-negotiable for Christians and theological educators wherever they may be. Without these non-negotiables the church cannot have deep roots in any country. In the African situation, for example an honest vernacular translation of the Bible and the message is necessary for building up the church from within. In this way the eternal non-negotiable Word of God would be engaging the African context of conscience-awakening to fight against the slavery of ignorance, unemployment, hunger and to free people from the slavery of superstition, discouragement, fatalism, egoism and sin. Walligo (ibid.) supports such views when he states,
For Christianity to be existential, it should incorporate liberation theology. It should speak to people in their spiritual, social, economic and political situation. In Africa people suffer from poverty, ignorance, disease, exploitation, war, dictatorship, economic inequalities, hunger, underdevelopment and many forms of social discrimination.

This situation so graphically described above, has resulted in massive social pathology and disorder. Against this background inculcated Christian values can give hope and an answer to the anxieties and anguish of the people of Africa. While educators cannot represent this in an authoritarian way, they are obliged to represent such a claim as part of democratic discourse engaged in by the community of educated people.

Pobee (1986) similarly asserts that the theological curriculum in itself may not give the desired result, but it should inter alia help to define articulately the meaning of a better life.

Building on these helpful discussions of contextualisation, we can now summarise Theological contextualisation, as consisting in something which may be characterised along the following lines. It is the faithful interpretation and communication of the word of God from its original context, in such a way that its critical edge transforms people's lives, social institutions and society within another specific context. The critical edge of the gospel, if faithfully interpreted will speak to and transform people, social institutions and society anywhere in the world in their particular context.

Certain terms conceptually bordering on 'contextualisation' need unpacking. Hesselgrave (1992) singles out 'adaptation' and 'accommodation' as words that nearly mean the same thing as contextualization, but must be distinguished from it. He asserts that 'adaptation' and 'accommodation' denote something of denial or mutilation. But he may be confusing denotation with the connotation of these terms in the North American evangelical milieu. He rejects "Indigenisation" on the
grounds that whatever is indigenous to a culture, is ‘rooted in’ or ‘native to’ that culture, but Christianity is not indigenous to Africa'. Inculturation is the other word which Hiebert (1995) states that it means same thing as contextualisation. The word ‘enculturation’, means:

means the process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values that enable them to become functioning members of their societies (Grunlan and Mayers, 1979)

The basic difference between enculturation and inculturation is that the latter is strictly used in theological terms with reference to culture and theology contact - that means theology in its first culture context, encountering a second or third culture, as in the case of Christianity in African culture. Nicholls (1992) has argued that Third World missionaries needed to understand at least four different cultures: that of the Bibles, that of the western missionary who first brought the gospel; their own and that of the people to whom they took the gospel. In this case inculturation would involve several different cultural contacts.

Nicholls (1992) asserts that there is no purely secular culture, but there may be naturalistic world-views. He argues that religion is a human factor in culture influencing and being influenced by all the layers of culture. He asserts that this is more clearly pronounced in the religions of animistic cultures of pre-literate societies, although it is equally fundamental to great Eastern philosophical and ethical religions and the prophetic religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. He further qualifies his statements by asserting that even in secular cultures with clearly defined ideologies like Marxism, the religious factor is subsumed under others, or is a focal point of reaction which gives coherence to the cultural behaviour as a whole. He insists that spiritual reality has not been erased in Russia and China where there have been attempts to eradicate religion. While in Russia

---

4 Hesselgrave does not seem to realise that Christianity was in North Africa for a considerable period of time before it was sent to Europe and later America and Canada from where it returned to sub-Saharan Africa. Christianity is therefore indigenous to Africa.
religion is surfacing, in China, people turn to palmistry, astrology and superstition as replacements of the religious functions.

Holmes, (1983) also asserts that there are two broad types of world-view, religious ones and naturalistic ones. In a naturalistic world-view, science and technology plays an exaggerated role by unifying the world-view perspective. Nicholls (1992), however, seems to argue that Christian theism assumes that humans are spiritual and moral beings and that no one self-conscious culture can suppress these factors indefinitely. He concludes that the culture is a macrocosm of spiritual man responding to his environment within the historical stream of his cultural continuity. His views are likely to find support in the fact that religion to a large extent is a universal phenomenon.

From Nicholls’ perspective, the implications for contextualisation from the point of view of cultural structure are quite considerable he comments,

> Contextualisation in cross-cultural communication must take into account all the factors of the culture. It involves the whole of humanity in the context of culture. If the Gospel only modifies or changes a person or a community’s observable behaviour without producing an equivalent change in the fundamental world-view, the level of communication is superficial. Similarly, to instill a new set of moral values in a society without noticeably producing changes in the institution of that society is only a partial conversion. (Nicholls, 1992:11).

But Nicholls does not consider with sufficient seriousness the problem of an admixture of supracultural and cultural overlay. This sort of admixture is likely to be what happened in Africa when some missionaries taught western cultural values instead of the authentic supracultural aspects of the Gospel. It may also have resulted from the fact that missionaries equated western civilisation to the Gospel. The gospel presented in one language can find equivalent meaning in a second language because the writers of the Gospel meant to be intelligible to a broad range of recipients in the early church and its environs.
Thus theological contextualisation seems to involve two components: a theory of cross-cultural communication; and a hermeneutic theory. The main purpose is to transform human beings in their hearts, their minds, their values and their cultural actions. True contextualisation avoids syncretism while preserving and presenting the supracultural elements of the gospel within a new cultural setting. But implicit in this model is also an educational or pedagogic theory which allows us to consider whether contextualisation as a concept might be appropriated for educational purposes.

The question is whether contextualisation as a method can be coherently used in values education? I want to suggest an affirmative answer and to propose a model for achieving this. My stipulative educational definition of contextualisation takes into account three components: the intercultural communication component, the hermeneutic component and the pedagogical component. Thus my definition of educational contextualisation is:

The intention by a teacher to effectively communicate or transpose knowledge, worthwhile values, beliefs, skills, attitudes and evaluations from his own context to that of the child in such a manner that it is intelligible. To achieve this the communicative act will have to be hermeneutically sensitive and pedagogically sound using various ways, but with wide ranging implications for the transformation of individuals, institutions and society in general.

My definition of educational contextualisation is only stipulative because it may carry different implications and meanings for different people. It is really an area that is still open to research in secular education. However, assuming that teachers are well educated and assisted to use contextualisation as a method, I suggest that it would be a worthwhile approach to use to achieve social cohesion, especially in the contemporary African socio-ethical and political context. But to suggest a new curriculum implies a number of related issues. In this case, one of the most significant issues is that the empirical evidence has shown that a project structured around the contextualised teaching of Christian values strategically synthesised
with viable elements from the African traditional heritage would be highly likely to succeed. To propose a new curriculum project therefore raises the following issues:

1. The Kenyan context warranting this project or what should be the sources of such a curriculum?

2. The conceptualisation of the tripartite contextualised model- what really am I recommending as a new curriculum model for Kenyan values education?

3. The viability of the model within its Kenyan context and wider implications- how is the curriculum to be worked out and implemented in Kenyan schools?

4. Is this a justifiable curriculum?

1. The Kenyan context of values education.

- An education model seeks to relate to the good life that education should lead to for the individual and society. What good life does this tripartite contextualised model seek to lead to in Kenya? The current materialistic utilitarian emphasis in Kenyan education leads to a false impression of what the good life is. It points educational agenda to a truncated view of human development which concentrates on the outer aspects of humanity in terms of intellectual and work skills required first for self reliant economic prosperity for the individual and second for the economic development of the nation. It espouses a human capital economic theory of education in which human capital is regarded as an investment in national and individual economic prosperity. This type of educational philosophy tends to be instrumentalist (John Deweys’ experimentalism) rather than broad based as in Neo-Thomism. It does not provide for the full development of the individual first spiritually, morally, socially, culturally, a process to which religious content can make distinctive
contribution. Then second as a functioning individual in the family, work place, as a national and an international citizen able to use his skills, beliefs, values and attitudes for self fulfillment and for the enhancement of other peoples' well being. If the emphasis is first on authentic human development, then the desired work ethics and skills become by products in the work place. But the human being is not just there for work ethics. There is much more to the human being which a genuine broad based philosophy of education should consider. The pragmatic issues related to educational development are enhanced rather than hindered by religious education. People need a positive self-image to accept themselves before accepting others. People need answers to certain existential issues in life that only religion seems to provide. People need socially acceptable morality to live by to win a place for themselves in society. In Kenya in particular there are socio-cultural, economic and political issues that require unraveling and transcending for modern life. A frame of reference is important for people everywhere for decision making. Although it is not the sole responsibility of the school to inculcate in pupils the whole picture of their values, the contribution of the school is nevertheless significant. I have already referred to the fact that studies in America have revealed the important role religion seems to play in underpinning the values the young people hold in society. This is more so in Kenya where the worldview is religious. We have seen in previous chapters that the Christian worldview is large and quite inclusive. The first President of Kenya referred to Christianity as the conscience of society. Therefore the good life education should lead to is one which enables the human being to function fully in society with all his faculties well developed so that as an independent being he can think for himself, contribute to his own well being, be self fulfilled as well as contributing to the well being of the society at large. Christian theism sees man as created, moral, rational, spiritual and sovereign although dependent on his creator. This is what a contextualised tripartite model of values education seeks to spell out as the good life education should lead to.
• In Kenya like the rest of the developing world, a positive view of the human being still needs to be implanted in society. The right political democracy is a result of exposure to holistic education that produces the people that possess the capacity to be democratic. When a government is genuinely democratic, then democracy seems to protect the human rights of individuals as well as assigning dignity and sovereignty to it. Those in leadership then would uphold democratic values within which all human rights are guaranteed including safety, freedoms, equal opportunity and all that makes for human happiness in a democratic society. The Christian religion assigns high status and sacredness to human life. Wealth will then not be the first thing the elite want to acquire regardless of what happens to the rest of humanity in the country. Money will not be spent on weapons of mass destruction while citizens remain unemployed and poverty stricken. All forms of abuse of human life especially women can be reduced with the promotion of positive human values to which Christianity makes distinctive contribution. A tripartite contextualised model of values education seeks to achieve this.

• The third world suffers from the lack of committed, transparent and accountable human resources in all areas of development. Kenya is not excluded from this. Committed political leaders make a difference in a nation. The examples of Christians like Nelson Mandela of South Africa, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Martin Luther King encourage people to recognise the great need for leaders who adopt Christian values. Corruption has peripheralised economic and political stability even in Kenya. Foreign aid has been withheld severally until the donors are convinced that the money given will go to the right projects. The rapid development of any nation depends on the strong will of those in responsible positions to deliver their services diligently. The lack of a proper work ethic may contribute to a country’s poverty. It was for this reason that the NCEOP called for a values education basis that would help reduce corruption, tribalism and nepotism, and unaccountability in Kenya’s private and civil
service. The NCEOP, nevertheless misunderstood the role of Christianity in such a values basis. Kenya's all round development calls for responsible citizens and committed professionals. Missionary Christianity has had a reputation for having positively contributed to the development of the responsible civil servants Kenya had at independence (Stanley, 1992). Weber (1930) has praised the contribution of Calvinist Protestant Ethics to the effective development of Capitalism in the west. The Christian ethic is still needed for a responsible and consistent work ethic in Kenyan society. Contextualised Christianity is potentially a justifiable values basis for this.

- Research evidence has shown that the Third World Theologians and scholars in Kenya and elsewhere are expecting Christian values to underpin transformation in the national, socio-economic and political issues. They argue for contextualised Christian education to provide a basis for social, economic and political transformation. Poverty and unemployment in the third world is partly due to lack of consistent, positive, therapeutic and intrinsic values that basically the Christian religion provides. The political turmoil characteristic of the developing world needs alleviating. Creation metaphysics in Christian theism holds the world as having been created by an independent sovereign intelligent and moral being who has shared his qualities with only human beings. This implies great respect for human life. This view sums up all other views for recommending contextualised Christian values in Kenyan education. This was the view of the OC which rejected the American secular approach to education and emphasised the role of Christian theism in human development although the contextualisation continuum seems to have been unknown then just as other values education issues were unknown. The OC even went to the extremes of limiting direct contribution from African values in this matter.

- Teaching methodology within CRE in Kenya is another issue from research evidence which militates for contextualisation. The failure of Kenyan scholars to devise a possible method which resolves the contest between Christianity and African traditional heritage in values education calls for contextualisation.
Research evidence revealed that teachers are not prepared to base values teaching on African traditional heritage alone despite the recommendations by the NCEOP. Yet the current teaching of CRE is limited to the academic purposes, is ineffective and has little implication for anything else. Worse still it is difficult to relate Christianity to the African context currently. Teachers, however, realise that a way for teaching contextualised CRE effectively and with implications for human development is yet to be articulated.

- Contextualisation will be an innovation in values teaching in Kenya because it emphasises the recognition of the uniqueness of humanity and how pupils’ personality must really be at the forefront if contextualisation is to succeed. The question of who is to be taught will have a different meaning from what it has always had. There will be need for the child’s educational context to be taken seriously. The child’s educational context with inner and outer environments and its cultural context have hardly ever been serious issues in Kenyan CRE which has always limited its impact to the needs of the intellect. The contextualisation continuum requires teachers to delve more seriously in to the nature of man since it is man who must be educated. A Christian understanding of the human being will be emphasised through this model. The teacher will need to see a child as created, sovereign, sacred, rational, spiritual and moral and independent deserving utmost respect and care. In this respect a child needs to be all round developed and not just for examinations or the world of work. Values education is greatly enhanced by the transformed inner environment of the learner. The role of the teacher is another aspect of the contextualised continuum. It will mean turning from lecturing and preaching in values education teaching to real pedagogy. A teacher will need to be well educated academically and professionally for this job, understand his own values and identity and context from which he teaches to be able to effectively communicate with the learners in their context. Teacher education will need to expose the teacher of this model to theories of human development including
maturation, faith development, moral and religious development. This will in turn have implications for teacher training at all levels of education.

- Kenya’s religious worldview will be more emphasised in values education than it has ever been before. Education in Kenya has always concerned itself with the nature of ultimate reality. Orthodox creation metaphysics recognises two broad categories of existence: God the creator and the world, his creation. The view that people need to be aware of God’s existence and decide how to relate to him is not new in the Kenyan educational system. Values are taken seriously when they derive authority from a recognised sovereign, moral, omnipotent, and dependable ultimate reality. Contextualisation, however, will add a dimension of greater depth to it than before as it will encourage greater awareness. Some of these issues have been treated in greater depth in previous chapters. Therefore the Kenyan CRE teaching context demands a historic Christian contextualised values education model.

2. Conceptualisation of educational contextualisation.

(i) Educational contextualisation involves a theory of intercultural communication.

Intercultural communication in values education implies that information is being effectively passed with implications from the teacher’s cultural context to the child’s educational context. The teacher uses his educational culture to transpose information to the child in the child’s own educational culture. From his own context, a teacher is using his culture to transpose knowledge, values, beliefs, attitudes, skills and evaluations to a certain pupil in his own cultural context in the class with others. The teacher aims at communicating in such a manner that what he communicates is effective and has implications for the life of the child. The teacher’s context consists of his identity and values. His own academic and professional training and the content of his teaching. The teacher also uses language which is an important aspect of his context or culture. The teacher’s
content pole is the content of the curriculum including historic Christianity and synthesised elements of African traditional heritage.

The teacher’s content pole which in values education includes Judeo-Christianity and elements of African religious traditional heritage aims at effectively presenting the content so that it has consequences for the child’s inner nonquantifiable environment of moral, spiritual, social, cultural, psychological and character development, but also has consequences in terms of the child’s outer environment of behaviour and institutions (Pobee, 1986). Outer behaviour includes ability to apply to real life situations the new knowledge, beliefs, values, attitudes and valuations of what the child has already gained from the teacher’s communication.

The learning pole of the child is thus affected. The child has existential needs. He is also conditioned by the expectations of the national goals of education, his own social and cultural background and other social expectations from the family and the rest of the social world. The teacher’s communication should reach all these areas. The teacher thus aims at developing the child’s culture positively and constructively so that unconsciously and gradually after many lessons, the child’s world view, cosmology and ideology are transformed (Nicholls, 1992). In other words, if the teacher’s content is relevant and intelligible it will enlighten the child’s understanding. The child will then autonomously synthesise his beliefs, values, skills, attitudes and knowledge. This will happen if the child is free to make personal choices and to interpret what is taught in his own way and at his pace of understanding with the teacher’s help and the help of peers. If this inner change takes place positively and the child’s outer behaviour including attitudes valuations and beliefs then the child’s view of institutions like religion, marriage, law, education, economics etc. will change. A theory of intercultural communication is therefore the first component of educational contextualisation.
ii) A contextualised model involves a hermeneutic sensitive theory

The second most important ingredient of educational contextualisation is an adequate hermeneutic theory. Such a theory raises the question of how the teacher and learner communicate the content and learning poles for effective interpretation and transformation. For Judeo-Christian values in education to be therapeutic, consistent, intrinsic and transformational, an educational interpretation within a cultural matrix would be required. This is only possible if the teaching of Christian values is based on the fact that Judeo-Christian values have a non-negotiable element to which all cultures may be exposed with a view to their transformation. The meaning of the universal element in historic Christianity should be understood and appropriated by pupils in terms consistent with what it meant to the first Jewish Christians. This is where liberal theologies are weak and can be distortive without normative checks. The child’s educational context or culture is wide ranging and varied, but the non-negotiable element in Christianity is universal and applies to all human cultures. Although the Judeo-Christian values are culturally mediated, they have a critical edge that challenges all cultures if they are interpreted faithfully. No cultures are neutral to the gospel. There are no baptised cultures. All cultures are therefore potentially conformable to the norms of Judeo-Christianity and the values implicit in them. But they also challenge any putative packaging of the gospel message in terms of cultural accretions and distorted cultural perspectives. This is the idea of hermeneutics where the Judeo-Christian claims about reality engage with and become entangled in the African existential culture component. This will inevitably mean absorbing a counter cultural challenge to western cultural assumptions as to what the gospel values are and how they are applied. In this respect the hermeneutic task is to bring about a fusion of horizons between the Judeo- Christian culture which mediates the gospel and African culture which must appropriate it on its own terms.
The challenge of educational hermeneutics is basically for the teacher to transpose knowledge, skills, values, beliefs, evaluations and attitudes from their original context (the teacher's preparation and interpretations of the content of his lessons) into the contemporary context (the learners) in such a way as to produce the same kind of impact effectively as it did for the teacher and with implications for pupils to synthesise the knowledge, values, skills, beliefs, attitudes and evaluations.

Sensitive hermeneutics in values education implies that the teacher has to understand the content of what he wants to teach and preserve the original meaning, although he may transpose it through his own words and at the appropriate level to the pupil's context. However, in educational hermeneutics the teacher's understanding and transposition of knowledge to the pupil's context is governed by his ability to use language intelligibly, his world-view, ideology and cosmology; how he understands the knowledge and its implications for the pupil's context. If he is interpreting a biblical passage, it will depend on how he understands its meaning in its first context and his ability to transpose it in his own context. This implies that in contextualised teaching, the teachers may be those committed to and trained in values education. Some additional training is likely to be an imperative if contextualisation is to be effected successfully.

Beyond interpreting the meaning of the biblical message and its implications for the present context, there will also be traditional African values, aspects of church traditions and sayings as well as political, social or economic issues requiring the teacher's sensitive interpretation and application to life to day. Much depends on the teachers' theological and cultural appreciation along with personal preparation for their teaching to transform individuals, institutions and society (see figure 9:2:1).
iii) A contextualised model involves a pedagogic theory

A pedagogic theory is the third most important component of educational contextualisation. Pedagogy is merely the science of teaching and in the African context it includes instruction in values rather than the values clarification approaches of the west. It is both education in and about religion, but not just about religion. The teacher’s role in the African context carries an emotional attachment to it. For a teacher is not only one in the classroom, but he is always one wherever he may be. His teaching carries consequences beyond the classroom. The norm is that he is the equal of the parent and sometimes he knows more than the parent. There is therefore both deep reverence for him and trust by the pupil and the pupil’s parents whom he could visit when he likes and he may receive a heroes welcome. When such a teacher appears on the horizon of some pupil’s home, he is received with some rituals while an animal (chicken or goat) is slaughtered in his honour.
How is values education to be presented within a contextualist continuum so that effective communication and response take place? A didactic approach, which is the banking concept of education, assumes that learners are depositories of knowledge, receiving, memorising and repeating the delivered goods on the examination sheets at the end of the course. In the current CRE teaching approaches in Kenya the greatest emphasis is laid on children passing examinations. The methods used in achieving this are immaterial. The attempt to use the “Life Approach” method in which the teacher starts the lesson with an actual or real experience in the daily life of the child has made things complicated for both teacher and pupil. The disadvantage of the existential method is that it is anthropocentric and narrowly based in scope rather than broadly based and open to the transcendent dimension. The “Life Approach” has only two core notions, the child’s problems and the Bible. However, Christian tradition has been through a whole historical, philosophical and existential cultural maturation for over 2000 years. Pedagogically this should permit varied starting points and diverse methods. All these should be drawn upon. Discussion with college tutors and researchers as a curriculum developer myself in 1990 elicited similar views. An eclectic approach, which draws out the potential inherent in the didactic, prophetic and dialogic modes operative in the Christian tradition of revelatory communication would provide the necessary flexibility and sensitivity to the content and learning poles.

A dialogical theory in values education would facilitate a participatory relationship in the teaching and learning relationship. Both teacher and learner may talk and listen, give and receive and contribute to their own knowledge. They will challenge and be challenged by new knowledge. They will be changed and challenge each other and their teachers. They will create, transform and form culture as well as the culture forming and transforming them.

The dialogical character of education as the practice of freedom does not begin when the teacher-student meets with the student-teachers in a
pedagogical situation, but rather when the former first asks himself what he will dialogue with the latter about. And preoccupation with the content of the dialogue is really preoccupation with the programme content of education (Freire, 1974: 81-82).

Participation by learners in the process enhances personal appropriation, interpretation, internalisation and application of new knowledge. We are organic beings and socially interrelate in order to enhance each other’s well being. An individualistic pedagogic theory estranges the teacher from the learners and learners from fellow learners and consequently estranges them all from the learning itself. Contextualised Judeo-Christian values can be dialogically, didactically, and dialectically presented or even prophetically presented what is important is that they should relate to all areas of the learner’s environment within his whole culture. We have noted earlier that the Biblical contextualisation incorporates all these ways if it does justice to the different genres of the text and tradition of interpretation. This is in order to effect a change in the learner’s worldview, ideology and cosmology underpinning new values, beliefs and attitudes, transforming him in all other layers of culture so that he manifests the change in character and interpersonal values. Pedagogy in values education involves translation of ideas, extended explanations, observations, visits, role plays, miming, story telling, singing and listening to rhymes, drama, reference to relevant illustrative life experiences, short research assignments, listening to talks by invited resource persons and asking questions, writing short passages, drawing, discussion groups, debates and use of all types of teaching aids. This makes the contextualist model an innovation in Kenyan values education. It therefore spawns an innovative policy proposal for implementation (see fig. 9:2:2).
Figure 9:2:2 Educational contextualisation.

3. The viability of the model within its Kenyan context and wider implications

The Education Act 1968 (appendix 3) gives the churches in Kenya the responsibility to either prepare or recommend CRE curriculum which is then approved by the Minister for Education and implemented at all levels of education. The churches are also responsible for recommending an inspector for religious education to be appointed and employed in the civil service. They also recommend a curriculum developer who is appointed permanently by the civil service. The Act also gives the churches responsibilities to be members of Boards of Governors of
colleges and secondary schools and school committees of primary schools, partly to ensure that religious education is taught while the Christian traditions are still respected in the institutions. Churches are also allowed to provide further residential INSET courses for practicing teachers and also to employ Religious Education Advisors in schools to help with CRE teaching. I worked closely as the Protestant Churches Curriculum developer with a Mrs. Eileen Welch a British Missionary now back in England as Inspector of Religious education. This model is an attempt to help churches resolve the values education impasse in Kenya schools, first starting at the secondary school. The churches expect me to go back to Kenya with these findings. I shall then present papers not only to church education secretariats including Protestants, Catholics and Seventh Day Adventists, but also to Ministry of Education officers (the Kenya Institute of Education, the C.R.E Inspector, the Kenya National Examinations Council Officer involved in the subject) and representatives from RE departments in universities. The same group of people will then later discuss the curriculum separately in their three church panels. A final Joint Churches panel will bring ideas together before presenting them at the KIE Government Subject Panel. They will later meet in one panel again at the Institute of Education and initiate plans for further processing of the curriculum. The Course Panel chaired by the Chief Inspector of Schools will confirm the curriculum before it is finally approved by the Academic Board chaired by the director of Education. The curriculum is later piloted and released to schools after teachers have attended INSET courses. No special classroom arrangements are required for this model. The Ministry of education and the churches have their separate financial obligations clearly defined in this curriculum planning. The following steps are usually followed (see figure 9:2:3)
Figure 9:2:3 Curriculum development stages in Values education in Kenya.
4. Is this a justifiable curriculum?

Research evidence has shown that contextualisation seems to be what teachers prefer as the best method to resolve the current impasse in values education by combining historic Christianity with the synthesised elements of traditional African heritage. Contextualisation is a new concept to teachers although it is nascently implicit in “Life Approach” already used by teachers. However, contextualisation is inclusive of “Life Approach” and removes the pedagogical philosophical and structural limitations encountered in “Life Approach”. The model places emphasis on a broad based balanced educational philosophy. It includes educational goals, the child’s needs, the needs of the society, developmental theories and a theory of the good life education should aim at. It also emphasises effective methodology within its three components which take the child’s nature, and existential needs more seriously than before which is quite a departure. It is in some sense progressive as it now seeks to implement current seminal curriculum perspectives in which as cultural analysis, values education must consider the morality and the belief systems to reduce the current Diploma Disease syndrome in education (Dore R. 1997). Since it is basically teachers who show sympathy with aspects associated with the Christian worldview that will teach it, it will be interesting. Some teachers will probably think that it is more demanding than the “Life Approach”, but others will feel that it relates values to life more easily and seriously considers the child developmental needs reducing the present concentration on the academic needs only. It is not the last word on this matter in Kenya’s curriculum and it opens doors for further research on its components. It is now available for implementation.
In this chapter I have proposed a tripartite contextualist values education basis for Kenyan schools. I have defined missiological contextualisation and its three components of intercultural or cross-cultural communication, hermeneutics, and pedagogy. I have argued that the same principles could be applied in the teaching of contextualised Christian based values and defined the relevant terms. I have concluded that it is a viable and novel innovation, which is my personal contribution to education with implications for other contexts as well.
CHAPTER 10: Recommendations and Outcome

10:1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the study and uses implications from chapters 8 and 9 to raise certain issues pertinent to a values education programme planning for Kenyan schools. A structured values education programme might be the way out of the current confusion over the role of religion and African Socialism in eliminating social pathology as envisaged by the NCEOP (Kenya 1976). Values teaching via CRE is beset with insurmountable problems despite having been generously recommended by the OC. The recommendation of the NCEOP that a secular ethic would be underpinned by and derived from African Socialism to form an ethically adequate values paradigm was shown to be incoherent and unjustifiable. But both CRE and SEE have been shown to have strengths and weaknesses as coherent values education bases. Education Reports (the OC 1964, 1965; Ndegwa 1971; NCEOP 1976; Mackay 1981, Kamunge 1988 and the Koech 1999) have all addressed these issues inconclusively. A clear solution has yet to be found if youth are to possess the knowledge, attitudes, values, skills, beliefs and the understanding they need to be prepared for their own flourishing and that of the entire society.

The major purpose of this investigation was to establish the most coherent and justifiable values education paradigm for Kenyan secondary schools. From research evidence it was clear that an urgent complementarian solution was required to the values impasse. I have arrived at conclusions and recommendations related to Kenya’s philosophy of education; values education curriculum and values education methodology. It remains to draw this further, acknowledge the
limitations of the study; make recommendations for further research and reiterate the significance of the present study.

10:2 Summary of the Study

The main purpose of this thesis was to investigate the possibility for recommending a more coherent and justifiable paradigm of values education for Kenyan secondary schools to promote holistic human development. This was accomplished through documentary and discourse analysis and by a supportive questionnaire to secondary school teachers. The study focused on three main research questions. These were:

- The causes and implications of the contrast between the OC and the NCEOP over the role of religion and African Socialism in values education specifically for Kenyan Secondary Schools.
- Investigating what the possibilities for a justifiable and coherent values education paradigm might be in the present context of Kenya.
- Recommending a justifiable, relevant and coherent values education paradigm to become the policy basis of future pedagogic and curriculum development.

It was established that the contrast between the OC and the NCEOP was conceptual and ideological. Christianity as recommended by the OC had contingently failed to underpin values. Ideologically, the OC had been realistic in its assessment of the needs of a modern version of Kenya by taking onboard both the African traditional and the Christian World-views in values education but in practice recommended only a decontextualised and utilitarian teaching of Christianity. The NCEOP took a culturally radical stance, whilst condemning arbitrarily the role of Christianity in Kenya's development as a whole and limiting its impact on values education in general. African values were analysed in chapter four and aspects of them found to be potentially coherent for values education. Christianity's role was analysed as relevant to the need to include the belief and
morality systems in cultural analysis. Contextualising Christianity within the African milieu would generate a synergy between Judeo-Christian values and African traditional values by taking the learners outer and inner environments into account.

The NCEOP anti-colonial reaction against the Western missionaries did not prove that the ethical adequacy of Christianity is undermined in values education. It became necessary for the NCEOP, to distinguish between ideological and capitalistic issues related to European Imperialism in Missionary Christianity and epistemological and philosophical issues related to religion in values education. The cultural radicalism of the NCEOP amounted to a paradox in contemporary Africa’s self-understanding in which Western values are rejected in human development while they are embraced in political, scientific, technological and economic development. The contextualisation continuum as called for by the ATWT would negate the NCEOP allegation that Christianity should be eliminated from the school curriculum simply because it had failed to underpin values due to having been decontextualised.

The view of the NCEOP that the missionary religion had caused social pathology in Kenya was not supported by the evidence. Indeed, the failure of values teaching within the school context might be due to other factors which the NCEOP chose to ignore. Furthermore, no values education programme had ever been prepared for Kenyan schools despite the fact that this was a very important area of human development which should have been deliberately planned. Teachers responses revealed that the NCEOP had overlooked the likely causes of the social pathologisation of society.

It was acknowledged that although missionaries had done a commendable job in pioneering Western education for Africans, they had really deviated from their
original agenda by becoming overly preoccupied with spiritual development at the cost of neglecting a more holistic approach.

Nevertheless, the views of the NCEOP that a secular ethic would be underpinned by and derived from African Socialism were a paradox because of the religious world-view of African Socialism which missionary Christianity had effectively influenced. The coherence and justification of secular liberal values as a basis for values education became elusive. It became clear that the Christian ethic, especially the work ethic, was far superior to the African traditional heritage in terms of its adequacy. The view that ethics would be taught independently of religion lacked any demonstrable merit. However, it could not be denied that religion poses some problems as a values basis, especially in a pluralistic society. But for Kenya with a strong religious world-view already constrained by Christian influence, the contextualisation of Judeo-Christian values appeared to be a promising way out of the current values impasse.

The teachers' questionnaire confirmed most of the data derived from analysis and deconstruction of the documents and the study context. Although teachers demonstrated conceptual confusion over values education, at some point they clearly agreed with the OC and the ATWT that Christianity, if repackaged to contextualise anthropological and existential situations it would form a coherent and justifiable basis of values education. On the basis of the research evidence (including the supporting appendices) the following findings were arrived at about the three research questions:

10:3 Findings on Research Question One

The contrast over the divergent role of religion and African Socialism championed by the OC and the NCEOP respectively was due to several related factors.
10:3.1 Conceptual Problems

The OC accorded high status to religion as a basis for teaching spirituality and morality, but demonstrated a distorted understanding of the connection between ethics and religion. The OC consequently showed a lack of understanding of what precisely the teaching of ethics implies. The OC asserted that the teaching of ethics was not possible through religion nor was ethics a curriculum subject. It claimed that as even teachers did not understand it, it was not viable. Yet the OC recommended the Christian ethic to underpin a coherent work ethic and political unity while African Socialism was conceived as providing the vehicle which would underpin self-identity and provide a psychological basis for nationhood. The OC argued that children would pick up ethical values through the hidden curriculum. However, teachers did not seem to know what the hidden curriculum was. The OC misrepresented the relationship between morality, ethics, religion, and values. Consequently, a human capital economic theory of education was implemented with Christian religious education playing an ancillary role for which it was ill suited as the outcome was predicted as ineffectual values education.

The NCEOP was unable to promulgate any coherent and justifiable values paradigm as a substitute. It made no clear stance as to whether religion would contribute to a values education basis, as it both explicitly condemned religion in terms of Christianity while simultaneously implicitly recommending it through African Socialism. Its assertion that in contemporary Kenya post-critical secular liberal values would be a comprehensive paradigm was incompatible with Kenya’s pre-critical educational discourse. The NCEOP furthermore did not adequately support its assertion that ethics outside religion would underpin more effectively a superior work ethic than the Christian ethic. It was doubtful, even at the time whether the traditional African cultural ethic would underpin the Western scientific, technological and economic set-up engulfing the Kenyan market. It was clear that the NCEOP had really intended to recommend a religious rather than a
secular approach to values but its prejudicial stance vis-à-vis Christianity eclipsed this as a likely eventuality.

10:3:2 Ideological Problems

The OC, presumably influenced by the British academic philosophy associated with CRE and with the traditional African anthropology with its religious world-views in the background, placed a premium on the Judeo-Christian ethic. The American secularist influence on the Commission had been radically challenged and suppressed. However, the OC cherished the Christian ethic for its adequate work and political values rather than its holistic influence on human development. The OC advocated the Christian ethic to underpin technological, scientific and economic production in Kenya's modern industrial development. African traditional values would not provide a firm ethical basis for such an endeavour.

The NCEOP radically and unrealistically challenged the Judeo-Christian worldview regarding it ideologically as being imperialistic and culturally alien, while accepting the rest of Western values. This, in effect, meant that in the physical and material development of the country Western thought prevailed, but in relation to human development it was to be expunged. Consigning Christianity to a propaganda colonialist agenda, the NCEOP asserted that African religious and ethical values had been challenged and radically condemned by the missionary economy in the guise of civilising Kenyans. Our analysis, showed, however, that this was an inadequate representation. The true picture is both more complex and more ambiguous. What was clear, however, is that the failure to contextualise the Christian education edifice put in place by the missionaries was a serious omission which undermined effective communication and inculcation of a values framework. The whole NCEOP attack on the role of Western education in Kenya's development was overstated and self-defeating. The NCEOP view that Christianity had on the whole been rejected by Kenyans was neither supported by statistics nor
by consensus. The current view of theologians, teachers and scholars in Kenya was shown to be hospitable to the view that if Judeo-Christianity is repackaged and contextualised it might contribute to a more coherent, justifiable and relevant values basis for Kenyan secondary schools.

10:3.3 The Philosophical Problems

The OC had initially promulgated a magisterial philosophy of education which considered the personal, cultural, utilitarian and social needs of the learner. But, in fact what was implemented was a human capital economic theory in the guise of a philosophy of education in which decontextualised Christianity underpinned Western industrial production and African Socialism underpinned a psychological basis for nationhood, African personality and self-identity.

In contradiction to this, the NCEOP promulgated the prevailing human capital theory with a philosophy of education in which religious values were arbitrarily condemned and silenced while the values of African Socialism were expected to irrelevantly and inadequately underpin Western technological, scientific and economic development. The OC had regarded such a move as “building on sand”. The NCEOP view that a secular ethic would be underpinned by, and derived from, African Socialism proved to be misguided. It involved an arbitrary distinction between Christian theism and African traditional religion which could not be sustained; it further implied unrealistic and impractical notions of relevance of the African heritage cut off from Christian influence.

Although the NCEOP, like the OC, demonstrated a limited understanding of values education, unlike the OC, it regarded values education as a curriculum subject. Philosophical and epistemological problems surfaced when the NCEOP failed to propose a coherent and justifiable values education paradigm by displaying a fragmented and reductionist view of the role of a religions world-
view. It borrowed into post-critical secular theories of educating without adequately considering whether they were compatible with or justifiable within a pre-modern educational discourse. The implication is that Kenya requires an educational philosophy which incorporates a holistic view of human development that resonates with its over-arching world-view and root-paradigms.

10:4 Findings on Research Question Two

While the OC adopted a British academic philosophy of education in which decontextualised Christianity underpinned a utilitarian and political purpose, the NCEOP took to an American secular liberal educational philosophy, underpinned via African Socialism, to promote a utilitarian purpose, namely continuing a social pathology deemed to be prevalent in Africa. The views of teachers, Kenyan theologians and scholars were that contextualised Christianity, exploiting the anthropological, religious, economic, political and existential milieu, would better underpin balanced human development. This would imply that both the Western and African religious world-views can contribute to a coherent and justifiable values basis. How such a basis should be conceptualised and what should constitute its central or core elements was variously attested to by what thinkers considered. No one contribution was identified as representing a comprehensive framework of contextualisation which could be readily appropriated for the purposes in view.

10:5 Findings on Research Question Three

The recommendation of a coherent, balanced, justifiable and relevant values education would presumably need to take into account the research evidence derived from the findings. It would also consider current, seminal curriculum thinking which suggests that cultural analysis should include the belief and morality systems inherent in a social context. The contextualisation continuum
would integrate Western and African anthropological and existential insights and explore their implications for contemporary world-views in realistic, reflective and pedagogical appropriate values education. The societal-root paradigms would then be examined for their justifiable contextual rationale.

The theological, epistemological and cultural analysis issues related to values education with regard to Kenya’s developing secular State would need further research with a view to recommending a more educationally justifiable, coherent and relevant curriculum of values education. The decontextualised teaching of Christianity has continued to raise problems and a contextualist alternative would seem to offer a superior basis for the needed integration of perspectives to underpin a democratic social order.

10:6 Kenya’s Philosophy of Education

It can be argued that Kenya’s indigenous philosophy of education was best reflected in the OC whose articulation of the goals of education represented a masterpiece of educational philosophy. Although the commission implemented an academic, British style educational philosophy (Sheffield, 1973), specifically utilitarian, it also included fitting personal, social and cultural goals. However, the absence of a strong emphasis on pre-vocational education meant that graduates lacked necessary professional skills for the country’s economic and social development. The lack of implementation of the personal, social and cultural dimensions was a deviation from the stated goals. The subsequent Mackay Report, (Kenya, 1981) while trying to remedy this has been criticised on philosophical grounds for being basically utilitarian and on pragmatic grounds as being unaffordable. A very recent commission of enquiry appointed by Kenya’s President (Kenya, 1998), has as one of its terms of reference,

To suggest ways and means of developing comprehensive social education, values, and ethics also AIDS related educational programmes at the macro-and micro-levels (Kenya, 1999:2).
These terms of reference seem to suggest a current concern for values education but the conceptual problems involved continue to incapacitate any real advance in educational policy in Kenya. The current commission has recommended the teaching of a revised CRE in the school curriculum. If properly contextualised, there is hope that this will lead to adopting a justifiable and coherent values education paradigm.

Although several commissions have promulgated the goals of education for independent Kenya, (the NCEOP, 1976; Mackay, 1981; and Kamunge, 1988) only the OC, (Kenya, 1964, 1965) and the Ndegwa, (Kenya, 1971), have provided a philosophically coherent and justifiable education policy. The Ndegwa, (Kenya, 1971), promulgated the following goals for education in Kenya:

1. Education must serve the needs of national development.

2. Education must prepare and equip the youth to play an effective role in the life of the nation, ensuring that opportunities are given for full development of individual talents and personalities.

3. Education must respect, foster and develop the rich and varied cultures.

4. Education must assist in promoting international consciousness.

5. Education must assist in the promotion of social obligation and responsibility.

6. Education must assist in fostering and promoting national unity.

Although these educational aims do not specifically mention religious education, they imply it as a basis for justifiable and broad based human development. Educational aims are used to provide general guidelines for interpretation and application to relevant curriculum in each subject area. In this context the study has revealed that there is much confusion in Kenya about the following:

- The meaning of values education.
• The formulation of a justifiable and coherent values basis.

• The manner in which this might include Christian and African cultural values.

The government, however, has continued to expect values education which addresses the rampant social pathology and establishes a balance between the extremely academic and vocation oriented education philosophy in Kenya. The decontextualised teaching of Christianity has not met the need. The basic objectives of the present CRE syllabus (KIE, 1992:22) while examination oriented, include the following:

• To understand and appreciate the saving presence of God in the pupils’ lives.

• To use the acquired spiritual and moral insights in reaching conclusions and making decisions appropriate to a Christian in a changing and developing society.

• To acquire basic principles of Christian living and develop a sense of self respect and respect for others.

In other words the objectives are premised on the inculcation of the Christian faith mediated by an academically certificated study of Christian texts. I have noted earlier that according to Lawton, (1986), a comprehensive educational philosophy would consider nine systems which should include the morality system, the belief system, and the aesthetic system. Lawton’s view is that education should expose learners to all of these important areas of human development. He argues that the humanities (geography, history, english, religious education) should handle the concepts of power, authority, welfare, freedom and liberty. Those concepts relate to values education in a significant manner. In Kenya, religion and African Socialism, along with other humanities’ perspectives, provide the phenomenological context of these concepts.

Having analysed Peters’ criteria for education, Njoroge and Bennaars (1986) add that although Peters lists the normative, the cognitive and the creative as the three
basic criteria which must form a coherent and balanced philosophy of education, there should be a fourth criteria, the dialogical. These are the four dimensions. They state that if any of those dimensions is missing, then something essential is missing, and one therefore cannot really speak of education in this particular case. Values education inclusive of religion falls in the normative dimension, but it must also be situated within the dialogical dimension if it is to be educative rather than an exercise in socialisation without a problematic indoctrinatory ethos. Njoroge and Bennaars (ibid) add that education can be approached analytically, critically or phenomenologically. This implies that education can be seen as a human phenomenon, but it can also be philosophically analysed in a particular cultural context. Education within the African context might emphasise one of the dimensions more than the others. This may be why religion is more emphasised as normative education in Africa than it is in the West. Contextualisation would provide a significant dialogical impetus for a more balanced handling of putatively democratic rather than authoritarian values.

Kraft, C.H. (1979) illustrates that in the west people give much less attention to the spirit sphere and much more attention to the material sphere. On the whole, Biblical societies were much more like contemporary non-Western people than like Western ones. This may account for the anthropocentric African traditional religious world-view now re-reinforced by the Christian world-view in Kenya. Values education in non-Western societies draws heavily from religion, resists compartmentalisation into public and private spheres of differentiation between role relationships. It resonates with traditional concepts of a unified moral identity and notions of the common good for which the West now has difficulty finding suitable application.

Njoroge and Bennaars (1986) have defined education as the inter-subjective process of learning to be a self-reliant person in society. They add that man is a subject together with others in society. A self reliant person is someone who is
able to realise himself, not only spiritually, physically and mentally, but also morally, socially and emotionally. Having considered philosophy of education in the context of Kenya, I can suggest that the problem with educational philosophy is more at the implementation stage than at the analytical. The OC promulgated a balanced and broad based philosophy, but during the implementation, a human capital economic theory or philosophy resulted in an overemphasis on the material dimension of the utilitarian aspect. Every attempt at analysing and promulgating a broad based philosophy may of course, suffer at the implementation stage. The reason for this is simple. It is that economic concerns tend to outweigh personal, social, moral and cultural considerations in contemporary societies struggling to emerge from the ambiguity of being part of the developing world.

10:7 Values Education Curriculum

Values education is well provided for within Kenya’s current philosophy of education. A change in the philosophy will not necessarily effect a change in implementation without exhaustively resolving the tendency to overemphasise the utilitarian purpose of education in the developing world. This does not mean that a coherent curriculum of values education should not be prepared; however, without a more holistic educational philosophy values education, however defined, ends up serving the utilitarian rationale.

Gatumu (1996) in her research on the ‘Attitudes of Secondary School Teachers and Pupils towards CRE in Kenya’ concluded that the use of CRE in the eyes of teachers and their pupils lies mainly in personal development. Instead, it serves the limited purpose of improving the final grade in the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE.), or securing a place in the limited CRE related world of work. She asserts, however, that the desire for personal development is never implemented, nor do inspectors ever raise the matter at all. But Gatumu does not agree that religion should be the basis for values education. She rejects the transformational and therapeutic role of Christianity in values education and
adopts a purely cognitive view of religious education in which she confines it to
the rational investigation of religious phenomena.

Education in values can be deliberately planned and included in the school
curriculum. If left entirely to the hidden curriculum, it is unlikely to receive the
resources or status necessary for a worthwhile impact on pupils. The school has
the personnel and resources for teaching values. What is needed is the curriculum
and appropriate teacher education in pedagogy and assessment. Presently, there is
no teacher education targeted at values education. Green (1984) has observed that
values education is normally used to imply that part of a curriculum in which the
matter of values is consciously addressed. Values education includes personal and
social, spiritual, moral and cultural education. But in Kenya it ought arguably to
include religion and existential issues affected by beliefs and commitments. Values
education ought to be contextual to meet the needs of a particular people in a
given context. Green adds that there are three aims for values education:

- To produce conformity to existing values.
- To produce dedication to radical change
- To foster a capacity for critical appraisal of both existing
  and potential values.

The writing of the aims and content of values is usually a group responsibility if it
is to reflect a cross-sectional view of interested parties. It is also a matter of special
government interest. In this study it was clear from the analysis that Judeo-
Christianity could play a significant role in values education in Kenya. In
Gatumu’s research (1996) the results show that both teachers and students who opt
for CRE have a rather favourable regard for its content. Only 5 viewed the subject
as not worthwhile. She concluded

this was an issue of concern to those charged with CRE supervision and
management who could profitably investigate ways to ensure that CRE
fulfils its mission in the national goals of education (Gatumu, 1996:259)

But Gatumu did not elaborate what she understood to be the mission of CRE in the national goals of education. We suggest from her earlier findings that she sees the role to be purely cognitive and materially utilitarian.

However, some of Gatumu’s findings seem to support my findings about CRE and values. While in her study only a minority of 5 respondents viewed CRE as not worthwhile, in this study only 1 respondent expressed the view that to improve values in the school curriculum in Kenya, CRE must be eliminated. But surprisingly no respondent indicated that values would be improved through the teaching of traditional African social ethics as a values basis on its own. Since my research concentrated on teachers I may argue that teachers’ answers would be more reliable than those of some pupils who may not fully understand the place of religion in values education. The difference between our findings is that in my study teachers indicated clearly the importance of religion in human development and criticised both the OC and the NCEOP for not placing enough significance on this view. For, if Christianity can contribute to values education as a source, values education can also be taught as an aspect of CRE thereby enhancing its utility and strengthening its contribution to national goals. Since the main complaint of educationalists in Kenya is that the teaching of Christianity has ignored the societal-root paradigms and the existential dimension of pupils’ needs, a coherent curriculum must engage with pupils at this level. The existential context of the learner is of utmost importance. A transformationalist view of curriculum will promote the spiritual development to empower and nourish the learner. As Totterdell, (1997:5) puts it:

Human beings have a deep need to have their lives make sense, to transcend the dynamics of individualism and selfishness that predominate in competitive market society and to find a way to place their lives in a context of meaning and purpose.
Explaining the fact that to deny children spiritual education is to deny them an essential human right, Totterdell (ibid) has further observed that:

Spiritual ballast is the precursor to civic health and underpins the high moral and ethical ideals which are vital to the commonweal of civil society.

Spirituality is therefore an important asset to human development. Maslow (1967), according to Totterdell, defines spiritual life as:

Part of the human essence. It is a defining characteristic of human nature without which human nature is not complete.

Finally Totterdell (ibid) states that:

Spirituality is connected to those things which support, enrich and sustain a person’s ideas, goals, sense of purpose and identity; as such it resources both individuals and communal life.

Some educationists may not agree with these views of spirituality especially in an educational context where spirituality is understood in political terms. Priestley (1996) has observed that while it is not possible to arrest “the Spiritual” by definition, we can describe it. So he offers six descriptions of ‘The Spiritual’ as it affects curriculum. He presents the following descriptions vividly:

- Broader Than Religions.
- Dynamic.
- Being and Becoming.
- Other Worldly.
- The Spirit is communal.
- The Spirit is Holistic.

He ends his discussion by emphasising for many reasons, the need for “the Spiritual” in the curriculum. The justification for the teaching of CRE has been discussed in chapter six of this thesis.
10:8  Teaching Methodology

Christian Religious Education has been one of the most difficult subjects to teach in Kenya's school curriculum because teachers do not find ways of making it meaningful implicit, relevant, and applicable to the human situation. They tend to end up preaching. It also tends to be knowledge centred and relates more easily to the examination requirements than to human development. The view of teachers is that some children tend to find religious education removed from their practical life and so it does not relate to their existential needs. This problem does not arise from the nature of the subject; it arises from lack of research in the approaches to the subject. The explicit and implicit approaches need to be combined. The existential and the Biblical approaches need to go together. The general methods of teaching other subjects should be applied. When religion is taught objectively and descriptively, its primary purpose is silenced. It needs to be acknowledged that there is more to religion than just facts. It should be taught with the affective and the cognitive in view to be transformational. Contextualisation may relate revelational epistemology to the learner's inner and outer environments.

10:9  Study Limitations

10:9:1  Research Methodology

There is, as yet, only limited research on values education in the East Africa context. The educational systems of the countries concerned vary. Documentary and discourse analysis carried out by a cultural insider with considerable contextual experience in the educational system involved proved fruitful. My previous experience as curriculum developer, teacher and examiner within my study context was advantageous.
This was a ‘Why’ study rather than a ‘What’ study. The attempt to carry out the study primarily by interviews and detailed questionnaire was abandoned when the researcher discovered that content items significant to the study requiring ideological, theological, epistemological and philosophical solutions would best be obtained through documentary and discourse analysis. This is why pupils were not consulted at this stage of my research, while teachers completed a questionnaire only for cross referencing purposes. In the future a longitudinal study should give the researcher the opportunity to interact with young people and observe their values. A longitudinal study would also be helpful in assessing which and to what extent traditional African social ethics is practised today by the youth. The same could be done for Judeo-Christianity. The problem with longitudinal studies is that the participation, observation, recording, analysis and interpretation of the findings takes longer than with other methods. So, funding and the opportunities to establish a research framework necessarily hinge on prior conceptual mapping and problem solving in the context of developing nations. My research is therefore conceived of as multi-staged or phased with the conceptual element predominating in the current study.

10:9:2 Further Research

Further research should be directed towards values education aims, content and methodology. The absence of theses in values education in general implies that much research has yet to be done. Issues answering to whether values education should serve ideological purposes or whether human development and the needs of society be paramount have yet to be settled in the context of developing nations in East Africa.

Pedagogues in contemporary advanced societies are often dismayed and sometimes outraged at the tendency of leaders in developing countries to portray values education as a means for strengthening national solidarity and the authority of the ruling elite. This directive thrust contrasts with the prevailing tendency among Western educators to see values education
as a vehicle for assisting young people to clarify their goals and develop critical perspectives on social issue.
(Cummings, Gopinathan and Tomoda, 1988:6)

One of the greatest questions to be addressed is whether values education should be assessed since the CRE and SEE programmes are formally examined with the result that they have become examination dominated! Research is still needed in the connection between ethics and religion. Pupils' attitudes towards African Socialism or Judeo-Christianity is another area that still needs research findings on which better motivational theory and practice can be predicated. Success in research outcomes in these areas would further illumine and refine the research undertaken in this study, thereby helping to re-establish pupils', parents' and teachers' confidence in the role of religion in human development.

10:9:3 Significance of the Study

This is a study in values education which seeks to take the entire environment of the learner into consideration. It is the first of its kind in Kenya and has robustly recommended Judeo-Christianity as a reference point and defended its role within the educational context. It arose from the concern that both the OC and the NCEOP appeared to have interpreted the role of religion and African Socialism in values education arbitrarily. This had led to the failure of the commissions to make informed recommendations on a coherent, balanced, and justifiable values education paradigm for Kenyan youth and have it fully implemented. The OC partly adopted British academic philosophy and while the NCEOP took up the American secular project, neither provided coherent solutions to the problems of values education and national development. The key strategic proposal offered by this study, and the heart of its thesis is that a tripartite contextualist continuum premised on Judeo-Christianity and the elements of African traditional milieu, with contextualisation as its method connecting with the existential situation of
the learner proposes a new alternative model worth experimenting within the unique Kenyan educational context.

Being in the vanguard of these studies which seek to genuinely look at the role of Christianity and African Socialism in values education, it may be a precursor to more research in the area. It may inform debate about the place of Christian ethics in values education. It has tried to steer a way through the conflict embedded in secularity and religion over values education and hopefully, in this way, will contribute to understanding the contours of the relationship more clearly. The study has also attempted to provide a solution to the values education impasse in Kenyan education. It has shown that specifically the Judeo-Christian values are not irrational, inadequate, emotivist or trivial as seemingly assumed by the NCEOP, but in fact they are rational, consistent, intrinsic, adequate, therapeutic, transformative and if appropriately operationalised amount to measurable social capital. Reductionist views of Christian or religious ethics are not well premised as the Judeo-Christian ethic makes distinctive contributions to human development empowering the will as well as providing meaning, coherence, sovereignty and purpose to human life.

Nor is it the case that Judeo-Christianity need be isolated on ideological grounds as it has been shown that its contribution to Kenya’s development can at least be summed up as the “conscience of society”. The extreme anti-colonial reaction against Judeo-Christianity in Kenya is often inspired by misguided foreign influence buttressed by the rhetoric of Marxist socialist critique. Educationally, Judeo-Christianity is justifiable within a contextualist or perspectival framework; it deserves a place in the school curriculum as part of cultural analysis given its premium on transcendence and as an alternative to limited secularist and materialist interpretations of life. Judeo-Christianity maintains the capacity to promote a broad based, coherent, and justifiable philosophy of education, a watershed in holistic development of human nature.
My vision is that contextualist Judeo-Christian based values education in Kenya will underpin a better educated generation for democracy which African Socialism is dedicated to establishing. Education ought to concern itself with development of individuals for the citizenship of democracy in the nation State. The ethics of the work force can then be a useful by-product of the educative process. The primary focus of education should be the quality of human being. Central to realising this citizenship is its civic virtues and its associational character. The self development of individuals is paramount: it generates the vision of education as having life enhancing potential and contributing to well being and the capacity to flourish, not merely materially, but also spiritually, morally and aesthetically. Should this vision contribute to improved economic productivity and increased employment opportunities, these will be most welcome added advantages. In this manner, this study makes a distinct contribution to the balanced understanding of education in Kenya’s unique context.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Bosch (ed.) *Church and Culture Change in Africa*. Pretoria: NC. Kerkboekhandel. pp. 9-44.


Litt. School of Education, Trinity College, University of Dublin.


Irrown, C. (1990) *Christianity and Western Thought - A History of Philosophers, Ideas and


287


Christian Churches Educational Association (CCEA) and Kenya Catholic Secretariat (KCS) (1963) *Joint Churches Educational Statement to the Minister for Education at Kenya's Independence*.


Christian Churches Educational Association (CCEA) and Kenya Catholic Secretariat (KCS) (1989) *The Memorandum of the Christian Churches in Kenya to His Excellency The President of the Republic of Kenya; on the Importance of the Church Participation in Educational Development and the Role of CRE in Human Development through Formal*


Virginia: Virginia Commonwealth University.


294


296


of Philosophy of Education, 23 (2) pp.253-265.


--------- (1986) *Bible and Theology in African Christianity*: Nairobi: OUP.


Redshaw, L. (1996) ‘Shaping an African Theology for Women’ *Journal of Beliefs and Values*, 17, (2) pp.120.


Walls, A. F. (1977) ‘The Evangelical Revival, the Missionary Movement, and Africa’, *M.
A. Noll, A.W. Bebbington and P. Rawlyk (eds.) *Evangelism in North America, the British Isles and Beyond 1900-1990.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.


of Christian Ethics and Pastoral Theology. Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press.

Appendix 1: Church Memoranda

A statement by Kenyan Churches (Protestants and Catholics) to the Government in 1963 about the changed but important roles of the churches in post independence Kenyan education.

PREAMBLE

Education is the process of a child’s mental, physical and spiritual development to the full stature of manhood, which prepares him to take his place as an individual and as a member of society in this world and in the world to come. It begins the moment a child is born and includes both the informal – though vitally important – instruction in the home and the formal teaching of school or college, and continues throughout life.

RIGHTS OF PARENTS

We believe that the primary responsibility for the education of children lies with their parents within the framework of the family. Parents have the obligation to educate their children to the best of their ability and thus prepare them for life. Willful neglect in this matter is a crime against nature and society. Nowadays it is recognised that the family cannot normally make the extensive provision necessary for the education of its children.

God has established both Church and State for the spiritual and temporal well being of mankind and to these parents must turn for aid in their children’s education. While seeking such assistance the parents do not thereby escape their own responsibilities and rights. They have a duty to ensure that the education given is in accordance with their convictions and that teachers acting in place of them are fit persons for the task (for it is the teacher that makes the school, and it is his training and his religion that makes the teacher). It follows that parents must be accorded the right to choose the school their children will attend.
THE CHURCH
The Church has a divine mandate to teach all men and has inalienable rights in the education of her children. She is concerned not only with faith and morals but also with the whole of man’s life since all human actions have an inevitable bearing on God’s purpose for man. Its nature and mission commit the Church to education as the search for truth and the process by which man comes to maturity and responsible participation in society.

THE STATE

The Church recognises that the State under God has responsibility to ensure that adequate facilities are provided for the education of all its children and young people and, indeed, all its citizens.

Governments have responsibility to help to set and maintain standards at all levels, to provide necessary professional supervision to ensure that provision is made for moral and religious instruction in all schools.

BASIC RIGHT TO FULL EDUCATION

In education the Church has a common concern with men of any religion and with the State itself. While retaining our responsibility to ensure that our members have full opportunity for a truly Christian education, we seek to co-operate with and give all possible assistance to the State to ensure that every child, irrespective of race or religion, receives a good and full education. This basic human right to education, we believe, must be fulfilled in the development of body and mind and spirit, which implies more than formal religious instruction.

The atmosphere and environment in which a child grows up, the example of his parents and teachers, the influence of his fellow pupils, the standards of discipline and the motives for them are even more important. The welfare of the
State itself depends not only on economic and material progress but also on the development of citizens with skill, knowledge and integrity of character. Schools provided by the State should not deny any child the opportunity for education in a religious environment given by teachers in tune with the convictions of his parents. Opportunities for religious instruction and worship should be offered and we urge that care be taken to avoid in any subject the use of textbooks, which might conflict with religious susceptibilities.

CONTINUING SERVICE OF THE CHURCH

Now that the task of building a nation is being undertaken by a government of the people themselves, the Churches, as voluntary associations of citizens, wish to make their maximum contribution. We would work for mutual understanding and unity within a national system of public schools, respecting the rights of non-Christian parents. As the State takes over more and more responsibility for the administration of schools, the position of the Church in educational matters must be safeguarded to ensure that she can carry out her divine commission and give service of the highest quality. When the people so wish the resources of the Churches should be used for school management.

The Churches, convinced of the vital importance of the teacher would wish to continue to make a significant contribution through recruitment, training and continuing encouragement of teachers of high professional standards and personal integrity. For this reason it is necessary to continue our work in teacher training institutions wherein this total approach to the education of the whole person can be experienced by students and expressed in the training given.

Bearing in mind our long, accumulated experience in education in Kenya we want to be able to place at the service of the State the further service of our teaching staff and to have our members participate in education committees concerned with planning, policy and professional research. We would reserve our rights to establish private schools for our own children and for such others as may wish to attend them.
CONCLUSION

In Kenya today an educational system closely adapted to the changed circumstances and needs of the country must be worked out; such a system would take into account the best traditions of the people. With all this the Church is in complete sympathy and pledges the fullest co-operation. Her concern is that the full religious development of her children be assured. The Church is convinced that an educational system without religion can bring only disaster, whereas a system with religious foundations will be the greatest assurance of the well being of the country.

Signed:

OBADIAH KARIUKI
Bishop of Fort Hall
Chairman of the Christian Churches’ Educational Association

JOHN JOSEPH MCCARTHY
Archbishop of Nairobi
Chairman of the Kenya Episcopal Conference

Nairobi, November 1963.
Appendix 1: Church Memoranda (Cont’d)

Kenya Episcopal Conferences Memorandum with comments and observations on the report of the NCEOP Report 1976

The Report of this National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies is an excellent document in many respects. It makes much sound and practical recommendations for a more relevant educational system for Kenya related to its growth in nationhood.

The Catholic Bishops of Kenya would like to make the following comments and suggestions regarding the Report of the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies:

1. It is laudable that a newly independent republic should do an in-depth analysis of its educational objectives and policies, emphasising also its own traditional and native values and seeking in this way to improve the quality of life for its entire people. For this reason the report is very welcome, and makes many valuable recommendations that could lead to a more relevant and enriching system of education for our children.

2. This report identifies a number of ethical-social problems such as corruption, ‘magendo’, tribalism, anti-social practices, etc.

The report repeatedly calls for education for life in today’s and tomorrow’s changing Kenyan society. Education in social values is set as a priority, with moral and ethical formation in all educational processes in the country being a goal to be sought. The committee admits the difficulty in defining the social values, which need to be taught, and it is uncertain about how values can be taught in schools. Educational developments in recent years, both secular and Christian have taken very seriously these same two questions: which values? and how to teach them. The Kenya Catholic Secretariat and the Christian Churches’ Educational Association have been very actively involved in the
past dozen years or so to find answers to these questions. Alternative Christian religious
education syllabuses and books for secondary schools have been prepared by
international panels and workshops, which have at heart the appropriate education of
our youth. Some of these syllabuses and books represent a further development in
‘education for life’ than others. We have at our disposal now two programmes, which
have been developed in line with the current educational demands and trends for values
education. These programmes are ‘Developing in Christ’ (for Forms 1 and 2) and
‘Christian Living Today’ (for Forms 3 and 4).

At present these programmes have not yet been introduced in many schools, because
many people even those who prepared this report, do not seem aware of their existence.
They are Christian Religious Education Courses in which religious knowledge, bible
study and moral or ethical formation is effectively integrated. We are pleased to offer
this work as an excellent effort made by the churches to fulfill what our people of Kenya
see as an important need. Where the courses are being taught already in this country and
other countries in Africa, there is an enthusiastic response from teachers, students and
families. We propose that Kenya now examine the value of those courses and do all that
is possible to use them and evaluate them.

The report should recognise that also at a primary level there is an ongoing project for
Christian religious education in which all the Christian churches are working with one
another and with the Kenya Institute of Education. This Christian religious education is
life centred. It has been produced in Kenya beginning in 1971. It is the work of the
churches, which for many years have been African in leadership and in consciousness. It
is hoped that together with the New Syllabus of 1980 for primary schools, all the
Christian churches will have a common syllabus to be taught with common textbooks.
Whatever may be said of other countries, or of the past in Kenya, it is remarkable to see
how the Christian churches have, since independence, worked so closely together and
with the government in the spirit of harambee (pulling together).

3. The efforts of the churches to provide a strict moral code for the community within
the text of religious convictions has not been supported as much as it deserved.
However, the Ministry of Education and the churches can make improvements. Ethics or morality necessarily needs a religious context in order to be effective. As the report itself quotes,

Another fundamental force in African traditional life was religion, which provided a strict moral code for community. This will be a prominent feature of African socialism. (ref. NCEOP page 5 no. 1:2:3).

Christianity condemns those who do not live according to the commandments i.e. those who do not follow a moral code of behaviour, which is based on the love of God and love of man. All men without distinction of race, colour, education, wealth etc. are the same and equal in the eyes of God.

Since the National Anthem declares openly that our nation believes in God, and the Sessional Paper no. 10 declares that we are committed to a democratic religion in which God is central, the Catholic Bishops of Kenya suggest that ethics be taught as an integral part of religion and that African values are taken into consideration.

Since, as the report states, religion provided a strict moral code for the community, we suggest that this practice be maintained and strengthened. This will be done in accordance with the constitution of Kenya, which allows 'freedom of conscience'. The Education Act of 1968 (section 26) lays down excellent principles in respect of catering for pupils of various religions or non-religious convictions.

In Christian religious education, what is important is to make the religious education curriculum, syllabus and lessons, relevant to the pupils' daily life in the changing conditions in which they grow.

No one was more aware of the changing patterns of our society than the late President, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, nor could anyone have made it so clear that now, more than ever before, religion must be stressed as the inspiration and support of our system of social ethics. In his address in the AMECEA Conference at Nairobi on July 15th, 1976 he had this to say:
A man needs a good reason to convince him that he should be concerned with his neighbour, instead of looking out for himself and his own interests. In the past our clan and our tribe gave us that reason. But today our life goes beyond clan and tribe. It is more complex and we are concerned with many things. We need a new reason — a more complex reason — why we should be concerned with our neighbour and his welfare. Religion gives us that reason. It starts with the very nature of man himself, why he is here on earth, how he should relate to his fellow human beings and to God Himself; how everything mortal is one day finished; and how each of us must give an account of the days we lived here on earth. The Holy Bible tells us God wants us to be able to say: we spent our lives loving one another as He loves us.

If these prophetic words of the father and founder of our nation are true with regard to society as a whole, how much truer are they with regard to society in the making i.e. in the schools?

It is here that one sees some constructive possibilities. As has been mentioned under No. 2 above, Christian and other religions have been, and are, an influence for good. In this new Christian religious education syllabus what is meant by the "Life Approach" is that the lessons begin with what is happening in the life of the pupils, of their community, of their culture, and the lessons bring good news to the poor, of God’s love and help in this life as well as after death. Religious teaching in the schools is one of the most powerful ways of inculcating ethical norms, not merely in the children of the present but in the parents of the future as well. School and home are not two totally independent sources of ethical formation; there is continuing interplay between them. Traditional family values can often be best preserved through formal education in our schools. Consequently we would see the further development of religious teaching in the schools as leading to improvement in the quality of life for Kenya citizens.

4. It is our firm conviction that authentic ethical education can only be truly effective if it is given in the context of a sound religious education. To abandon this approach of teaching ethics would be disastrous to the whole structure of our society. Religion sanctions values; it is the source of a people’s value-systems and it is the people’s motivation to follow the ethical tenets commanded by the values. In the last analysis God is the principle from which personal and social relationships come forth. Therefore
we are very much surprised to read in this report NCEOP 1976, (page 7 par. 2);
“it is therefore evident that the teaching of religion and social ethics should not
continue to be mixed up.”

5. Christianity, like all other religions, holds firm to the principle that ethics is part of
religion. In most fundamental values the religion of Christians agrees with African
traditional religious views. In its actual implementation it therefore needs to consider
seriously the African traditional religion. Pope Paul VI had this to say:

The teaching of Jesus Christ and his redemption are, in fact, the
complement, the renewal, and the bringing to perfection of all that is
good in human tradition, and that is why the African who becomes a
Christian does not disown himself, but takes up the age-old values of
tradition 'in spirit and in truth'.

Christianity seeks not to replace traditional truth, but to support and complete it. That is
why His Excellency, President Daniel arap Moi spoke the following words to the
Catholic Bishops of Africa meeting in Nairobi on the 24th July, 1981:-

“Christianity takes away nothing that is good and true from the African
way of life, but preserves and strengthens those values.”

Expanding on these words of Pope Paul VI and President Daniel arap Moi, we insist
that Christianity is truly a universal religion and that it can be lived in any culture, any
land, and any people. Whatever the failings of some missionaries, it is unfair to
generalise or to forget the part they have played in bringing schools, hospitals,
dispensaries, technical schools etc. and provided most of the leaders now in government
and so helped in achieving independence and the peace, prosperity and progress which
Kenya now enjoys. Neither do the churches deny that they have been through a period
of dependence on outsiders. But like the government and people of Kenya, of which
they are a part, they have also achieved that independence which Christianity
encourages of being truly African and truly Christian. However, like those involved in
education in Kenya, the churches also have to search for their own values, something
that takes time.
We call for co-operation. The Christian churches and the government could do a great service to a very large and important sector of the nation by co-operating so that an effective, viable, ethical education can be offered to Kenya’s Christian children within the syllabus for religious education. Indeed for the country’s Christian population the school is only one aspect of ethical formation their families, churches and communities being the other. The churches’ pastoral activities among the families and in the midst of the local basic communities are the very big contribution to moral education of the young people.

We therefore propose that full scope for Christian religious education continue to be given to the Christian churches in the schools while the same churches continue their work among the members in individual families and communities. All this shall foster the moral welfare of the nation.

6. We propose that the already agreed forms of co-operation between the government and the churches is guaranteed in:

-- The Constitution

-- The Education Act 1968

-- Regulations from the Ministry of Education regarding staffing, adequate numbers of teachers in sponsored schools to maintain religious traditions.

-- And other recommendations of the NCEOP be implemented at once.

Specially, we Catholic Bishops would like the following points clarified:

a) “Not mixing up the teaching of religious education and social ethics” in the light of clarifications made in our statement (NCEOP page 7 par. 2).
b) Recognition that the Christian churches in post-independence Kenya are fully aware of their own Kenyan identity and responsibility.

c) The clear definition and implementation at all levels by all parties on the role of the churches as sponsors and managers of schools, e.g. consultation on the appointment of headmasters, adequate number of staff to cater for religious education, training for teachers for religious education etc.

d) The role of churches as interested in the moral education of children belonging to Christian faith.

e) The intake, training and on-going formation and inservice training of Christian teachers who in turn teach Christian children.

d) Deployment of teachers in such a way that Christian religious education teachers are effectively distributed in all Kenyan schools.

7. Promotion of National Unity. Now that Kenyan Christians and non-Christians have matured they are aware that religious differences do not impede national unity. The Cabinet Ministers themselves work together united, even though of different Christian denominations and at the time of the death and burial of our beloved First President and during the peaceful transition of power to President Daniel arap Moi the churches worked united with the government in helping the people of Kenya in safeguarding unity, peace and the rule of law with a sense of responsibility such as won the admiration of the whole world. Therefore we the Catholic Bishops of Kenya wish to fulfill our duty as laid on us by God and in the words of our First President addressed to us as religious leaders:

    One of the services you can give us is to help us to keep going in the right direction.... That is why we need the church, to tell us when we are making mistakes. The church is the conscience of society and today society needs a conscience. Do not be afraid to speak. If we go wrong and you keep quiet, one day you may have to answer for 'our mistakes'.

This memorandum shows our whole-hearted support for the NCEOP by pointing out what we consider is not in the best interests of education, the
people and the government of Kenya. The National Anthem begins with God, and asks for his blessings. The Church and Government should work together so that the education given in Kenya schools and the work of the Ministry may truly deserve God’s blessing.

THE KENYA EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE

JANUARY 24, 1979
Appendix 1: Church Memoranda (Cont’d)


PRELUDE

The National Council of Churches of Kenya, upon studying critically the current state of upheaval in our schools, has made the following observations and deliberations for presentation to the Presidential Committee on Unrest and Indiscipline in our Schools. The following observations and recommendations have been made with special reference to the St. Kizito incident. The Council notes with great concern that such adverse criminal action against a section of a school community could have occurred in the history of education of this nation. The conclusions reached in this document are therefore a result of a careful study and extensive research on the current situation of our schools.

ANALYSIS OF THE CURRENT SITUATION IN OUR SCHOOLS

While it is true that it was the will of the government to establish a more sustainable, participatory and durable education system that would ensure self-employment to our young people through the 8-4-4 system of education, it is however sad to note that it has caused untold suffering and national unrest in our schools. The recent tragedy at the St. Kizito mixed secondary school is just but a symptom of the current state of affairs in our schools. This tragedy revealed among other things, poor administration and gross political interference in the life of our learning institutions. It is therefore under the following aspects that we need to reconsider the government policy regarding the effective running of our learning institutions.

1.0 The absence of dialogue:

The already exist poor communication within our learning institutions, especially between the teachers’ and students’ communities. This result in unnecessary tensions which eventually lead to gross misconduct and destruction of school properties. It is in the event of riots such as that of St.Kizito that sanctity of life is no longer respected. This reveals the indispensable role of dialogue as a means by which any human community is reconciled and brought to understanding.
2.0 The role of the Sponsor:
The relationship between the churches which sponsor some of our schools and the administration, which is charged with the responsibility of running our schools, is no longer good. The role of the sponsor has adversely reduced to mere spectating of events that grossly affect our schools. Pastors and church Ministers have often been ridiculed in their efforts to assist in the running of the schools.

3.0 Deteriorating Standards in Administration:
Due to the encroachment of divisive politics in our learning institutions, we are now witnessing irregular posting of teachers and lack of ethics in the teaching profession. With the absence of the spiritual ingredient which usually forms the moral fibre of any community, especially the schools, it is impossible to uphold ethical values. If teachers can no longer be in control of the schools, it is not entirely because of the gross misconduct of students, but due to external forces, especially in politics, which constantly invade school administration.

4.0 Education without cultural input:
Coupled with the absence of spiritual guidance, the absence of adequate cultural education in the learning institutions is gradually making our young people more uprooted and alienated from their society. This eventually causes a crisis of identity in our young people. In so doing, they become strangers in their own motherland.

5.0 Violence against women:
Rape and other forms of violence against women has become a common occurrence in our society. Violence is now too common a phenomenon among the older generation in our society. The poor adult image portrayed by leaders has created a sense of hopelessness among the youth. When men no longer uphold and respect the dignity and rights of women, even in our schools, the younger generation of men will continue to discriminate against the girls. This trend of sexism might eventually create a rift of hatred and suspicion between men and women in our society.

6.0 Crisis in the family:
The family too, due to the socio-economic climate in which we live, has become too overwhelmed with cares and concerns about tomorrow that proper upbringing of children is no longer its priority. Conflicts between parents and their children have lead our youth into seeking refuge in learning institutions which cannot replace the family.
7.0 The 8-4-4 System of Education:
Much has already been said about the inadequacy of this system of education. Students are overburdened with a heavy workload arising from a curriculum which is too broad. This has caused them untold anxiety and stress. Coupled with lack of teaching materials in several schools, educational standards have grossly deteriorated. It has also been observed that especially in the rural setting, parents have had to sell so much of their belongings in order to sustain the bottomless pitch of schools economic needs. The restructuring of our education system has had far reaching negative effects not only to the students but also to the parent community. This calls for an urgent review of the 8.4.4 System of Education.

8.0 Other Socio-economic issues:
As already mentioned, press reports are generally full of miserable news indicating a sense of pessimism about the future. They represent a sense of hopelessness with very poor adult image. This certainly has a negative effect on our creative and ambitious young people who are looking forward to a brighter future. The erroneous reporting of news concerning the causes of riots in the universities has also led to a national misconception about the learning conditions of the students. They are often portrayed as reckless and undisciplined while the real issues are not discussed. While it is true that our society is becoming more westernised, assimilating values that are alien to itself, it is equally true that the evolving tension between different social classes, especially the rich and the poor, is gradually developing into a culture of violence. This culture seems to permeate all features of our social environment. Based on this analysis, the National Council of Churches of Kenya hereby proposes the following recommendations:-

RECOMMENDATIONS
1.0 The Ministry of Culture and Social Services should liaise with the Ministry of Education in order to facilitate and strengthen the Kenyan cultural and social values in our learning institutions. The effective enhancement of cultural education within the curriculum could help in the revitalisation of such values into the system of education.

2.0 The policy concerning the role of the sponsor in schools should be reviewed. With special reference to the 1968 education act, the Ministry of Education should consult with the different religious organisations in order to produce a new workable policy. We also recommend that easy access be given to the various religious organisations to carry out regular visitation of the schools. Churches should be encouraged to avail Chaplains to all institutions of learning.

3.0 Before the introduction of structural adjustment programmes by the government, the Wananchi (citizens) whose welfare is grossly affected by these programmes should be consulted and involved in the decision making process.

4.0 It is of utmost importance that men should be educated from an early age (through our
learning institutions) to respect women with the dignity entailed in their person. The participation of women in the socio-economic and political issues should be enhanced in order to correct the negative image of the role of women in development.

5.0 Dialogue should be encouraged in our learning institutions as a means of resolving crisis. Before any major decision which would affect the life of a school or college, it is important that the students are notified. All levels should be involved in dialogue. A participatory system of education should be encouraged.

6.0 In order to promote a cohesive society in which men and women co-exist in peace, it is necessary to maintain co-education.

7.0 Through family life education programmes, the Ministry concerned should initiate a campaign of educating families to uphold their role in education.

7.0 Posting of teachers should be reviewed and where anomalies are found, necessary steps should be taken. Thus, the Ministry of Education should have a policy declaring the autonomy of learning institutions with respect to the politicians. The curriculum of the teacher training colleges should be reviewed. A strict code of ethics in the teaching profession should be enacted and effectively implemented in our schools.

9.0 An inspection should be carried out on all learning institutions, especially boarding schools in order to revitalise their counseling and recreational facilities.

10.0 The National Council of Churches hereby calls for an immediate review and overhaul of the 8.4.4 System of Education. With these commendations, we hope that we shall have achieved a more sustainable, participatory and durable education system that would ensure discipline and moral aptitude in our learning institutions.

REV SAMUEL KOBIA GENERAL SECRETARY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES OF KENYA P 0 Box 45009 NAIROBI AUGUST 1991
Appendix 2: Population Statistics

Population Pyramid

The UN Growth Projections of Kenya’s population Growth between 1950 and 2025 By the UN.
Appendix 2: Population Statistics (Cont’d)

The Sex and Age Distributions of Population the 1990 Revision of the United Nations Global Population Estimates and Projections (overleaf)

Kenya Population Pyramid

1995

Graphed by
William H. Bender
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Age 0-4</th>
<th>Age 5-9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3159</td>
<td>547</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3105</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>536</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>6264</td>
<td>1089</td>
<td>729</td>
<td>674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3612</td>
<td>691</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>3577</td>
<td>684</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7189</td>
<td>1375</td>
<td>965</td>
<td>699</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>4176</td>
<td>822</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4156</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>615</td>
<td>463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8332</td>
<td>1634</td>
<td>1236</td>
<td>929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>4880</td>
<td>979</td>
<td>748</td>
<td>599</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4870</td>
<td>966</td>
<td>739</td>
<td>594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9750</td>
<td>1945</td>
<td>1487</td>
<td>1193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>5750</td>
<td>1166</td>
<td>902</td>
<td>724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5748</td>
<td>1149</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11498</td>
<td>2315</td>
<td>1792</td>
<td>1440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>6870</td>
<td>1435</td>
<td>1067</td>
<td>877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>6872</td>
<td>1412</td>
<td>1072</td>
<td>862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>13742</td>
<td>2847</td>
<td>2159</td>
<td>1743</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>8315</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td>1352</td>
<td>1060</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>8317</td>
<td>1755</td>
<td>1333</td>
<td>1047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16632</td>
<td>3541</td>
<td>2685</td>
<td>2107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>10030</td>
<td>2102</td>
<td>1700</td>
<td>1322</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>10047</td>
<td>2061</td>
<td>1673</td>
<td>1031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>20097</td>
<td>4163</td>
<td>3373</td>
<td>2627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>12201</td>
<td>2361</td>
<td>2018</td>
<td>1667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>12011</td>
<td>2314</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>1643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>24032</td>
<td>4675</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>3310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>14502</td>
<td>2889</td>
<td>2286</td>
<td>1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>14517</td>
<td>2889</td>
<td>2286</td>
<td>1984</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix 2: Population Statistics (Cont’d)
### Appendix 2: Population Statistics (Cont’d)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Age 0-4</th>
<th>Age 5-9</th>
<th>Age 10-14</th>
<th>Age 15-19</th>
<th>Age 20-24</th>
<th>Age 25-29</th>
<th>Age 30-34</th>
<th>Age 35-39</th>
<th>Age 40-44</th>
<th>Age 45-54</th>
<th>Age 55-64</th>
<th>Age 65-69</th>
<th>Age 70-74</th>
<th>Age 75-79</th>
<th>Age 80+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>1995 Total</td>
<td>28978</td>
<td>5718</td>
<td>4529</td>
<td>3936</td>
<td>3270</td>
<td>2553</td>
<td>2004</td>
<td>1615</td>
<td>1294</td>
<td>1031</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>485</td>
<td>428</td>
<td>323</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2000 Male</td>
<td>17554</td>
<td>3465</td>
<td>2816</td>
<td>2253</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>1623</td>
<td>1261</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>629</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2000 Female</td>
<td>17506</td>
<td>3412</td>
<td>2763</td>
<td>2215</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>1605</td>
<td>1253</td>
<td>984</td>
<td>794</td>
<td>636</td>
<td>506</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2000 Total</td>
<td>35060</td>
<td>6877</td>
<td>5579</td>
<td>4468</td>
<td>3895</td>
<td>3228</td>
<td>2514</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>1586</td>
<td>1265</td>
<td>1001</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2005 Male</td>
<td>21233</td>
<td>4139</td>
<td>3418</td>
<td>2783</td>
<td>2231</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>1599</td>
<td>1241</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>477</td>
<td>342</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2005 Female</td>
<td>21165</td>
<td>4053</td>
<td>3353</td>
<td>2734</td>
<td>2196</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>1586</td>
<td>1236</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>779</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>361</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2005 Total</td>
<td>42389</td>
<td>8192</td>
<td>6771</td>
<td>5517</td>
<td>4427</td>
<td>3851</td>
<td>3185</td>
<td>2477</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>1553</td>
<td>1232</td>
<td>969</td>
<td>703</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2010 Male</td>
<td>25510</td>
<td>4775</td>
<td>4077</td>
<td>3383</td>
<td>2758</td>
<td>2207</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>1577</td>
<td>1222</td>
<td>950</td>
<td>755</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>453</td>
<td>317</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2010 Female</td>
<td>25395</td>
<td>4674</td>
<td>4000</td>
<td>3325</td>
<td>2714</td>
<td>2177</td>
<td>1694</td>
<td>1279</td>
<td>954</td>
<td>763</td>
<td>474</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>115</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2010 Total</td>
<td>50905</td>
<td>9449</td>
<td>8077</td>
<td>6708</td>
<td>5472</td>
<td>4384</td>
<td>3807</td>
<td>3146</td>
<td>2443</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>1518</td>
<td>1195</td>
<td>927</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2015 Male</td>
<td>30112</td>
<td>5149</td>
<td>4716</td>
<td>4041</td>
<td>3357</td>
<td>2731</td>
<td>2182</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1555</td>
<td>1201</td>
<td>928</td>
<td>730</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2015 Female</td>
<td>29959</td>
<td>5040</td>
<td>4625</td>
<td>3971</td>
<td>3303</td>
<td>2694</td>
<td>2158</td>
<td>1876</td>
<td>1551</td>
<td>1204</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>744</td>
<td>585</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2015 Total</td>
<td>60071</td>
<td>10189</td>
<td>8341</td>
<td>6812</td>
<td>5425</td>
<td>4340</td>
<td>3766</td>
<td>3106</td>
<td>2405</td>
<td>1864</td>
<td>1474</td>
<td>1147</td>
<td>872</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2020 Male</td>
<td>34892</td>
<td>5486</td>
<td>5097</td>
<td>4679</td>
<td>3902</td>
<td>3237</td>
<td>2704</td>
<td>2159</td>
<td>1867</td>
<td>1532</td>
<td>1175</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>698</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2020 Female</td>
<td>34808</td>
<td>5368</td>
<td>4966</td>
<td>4595</td>
<td>3948</td>
<td>3281</td>
<td>2674</td>
<td>2140</td>
<td>1858</td>
<td>1532</td>
<td>1183</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>722</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>281</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2020 Total</td>
<td>69680</td>
<td>10854</td>
<td>10093</td>
<td>9274</td>
<td>7960</td>
<td>6608</td>
<td>5378</td>
<td>4269</td>
<td>3725</td>
<td>3054</td>
<td>2358</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>1420</td>
<td>1083</td>
<td>797</td>
<td>515</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2025 Male</td>
<td>39655</td>
<td>5342</td>
<td>5438</td>
<td>5062</td>
<td>4649</td>
<td>3980</td>
<td>3297</td>
<td>2678</td>
<td>2135</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>1502</td>
<td>1143</td>
<td>863</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2025 Female</td>
<td>39459</td>
<td>5225</td>
<td>5329</td>
<td>4968</td>
<td>4571</td>
<td>3924</td>
<td>3259</td>
<td>2654</td>
<td>2122</td>
<td>1837</td>
<td>1509</td>
<td>1159</td>
<td>889</td>
<td>692</td>
<td>522</td>
<td>374</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>2025 Total</td>
<td>79114</td>
<td>10567</td>
<td>10767</td>
<td>10030</td>
<td>9220</td>
<td>7904</td>
<td>6556</td>
<td>5332</td>
<td>4257</td>
<td>3678</td>
<td>3011</td>
<td>2302</td>
<td>1752</td>
<td>1345</td>
<td>994</td>
<td>689</td>
<td>408</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 3: The Kenya Constitution and Education Act 1968

The Constitution of Kenya, Chapter Five and the Education Act 1968 on which education policy is based.

Protection of Fundamental Rights and Freedom of Individuals. Section 78.

Freedoms of the individual section 78.

PROTECTION OF FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE

(1) Except with his own consent, no person shall be hindered in enjoyment of his conscience, and for the purpose of this section the said freedom includes freedom of thought and of religion, freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others, and both in public and in private, to manifest and propagate his religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance.

(2) Every religious community shall be entitled, at its own expense, to establish and maintain places of education and to manage any place of education which it wholly maintains; and no such community shall be prevented from providing religious instruction for persons of that community in the course of any education provided at any place of education which it wholly maintains or in the course of any education which it otherwise provides.

(3) Except with his own consent (or, if he is a minor, the consent of his guardian), no person attending any place of education shall be required to receive religious instruction or to take part in or attend any religious ceremony or observance if that instruction, ceremony or observance relates to a religion other than his own.

(4) No person shall be compelled to take any oath, which is contrary to his religion or belief or to take any oath in a manner, which is contrary to his religion or belief.

(5) Nothing contained in or done under the authority of any law shall be held to be inconsistent with or in contravention of this section to the extent that the law in question makes provision which is reasonably required.

(a) In the interests of defense, public safety, public order, public morality
Or public health, or

(b) For the purpose of protecting the rights and freedoms of other persons, including the right to observe and practice any religion without the unsolicited intervention of members of any other religion and except so far as that provision or, as the case may be, the thing done under the authority thereof is shown not to be reasonably justifiable in a democratic society.
Appendix 3: The Kenya Constitution and Education Act 1968 (Cont’d)

EDUCATION ACT 1968 (still in force)

THE EDUCATION ACT-Cap. 211

Preamble
In order to help you to understand the Church's involvement in schools and the legal
position, an extract of the relevant sections of the education Act is given here.
The education Act was passed in 1967, and implementation commenced on 4th April,
1968. The Churches were consulted and they gave their views. The Ministry of
Education is currently considering a revision of this Act, again in consultation with the
Churches. However, here now follow extracts from the 1968 Education Act. (The
numbering used below is taken directly from the Act and therefore is of use only for any
further reference one might wish to make).

PART I PRELIMINARY Section 2

In this Act, except where the context otherwise requires,

Assisted School: means a school, other than a maintained school, which receives
financial assistance from the Ministry or assistance from the Teachers Service
Commission established by the Teachers Service Commission Act.

Curriculum: means all the subjects taught and all the activities provided at any school,
and may include the time devoted to each subject and activity.

Maintained School: means a school in respect or which the Ministry or a local authority
accepts general financial responsibility for maintenance,

Manager: means any person or body of persons responsible for the management and
conduct of a school and includes a Board.

Public School: means a school maintained or assisted out of public fund.

School: means an institution in which not less than ten pupils receive regular
instruction, or an assembly of not less than ten pupils for the purpose of receiving
regular instruction, or an institution which provides regular instruction by
correspondence, but does not includes:—

(a) Any institution or assembly for which a Minister other than the Minister is
responsible, or
(b) Any institution or assembly in which the instruction is, in the opinion of the
Minister, wholly or mainly of a religious character or
(c) Any institution for the purpose of training persons for admission to the ordained
ministry of a religious order.

336
Unaided school: means a school, which is not receiving grants out of public funds. Syllabus: means a concise statement of the contents of a course of instruction in a subject or subjects.

PART II PROMOTION OF EDUCATION

Section 5
(4) Where functions have been entrusted to a local authority under this section, the local authority shall appoint an education committee in accordance with regulation 91 of the Local Government Regulations, 1963, and shall consider a report from such education Committee before exercising any of the functions: Provided that, notwithstanding that regulation, an education committee shall consist of ten councilors and five other members appointed by the Minister, and those other five members shall include not more than three persons to represent, any sponsor or sponsors appointed by the local authority under section 8(1) of this Act.

PART III MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOLS: PRIMARY SCHOOLS MAINTAINED BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Section 8
(1) Where a transferred school was managed by a Church, or an organisation of Churches, and it is the wish of the community served by the school that the religious traditions of the school should be respected, the former manager shall be appointed by the local authority to serve as the sponsor to the school.

(2) If the former manager, or any ten citizens belonging to the community served by the school, are aggrieved by the decision of a local authority to appoint or to refuse to appoint, or to revoke the appointment or to refuse to revoke the appointment of, the former manager as sponsor to the school, they may appeal in writing to the Minister, who shall make such inquiries as appear to him desirable or necessary, and whose decision shall be final.

(3) Where the former manager of a transferred school has been appointed by the local authority to serve as the sponsor to the school:

(a) The T.S.C. or any agent of the T.S.C. responsible for the assignment of teachers to schools on behalf of the T.S.C. shall assign teachers to the school after consultation with and, so far as may be compatible with the maintenance of proper educational standards at the school and the economical use of public funds, with the agreement of the sponsor

(b) The sponsor shall have the right to use the school buildings free of charge, when the buildings are not in use for schools purposes, after giving reasonable notice of his intention to do so to the Headmaster of the school: Provided that any additional expenses and the cost of making good, any damage incurred during or in consequence of the sponsor using the buildings shall be defrayed by the sponsor; and

(c) Religious instruction shall be given at the school in conformity with a syllabus
prepared or approved under regulations made under section 19 of this Act after consultation with the sponsor.

(4) In determining what are the wishes of the community served by a school the local authority or the Minister shall give due weight to the wishes of parents of the children at the school.

SCHOOL COMMITTEE

Section 9
(2) The local authority in the prescribed number and manner shall appoint the members of a school committee, and the members of the committee shall include persons to represent the local authority, the community served by the school and where a sponsor to the school has been appointed under section 8 of this Act, the sponsor shall appoint three persons to represent him.

OTHER SCHOOLS; CONSTITUTION AND FUNCTIONS OF BOARDS OF GOVERNORS

Section 11
An order establishing a Board of Governors shall provide for:
(b) The membership of the Board, which shall not be not than less than five persons,
(c) Including among the members of the board representatives of the communities served by the school, of persons representing any voluntary body which was the founder of the school or its successor, and of any other persons or representatives of bodies or organisations that, in the opinion of the Minister, should be included.

PART VIII MISCELLANEOUS: RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Section 26
(1) if a parent of a pupil at a public school requests that the pupil be wholly or partly excused from attending religious worship or religious instruction, in the school, the pupil shall be excused such attendance until the request is withdrawn.

(2) Where the parent of a pupil at a public school wishes the pupil to attend religious worship or religious instruction of kind which is not provided in the school, the school shall provide such facilities as may be practicable for the pupils to receive religious instruction and attend worship of the kind desired by the parent.

REGULATIONS ISSUED UNDER SECTIONS 9, 31 AND 19 THE EDUCATION (SCHOOL COMMITTEES) REGULATIONS 1968
2. (1) Every school committee established by a local authority for a primary school under section 9 (1) of the Act shall consist of the following members, appointed by the local authority.
(a) Three persons appointed by the local authority who need not be councilors or the local authority;
(b) Three persons nominated by the parents served by the school and;
(c) Three persons nominated by the sponsor to the school where a sponsor has been appointed under section 8 (1) of the Act or where a school has no sponsor, three persons appointed by the local authority from among persons dedicated and experienced in the field of education.

10. (1) The functions of the committee shall be:
(a) In respect of a sponsored school to maintain the religious traditions of the schools;
(b) To advise the local authority on matters affecting the pupils of the school, and discipline
(c) To exercise general oversight regarding admission of pupils to the school, and discipline,

THE EDUCATION (EDUCATION STANDARDS) REGULATIONS 1968

5. The curriculum of a school, the syllabuses used in any school and the books or other teaching aids used in connection with such syllabuses. shall be such as the Minister shall approve; but in a sponsored school syllabuses, books and other teaching aids used for religious education shall be those prepared or recommended by the sponsor and approved by the Minister.

6. Where a sponsor has been appointed in respect of a school in accordance with section 8 (1) of the Act, the headmaster shall grant every reasonable request by the sponsor to satisfy himself that religious instruction is conducted in accordance with the syllabuses prepared or recommended by the sponsor and approved by the Minister.
Appendix 4: Educational Statistics

This table shows that there should have been more African children of school going age at school in 1963 than the rest.

**Primary School Attendance by Percentage of Ages 1963**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RACE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF STUDENTS</th>
<th>SCHOOL AGE POPULATION</th>
<th>STUDENTS AS % OF SCHOOL AGE POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>840,677</td>
<td>2,421,300</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>3,222</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>35.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>40,915</td>
<td>52,800</td>
<td>77.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>6,639</td>
<td>8,900</td>
<td>74.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the school age population percentage (34.7) of African children in schools was smaller than that of the Europeans, the European school age population percentage (74.6) of a very small population represented an irony.

**Censuses taken between 1911 and 1969**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1911</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1926</th>
<th>1931</th>
<th>1948</th>
<th>1962</th>
<th>1969</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africans and Somalis</td>
<td>11,787</td>
<td>25,253</td>
<td>29,324</td>
<td>43,623</td>
<td>5,251,120</td>
<td>8,365,942</td>
<td>10,733,202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>3,175</td>
<td>9,651</td>
<td>12,529</td>
<td>16,812</td>
<td>29,660</td>
<td>55,759</td>
<td>139,037</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td>9,100</td>
<td>10,102</td>
<td>10,557</td>
<td>12,166</td>
<td>24,174</td>
<td>34,048</td>
<td>27,886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>1,259</td>
<td>1,346</td>
<td>3,325</td>
<td>3,901</td>
<td>1,987</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The African population was not included until 1948

Source: Raju, (1979: 13)
Appendix 4: Educational Statistics (Cont’d)

This table shows the contrast in enrollment by percentages of the school going children in which Africans were discriminated against.

Otiende, Wamahiu, Karugu (eds), (1992) have observed that as late as 1963, African children in primary school were less in number than Europeans and Asians according to their school life percentages. The following tables show primary and secondary school children on ethnic composition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RACE</th>
<th>NUMBER OF PUPILS</th>
<th>SCHOOL AGE POPULATION</th>
<th>PUPILS AS % OF SCHOOL AGE POPULATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td>10,593</td>
<td>829,700</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>3,100</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>13,921</td>
<td>17,200</td>
<td>80.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>3,265</td>
<td>3,300</td>
<td>98.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Otiende and Wamahiu (1992:80)
Appendix 4: Educational Statistics (Cont’d)


**Government Schools before the 1964 OC and after 1964.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Yea</th>
<th>Schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>1969</td>
<td>694</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>783</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Bokongo, ( 1992:125)*

**Government secondary schools rose from 65 in 1960 to 783 in 1970 in five years schools rose by 718 from 65 in 115 years**
Appendix 4: Educational Statistics (Cont’d)

Secondary school pupil enrollment between 1960 and 1970
Enrollment rose from 20,139 pupils in 1960 to 126,855 in 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>13065</td>
<td>7074</td>
<td>20139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>14755</td>
<td>7412</td>
<td>22169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>17101</td>
<td>8885</td>
<td>26586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>20553</td>
<td>9576</td>
<td>30120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>25211</td>
<td>10710</td>
<td>35921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>34720</td>
<td>13256</td>
<td>47976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>46802</td>
<td>16391</td>
<td>63193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>66392</td>
<td>22387</td>
<td>88779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>75175</td>
<td>26186</td>
<td>10136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>83086</td>
<td>32160</td>
<td>115246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>89327</td>
<td>37528</td>
<td>126855</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bokongo, (1992:125)

Otiende, Wamahiu, Karugu (eds), (1992, p.80) have observed that as late as 1963, African children in primary school were less in number than Europeans and Asians according to their school life percentages. The following tables show primary and secondary school children on ethnic composition.
## Appendix 4: Educational Statistics (Cont’d)

Forecasts of Enrollments and Classes Analysed by form: Between 1973 and 1978, the enrollment of pupils would have gone up by 86,920

### 1973-1978 Secondary Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Classes and enrollments</th>
<th>Form 1</th>
<th>Form 2</th>
<th>Form 3</th>
<th>Form 4</th>
<th>Form 5</th>
<th>Form 6</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>classes&lt;br&gt;Enrollment</td>
<td>600&lt;br&gt;23,400</td>
<td>570&lt;br&gt;21,700</td>
<td>536&lt;br&gt;20,400</td>
<td>505&lt;br&gt;18,200</td>
<td>145&lt;br&gt;3,970</td>
<td>131&lt;br&gt;3,320</td>
<td>2487&lt;br&gt;90,990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>Classes&lt;br&gt;Enrollment</td>
<td>630&lt;br&gt;24,600</td>
<td>600&lt;br&gt;22,800</td>
<td>570&lt;br&gt;22,200</td>
<td>536&lt;br&gt;19,800</td>
<td>159&lt;br&gt;4,450</td>
<td>145&lt;br&gt;3,830</td>
<td>2,640&lt;br&gt;97,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>classes&lt;br&gt;Enrollment</td>
<td>630&lt;br&gt;24,600</td>
<td>630&lt;br&gt;23,900</td>
<td>620&lt;br&gt;24,210</td>
<td>570&lt;br&gt;21,700</td>
<td>159&lt;br&gt;4,450</td>
<td>159&lt;br&gt;4,300</td>
<td>2,768&lt;br&gt;103,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Classes&lt;br&gt;Enrollment</td>
<td>630&lt;br&gt;24,600</td>
<td>630&lt;br&gt;24,600</td>
<td>670&lt;br&gt;26,120</td>
<td>620&lt;br&gt;23,520</td>
<td>159&lt;br&gt;4,450</td>
<td>159&lt;br&gt;4,300</td>
<td>2,868&lt;br&gt;10,7590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Classes&lt;br&gt;Enrollment</td>
<td>630&lt;br&gt;24,600</td>
<td>630&lt;br&gt;24,600</td>
<td>690&lt;br&gt;26,930</td>
<td>670&lt;br&gt;25,440</td>
<td>159&lt;br&gt;4,450</td>
<td>159&lt;br&gt;4,300</td>
<td>2,938&lt;br&gt;110,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Classes&lt;br&gt;Enrollment</td>
<td>630&lt;br&gt;24,600</td>
<td>630&lt;br&gt;24,600</td>
<td>710&lt;br&gt;27,740</td>
<td>690&lt;br&gt;26,260</td>
<td>159&lt;br&gt;4,450</td>
<td>159&lt;br&gt;4300</td>
<td>2,978&lt;br&gt;111,950</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix 5: Secondary RE Syllabuses

Secondary school Syllabuses before 1974 when the East African Examinations Council was formed were parochial with the main objectives to train students in moral and social values, to evangelise and equip students academically. The main national syllabus for years one and two was the Protestant text by Norman Kingstone (1964) *Encounter with Christ* followed in private schools and sometimes in government schools for the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination although some schools followed their own private syllabuses. The KJSE syllabus covered aspects of the Old and New Testaments with emphasis on the doctrinal dimension of the Early Church. The contents emphasised academic achievement in line with the OC.

Years 3-6 followed Cambridge Overseas Examining Body ‘O’ Level and Advanced ‘A’ Level syllabuses. The ‘O’ Levels were a phenomenological study of the Synoptic Gospels in years three and four. The ‘A’ Levels were another divinity phenomenological analysis of aspects of the Old and New Testaments.

After the East African Examinations Council was set up in 1974, there was an attempt to relate CRE to the life of the students. The African traditional religions were also included for the first time. According to the Kenya National Examinations Council 1984 the following were the topics for the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education ‘O’Level first introduced in 1974:

**Syllabus content**
- African religious Traditions;
- Church History with emphasis on Africa;
- Selected area in the Old and New Testaments;
  (Family life; courtship; man’s quest for God; man’s evasion of God; Christian involvement in the world)

**The Syllabus objectives were to:**
- Help children grow into mature Christians;
- Make mature decisions and intelligently apply them to life;
- Study man’s relationship to God, his fellow men in the Old Testament, Christianity, and African religions, so that the student’s awareness of how he relates to God and man is deepened.
Appendix 5: Secondary RE Syllabuses (Cont’d)

Improved Syllabuses of CRE after the 1976 NCEOP (cont’d)

Recommendations:
Modern Christian Living, the East African Examinations Council (1979:10) Syllabus
and Regulations and content.
• How Christians think about behaviour;
• The making of Christian Moral Judgements;
• Marriage and Family;
• The African traditional marriage and family;
• The Biblical view of sex, marriage and the family;
• Factors affecting marriage, the family and sexual behaviour;
• Preparation for marriage;
• Church marriage and other marriages;
• Work and attitudes towards work;
• Professional Ethics;
• Labour relations;
• Business morality -employer employee relationship;
• Leisure its misuses;
• Money and wealth, the Christian and the modern world;
• Rich and poor nations;
• Political community or state;
• The Christian and the political community;
• The rights and duties of a citizen;
• Crime and punishment;
• The family and Nations
• Race relations and racial prejudice

The content of the four year Secondary school CRE syllabus according to the Kenya
National Examinations Council (1992:5) regulations includes the following:

I. African Religious heritage
Who am I?
Changing and continuing aspects of Childhood in African society.
Initiation from childhood into adulthood.
Marriage and family.
Death in African society.
The traditional African World-view.
Life and its perpetuation.
The African community.
God worship spirits and ancestors.
Appendix 6: Objectives of Social Education and Ethics

The Social Education and Ethics Course should help the learner to:

- Develop a harmonious ethical/moral relationship between himself and the home, the school, the neighbourhood, Kenya and other nations;
- Appreciate the necessity and dignity of moral education in Kenya and other societies;
- Base his decisions on sound ethical principles as an integral part of his personality development;
- Develop a rational attitude and outlook towards life;
- Acquire, appreciate and commit himself to universal virtues that cement unity and understanding among various ethnic communities in Kenya;
- Rationally sort out conflicts arising from the traditional, extraneous and inner directed moral values;
- Understand and appreciate the social fulfillment and moral rewards accruing from cultivating and adopting virtues and values offered by moral/ethical education.

The above objectives seem to be more concerned with the political and rational sphere rather than with holistic human development. They are basically about moral reasoning without reference to any substantial conception of the good.
**Appendix 7: Characteristics of African Socialism**

**The Operating Characteristics of African Socialism** have been given in **Sessional Paper No 10 (Kenya 1965:9)** as follows:

**Use of resources**

To be consistent with the conditions specified, African Socialism must be politically democratic, socially responsible, adaptable and independent. The system itself is based on the further idea that the nation’s productive assets must be used in the interest of society and its members.

There is some conflict in opinion with regard to the traditional attitude towards rights to land...In every case, however, ownership was not an absolute indivisible bundle of rights. The ultimate right of disposal outside the tribe was essentially tribal...land was tribally owned...The political arrangements within the tribe were such that every mature member of the tribe would have a say in such a decision...this is significant to the understanding of African Socialism, to the condition that resources must be properly used and their benefits appropriately distributed, not merely held idle, abused or misused, or the benefits hoarded.

What does emerge with clarity and force and as a single, unifying principle from these discussions on traditional property rights is that land and other productive assets, no matter who owned them, were expected to be used, and used for the general welfare. No individual family or clan could treat productive assets as private property unless the uses to which those assets were put were regarded as consonant with the general welfare...no person could treat a piece of land as his own with the freedom to use it or not as he chose...to day the right of the State to guide, plan, and even order the use to which property will be put is universally recognised and unquestioned.

These African traditions cannot be carried over indiscriminately to a modern, monetary economy. The need to develop and invest credit and a credit economy rests heavily on a system of land titles and their registration. The ownership of land must, therefore, be
made more definite and explicit if land consolidation and development are to be fully successful. It does not follow, however, however that society will also give up its stake in how resources are used. Indeed, it is a fundamental characteristic of African Socialism that society has a duty to plan, guide and control the uses of all productive resources.

**Control of resource use**

Under African Socialism the power to control resource use resides with the State. To imagine, however, that the use of resources can only be controlled through their ownership or that the appropriate ownership will guarantee the proper use of productive assets are errors of great magnitude. Ownership can be abused whether private or public and ways must be found to control resource use in either case. African Socialism must rely on planning to determine the appropriate uses of productive resources on a range of controls to ensure that plans are carried out.

Economic activities are varied in function, importance and purpose. Some are directed toward satisfying the needs of society as a whole, others are undertaken by the individual for himself and many others serve both purposes in varying degrees. The measure of control needed for each of these many activities differs from that needed for others. In order to control effectively, sufficiently, and not excessively in each case many types and degrees of control are needed ranging from none, through influence, guidance and the control of a few variables such as prices or quantities, to absolute control represented by State ownership and operation. Price, wage, rent and output controls, import duties, income taxes and subsidies can be used selectively and in combinations to direct the uses of private property, limit profits, and influence the distribution of gains.

The idea of mutual social responsibility presupposes a relation between society, its members and the State. It suggests that the State is a means by which people collectively impose on individual member’s behaviour that is more socially constructive than that which each would impose on himself. The State therefore has a continuing function to
perform not in subordinating the individual in society, but in enhancing the role of the individual in society. Individuals derive satisfaction not only from the goods they consume but also from those they accumulate. If human dignity and freedom are to be preserved, provision must be made for both activities by the individual-consumption and accumulation.

The use of a range of controls offers the great advantage of flexibility...It also gives a substantial degree of freedom in attracting both private and public capital whether internally or from abroad. And managerial talent of different kinds can be attracted in different ways and from various sources to ensure that the country has adequate supplies of experienced people. Variety is an important means of attracting whether it is customers, savings, capital or management that is wanted.

The purpose of a range of controls and of planning is to ensure that productive assets are used for the benefits of society. If an individual, a co-operative, a company or the State owns productive assets, society expects these assets to be used and used well. The holding of land for speculative purposes...and the production or of shoddy merchandise are all examples of violations of the principle of mutual social responsibility.

Class Problem:

The sharp class divisions that one existed in Europe have no place in African Socialism and no parallel in African society. No class problem arose in the traditional African society and none exists today among Africans. The class problem in Africa, therefore, is largely one of prevention, in particular-

- To eliminate the risk of foreign economic domination;
- To plan development so as to prevent the emergence of antagonistic classes.

In addition, Kenya has the special problem of eliminating classes that have arisen largely on the basis of race. This matter of Africanisation in Kenya is reserved for discussion in part II.

351
The divisions that Marx deplored in Europe a century ago were supported and strengthened by three factors:

- A concentration of economic power.
- The treatment of private ownership as an absolute, unrestricted right and:
- The close relationship between economic power and political influence.

The concept of political equality in Africa rules out in principle the use of economic power as a political base. The vigorous implementation of traditional political democracy in the modern setting will eliminate, therefore, one of the critical factors promoting class divisions. The policy of African Socialism to control by various means how productive resources are used eliminates the second of the factors supporting a class system. Without its two supporting allies, the concentration of economic power cannot be the threat it once was, but African Socialism proposes to restrict and guard against this factor as well as with regard to both foreign and domestic concentrations.
Appendix 8: Questionnaire and Summary Sheets

Dear Teacher

Please answer these questions as you really think and feel. Your answers will be strictly confidential and used solely for the intended purpose of this study.

Section 8:1 Background information.

8:1 Kindly answer the following questions by ticking

I. What is your gender?
   Female
   Male

II. How Old are you?
   20-25
   26-30
   31-35
   36-40
   41-45
   46-50
   51-55
   56-60

III. What religious background do you belong to?
   1. Muslim
   2. Hindu
3. Protestant
4. Catholic
5. Seventh Day
7. Any Other ( specify-------------------)

IV. For how long have you been a teacher of CRE or SEE?
1. Below one year
2. 01-05
3. 06-10
4. 11-15
5. 16-20
6. 21-25
7. Above 26 years

Rank 1-6 each of these alternatives in question 8:2:1, indicating your best choice by ranking it 1, in your order of preference. Read each statement carefully and respond by ranking in the spaces provided.

8:2:1 What in your opinion would currently be the most popular values education basis in Kenyan secondary schools?

Item 1-The Hidden curriculum

Item 2 –The Multifaith syllabus.

Item 3- Contextualised Christianity

Item 4-Social Education and Ethics

Item 5-The Current CRE Syllabus

Item 6- African Religious Heritage (ARH)
Rank 1-5 each of these alternatives in question 8:2:2, indicating your best choice by ranking it 1 in your order of preference. Read each statement carefully and respond by ranking in the spaces provided.

8:2:2 Here are some school activities; which group of School Activities is best promoting the acquisition of positive values by pupils?

Item 7-Clubs/societies
Item 8-Speech Days
Item 9-Adult Examples
Item 10-Pastoral Activities
Item 11-Cultural Activities/festivities

Rank 1-7 each of these alternatives in question 8:2:3, indicating your best choice by ranking it 1 in your order of preference. Read each statement carefully and respond by ranking in the spaces provided.

8:2:3 What do you think is the strongest cause of violence in Kenyan schools?

Item 12- Heavy Curriculum
Item 13 -Poor education facilities
Item 14- Economic problems
Item 15- Poor administration
Item 16- Need for CRE in the African context
Item 17-Neutralisation of Christian values
Item 18-Other causes (specify------------------------)
Rank 1-5 each of these alternatives in question 8:2:4, indicating your best choice by ranking it 1 in your order of preference. Read each statement carefully and respond by ranking in the spaces provided.

8:2:4 The NCEOP 1976 condemned the teaching of CRE as a values basis in Kenyan secondary schools. Why do you think the NCEOP condemned CRE?

Item 19 - No interested teaching staff
Item 20 - Religion an inadequate values basis
Item 21 - Other factors were ignored
Item 22 - Absence of SEE in the curriculum
Item 23 - Christianity a western religion

Rank 1-6 each of these alternatives in question 8:2:5, indicating your best choice by ranking it 1 in your order of preference. Read each statement carefully and respond by ranking in the spaces provided.

8:2:5 What would be your advice to the Ministry of Education on the improvement of values education in the Kenyan secondary school curriculum?

Item 24 - Emphasise SEE
Item 25 - Emphasise CRE
Item 26 - Contextualize CRE
Item 27 - Withdraw examinations in values education
Item 28 - Eliminate CRE from the curriculum
Item 29 - Replace SEE by contextualised CRE
Item 30 - Use ARH
Rank 1-5 each of these alternatives in question 8:2:6, indicating your best choice by ranking it 1 in your order of preference. Read each statement carefully and respond by ranking in the spaces provided.

8:2:6 What would you think is the strongest social group influencing pupils’ values in our country?

Item 31 -The family ___
Item 32 -The church ___
Item 33 -The peer group ___
Item 34 -The school ___
Item 35-Other (specify------------------__) ___
Item 36-None ___

Rank 1-7 each of these alternatives in question 8:2:7, indicating your best choice by ranking it 1 in your order of preference. Read each statement carefully and respond by ranking in the spaces provided.

8:2:7 Which club or society in the schools is best contributing to pupils’ positive values?

Item 37- Boy scouts/Girl guides ___
Item 38 -Historical club ___
Item 39 -Geographical club ___
Item 40 -Catholic Action ___
Item 41 -Christian Union ___
Item 42- Young Christian Society ___
Item 43-Other (specify------------------__) ___
In items 40-48, Strongly agree, or strongly disagree with each of the points given about missionary and African education in Kenya during the colonial era.

1. STRONGLY AGREE: The statement that matches your attitude towards what happened. Tick ‘SA’ if this is your best choice.

2. AGREE: The statement that expresses your view about what happened although not completely. Tick ‘A’ if this is your best choice.

3. UNCERTAIN: You cannot decide on what your attitude really is about the statement. Tick ‘U’ if this is your best alternative.

4. DISAGREE: This view can be ignored without distorting the facts about missionary involvement in education. Tick ‘D’ if this is your best alternative.

5. STRONGLY DISAGREE: The statement is not anywhere near the correct facts, views, or attitude you have on missionary education in Kenya. Tick ‘SD’ if this is your best alternative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Modern African education was established by missionaries.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Missionaries traded for Europe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Christianity eroded African values.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Christianity contributed positive values.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Christianity was decontextualised.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>Missionary education emphasised spiritual growth.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Some missionaries were opposed to colonial oppression of Africans.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Christianity was rejected by Africans due to colonial links.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Christianity was too narrow to underpin values.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Item 52- Christian values are widely accepted in Africa.

Item 53- Christian values mould character positively.

Item 54- Christianity rejected in Africa because of links with western European Imperialism.

Rank 1-6 each of these alternatives in question 8:3:1, indicating your best choice by ranking it 1 in your order of preference. Read each statement carefully and respond by ranking in the spaces provided.

8:3:1 What is the strongest values neutralising or weakening influence on pupils in Kenya currently?

Item 55- Pornographic literature

Item 56- Contraceptives

Item 57- Obscene TV and movies

Item 58- Peer group

Item 59- Drug abuse

Item 60- Parental Irresponsibility

Thank you for your co-operation.
Appendix 8: Questionnaire and Summary Sheets (Cont’d)

Data summary from practising secondary school teachers of CRE and SEE (n-164)

8:1 Findings From The Questionnaire:

A simple structured questionnaire was used to find out the teachers' views on values education and whether or not they would overlap with the NCEOP view that African Socialism should be the basis for values education instead of Christianity. Tables 8.1.1, 8.1.2, 8.1.3, show statistics on teachers' general information. This section presents and analyses the views of teachers on values. Teachers' views were examined under the following themes:

-The most popular values education basis currently.
-Activities promoting values acquisition by pupils in the school.
-Causes of social pathologisation in the school.
-Why the NCEOP condemned CRE in the curriculum.
-How values education could be improved.
-Strongest social group influencing pupils’ values.
-Best club/society contributing to spiritual, moral, social growth.
-Missionaries role in colonial African education.
-Strongest force neutralising pupils’ values.
Majority of teachers who responded to the self completion questionnaire were aged between 26 and 30 only two teachers were aged between 51 and 60. The official retirement age in Kenya for all is 55.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CODE</th>
<th>TEACHING EXPERIENCE</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>01-05</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>43.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>06-10</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>38.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>11-15</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>08.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>16-20</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>04.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>21-25</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>04.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>26 and above</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While only two teachers had taught for more than 26 years, the majority had taught for between 1 and 5 years.

TABLE 8:1:3 RELIGION DISTRIBUTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CODE</th>
<th>RELIGION</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>64.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Catholics</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>SDA</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>00.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Traditionalis</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>03.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While only two teachers had taught for more than 26 years, the majority had taught for between 1 and 5 years.

TABLE 8:1:3 RELIGION DISTRIBUTION

While only two teachers had taught for more than 26 years, the majority had taught for between 1 and 5 years.

TABLE 8:1:3 RELIGION DISTRIBUTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CODE</th>
<th>RELIGION</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Muslims</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Protestants</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>64.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Catholics</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>SDA</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>00.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Traditionalis</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>03.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>05</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While only two teachers had taught for more than 26 years, the majority had taught for between 1 and 5 years.

TABLE 8:1:3 RELIGION DISTRIBUTION

While only two teachers had taught for more than 26 years, the majority had taught for between 1 and 5 years.

TABLE 8:1:3 RELIGION DISTRIBUTION

While only two teachers had taught for more than 26 years, the majority had taught for between 1 and 5 years.

TABLE 8:1:3 RELIGION DISTRIBUTION

While only two teachers had taught for more than 26 years, the majority had taught for between 1 and 5 years.
SECTION II: VALUES EDUCATION, SEE AND CRE

TABLE 8:2:1 THE MOST POPULAR BASIS FOR VALUES EDUCATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>RANKING</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item 1 Hidden curriculum</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item 2 Multi-faith paradigm</td>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item 3 Contextualized Christia.</td>
<td></td>
<td>71</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item 4 SEE</td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item 5 Current CRE Syllabus</td>
<td></td>
<td>85</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item 6 African Tradit. Religions</td>
<td></td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was the view of 85 teachers that the current CRE programme was the most popular basis for values.

THE MOST POPULAR BASIS FOR VALUES EDUCATION

Item 1. The hidden curriculum:

This section aimed at establishing what teachers felt was the most popular values paradigm. Only seven teachers ranked the hidden curriculum as the most popular. The hidden
hidden curriculum implies that no specific formal curriculum is set and no specific teachers are assigned to teach values. Children are expected to acquire values informally. Such a basis has not succeeded in Kenyan Secondary schools and this is why a hunt for a more justifiable paradigm is in progress.

Item 2- The Multi-faith basis:

The fact that only (14) teachers ranked it (1) implies the poor status such a basis could have in Kenyan schools. A multi-faith syllabus may not necessarily be a values education basis unless it is deliberately planned for the purpose. Only Nyaga (1991) suggests the introduction of a multi-faith RE syllabus in Kenya, but she does not present it as a values education paradigm. Churches in Kenya and parents always resist a multi-faith approach to RE, nor is the Kenyan constitution for it. Its justification and coherence might raise complicated questions.

Item 3- Contextualised Christianity:

This alternative was ranked (1) by (71) respondents. This agreed with the view of some scholars that Christianity should be contextualised in African values teaching in contemporary Africa. Decontextualisation may have perpetuated Christian foreignness in Kenya. The NCEOP raised this as one of the reasons why it had rejected Christianity as a values education basis. According to the NCEOP, missionaries would have succeeded if they had contextualised Christianity in African milieu. The respondents who chose this alternative indicated their view that it was time contextualisation was attempted. Mojola, (1988) has argued that taking the anthropological context seriously would make Christianity easier to understand and relate it to life. Mugambi (1989), Moyo (1992) and Kanyoro (1987) have indirectly called for the contextualisation of Christianity to make it relevant, meaningful, implicit and applicable to African life. Respondents held a similar view.

Item 4: Social Education and Ethics (SEE):

It was the intention of the NCEOP to base values education on African Socialism through the teaching of traditional values outside religion. The subject was referred to as “traditional African social ethics”. It would have been based on ARH/ATR. It acquired the name SEE later when the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) rejected its secular intention and included Judeo-Christianity and other religions found in Kenya. This subject has existed in the school curriculum for the last fourteen years. It is now a popular subject
to secondary school students because it is easier to obtain a high mark in it in the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education. According to information from the Kenya National Examinations Council, the subject attracted 14,544 candidates in 1994 as compared to 5,118 in 1990. In 1990, 125,316 candidates sat for CRE, while only 72,614 sat for it in 1994. Although more pupils sat SEE in 1994, only 18 respondents ranked SEE (1 out of 6) as the most popular basis for values education demonstrating a negative view of the subject by teachers than the NCEOP. They teach it for materially utilitarian reasons.

Item 5: Current Christian Religious Education syllabus:

This is an agreed joint syllabus taught to all Christians in the country. The NCEOP recommended that this syllabus should be replaced by SEE in the school curriculum for failing to effectively underpin values education. Although 95.12% of the teachers completing the questionnaire were Christians, only 51.83% of the total sample ranked (1 out of 6) the CRE basis. This represented the views of a significant majority of respondents. The OC had generously recommended it. The syllabus, (KIE, 1992), is specifically referred to. The syllabus has five dimensions: the Old Testament, the New Testament, the African Religious Heritage, Church History and contemporary Christian Living. The 51.83% respondents who ranked it (1 out 6) did so because of its spiritual, moral, social and intellectual benefits. Gatumu (1996), in her survey in Kenya schools on “Attitudes of CRE teachers to their subject” found out that teachers praised the subject for its spiritual, moral, social and intellectual benefits. The rest of the teachers who did not rank it (1 out of 6) did so because as a syllabus it is incoherently organised and not planned as a values basis (Wanjala, 1992). Some of them, like Gatumu (1996), assumed that religion is epistemologically inadequate as a values basis (26 out of 164) respondents in table 8:2.4, ranked this alternative 1 out of 5.

Item 6: Traditional African Religions/African Religious Heritage:

This was repeated intentionally to confirm the respondents’ most popular values basis. It was an indirect repetition of item 4 which had sought to find out whether SEE based on African Socialism was the most popular alternative. Although (18) teachers had ranked it (1out of 6), no teacher ranked traditional African social ethics/ATR/AHR (1 out of 6). Only (1) teacher ranked it (5 out of 6), while (163) teachers rejected it by ranking it (6 out of 6). Responses to SEE revealed a negative view to that of the NCEOP. Otiende, (1984) who had investigated the role of African traditional religions in values education and even recommended it as the ideal values basis changed his mind (Otiende 1989) and condemned African traditions as ethnocentric and divisive. The mystery is why 18 respondents ranked
SEE (1 out of 6) and yet the same respondents ranked ATR (6 out of 6) indicating stronger rejection for African traditional values. The explanation is that SEE includes Christianity in it so respondents preferred it.

It is interesting that teachers seem to prefer a basis that combines Christianity and African traditional religions. In item 3, (71 out of 164) respondents indicated that they would prefer contextualised Christianity by ranking it (1 out of 6). Contextualised Christianity would mean a values basis in which Christianity takes the African context seriously. In item 5, (85 out of 164) respondents ranking it (1 out of 6) indicating that they preferred the present CRE syllabus itself made of 5 dimensions with African traditional religions as one of them albeit incoherently amalgamated. This alternative included the African dimension in a non-contextualist manner. Teachers prefer a base with the traditional African and Judeo-Christian components.

**TABLE 8:2:2 SCHOOL ACTIVITIES BEST PROMOTING VALUES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEMS</th>
<th>RANKING</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>item 7 Clubs/societies</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 8 Speech days</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 9 Adult examples</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 10 Pastoral activities</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 11 Cultural festivities</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>58</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was the view of 60 teachers that pastoral activities best promoted values in the school.
Item 7: Clubs and societies:

Various clubs and societies with different objectives are operational in Kenyan schools as part of the hidden curriculum. This item was intended to find out what activities respondents thought best promoted the growth of children in values. Only (10 out of 164) respondents ranked (1 out of 5) "clubs and societies" as best promoting growth in values.

Item 8-Speech Days:

Different schools hold speech Days for different reasons. In a majority of schools a Speech Day is a prize giving day. The day may be presided over either by an education officer, a religious leader, the school head teacher or a prominent politician. Only (8 out of 164) respondents ranked this item (1 out of 5). Teachers felt that not all speeches would positively promote values in the school.

Item 9-Adult examples:

The OC had recommended that children develop their values by emulating adults, but the OC did not define "adults". Only (20 out 164) respondents ranked it (1 out of 5). Not all people would be responsible adults whose values could be emulated. In Kenya, teachers are expected to be moral role models although some of them do not see this as part of their professional responsibility, while others regard it to be the parents' responsibility.
The adult society with rampant corruption does not seem to provide effective moral leadership to the youth. Some irresponsible school heads seem to exemplify social decadence. The OC view that pupils would emulate adult examples did not also expect pupils to form their own values rather than be direct copies of the adult society.

Item 10—Pastoral Activities:

Pastoral Activities in Kenyan schools include school assemblies during which scriptures are read and advice given by school heads and teachers on duty. They also include Christian Unions and Catholic activities led by the clergy or appointed members of staff. Pastoral activities also include weekly Sunday worship for Christians, Programmes of Pastoral Instruction led by approved Religious Education Advisers, and direct counseling programmes by appointed and trained staff. Pastoral activities can generally be regarded as informally promoting values. Only (60 out of 164) respondents ranked (1 out of 5) “pastoral activities” as promoting values. This represented the views of a significant minority. It is surprising that in item 1 only (7 out of 164) respondents ranked (1 out of 6) the “hidden curriculum” as best promoting values. Teachers did not relate the “hidden curriculum” to “pastoral activities”. But in item 10, “pastoral activities” have been linked to the influence of Christianity in socio-moral formation.

Item 11—Cultural activities or festivities

Cultural activities are deliberately meant to promote traditional African social ethics in schools. Children are expected to learn African traditional values through traditional singing, dancing and Kiswahili verse speaking. Drama demonstrating African values is outstanding in some institutions of learning. Only (14 out of 164) respondents indicated this as an important source of values positively influencing children by ranking it (1 out of 5). The trend one notices is that whenever an item expects the role of African values alone in the socio-moral formation of the learners, response from teachers becomes negative, but when the same values are linked to Christianity the response is highly positive.
The view of 44 teachers was that violence in schools is caused by poor administration. They did not agree with the NCEOP view that the teaching of values via Christianity was the cause of social pathology. This question was intended to find out whether teachers would agree with the NCEOP that the underpinning of values via Christianity in schools was responsible for rampant violence.

**CAUSES OF VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS**

![CAUSES OF VIOLENCE IN SCHOOLS](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEMS</th>
<th>RANKING</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>item 12</td>
<td>Heavy curriculum</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 13</td>
<td>Poor education facilities</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 14</td>
<td>Economic problems</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 15</td>
<td>poor administration</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 16</td>
<td>Need for CRE in African context</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 17</td>
<td>Neutralisation of Christian values</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 18</td>
<td>other causes</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Item 12-Heavy curriculum:

Some school heads have blamed violence in schools on the overloaded examination oriented curriculum in schools. This occurs if students are overloaded without passing highly in their national examinations. Some schools lack facilities to accompany the overloaded curriculum. Occasionally poor diet makes children to stage violence demanding better boarding facilities. Respondents, however, did not see these as the main cause of violence in schools. Only (27 out of 164) ranked “Heavy curriculum” (1 out of 7). The same went for item (13) about poor facilities which (24 out of 164) respondents ranked (1 out of 7). Neither was Economic problems (item 14) the cause of violence in schools ranked (1 out of 7 ) by (22 out of 164) respondents.

Item 15-Poor administration:

A good curriculum with adequate learning facilities can only succeed when good administration is in place. Poor administration as the main cause of violence was ranked (1 out 7) by (44 out of 164) respondents. This represented a significant minority view. The NCEOP did not blame violence in schools on poor educational administration. Teachers, however, feel that with poor administration, pupils would be violent despite the use of a coherent values basis and sufficient educational facilities. Religious bodies in Kenya (KCS, 1991, NCCK, 1991) have blamed violence in schools on poor administration and political interference through which inexperienced and irresponsible leadership is corruptly promoted.

Item 16-Need for CRE in African context:

The lack of a Contextualised CRE syllabus as the cause for violence in secondary schools was ranked (I out of 7) by (37 out of 164) respondents. The problem is still administrative. In item (15) it was concluded that administration determines the success or failure of a school.
TABLE 8:2:4 CONDEMNATION OF CRE BY THE NCEOP:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEMS</th>
<th>RANKING</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>item 19</td>
<td>No interested staff</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 20</td>
<td>Religion inadequate basis for values</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 21</td>
<td>NCEOP ignored real factors</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 22</td>
<td>SEE not in the curriculum</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 23</td>
<td>Christianity a western religion</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This section sought to find out teachers’ views why the NCEOP condemned CRE as a values basis for Kenyan secondary schools. The view of 91 teachers was that the NCEOP ignored the real factors which caused violence in schools.

CONDEMNATION OF CRE BY THE NCEOP

- No interested staff
- Religion inadequate basis for values
- NCEOP ignored real factors
- SEE not in the curriculum
- Christianity a western religion

Item 19 No interested teaching staff.

This could not have been the reason for condemning CRE as a values basis. The (21 out of 164) respondents who ranked it (1 out of 5) misunderstood what was required.
Item 20-Religion inadequate as a values basis:

Only (26 out of 164) respondents agreed with the NCEOP by ranking it (1 out of 5) but the view has been shown to be inconsistent and minority.

Item 21-Other factors were ignored by the NCEOP:

This thesis could be an argument to show that the NCEOP ignored many important factors in its condemnation of CRE as a values basis. It was the view of (91 out of 164) respondents who ranked “other causes were ignored” that the NCEOP should have looked for other causes instead of condemning CRE out right. This were the views of a significant majority. Specifically, poor administration and political interference have been identified as the major causes of violence in schools. Social decadence in society could also be reflected in schools. The NCEOP, however, did not raise these issues in their search for possible causes of social decadence. The ideological, epistemological, political and educational reasons advanced by the NCEOP for rejecting religion as a basis for values education have been discussed in chapters 1-7 of the thesis. Respondents to the questionnaire showed that if CRE could be contextualised and repackaged, it might be a justifiable and coherent basis for values education. The respondents did not indicate the lack of a Social Education and Ethics syllabus (item 22) as the cause of social decadence.

Item 23-Christianity a western religion.

Only (12 out of 164) respondents felt that the NCEOP had condemned the teaching of values via Christianity because Christianity was a foreign religion. This was ideological but was flawed. It is difficult to prove that Christianity is a western religion. Even so, its western status does not discredit its philosophical and epistemological potential as a values basis. This is why only 12 respondents ranked it (1 out of 5) in agreement with the NCEOP.
### Table 8.2.5: How to Improve Values in the School Curriculum:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Ranking</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>item 24</td>
<td>Emphasise SEE</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 25</td>
<td>Emphasise CRE</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 26</td>
<td>contextualized CRE</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 27</td>
<td>withdraw examinations</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 28</td>
<td>Eliminate CRE</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 29</td>
<td>Replace SEE by contextualised CRE</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 30</td>
<td>Use ARH</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>136</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The view of 79 teachers (item 26) was that values could be improved in the school curriculum by contextualising the teaching of CRE in the African milieu.

### How to Improve Values in the School Curriculum

- **Item 24**: Emphasise Social Education and Ethics. This would enhance the NCEOP view that African Socialism should replace Christianity. Only (24 out of 164) respondents ranked this view (1 out of 7). Only (18 out of 164) had ranked it (1 out of 5) in item (4). This implies that only (6) respondents had changed their
stance. A majority of respondents, however, took a different view from the NCEOP view that social ethics should be emphasised.

Item 25-Emphasise CRE

Only (37 out of 164) ranked this view (1 out of 7). The rest of the respondents preferred a change. In item 5, (85 out of 164) respondents had indicated that CRE would be the most popular basis for values education. The shift in attitude may be attributed to various factors: as a subject it was better than the alternatives in items 1-6. But to improve the values basis CRE required a renovation. Epistemologically the subject was acceptable in items 1-6. Structurally the subject required improvement in items 24-30.

Item 26-Introduce African context in CRE:

In this item (79 out of 164) respondents ranked this alternative (1 out of 7). In item 3, (71 out of 5) respondents ranked this alternative (1 out of 7). The increase in the numbers of those feeling that this basis should be introduced to improve values in the school curriculum may imply that the teachers expect Christianity to be improved by taking the African context more seriously. While the OC wanted Christianity alone the NCEOP preferred African Socialism. Respondents call for a midway by contextualising Christianity.

Item 27-Withdraw examinations

One of the problems that scholars have not quite resolved is whether personal values can be assessed through examinations. The question whether personal values could be empirically measured may be raised. However, examination centred learning tends to concentrate on the cognitive rather than on the affective. The withdrawal of examinations might neither enhance nor discourage the concentration of learners on both the cognitive and the affective. In Kenya’s case both teachers and pupils concentrate on examinable subjects at the expense of values education. The NCEOP had noted this as one of the reasons why values education had lacked emphasis although it still insisted that ethics should be taught outside religion as a whole. The withdrawal of examinations alone without carefully weighing other related factors would be unhelpful. Only (3 out of 164) respondents ranked it (1 out of 7).
Item 28-Eliminate CRE

This alternative to improve values education was in direct support of the NCEOP views. The NCEOP had recommended the withdrawal of CRE and religion altogether in order to improve the teaching of values via a secular basis. Only (1 out of 164) respondent ranked (1 out of 7) this view. Even non-religious and non-Christian respondents did not support the view. The respondents implied that the view of the NCEOP to eliminate religion from the school curriculum would have promoted a fallacious educational ideal.

Item 29-Replace SEE with contextualised CRE

Only (18 out of 164) respondents supported this view. In item (24) (24 out of 164) respondents had the view that SEE should be emphasised while (37 out of 164) held the same view for CRE. In item (4) the same 18 people responded and had supported the view that SEE was the most popular while 85 had indicated in item (5) that CRE was the most popular. This indicates consistency in the views of the respondents that CRE and SEE should contextualise.

Item 30-Emphasise ARH

Only 8 respondents ranked (1 out of 164) this alternative to improve values by emphasising ARH. In item (6) only (1 out of 164) respondent ranked it (5 out of 6), while (163 out of 164) ranked it (6 out of 6). The implication is that it may be acceptable when emphasised within CRE, but not on its own. The trend in responses still shows consistence in which CRE is seen always as an important aspect of values education.

TABLE 8:2:6 THE SOCIAL GROUP MOST INFLUENCING PUPILS' VALUES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>RANKING</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>The family</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>The church</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>The society</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>The school</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>None</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

375
It was the view of (108 out of 164) respondents ranking it (1 out of 6) “family” that the “family” had the strongest influence over the values pupils hold. These were the views of a substantial majority. Indeed, some pupils are strongly influenced by the type of family they come from. This is defensible in the African context in Kenya because children are the property of their parents or guardians whose responsibility is to bring them up in their particular family values. The school is expected to enhance those values. Religious values particularly are protected by the law in Kenya and are to be enhanced by the school. Schools are not allowed to change the religious values pupils hold. There are many reasons why some parents may not succeed in socialising youth. The NCEOP, however, noted that breakdown in parental responsibilities in some families had exacerbated social pathology. The NCEOP noted that conservative traditional values had given way to permissiveness and social openness the world over. The massive response by teachers that the family was responsible for the values pupils held might be an indication that some of the teachers were denying their responsibility for values teaching. However, the school is better place with facilities and staff to teach values education effectively.

Item 32-The Church:
Item 32-The Church:

The missionaries started education for Africans in Kenya with a view to replacing African values with Christian values. The Christian impact on African values was quite strong despite various related problems. But the view of the NCEOP was that this impact was an intrusion on African values. The OC’s view was that Christian values had been adequate in terms of underpinning responsible citizenship, the political unity required and a strong work ethic. The view of the ATWT is that Christian values are capable of influencing positively the values people ought to hold in the Third World. Such a view was supported by only (24 out of 164) respondents. It may be argued that church influence on the values some people hold today has reduced considerably. The majority of the respondents came to the conclusion that the church is no longer directly responsible for education in Kenya. The contribution of local churches to the values secondary school children hold is beset by many limitations. The churches cannot therefore be the strongest influence on the values pupils hold. But this does not imply that Christianity as a religion has failed to influence values positively. The society family, church and school are subsets of society and complement each other in the promotion of the values children hold.

Item 33-The Society:

Only (9 out of 164) respondents indicated that the society had the strongest influence on the values children hold. Their view was that if children can not be positively influenced by the family, the church and the school, the society will influence them. The problem is that such values tend to be negative. The negative or positive influence of the adult population and the communication media can be quite strong to young people in many ways.

Item 34-The School:

Only (14 out of 164) respondents ranked the school (1 out of 6), as the strongest community influencing the values children hold. The teachers felt that the school is part of the larger society. The values of the larger society would spill over into the school. The respondents also indicated that it was not the responsibility of the school to provide the values the children hold. The government and parents expect schools to socialise children in Kenya. In point of fact the schools are the best placed with facilities and curriculum to influence children with positive values. Schools in Kenya are actually the strongest sources of the values most people hold in society. Some missionary schools in Kenya have been
praised for providing the best values that some of Kenya’s civil servants hold with regard to responsible citizenship and a strong work ethic.

Item 35-Any other influence

The peer group is very influential on the values children hold but only (1 out of 164) respondent saw this as one of the important social groups influencing the values children hold. Probably the view was that such values have in turn been acquired from the common sources of the values already listed.

Item 36-None

Only 2 respondents held the view that some children were rationally autonomous in the values they held. This view is quite far a head of contemporary Kenya’s youth morality. It is not usual for the youth in Kenya to reject the values of the social groups listed above in favour of individual or invented values.

**TABLE 8:2:7 CLUBS AND SOCIETIES BEST CONTRIBUTING TO VALUES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEM</th>
<th>RANKING</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>item 37</td>
<td>Boy Scouts/Girl guides</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 38</td>
<td>Historical club</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 39</td>
<td>Geography club</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 40</td>
<td>Catholic Action</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 41</td>
<td>Christian union</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 42</td>
<td>Young Christ. Society</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 43</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The view of 76 teachers was that the Christian union was the society best contributing to the values Christian children hold in school.
Item 37-Boy Scouts/Girl Guides

This was regarded by respondents as a secular basis. Not many youth usually become members of these clubs because of the sacrifices and time they tend to require. Only (20 out of 164) respondents ranked it (1 out of 6). Scouting normally encourages values of bravery, friendship and humanitarianism.

Item 38 The historical club:

This was also regarded as a secular basis. It was not regarded as contributing to spiritual values. Only (10 out of 164) respondents ranked it (1 out of 6).

Item 39-Geographical club:

This was ranked (1 out of 6) by (16 out of 164) respondents. The rest seem to have regarded it of little spiritual and moral value.

Item 40-Catholic Action:

This was ranked I by (25 out of 164) respondents including the 21 who were all Catholics from the religious affiliation distribution table. It is difficult to explain the other four extra respondents who ranked the Catholic Action (1 out of 6) in terms of contributing to spiritual, moral and social values. This implies the popularity of the Catholic ethic in Kenya.
Kenya schools. The Young Christian Society (item 42) is taken care of in similar manner, although (34 out of 164) respondents ranked it (1 out of 164). Protestant and Catholic missionaries in Kenya have had strong influence on Kenya’s development.

Item 41-The Christian Union:

This was ranked 1 by (76) respondents. This represents the views of a significant minority. It is most likely that 52 of the respondents were Protestants (religious affiliation distribution table) who understood what the Christian Union offers in terms of spiritual, moral and social values. It is difficult to account for the remaining 24 who included the 21 catholics. This implies the popularity of Christian values in Kenya schools.

TABLE 8:3:1 MISSIONARY ROLE IN AFRICAN EDUCATION:

ITEM 44-African Education was established by missionaries.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGREE STRONGLY</th>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>UNCERTAIN</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>DISAGREE STRONGLY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only 64 respondents agreed with the view that missionaries established African education. 80 disagreed. It is the views of nearly half of the respondents that missionaries alone did not establish education for Africans.

ITEM 45-Missionaries traded for Europe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGREE STRONGLY</th>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>UNCERTAIN</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>DISAGREE STRONGLY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only 60 teachers disagreed with the claim that missionaries traded for Europe while 61 disagree. This represents the mixed views of respondents that missionaries traded for Europe.
ITEM 46-Christianity eroded African values.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY</th>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>UNCERTAIN</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only 92 respondents agreed that Christianity had eroded African values while 63 disagreed. This represents the views of significant majority respondents that missionary Christianity eroded African values.

ITEM 47-Missionary Christianity contributed positive values to human development in Africa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY</th>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>UNCERTAIN</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only 114 respondents agreed that missionary Christianity contributed positively to human development in Africa. Only 38 disagreed. This represents the views of substantial majority.

ITEM 48-Missionaries did not contextualise their Christian teaching.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY</th>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>UNCERTAIN</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only 135 respondents agreed that missionaries did not contextualise their teaching. Only 23 disagree. This represents a substantial majority view that missionaries did not contextualise their teaching.
Item 49-Missionary Education emphasised spiritual development.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>UNCERTAIN</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only 97 respondents agreed that missionary education emphasised spiritual development. Only 58 disagreed. This represents the views of substantial majority respondents that missionary Christianity emphasised spiritual development.

ITEM 50-Some missionaries opposed colonial oppression against African natives in Kenya.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>UNCERTAIN</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only 129 respondents agreed with the view that some missionaries opposed the colonial oppression of African natives in Kenya. Only 23 disagreed. This represents the views of a substantial majority.

ITEM 51-Christianity was too narrow to underpin values.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>UNCERTAIN</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only 45 respondents agreed that Christianity was too narrow to underpin values while 100 disagreed. This represents the views of a small minority.
ITEM 52-Christian values are widely accepted in Africa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>AGREE STRONGLY</th>
<th>UNCERTAIN</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>DISAGREE STRONGLY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only 107 respondents agreed that Christian values have been widely accepted in Africa, while 35 disagreed. This represents the views of a substantial majority.

ITEM 53-Christian values mould character positively.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>AGREE STRONGLY</th>
<th>UNCERTAIN</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>DISAGREE STRONGLY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

73 respondents agreed that Christian values mould character positively. Only 23 disagreed. This represents the views of significant minority.

ITEM 54-Christianity rejected by African because of links with Western European Imperialism.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>AGREE STRONGLY</th>
<th>UNCERTAIN</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>DISAGREE STRONGLY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only 76 respondents agreed that Christianity was rejected by Africans because of its links with colonialism. An almost equal number of 71 disagreed. This represents mixed views of respondents.

Item 44-Establishment of African Education by Missionaries:

While (20) respondents agreed (44) agreed strongly. The implication is that there was traditional education in Kenya before the missionary advent, but that western education in Kenya would have been started much later had missionaries not started it. Missionaries went out of their way and started this education for Africans while the colonial
government concentrated on other races in Kenya. The other interpretation was that Africans made significant contribution to missionary efforts to provide western education and so it was not missionary efforts alone. The missionary contribution was outstanding because they provided this education despite uncompromising settler and colonial disapproval. This spoke well of Christian values.

Item 45-Missionaries traded for Europe:

While (60) respondents disagreed with this idea, (1) respondent disagreed strongly. (21) respondents agreed strongly, while 39 agreed. (27) were undecided. This response represented current views among Kenyan scholars over whether or not the missionaries were agents of western imperialism. Teachers seem to have disagreed with the NCEOP that Christianity was a vehicle of western imperialism in Kenya. Teachers agreed with the OC that Christianity has made some positive contribution to Kenya’s development. Its values for that reason could not be dismissed.

Items 46-Christianity eroded African values:

While (24) respondents strongly agreed that Christian values had eroded African values, (68) agreed. While (9) were uncertain (42) disagreed and (21) disagreed strongly. The view of teachers was that some traditional African values were eroded by Christian values. They had in mind the negative African values especially and of course some values of communitarianism. It is simplistic to ignore the impact of secular western values as well.

Item 47-Christianity contributed positive values:

Concerning this item, (29) respondents agreed strongly that Christianity had contributed to positive values while (85) respondents agreed that Christianity had contributed positive values and (12) respondents were uncertain, while (31) disagreed and (7) disagreed strongly. The majority viewed Christianity as having positively contributed to values by neutralising and eliminating negative traditional values that had made life difficult in various parts of Kenya. Innumerable advantages of the coming of Christianity to Kenya can be catalogued in this respect, especially the Christian agape love ethic which helped erode much enmity among various tribes in Kenya and released people, especially women from a list of severe taboos that bound them. Some of the severe customs like female circumcision were eliminated because of Christianity. This seems to explain why majority respondents favour a basis via Christianity.
Item 48-Christianity was not well contextualised:

This view of the NCEOP was strongly agreed upon by (62) respondents and just agreed upon by (73). (6) respondents were uncertain while (42) and (21) disagreed strongly. This is one of the points why a new approach in which Christianity takes on the anthropological and existential context of the learner is needed. Respondents have shown as already noted that the effective teaching of values calls for such a basis.

Item 49-Missionary education emphasised spiritual development:

Whilst (27) respondents strongly agreed (70) just agreed, (9) were uncertain while (46) disagreed and (12) strongly disagreed. While a confessional approach to the teaching of Christianity then confined the learners to church rather than educational objectives, it can be shown that such an approach can have positive effects in terms of values formation. The NCEOP viewed this approach as having been used to soften Africans for exploitation by the colonial government, but this can be difficult to prove.

Item 50-Some missionaries were opposed to colonialism:

While (34) respondents strongly agreed, (95) agreed, (12) were uncertain, while (19) disagreed and (4) strongly disagreed. This negates the view of the NCEOP that when it came to certain crucial matters in the colonial establishment, some of the missionaries supported the establishment. Even if some did so, the problem is whether this should be blamed on the Christian religion.

Item 51-Christianity too narrow to underpin values:

One of the NCEOP reasons why they condemned Christianity as a basis for values was that it concentrated too much on spiritual development rather than on objective cognitive knowledge. Only (13) respondents strongly agreed while (34) agreed. (17) were undecided while (69) disagreed and (31) strongly disagreed. The view of the teachers was that Christianity formed a coherent and adequate basis for values.

Item 52-Christian values widely accepted in Africa:

While (44) respondents strongly agreed (63) agreed, (22) were uncertain, while (27) disagreed and (8) strongly disagreed. This is the only point the NCEOP did not explain. If Christianity had negatively contributed to values in Africa the religion would have lost
its popularity. This further explains why it ought to be repackaged and included in values education.

Item 53-Christian values and character moulding

While 4 teachers disagreed strongly that Christian values mould character, 19 disagree, 8 were uncertain, but 64 agree and 69 strongly agree. The view of teachers that teaching Christianity underpins values education positively can be concluded from this response.

Item 54-Christianity rejected by Africans because of its links with colonialism

Although some missionaries may have identified with colonial agenda, this did not discourage Africans from becoming Christians as indicated by 58 respondents who indicated that missionaries could not be accused of this. However, while 12 respondents disagreed strongly that missionaries could be accused of this, and 18 were uncertain, 57 agreed. The implication is that Christianity was neither fully accepted nor fully rejected because of the missionary attitude towards colonialism.

**TABLE 8:3:2 THE STRONGEST VALUES NEUTRALISING INFLUENCE ON PUPILS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ITEMS</th>
<th>RANKING</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>item 55</td>
<td>Pornographic literature</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 56</td>
<td>Contraceptives</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 57</td>
<td>Obscene TV and movies</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 58</td>
<td>Peer group influence</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 59</td>
<td>Drug abuse</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>item 60</td>
<td>Parental Irresponsible</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The view of 53 respondents was that pornographic literature was the most serious values neutralising system. Obscene movies and peer group influence followed relatively.
Item 55-Pornographic literature

Pornographic literature includes written material and pictures or diagrams which promote promiscuity. The respondents considered these to be the most effective neutralisers of good morality among young people in society.

Item 56-Contraceptives

Only 20 respondents indicated that contraceptives neutralised values among the youth.

The Catholic church in Kenya does not encourage use of any type of contraceptives as they regard it to be interfering with the natural process of procreation. But not all the respondents were Catholics, which may imply that contraceptives among other religious groups are regarded as restricted to married couples who accept artificial family planning methods.

Item 57-Obscene TV and cinema movies.

These were indicated by 41 respondents as the second worst values neutralising systems. This represents significant minority views of respondents. The televisions in particular which are owned by most families in towns expose young people to all types of negative and positive influences. The negative influences, however, tend to erode the positive values.
of negative and positive influences. The negative influences, however, tend to erode the positive values.

Item 58-Bad peer group influence

This can be a very strong neutraliser of values, but only 35 respondents have indicated this as the third worst in destroying the values young people have. This usually happens in institutions of learning or training.

Item 59-Drug abuse

Drug abuse like contraceptives is not as effective as pornographic literature in neuralising values. Not many young people take to drugs in Kenya. So it is not a real neutraliser of values although due to various types of frustration some young people take to alcohol and drugs. Only 25 respondents indicated that it was a neutralising system.

Item 60-Parental irresponsibility.

This was indicated by only 7 respondents. Teachers in Kenya strongly feel that it is parents who influence their children positively. Only a few parents may destroy the positive values children have.
Appendix 9: Sample Contextualised Lesson Plan

The theory behind the scheme of work:

1. The historic Judeo-Christian faith and the values within it (differentiated from Western culture) is transposed into the pupils' environment, with its two levels.
2. Careful interpretation of the Judeo-Christian meaning is made so that the pupils attain similar meaning to what the same passage meant for the New Testament listeners.
3. Dialogical method is employed so that during all the stages of transposition and interpretation the pupils participate and contribute to the individual meaning of the passage, understand it, see its implications for their inner and outer environments.

A value issue chosen is Jesus teaching on proper attitudes and use of wealth in the Sermon on the Mount.

Matthew 6:19-21
According to the King James Translation modified in parts:
Verse 19-Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust (corrupts), and where thieves break through and steal:
Verse 20-But lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust (corrupts), and where thieves do not break through nor still.
Verse 21- For where your treasure is there will your heart be also.

This passage has been selected for illustration because wealth in contemporary Kenya is one of the strongest value issues controlling socio-political and economic activity. Complaints about rampant corruption and social decadence are all based on the varied peoples' attitudes towards possessions. Education is only useful in Kenya if it leads to future economic prosperity.

Inter-cultural communication should bring out clearly a balanced Christian teaching on wealth. The Old Testament idea of wealth, which is related to the traditional African idea presents wealth as a sign of God's blessing and favour. However, it is quite different from the teaching of Jesus, which emphasises postponement of such gratification until one gets to heaven. This then raises several questions and requires careful interpretation, discussion and application for children to develop a balanced Christian understanding of wealth as well as contemporary African teaching or attitudes about it and its purpose in human life. Some of the themes to be followed include:
Theme for the week (three lessons per week):


Topics to be taught:

i) Distinguishing and understanding the Biblical meaning of general prosperity and material wealth and its implications for life in traditional and contemporary Kenya- (3 lessons)

ii) Methods of acquiring wealth according to biblical teaching and its implications for life in traditional and contemporary Kenya-(3 lessons).

iii) Methods of using wealth responsibly as a Christian in contemporary Kenya–(3 lessons)

Sample 40 minute lesson plan for year 1 (13-15 year olds) secondary school pupils in their second term of school.

Lesson topic: The meaning of prosperity in general.

Lesson objectives:

a) **Cognitive**- Pupils will be able to state and explain their understanding of prosperity based on:
   - John 10:10 (abundant life) and the Sermon on the Mount.
   - the traditional and contemporary African societies.

b) **Affective**-Pupils will be able to explore how to respond to wealth in accordance with
   --Deuteronomy 8:10-20
   - The Sermon on the Mount.
   - John 10:10
   - Traditional and contemporary African beliefs and teaching.

c) **Evaluative**-Pupils will be able to explain whether or not possession of wealth should be the most important thing for people to strive for in life and how their view affects their life in Kenya to day.
   - Prevalent attitudes to prosperity.
1. **Introduction**: Meanings of prosperity and wealth (10 minutes)

Assuming that children have bibles, the teacher will ask various pupils who can volunteer to read the various passages. He will then explain the Biblical passages and discuss them with the pupils to bring out clearly the meaning of prosperity and apply this to the traditional and contemporary attitudes in Kenya about prosperity.

2.-**An activity for pupils**-Writing and discussion (5 minutes)

The teacher will ask pupils to describe in five sentences their own understanding of prosperity and material wealth. He will ask pupils to discuss their views in pairs. The teacher will review the most important points for pupils.

3. **The teacher will explore with pupils the Judeo–Christian appropriation of wealth**- (10 minutes)

- Being grateful to God for our wealth even when we have worked for it;
- Giving to God’s work in the church and charity context, caring for ones personal needs and family; helping those in genuine need; saving some for future needs; putting money on good projects and keeping good accounts of the family finance.
- What are the wrong ways in which wealth is sometimes used?

4. **Maintaining proper attitudes towards possession of wealth** (5 minutes):

Final discussion session with the class based on

i) Love of money source of evil Timoth 6:7-11;

ii) The rich young ruler loved his wealth more than eternal life- Matthew 19:16-24;

iii) The foolish rich man placed all his hope in wealth Luke 12:11

iv) Jesus teaching that God gives wealth and happiness in this life and after to those who serve him Matthew 19: 27-29.

5. **Concluding activity and home work** (5 minutes)

Pupils to write their own understanding of the best attitudes to have towards money as opposed to contemporary egocentric attitudes which lead to corruption and destruction of human life in society. Explain the meaning of these words of Jesus “For where your treasure is there will your be also”