Narrating the pathological, 1837-1848: Revolution and social discourse in Carlyle, Dickens, and Gaskell.

Scott Aaron Dransfield
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THE SEARCH FOR RELEVANCE IN THE KENYAN SECONDARY SCHOOL HISTORY:
A Case Study of how the Struggle for Kenyan Independence is Examined

DISSERTATION

Submitted to the College of Human Resources and Education

of

West Virginia University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for

The Degree of Doctor of Education

by

Ochieng' Olewe K'Olewe

Morgantown

West Virginia

1996
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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APP</td>
<td>African People's Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CDRC</td>
<td>Curriculum Development and Research Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEMA</td>
<td>Gikuyu, Embu, Meru, Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KADU</td>
<td>Kenya African Democratic Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KANU</td>
<td>Kenya African National Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KAU</td>
<td>Kenya African Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KCA</td>
<td>Kikuyu Central Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>KCSE</td>
<td>Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KIE</td>
<td>Kenya Institute of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KPU</td>
<td>Kenya People's Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNEC</td>
<td>Kenyan National Examination Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>YKA</td>
<td>Young Kavirondo Association</td>
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CHAPTER ONE

AN OVERVIEW OF KENYA: DEMOGRAPHY, ETHNICITY, AND POLITICS

Ethnicity and the Pre-colonial Kenyan Societies

Historical research shows that the relationships among the present Kenyan ethnic communities were characterized by intricate forms and levels of interaction, prior to the arrival of Europeans. Many of these communities were still socially evolving outwardly and internally, due to the inter ethnic contacts and the result of the acquisition of social influences which were foreign to them, at this point in their histories. Hence, according to Ochieng' (1975), these ethnic cleavages were in "constant state of flux"; they were socially dynamic environment that did not particularly work toward the preservation of ethnic purity. Furthermore, at any given time, there were various clans and components of ethnic groups who were seeking for new land to settle. Many of these communities were migrating for various reasons like famines, quarrels, military threats etc., and the migrations were made easy by the availability of unsettled land. Consequently, there were no permanent communities frontiers or final attachment to geographical areas, which characterized the social interactions or delineated the spheres of interactions of these pre-colonial Kenyan communities.
These migrations and "wanderings" inevitably led to the co-mingling of various communities; therefore, there were cases of partial and total inter-ethnic assimilation, intermarriages, and in certain cases total annihilation of some communities. A brief historical survey of the Luo-Abasuba, the Kikuyu, the Gusii, and the Kalenjin illustrates the complex interaction among African ethnic groups and the evolution of their respective identities.

In his research of the Luo-Abasuba, Ayot (1979) presents excellent documented evidence of how these loosely related Bantu communities, socially evolved and became part of the present Luo ethnic community. In detailed description, he shows how these Bantu communities started migrating to their present day homelands in Rusinga and Mfangano islands, and southern Nyanza around 1760. The first group to arrive was the Abakunta who came from Uganda, and were made up of five major sub clans - Wagasi, Wakula, Wakinga, Waware, and Wasaki. They found other Bantu clans already living in this area; however, the Abakunta assimilated them and they lost whatever exclusive identities they had before. The second wave of migration of the Suba Bantu was made up of the Rieny (mainly the Kaksingri and Kasgunga). They made their way into this region from Uganda, through northern Tanzania. Finally, the third major group was comprised of various sub clans who migrated from Central Nyanza to avoid warfare and defeat by the Luo. All these three groups spoke mainly Luganda, and economically they practiced fishing and traded along and across Lake Victoria.

Together with other Bantu clans in this area, they colonized the region and
became known as the Abasuba.

However, the most profound change which impacted this community was the social and cultural transformation which they underwent, owing to their contact with the neighboring Luo communities through fishing, trading, and other social interaction like intermarriages. Soon the Abasuba adopted the Luo language as the commercial language. Furthermore, starting around 1850, the process of assimilation was accelerated as the Abasuba adopted Luo communal and social structure. Hence, they adopted Luo names, system of marriage, and philosophy of life. According to Ayot (1979), "...around 1900, the Abasuba had already acquired most of the Luo customs and practices, and they became known as the Luo-Abasuba." (p.177). Consequently, the history of the Luo-Abasuba is that of the transformation of Bantu communities to a Nilote (Luo) community. This history provides excellent evidence of how ethnicity, prior to the arrival of the British in Kenya, was a temporary social phenomenon for many clans. Additionally, it provides valuable evidence of the intricacies of inter-ethnic interaction, and it also explodes the colonial notion of ethnic (tribal) purity. Over a period of varying generations, a community had the potential of changing from one ethnic group to a different one, due to internal or external influences from the social environment.

In his 1974 book about the history of the Kikuyu, Muriuki also documents the cultural fusion which took place between the Kikuyu and the neighboring ethnic groups along the imaginary frontiers among them. For instance, some of the
Kikuyu sub-clans in Mathira and Tetu who border the Maasai in the northern frontier, trace their lineages to the latter. In fact the Mathira Kikuyu had almost evolved into a sub ethnic group in late nineteenth century, due to the assimilation of some of the Ndia, the Maasai, and the Athi. This evolutionary process was arrested by the arrival of the British. Likewise, there were cultural influences which the Kikuyu adopted from these neighboring groups, and in particular from the Maasai. These influences included: flora and fauna names, the initiation rites of both girls and boys, religious concepts such as the reference to deity, and the military tactics and initiation of warriors. Therefore, the pre colonial history of the Kikuyu was characterized by the complexities of inter ethnic interaction.

Similarly, the history of the migration of the Gusii is that of an evolution of an ethnic community. They transformed economically from pastoralists and hunters, who fished and practiced agriculture, to a predominantly agriculturalist community. Socially, this evolution involved the adoption of words and terms from the neighboring Luo communities. Also various small groups developed into conglomerate clans which later became sub ethnic groups. Furthermore, the latter acquired totems to identify and cement the kinship among themselves, unlike the other related Bantu groups like the Luhya. Some of the Gusii clans, like the Sidho, were assimilated into the Luo ethnic group, while others like the Wanjare and the Muksero were undergoing intensive acculturation by the Luo, as late as 1880, barely two decades before the dawn of colonialism (Ochieng', 1974).

Finally, Sutton (1976) documents the pattern of the intricate interaction
between the Kalenjin and the neighboring ethnic groups. He writes that as the neighboring Luhya population grew and expanded westward they assimilated a considerable number of Kalenjin. In turn, they acquired many terms and words from the latter's language, and they also developed age sets which are uniquely Kalenjin. Even some of the names of Luhya sub groups, like Tachoni and Tiriki, are Kalenjin. Likewise, the expansion of the Maasai also involved the absorption of the Kalenjin. This process of assimilation of some of the Kalenjin peoples, like the Terik (Nyang'ori) and the Kony, is still going on.

Thus, given this pre-colonial background, it is clear that at the time of the arrival of the British, and as late as 1895 when Kenya was being organized as a politically administered territory, the present day Kenyan ethnic groups were at a point which Lonsdale associates with the Gusii - an "unfinished process of becoming to be" (1977; p.132). Moreover, in discussing the general African social environment, Lonsdale states:

They were peoples, not tribes, potential nations rather than actual dispersions of related lineages. There were boundaries between them, and they gave their neighbors different names, but these served to demarcate different environments and the different cultures that had grown up in their management, not absolute breaks in political allegiance and economic self sufficiency (1989; p.11).

The arrival of British colonizers led to a change in how these pre-colonial ethnic groups identified among and within themselves. It is this legacy of
colonialism, particularly to the outside western world, which has since defined and
provided the basis for analyzing African relations and interactions.

Colonialism and the Invention of Tribes

The term "tribe" has been used in history and anthropology as a uniquely
African phenomenon, it is scarcely used in reference to other peoples of other
continents. However, this notion and its creation is a part of the legacy of
colonialism, not only in Kenya but in Africa as whole. Indeed, the idea of pure
tribes disregards the fact these "tribes" evolved due to the interaction, borrowing,
and assimilation among the different peoples (Janmohamed, 1976; Ochieng, 1976;
Sutton, 1976). Likewise, the phenomenon of "tribalism" is considered to be an
outgrowth of the assumption of the existence of tribes. It is seen as the allegiance,
favoritism, and nepotism towards one's "tribe" (ethnic group) at the expense of
others. Not only are there many variations of definition among historians and
anthropologists of these terms, but they are also problematic because there are
cases where ethnic identity might actually lead to positive development, as
Ochieng' (1974) points out in regards to self help development.

The creation of tribes and the evolution of tribalism was a result of
deliberate colonial political policy. According to Maxon (1992), the imposition of
British colonial state in Kenya involved, first and foremost, the creation of distinct
ethnic identities or "tribes", to facilitate the policy of divide and rule. The colonial
state froze these zones of interaction among the different Kenyan peoples and created and maintained a system of local administration based on ethnically distinct locations and districts. In areas where there were multiple ethnic groups placed within the same district, they were each treated as separate entities, administratively. Additionally, inter ethnic rural migrations were prohibited, in some areas like Maasai or Turkana districts, to people who did not belong to these groups. Hence, the divide and rule policy interfered with and arrested the evolution of many of the Kenyan ethnic groups.

Also, to facilitate the administration of these groups, the British created conglomerate "tribes" comprising of many groups with related culture. The Kalenjin and the Luhya "tribes" were thus created. However as Sutton (1976) notes when discussing the case of the Kalenjin, "...some of the Kalenjin groupings, as recognized now and as administered during the period of British rule, are rather arbitrary if not artificial." (p.23). In the case of the Luo Abasuba, the imposition of colonial rule accelerated their assimilation by the Luo. As Ayot (1979) states, the British adopted the policy of maintaining the tribal structure of the society, this meant recording their names and preserving their societies. Moreover, since the Luo Abasuba were already a partly assimilated small community of the Luo, they were recorded as an integral part of the Luo tribe. Consequently, administration matters were carried out in Luo language (DhoLuo), which forced the administered people to learn it.

The sense of tribe was further augmented when Kenyan Africans were
restricted, by the British colonizers, to politically organize at local and ethnic levels, due to the need to control them. In turn, their political demands were narrowly focused in the interest of their own ethnic peoples. Hence, there were associations like the Young Kavirondo Association - Luo and Luhya, the Kikuyu Central Association - the Kikuyu, and the Taita Hill Association - the Taita, etc.. Such ethnic based political activism continued until the advent of independence in Kenya (Maxon, 1992; Ochieng, 1975; Ogot, 1995). In fact, the development of these ethnic associations and the subsequent ethnocentric outlook of their members was one of the challenges some of the political leaders faced in their quest to forge a nationally oriented political party. Even the Kenya African Union which is purported to be the first attempt at such a national party, drew its membership predominantly from the Kikuyu. In relation, during the colonial state of emergency - 1952 to 1956 - the British banned the formation of national parties, but allowed the formation of ethnic based district associations, once again dividing Kenyans and promoting the sense of difference and "tribalism" among them.

The creation of tribalism during the colonial era was also facilitated by the work of the Christian missionary societies (Ochieng', 1975). The seeds of Christianity found the areas of inter-ethnic friction to be fertile ground for conversion, particularly as the weak sought refuge in the church. Hence, the different missionaries appropriated for themselves tribal areas of influence further solidifying the communal tensions which were in the process of crystallization under colonialism. Furthermore, the missionary schools used local languages, and
not English, effectively delaying the development of a unifying common language.

In conclusion, colonization led to the effective isolation of ethnic groups, and their sense of tribe was crystallized as they became more conscious of their own separate existence. The cultural differences among them were highlighted and they were prevented from developing a national outlook. As an assessment of the colonial policy of divide and rule, Maxon (1992) concludes that "...ethnicity and tribal identity became essential attributes of the colonial experience." (p.35).

Post Colonial Kenya and the "Tribal" Legacy

Kenya has a current population of about 21 million people and about 85% of them live in the rural areas, according to the 1989 census. (Africa South of the Sahara 1996, 1995). There are about forty different ethnic groups in Kenya, and many of them have differences of dialects within (see Map A for ethnic distribution). Hence, English has since been adopted as the official language, and Kiswahili as the national language, partly to promote national cohesion. The major ethnic groups are: Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, Kamba, and Kalenjin. Historically, the Kikuyu were the most adversely affected by British colonialism; many clans lost land to white settlers after forcible evictions by the colonial government. Additionally, many of the Kikuyu were relocated to village reservations as result of the eruption of anti colonial violence. In turn, these villages became the permanent abode for some of them even after independence. On the other hand, because of
their early and intimate interaction with the British, they were the earliest to adopt western influences, for example, schooling and capitalism.

Nevertheless, one of the more encompassing and lasting inherited legacy of post colonial Kenyan society has been the role of ethnicity in local and national politics. Indeed, prior to the dawn of Kenyan independence, as of June 1960, there were two major ethnically aligned political parties - the Kenya African National Union (KANU) and the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). There were also other smaller ethnic based parties, like the African Peoples Party (APP). KANU was dominated by the larger ethnic groups and KADU was dominated by the lesser groups which were afraid of political domination by the latter, and therefore, it advocated for a federal system (majimbo) to protect the political self determination of the smaller ethnic groups.

In May 1963, KANU overwhelmed the opposition parties in a national election. These elections had been preceded, in July 1962, by a joint conference (dubbed the "Kenya We Want") by the two parties, to examine in detail, issues which would be of concern to an independent Kenya. Hence, upon taking on the leadership role, KANU embarked on further conciliatory policy to win over the opposition. Yet, at the same time, as Odinga (1967) states, KANU's hold on the central government was weakening KADU's support in the constituencies. These tactics bore fruit when the APP, led by Paul Ngei, was the first party to cross over to KANU. Subsequently, in November 1963, two of KADU's main supporters defected to KANU, and thus started a steady trickle of KADU politicians into
Map A: Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Kenya

Source: Kenya 82-83 Uhuru Yearbook

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KANU. By December 1964, the process was complete when the KADU leaders crossed over to KANU; the two parties had merged and virtually ensured a de facto one party state.

Kenyatta, Mboya assassination, and national crisis.

Jomo Kenyatta's rule in Kenya began in December 1963 when he became the first prime minister, and later in June 1964 he became the first president. At the advent of independence, Kenyatta enjoyed popular Kenyan support and had a promising opportunity to lay the foundation of a plural society which de-emphasized ethnicity. Instead, if the colonial era was "the gestation period of tribalism" as Ochieng' (1975) contends, then Kenyatta's rule marked the fruition of this "tribalism", socially and economically. The Kenyatta government had inherited an uneven economically developed country, since the capital and western influence had penetrated the Kenyan colony unevenly. The Central province (Kikuyuland) and the major towns like Nairobi, Mombasa, and Kisumu had the most developed economic and social infrastructure, like education, agriculture, and industries. It followed then that the Kikuyu were to play a major role in the economic aspects of the new Kenya, because of these early developments. Conversely, other regions like the Rift Valley and the Coast province lagged behind in similar infrastructure (Ochieng', 1995; Ogot, 1995) Hence, early in Kenyatta's rule there were already signs of the economic ethnic stratification of the Kenyan society, and there were
complaints by other ethnic groups about the domination of the Kikuyu in the business sector and in the government (Maxon, 1995). This uneven economic development further stoked the embers of ethnic rivalry and division, since the administrative regions matched the ethnic boundaries.

The later years, particularly between 1970 and 1978, were significant in the consolidation of this political and economic power (Ochieng', 1989). It also evidenced the growth of GEMA - a private ethnic association made up of the Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru - which was bent on maintaining the Kikuyu economic domination and in retaining the presidency within Kikuyuland. GEMA acquired immense wealth for its members, who were drawn exclusively from the Central province. GEMA leaders were some of the richest Kenyans who were affiliated with the largest financial institutions in the country. However, it is the association's meddling in KANU and national politics which gained it notoriety. Furthermore, its leadership enjoyed unprecedented access to the president.

Politically, Kenyatta's consolidation of power meant restriction of free press, free speech, and academic expression, and also the detention and jailing of political opponents. It also meant the banning of any opposing political parties. However, as Ochieng' (1995) illustrates, the most troublesome political issue which was to further divide the country was that of his succession, particularly taking into consideration that he became president at the age of about seventy four. Hence, with the KANU radicals quitting and forming an opposition party (Kenya Peoples Union) in 1966, Thomas Mboya (a Luo) was left the most likely
successor to Kenyatta. Mboya was an eloquent politician whose role in the founding and the grounding of the Kenyan trade union movement, and in the effort to attain independence, was outstanding. He represented the most multi-ethnic Nairobi constituency, and he was popular with the workers and other parliamentarians. Therefore, he posed a threat to the Kikuyu politicians who also had their ambitions set on succeeding Kenyatta and retaining the seat in Kikuyu land.

In July 1969, Mboya was assassinated in Nairobi by a Kikuyu gunman. This act was a major crisis which tested Kenyan national ethnic unity during Kenyatta's rule. The Luos believed that it was the Kikuyu dominated government which had plotted to eliminate Mboya. As a result they demonstrated and rioted against the Kenyatta government. In turn, the Kikuyu resorted to mass oathing to prepare for any violent confrontations and to unite among themselves. The animosity between the two groups reached a head when Kenyatta visited Nyanza (Luoland) in October 1969, to open a hospital, and was pelted with stones. In the ensuing fracas and chaos, his bodyguards shot into the crowd killing and wounding scores of people. He blamed the violence on the KPU and banned it forthwith. This was to be his last visit to this part of Kenya, he died nine years later without ever returning to Nyanza. As Ochieng' (1989) notes, "It was perhaps only in Luoland where the people danced gleefully when Kenyatta died" (p.215). The Luo never forgot how he had alienated them during his rule as from 1965 when the Kikuyu - Luo alliance failed.
Also, as from 1969, after Mboya's death, Kenyatta's rule became what Ochieng' (1995) terms a "one man show". For all practical purposes the country was governed by an inner circle clique of Kenyatta's Kikuyu people. However, in keeping with the ebb and flow of Kenya's ethnic tinged politics, their fortune was to dramatically change after the death of Kenyatta. They became political pariahs under the new government.

Nevertheless, the discussion of "the fruition of tribalism" under Kenyatta's rule should not take away from some of the national accomplishment by his government. As Maxon (1995) documents, there were admirable social and economic achievements, in his words," In both health and education, independent Kenya achieved more in a decade and a half than the colonial state had accomplished in the preceding six decades." (p.143).

**Moi, ethnic clashes, and national crisis.**

The current president, Daniel Moi, began his rule upon Kenyatta's death in office in August 1978. Unlike Kenyatta, Moi not only hails from one of the conglomerate minority ethnic groups - Kalenjin - but was also originally a KADU politician. Over the years of his rule, since ascending to the presidency, he has redistributed government positions and redirected political influence away from Kikuyu domination, and toward minority ethnic groups. Indeed, taking a page from Kenyatta's rule, he has sought to elevate the participation of his ethnic people
into areas they were not visible before, through political appointments. Also, under him Kenya existed as a de jure one party state from 1982 until 1991 when the government permitted the re-introduction of multi-party politics, after succumbing to both internal and international political and economic pressures. The resulting opposition political parties have since evolved from having multiethnic to predominantly ethnic followings. Even more ironic is that the two largest ethnics (the Kikuyu and the Luo) who founded and built KANU are now predominantly in the opposition, while the smaller KADU ethnic groups which had opposed KANU are now its most ardent supporters, and are the political leaders of the country.

Moi's rule in the 1990s has been marked by violence and political clashes along ethnic lines. These clashes intensified during the period leading to the multi-party election, between October 1991 and the end of 1992. According to the Report of the Select Parliamentary Committee to Investigate Ethnic Clashes (1992) or The Kiliku Commission Report the clashes were instigated by KANU politicians and government officials who felt threatened by the reintroduction of multi party politics in Kenya. Drawn almost exclusively from the president's Kalenjin ethnic group from the Rift Valley, and considered his close confidants, they toured their constituencies in September 1991, advocating the constitutional introduction of a federation (majimbo), a concept first promulgated during the colonial era. The report notes that, "Under the constitution, they said, outsiders in Rift Valley would be required to go back to their "motherland" (p.9). They also
questioned the sincerity of the other non-Kalenjin groups towards the KANU government, and insisted that these groups should leave the province. Finally, they declared the Rift Valley a KANU zone, and "propagated the idea that Rift Valley was for the Kalenjin". Such pronouncements ran counter to other concurrent popular patriotic government rhetoric, in particular, *Kenya nchi yetu* - Kenya is our land. On the one hand, there were these public officials arousing bitter interethnic fervor without any censure, while on the other hand they were considered spokesmen of a government which claimed it represented all the Kenyans.

Starting in October 1991, clashes erupted within Rift Valley and along its border and the provinces of Nyanza and Western (see Map B for provincial divisions). The battles pitted the Kalenjin (and occasionally Maasai) against the Luo, the Kikuyu, the Luhya, the Teso, and the Kisii. The Kiliku Report placed the blame for the continued and prolonged clashes on the government and the security personnel. They were accused of being either inactive or creating an atmosphere which further worsened the social climate, or not acting as expected. President Moi reacted by blaming the opposition parties for the ethnic clashes. He used the clashes to restate his argument that Kenya was not ready for a multi party system because it promoted ethnic divisions.

Additionally, the Kiliku Report estimated the casualty - the dead and injured - as over 1400 people (the number has since risen after the 1992 report). About 54,000 Kenyans were displaced refugees in their own country. The Kikuyu were the most adversely affected by these clashes. Once again they were faced
with dislocation, this time from land considered to be the Kalenjin's, which they
had settled since being displaced by the British settlers or they had bought
en masse, during Kenyatta's rule.

Indeed, Kenyans have neither recovered from the violent political and
social trauma caused by the stirring up of ethnic differences and animosities for
political mischief, nor have they adjusted to function within a system which allows
for political disagreements. As a reminder, in October 1995, there was another
spate of deadly violence in one of the Nairobi slums - Kibera ("Ethnic Clashes";
1994). The three day running battle was fought between KANU supporters
(Nubians) and an opposition party supporters (Luos). Such clashes have become
the weak link in the re-introduction and political experimentation with a multi
party system under the Daniel Moi government. Whereas they might be born out
of political differences, they play out as ethnic clashes.

In conclusion, Kenyans still are affected by the consequences of colonial
policies of divide and rule which accentuated ethnic differences, and created the
tribal phenomenon. Similarly, the effects of ethnocentrism have been worsened by
opportunistic and also by calculating political leaders who have continued to
exploit the issue of ethnicity by emphasizing differences among these communities.
Yet, as Maxon (1995) pointed in his discussion of the social and cultural changes
during the Kenyatta era, ethnicity has not been nearly as divisive a force as in some
other Sub-Saharan African countries, even though it has been a powerful social
force in independent Kenya.
Some of the more serious ethnic clashes were along the Rift Valley vs. Nyanza & Western province borders. The deadliest were within central Rift Valley province, between Eldoret and Nakuru.

Modified from - Kenya 82-83 Uhuru 18 Yearbook
CHAPTER TWO

The sense of Kenyan identity has continuously been severely tested during its short existence as an independent country. Whereas there are constant appeals to Kenyans to interact as one people, ethnic clashes and political divisions still point to the role ethnicity and not national identity plays in the socio-political environment. Consequently, it is compelling to study the government's effort to address such areas of national concern, particularly the promotion of what it considers to be Kenyan nationalism, through education, given it's own contradictory and divisive political rhetoric and policies. Likewise, it is important to examine how Kenyan teachers and students perceive such efforts. Indeed, what role does the school, as a social institution, play in contributing toward such desired sense of national identity, through the formal curriculum?

Statement of the Problem

There is a dearth of analytical and evaluative research of the post-independence Kenyan history syllabus. Many pertinent questions about the syllabus still remain unanswered. For instance, among the many unanswered macro questions are: how has the history syllabus been affected by the search for curriculum relevance? Or, what are the curricular rationale for including the various history syllabus units, in secondary school history? Presently, there is no
scholarly research which examines such questions through the study of the whole history syllabus or its component units.

The problem is clearly highlighted by the fact that the majority of research on Kenya's school curriculum, most of which pre-date the 1985 school curricular reform, treat the history syllabus either as a part of the social studies program in primary school, or as a part of the general secondary curriculum. Therefore, since history is mentioned cursorily in such studies, its significance as part of the curriculum is yet to be determined from the vantage of the curriculum developers, teachers, or students, among the many parties who have interest in schooling. Consequently, there is need for research dealing specifically with the history syllabus as part of the Kenyan secondary school curriculum. This study is a response to the problem and it contributes towards the needed research by focusing on a unit of the Kenyan history syllabus.

**The Objective of the Study**

The study aims at answering the following major question:

How is the struggle for Kenyan independence examined in the 8-4-4 secondary school history and government syllabus, as an example of the government's effort to address curriculum relevance?
Related Questions:

1. What is the Kenya Institute of Education's (KIE) rationale for including the struggle for Kenyan independence (or the struggle) in the history and government syllabus?

2. What areas or aspects of the struggle do the curriculum developers at the KIE consider relevant to include in the history and government syllabus?

3. How are the KIE syllabus guidelines translated into practice by teachers? What topics do teachers include or exclude?

4. What are the students' predispositions toward the teaching of the struggle?

5. What areas, about the struggle, do the recommended and supplementary history textbooks cover? How are they covered?

Justification

This study is pertinent, first, because the Kenyan government has long identified the history syllabus, and particularly the topic of the struggle for independence, as a means of engendering the development of national unity and a sense of national consciousness among students ("National Campaign", 1965). Indeed, according to the KIE Secondary Education Syllabus (1992), one of the general objectives and the stated relevance of including history and government, is that students should be able to "develop a sense of patriotism and national pride through participation in various development activities in the country" (p.23).
Over time, the government has reiterated the significance of what it sees as the link between the role of education - history syllabus - and national unity, through various education commission reports it has sponsored. The first such government report to underline the importance of history was the Kenya Education Commission Report (1964) or Ominde Commission Report. It still remains the most important Kenyan government recommendations on education, cited literally by every major research on Kenyan education. It set the tone for the way the government was to establish education and view curriculum. It recognized the fact that there was no problem more imperative to the future of Kenya than the cultivation of a sense of nationhood and service to the nation. The report emphasized the role that secondary curriculum could play in achieving this educational goal.

In addressing specifically the history syllabus, the report emphasized, first, the significance of presenting history through African eyes. Secondly, it underscored the importance of the national aspects of history and its role in the formation of national character and outlook, by drawing a parallel between the work of European historians after the second world war, and the Kenyan post colonial status. Furthermore, it recognized the role of history in providing an emotional and a psychological security for a country struggling to find a national identity. Consequently it concluded that, "We in Kenya need to evolve and teach an East African view of history as part of our own effort of nation building" (p.82).

of the Working Party (Mackay Report) would yet endorse the educational objective fostering national unity. Likewise, according to the Ministry of Education (1992), the objectives of current secondary education include "...the acquisition of attitude of national patriotism, self-respect, self reliance, cooperation, adaptability, sense of purpose,...loyalty and service to home, society and nation" (p.7).

Furthermore, this study is relevant because of the historical importance of the struggle for independence in the development of Kenyan nationalism and national consciousness movements. In fact, one of the specific objectives of the unit on the struggle in the KIE - History and Government Syllabus (1992), is that students"...should be able to trace the origins and the developments of nationalism in Kenya" (p.28). There is contention that such developments can be traced to the shared African resentment of colonialism during the pre-independence years (Odinga, 1967; Mazrui, 1984). To paraphrase Mazrui (1972), it was during this period that the base for the process of nation building at the psychological level was laid, because of the cumulative acquisition of common emotional disposition and common potential responses to the same stimulus - colonialism.

The push for independence involved some ethnically divided and some united, attempts of organizing at both political and trade union levels. Hence, there were experiments with political coalitions across ethnic lines, which were not immediately successful. However, these efforts were crucial in development of politics and nationalism; they laid the foundation for future

Indeed, Oginga Odinga in his autobiography, *Not Yet Uhuru* (1967) confirms that not only were the African leaders aware of the significance of unity, they also recognized the British attempts to keep them divided.

The search for African unity during the struggle was also picked up by the trade unions. For instance, the East Africa Trade Union Congress led by Bildad Kaggia, Fred Kubai, and Makhan Singh, eschewed the possibility of any genuine separation of politics and labor, and became a vehicle of championing African causes (Rosberg & Nottingham, 1966; Waw-Achola, 1975). Mboya (1963), who was instrumental in the trade union movement and later as a political strategist in the new government, writes that:

> In fact during the emergency, the trade union movement found itself the main mouthpiece for the Africans, both politically and in the industrial field. Most of us in the trade unions felt that the movement must identify itself with the nationalist cause. (p.195)

Finally, the study of how the struggle is examined in secondary schools, is presently appropriate, when viewed against the current backdrop of social and political divisions among the various Kenyan ethnic groups. It is even more necessary in lieu of the fact that during the era of the struggle, African leaders encountered the same problems, as currently exist, of uneven political awareness, illiteracy, inadequacies of social communication and the biggest hurdle - tribal parochialism (Rosberg & Nottingham, 1966; Odinga, 1967; Odhiambo, 1981). As
previously noted, Ochieng' (1975) argues that this was a period characterized by "gestation of tribalism in Kenya."; yet, against this background of internal African problems and external colonial forces, the quest for political movements embodying national unity and aspirations continued.

Consequently, how has the government's concern about the role of history in raising national consciousness been translated into syllabus guidelines by the KIE, and adapted into teacher practice? Indeed, do students find any current relevance in the studying of such periods of shared historical experiences? Finally, how is this crucial period portrayed in history textbooks?

**Significance**

First, this study contributes to the general research on Kenyan school curriculum. An historical review of dissertation indices between 1963 and 1994 reveal that there has been a gradual effort to study various aspects of the Kenyan school curriculum, yet, the overall amount of such research is still minimal in any given year. Therefore, this study is important because it adds to the currently scarce research on Kenyan school curriculum, which is acutely needed.

Furthermore, this study is necessary because it not only adds to the current body of research on Kenyan education, but it also provides more specific data and further knowledge which presently does not exist in Kenyan school curriculum research and literature. Unlike other research on Kenyan education which have
studied the general macro secondary school curriculum, this is more focused since it centers on the history syllabus. This syllabus warrants such a study, because when it has been researched in the past as part of general humanities or social studies (see literature review), the findings and recommendations have tended to overlook history's role in the educational process. Hence, this study, which intimately focuses on the syllabus content, provides data on perceptions and experiences by people who have vested interest in the educational role of history.

Finally, this study is important because it provides descriptive data whose interpretation can be associated with syllabus development and adaptation into practice. Curriculum developers can use the data to assess how their recommendations for the history syllabus are translated into classroom practice. Hence, it can be the basis for syllabus improvement or for maintaining the status quo. Likewise teachers will find reflection of experiences and recommendations which will enhance their practices or cause them to be more reflective about their current instruction, more so, taking into consideration the data generated through students' participation.

**Scope**

The study focuses on the secondary school Kenyan history and government syllabus, and specifically on the unit which examines the struggle for Kenyan independence.
Methodology

I have chosen a qualitative case study design for this research. This approach is pertinent because it provides an in-depth view of participants' attitudes, experiences, and behaviors, in terms of what is being studied. It allows for what Geertz (1973) terms "thick description", which according to Eisner (1991) "...is an effort aimed at interpretation, at getting below the surface to that enigmatic aspect of human condition: the construction of meaning" (p.15). Additionally, there is an increased understanding of studied cases and situations because qualitative research is usually done at a very personal and an intimate level of the studied phenomena.

Qualitative research allows for fieldwork without predetermined categories, which in turn leads to openness and detail. As Peshkin (1993) notes, such research has many potential generative results, i.e. description, interpretation, verification, and evaluation. Finally, qualitative research is very appropriate for studying school culture, since, as Eisner (1991) states, teachers and students participate in the qualitative thinking process, a phenomenon which pervades people's daily decisions.

Data Collection

I used a triangulation process for data collection, this included interviews,
participant observations, and document collection. The basis for using triangulation, as Denzin (1978b) notes, is the premise that "...no single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival causal factors... Because each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods of observation must be employed (p. 28). In relation, triangulation strengthens research since the cross checking of data leads to convergence, or the exposition of inconsistencies and contradictions (Greene & McClintock, 1985; Lancy, 1993; Mathison, 1988).

Interviews.

This approach provides for a more profound insight into the world of the participant as he or she moves back and forth in time; it allows for the reconstruction of the past, the interpretation of the present, and the probable (italics added) prediction of the future (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Interviews provide the opportunity to see how the participants conceive and explain their world, and also they do reveal respondents attitudes (Blum, 1971; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984b; Tierney, 1991).

For this study, I interviewed three groups of participants, who were randomly chosen. The first group consisted of nine history teachers, five of them from Nairobi public schools, two from Central province schools (one each from Kiambu and Thika districts), and two from Kisumu district. The second group consisted of three participants from the KIE - an administrator, a staff member,
and the outgoing history panel chair (who is also an Inspector of Schools from the Ministry of Education). The third group consisted of twenty four students drawn from the same districts as the teachers, but not necessarily the same schools. I divided the students further into two groups. The first sub-group was made up of ten tenth graders who had not yet studied the unit on the struggle. The second sub-group consisted of fourteen eleventh graders who had studied the unit. Some of the interviews were audio taped for subsequent transcription, however most of them were handwritten.

All the interviews were done on site, that is, in schools for teachers and students, and the KIE grounds for the curriculum developers. Some of the participants first responded, individually, to written open-ended interview questions (see appendices A, B, & C), before I followed up their written answers with oral interviews. All the teacher interviews were carried out individually, however the rest of the participants took part in a combination of group and individual interviews.

Observations.

Marshall and Rossman (1989) state that the important assumption for using observation is the premise that behavior is purposive and expressive of deeper values and beliefs. Likewise, other researchers have also found that the use of observations allows you to view both the cultural world of the participants and the
detailed, representative accounts of their behaviors (Fetterman, 1989; Guba & Lincoln, 1981; Goetz & LeCompte, 1984b).

Hence, I observed the practice of three teachers, one in Nairobi, one in Kiambu district, and one in Kisumu district. I chose the Nairobi teacher because his classes are composed of multiethnic pupils in a cosmopolitan setting. As for the Kiambu teacher, she practices in the region which is recognized as having taken the lead in the struggle. Hence, given the potentially rich community resources, how does she translate the syllabus guidelines into relevant practice which relates the constructs to students lived experiences? Likewise, the Kisumu teacher practices in a part of the country which produced leading political advocates and leaders of the struggle. Thus, how does he also relate the regions role in the struggle to the students lived experiences?

Since the unit on the struggle is taught at varying times during the school term, I was able to make at least half day observations per teacher over the duration of the teaching of the unit, which varied according to the school, from three weeks to four weeks. My observation data included: the teachers' instructions, classroom context, students activities, and any non teaching activities. The observations notes were all handwritten.

Documents.

The final source of data which I used came from documents, since they are
easily available and they provide a rich and a stable source for decision making and backgrounds (Guba and Lincoln 1985; Patton, 1990). Additionally, as Patton (1988) points out, "...documentary data are particularly good for qualitative studies because they can ground an investigation in the context of the problem being investigated." (p. 109)

I included as part of the document data, students notes and teachers' resources - handbooks and tests, the KIE history and government syllabus guide for 1973, 1985, and 1992, past national examination papers (1989 - 1995), plus the various history and government textbooks. All these data sources have contributed toward the findings of the study.

Data Analysis

I inductively analyzed the resulting collected data which means that I did not have a-priori categories and sub-categories of what to expect. As Patton (1990) explains, this analytical approach allows the important dimensions to emerge from the patterns found in the case under study without presupposing in advance what the important dimensions will be. Hence, there are procedures I followed to allow for the presentation of the research findings in order to reach a conclusion and to make recommendations.

After transcribing the interview and observation notes, I wrote "notes on notes". This allowed for a general overview of what the initial data was
about and also provided a chance to collect follow up data. I used an open coding method to analyze my field notes. The process and the strength of this procedure as Strauss (1993) notes, is that:

...the data are broken down into discrete parts, closely examined, compared for similarities and differences, and questions are asked about the phenomena as reflected in the data. Through this process, one's own and others assumptions about the phenomena are questioned or explored leading to new discoveries. (p.63)

Subsequently, I categorized the codes into emergent themes, which means I had to constantly compare relationships between and among the categories. These categories were either developed from the participants' own articulation or I developed them. Moreover, the categorization of related encoded data meant cutting and pasting such material together. Likewise, contrary analysis - looking for data which might negate my perception of phenomena - has been an important part of the analytical process. Additionally, the data from each group was first analyzed in exclusion of each other, and then comparatively. Consequently, this approach has enabled the description and interpretation of how the struggle for Kenyan independence school is examined in secondary school history syllabus.
Definition of Terms

**Curriculum:** For this study it is "a body of content or subject matter leading to certain achievement outcomes" (Ornstein & Levine, 1993, p.522)

**Form:** It is equivalent to grade level ex. form 1 is the same as high school freshman, or ninth grader. There are four forms in Kenyan government secondary schools.

**Nationalism:** For the purpose of this study, this term is intentionally not defined, instead it has been left up to the participants to develop their own definitions.

**Struggle for independence:** Within the context of this study, it is the period between 1919 - 1963, when Kenyans organized and engaged in political and social opposition to colonialism.

**Syllabus:** Guideline or list of topics which are to be covered within a subject area.

In Kenya such a guideline is published by the KIE.

**8-4-4 Education System:** Eight years of elementary school, four years of secondary school, and four years of college
CHAPTER THREE

Theoretical Framework: History Syllabus in the School Curriculum

In Kenya, history still plays an important role at the primary level as part of social studies, a construct borrowed from the United States of America. Likewise it is a part of the humanities electives cluster at secondary level. As an education system like Kenya's strives for reforms, many courses are bound to be added as electives, while some are destined for elimination. Therefore, making the case of why a course should be maintained becomes imperative. Historians and teachers of history have had to tackle the issue of relevance over the years, especially as the subject is challenged by those who are more concerned by technical and practical orientation of education, as in Kenya under the 8-4-4 system.

The study of history is relevant because it plays an important role in citizenship education (Marty, 1978; Stricker, 1992). It provides valuable political knowledge and skills, necessary for thoughtful assessment of political values and traditions. Additionally, responsible citizenship requires the knowledge of past historical happenings in order to discuss present day issues which are rooted in that past. The resulting informed citizenry would be able to raise incisive, critical questions about government policies after analyzing past public policies, and would also be more discerning in offered answers. Thus, as Vaughn (1983) argues, historical study can serve as an antidote to the misuse of history by leaders and can
guard people from being victimized by plausible public policy analogies drawn from past limited experiences.

From a more social functionalist vantage, historical study is seen as contributing to citizenship education through the transmission of cultural heritage (Thornton, 1987). It provides a plural nation with a shared past, and there is a belief that the subject will foster national unity and patriotism. In the United States, for example, cultural transmission has included the development of American ideals as shown in the struggle for independence. Some scholars however, have cautioned against this rationale. Pratt (1974), argues that there are no reasons to expect the study of history to lead to "good" citizenship because history is subject to change and it would be difficult to represent existing social and political arrangements as ideal. Likewise, Stricker (1992) and Marty (1978) note that when the principal expectation for history is to make students good citizens, it leads to the cultivation of faith in the way of life and maintenance of status quo. In that sense, history has been used to bolster public authorities and to promote patriotism and loyalty. Hence, it has becomes a means of nationalist legitimization by those who equate good citizenship with deference.

The study of history as a discipline provides intellectual training and has organization which provides a systematic way of arriving at knowledge about the world (Berner, 1973; Stricker, 1992; Wehlage, 1971). Historical thinking disturbs ordinary patterns of thought and prepares one for novel conceptual possibilities. It brings into question old ways of looking at problems and the importance of
sustaining a critical and a skeptical posture. It provides necessary skills to examine the past, to understand the complexity of change and frequency of unintended consequences, by teaching how to judge evidence and thinking about causality. Hence, it provides a vision which is more easily translated into a wider social or political view.

History is critical in defining reality past, present and future (Keller, 1984; Ravitch & Finn, 1987; Vaughn, 1983). To know the way in which society came to be formed, to have some understanding of the conflicting forces that created it and are still at work within it, is indispensable in the conduct and understanding of public affairs. Without a known and interpreted past there can neither be an understanding of the present nor a vision for the future. Indeed, the past can and should speak to the needs of the present in a manner that will enable the decision of what is important; it provides the present with a chance to turn to a historical moment or instance since it influences present thoughts and actions. However, according to Von Laue (1981), since the proper use of the past requires a suitable sense of the present, full comprehension of history fuses a vertical dimension which refers to the past and a horizontal perspective which deals with the present.

History is society's memory, hence its study expands the reservoir of experience (Ward, 1971). The greater the remembered experience, the better the sense of orientation, because it raises awareness of possibilities. Nevertheless, as Howard (1982) cautions, since the past is foreign, there is need to learn its language and to understand its assumptions before deriving conclusions about the
processes which occurred and before applying them to the present.

On a personal level, historical study can provide self knowledge, self identity, personal freedom, and a sense of value (Berner, 1973; Howard, 1982; Vaughn, 1983; Von Laue, 1981). It can lead to more self consciousness about prejudices and a reappraisal of values. Also, it helps in reducing ego-centricism by providing a rich insight into fellow human beings in other times and how they confronted similar problems. History above all is concerned with human relations which, at their core, are moral. Hence, an understanding of the past is a necessary part of self awareness - the understanding of ourselves.

Finally, the study of history gives students a sense of their identity on the dimension of time. According to Pratt (1974):

Historical man knows that he is not of one age but of many ages, an entity and a link in a process stretching backwards in time.

All identity is historical. Students of history into whose consciousness the past has become incorporated have achieved a more complex identity. (p.421)

Thus, history supplies a sense of place and identity, and helps locate students in the sweep of history. It also contributes to students educational growth concerning temporal understanding and dimensions of cause effect relationships and the invariance of terms like year and decade (Stricker, 1992; Thornton, 1987).
The 8-4-4 System and the Continued Search for Curriculum Relevance:

An Overview

The current Kenyan history syllabus which includes the unit on struggle for independence, is part of a continuing overall attempt by the government to Africanize the school curriculum, by making it culturally and historically relevant to African experiences. The Ominde Report (1964), laid the foundation for this search for curriculum relevance; in turn, there have been periodic reforms and experiments with various types of secondary school curriculum over the years.

The latest reform was initiated in 1985 and became fully operational in 1989. It came about as a result of the restructuring of the school system from a 7-4-2-3 (primary, secondary, high school, university) nomenclature to an 8-4-4 (primary, secondary, university) system. The change was prompted by the proposals made primarily by The Presidential Working Party on the Second University in Kenya (1981) or Mackay report, and secondarily by The Report of the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies (1976). The Mackay commission was required particularly "...to make general recommendations about establishing a second university in Kenya..." (p.ix). However, it reached the conclusion that in order to achieve this goal, the whole education system had to be restructured. The subsequent restructuring of the whole school system led to the reform of the primary and secondary school curriculums. Hence, at the secondary level, it led to the addition
of more vocational and technical courses.

Since its introduction, the 8-4-4 school system reform has been very controversial and has led to close scrutiny particularly by Kenyan scholars. In recognition of the quest for curriculum relevance, Sifuna (1990) acknowledges that the addition of an extra year at primary level, coupled with emphasis on vocational education at both primary and secondary levels is supposed to serve as preparation for the life which the majority of the children will lead. Yet, he notes that the assumption of the employability of primary school graduates has never been tested. The assumption is even more problematic in light of the historical experience which has shown that even four years of technical training at secondary school has not improved students' employability. Also, what is the effect of the introduction of vocational programs on the quality of general education? Indeed, would not the relative deprivation of basic cognitive skills, particularly among primary graduates who do not continue on to secondary school, result in deficiencies in functional literacy? Finally, Sifuna (1990) points out that the introduction of the 8-4-4 system has met with opposition which is similar to the African opposition against colonial education reforms, which overemphasized vocational curricula. However, this time the reforms are resisted on social class basis, as peasants and other non elite view the reforms as denying their children a chance to compete for white collar jobs.

Another problem facing the 8-4-4 system, according to Bogonko (1992), is that the content is too wide to be covered well in the allocated time. Indeed, by
1993, the government had pared down the number of testable subjects from ten to eight. At the same time, the universities were forced to lower their entry requirements from an average score of B- in all the tested subjects, to C+. This has since been raised to a B, by 1994.

There are other scholars like Eshiwani (1993), and Shiundu and Omulando (1992) who have embraced the 8-4-4 system reform. They underline the effort being made to make the curriculum relevant, which in the present time means the need for broad education, with emphasis in science and practical subjects. Eshiwani points out that the system is supposed to stress the exploitation of local resources and facilities, and is to concentrate on utilizing the implicate experience of the learner in the classroom. Also, because of the de-emphasis of an exam oriented education, under the 8-4-4 system, the teacher is to adopt a more pragmatic, child centered approach in his or her practice. In support of such views Shiundu and Omulando conclude that "the 8-4-4 system has introduced the most innovations in independent Kenya" (p. 308)

In relation, the introduction of the 8-4-4 system led to the overhaul of the history syllabus. The subsequent realignment of the syllabus units led to the omission of some topics and the addition of new ones, such as the struggle for Kenyan independence. Also, whereas before the change history was taught as a separate subject, under the 8-4-4 system it has been combined with Government (Civics) to be taught as one subject. Hence, it is against this backdrop of changes in the school system and experimentation with new curriculum and syllabi, that this
study focuses on the unit on the struggle for Kenya's independence, as a part of the overall history and government syllabus.

**Review of Related Literature and Research**

The main sources of existing literature on Kenyan school curriculum are doctoral dissertations and the various education commission reports, sponsored by a combination of the Kenyan government, foreign governments, and international agencies. However, there is also research which do not fall under these two categories. Since there is no scholarly research which focuses solely on the history syllabus, the literature reviewed for this study are those which examine the whole secondary school curriculum - of which history is part - or which pay some attention to the history syllabus.

**An overview of Literature on Pre - independence Kenyan School Curricula**

Christian missionaries were responsible for introducing western education and for establishing formal schools in Kenya in the 1840s. Their education curricula were varied; nevertheless, religion was the mainstay of their education. There were generally two variations of curricula offered depending on location. At the mission stations certain forms of vocational education like masonry, carpentry, and basic agriculture were included. On the other hand, village stations
provided mainly an education revolving around religion; hence, basic writing, arithmetic, and reading were after thoughts in this curriculum (Connolly, 1975; Kiteme, 1970; Njoroge, 1972; Stafford, 1973).

It was not until 1911 that the colonial government established a Department of Education. However, as most research which cover the pre-independence period show, the colonial government's educational curriculum for Africans was heavily influenced by missionary and white settler concerns (King, 1971; Mutua, 1975; Raju, 1973; Schilling, 1972). To address some of these concerns, the government turned to foreign foundations and The Colonial Office in London which in turn sponsored various educational commissions to the colony. These commissions' recommendations played a significant role in the formulation of African educational curriculum. And so for the most part, the curriculum for African education under the colonial government mirrored that of the missionaries', stressing certain aspects of agricultural, industrial, and vocational education, at the expense of literary education. The latter form of education was considered unsuitable for Africans because it supposedly corrupted African minds and undermined their traditional way of life.
Related Literature on Post-independence Kenyan Secondary Curriculum

Research on curriculum development and reforms.

Both Lillis (1985) and Stafford (1975) separately examined curriculum innovations in post-independent Kenya. Even though the Lillis research focuses on Math and Literature syllabi reforms, he provides some findings which are applicable across the secondary curriculum. He points out, in a rather simplistic analysis, that the educationists at the advent of Kenyan independence were predominantly Europeans expatriates whose influence resulted into a Eurocentric curriculum in which the African student was taught western values at the expense of his own. Furthermore, even the KIE, which was established after independence, has been influenced by expatriates and in turn has continued the perpetuation of Western curriculum. Lillis contends, in this 1985 research, that the questions of what is valid school knowledge and the means of transmitting and assessing knowledge are still viewed from a perspective foreign to the African students' experiences.

Likewise, Stafford's (1975) research has as its premise the argument that educational methods and techniques which are borrowed from the west are not as universally applicable as they may seem, regardless of their appearance of having worked in the western countries. To Stafford, this technological approach to curriculum making has been favored over the more philosophical approach because
of the desire for accountability, efficiency, specificity, and predictability.

This technological approach has lead, first, to a variety of ill defined and loosely related national educational objectives. An analysis of the various governmental reports on education reveal that some of the stated goals and purpose are self contradictory. Also, they lack priorities, and are not useful as curriculum guidelines.

Secondly, the technological method has minimized cultural and philosophical issues. The role of the continued importance of family groups and the division between generations have not been recognized by the educational system. This has lead to the encouragement of attitudes, activities and a philosophy which are totally foreign to the students' traditions.

Urch's (1968) research on the Africanization of the secondary curriculum in Kenya set out to answer the following questions: To what extent and why, did the colonial government and then the post independence leaders plan for the Africanization of the curriculum? His study shows that for the colonial government, the Africanization of curriculum generally meant a model which included a variation of manual, agricultural, vocational, and industrial education. Africanization was meant to provide for an education related to the African traditions and environment, and was supposed to encourage African development. This effort was needed because of the social disintegration of the African way of life, as a result of western influence and education.

The failure of the colonial school curriculum to prepare the youth and to
aid them in solving their problems made the Kenya leaders to assume the role of 
Africanizing the curriculum. In the economic sphere, the government encouraged 
aricultural education, and expanded secondary facilities to promote economic 
development by offering more math and science courses. Secondly, political 
education was deemed important in fostering a sense of national unity. However, 
this effort, which recognized basing history and geography on local traditions, was 
hampered by major problems: the lack of teaching materials, shortage of teachers, 
a test driven national curriculum, and lack of locally written textbooks. Overall, by 
the time of his study, Urch did not see much difference between the colonial and 
the post independence school practices.

Finally, Githara's 1971 research, leads to a curriculum model proposal 
which fits the category Stafford (1975) terms technological. He derives his 
curriculum model from tracing the various stages of development of secondary 
education in Kenya. While reviewing the then existing state of the curriculum, he 
noted that external national examinations were still the major influence on 
curriculum, and were the only determinant of the effectiveness of the curriculum. 
He therefore proposes his model to ensure a planned system of evaluation.

The model is based on behavioral psychology and it can be evaluated using 
other means developed from the works of Hilda Taba, and Ralph Taylor - who see 
curriculum development as rational and scientific process. Nevertheless, Githara's 
model has the drawback of not taking into consideration the African cultural 
context and overlooks philosophical questions about the nature of the students'
Secondary school curriculum and political socialization.

The separate research by Blevins (1973), Getao (1975), and part of Keller's study (1974), are attempts to examine the relationship between curriculum and political socialization. However, the first two do not address the role of history in this process. Starting with Blevin, his research focuses on the questions: what official political socialization value positions have the Kenyan government taken? And, how have these values been translated into programs for implementation? Blevin arrives at his findings by using research data from a previous study by Koff and Van der Muhll which was to appraise Kenyan students' commitment to the value of egalitarianism. The study first looked at students beliefs and commitment to national unity, equality of opportunity and the preservation of the African cultural heritage, as aims of egalitarianism.

Blevin concludes that the students believe strongly in the first two aims but not in the preservation of African heritage. As a result, the political leaders took up the challenge of emphasizing African heritage in the curriculum. Nevertheless, it was not possible for Koff's and van Der Muhll's study to detect a causal effect relationship between the government's aims of egalitarianism, the secondary school curriculum and the educational and political values held by the studied students. Similarly, Blevin's research is not clear on where and how the students acquired experiences and environment.
the two aims.

Getao's (1975) research deals with the identification of a curriculum development and a rationale for its application to education for political socialization. He contends that even though citizen education has been identified as a crucial part of education, the Kenyan curriculum has yet to be planned to foster such a disposition. The major reason for this failure was that Kenya still relied on conservative foreign curriculum development models in 1975. For political socialization which promotes the concept of nationhood to take place, the curriculum has to be planned to minimize chances of incidental learning.

Getao relies on Krug's criteria of curriculum planning as the basis for his model. The criteria are: comprehensiveness, cooperativeness, continuity, and concreteness. The model is also based on philosophical issues like, what the society consider to be a good life, what the basic needs of the people are, what the nature of the learner is etc.. Of particular importance in this model, is the central role of the teacher as a participant in an on going process of curriculum development. She must be able to deal with philosophical issues and to provide an environment which allows the students to address these issues, leading to a change in individual attitude and consequent attainment of national goal of citizen education.

Keller (1974) devotes a portion of his research to the question of whether the political values which the Kenyan government wishes to instill in students have been realized. He notes that part of the effort after independence has been the
Africanization of the curriculum, to make education culturally relevant. History is an example of such a course which has been fashioned to pay more attention to Africa. Yet still, the majority of the history books (by then) were written by Europeans, and rote memorization for exams meant the lack of critical understanding of political history. Overall, the curriculum was ineffective as an agent of political socialization.

**Education commissions reports on curriculum.**

The Curriculum Development Mission Report (1972) or the Bessey report, was sponsored by the British Overseas Development Administration. Among the charges it was responsible for was to review and evaluate existing curricula and syllabi, national examinations, and also to review the effort to develop such material. The commission criticized the curriculum's emphasis on rote learning and its examination orientation, its neglect of practical and creative activities, and its indifference to Kenya's cultural heritage. Additionally, it concluded that curriculum effectiveness was handicapped by a shortage of educational support material such as books.

In its recommendations of secondary courses, the Bessey commission listed history as an optional course. On the other hand, it considered Religious Study as an essential part of the common core curriculum. This was barely eight years after the Ominde commission had underlined the significance of
history in the formation of national character and outlook.

Finally, The Report of the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies (1976), was the work of a Kenyan commission charged with evaluating the system of education, defining a new set of educational goals for the second decade of independence, and formulating programs to attain these goals. In its evaluation of the content of secondary education it made sixteen recommendations on subject areas, only one mentioned history and even then as part of cultural subjects. The rest were either science or vocational oriented. To echo Stafford (1975), in her critique of national goals by such reports, there is no indication of how the recommendations translate into curriculum development and implementation below the national level.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE KIE, SYLLABUS FORMULATION, AND THE SEARCH FOR RELEVANCE

Introduction

The Kenya Institute of Education (KIE) is the only curriculum development and research institution in the country, and it is centrally headquartered in Nairobi. It was established in 1964 as a result of a conference on Institutes of Education, sponsored by what was then The University of East Africa. At its inception, the KIE was composed of a body of delegates under the Ministry of Education representing University College, teachers' colleges, teachers union, churches, and other groups. Prior to the founding of the KIE there was the Curriculum Development and Research Center (CDRC) which was established to address curricula issues. It was an amalgamation of three centers which were started to focus separately on the teaching of English, Science and Mathematics, and to coordinate teacher education.

In 1966, the CDRC and the KIE were enjoined to avoid replication and conflict between the two centers. The marriage between the two was legalized by the 1968 Education Act. Most of KIE's functions mirrored those of its predecessor, at its inception, by simply being concerned with areas under the
Ministry of Education like teacher education, preparation of the curriculum and the related materials, and also the organization of in-service courses. However, these functions have now been broadened to include areas in pre-school education, adult education, special and business education (Eshiwani, 1993; Oluoch, 1984; Shiundu & Omulando, 1992). The mandated functions of the KIE include:

(a) to conduct research and prepare syllabuses for pre-primary, primary, secondary school education, teacher education, special education, post-school technical and business education and adult education

(b) to conduct research and prepare teaching and evaluation materials to support any syllabuses including the preparation of books, teachers' guides, mass media programs and similar materials

(c) to conduct in-service courses and workshops for any teacher who is involved in carrying out experiments and trials of any new syllabuses and teaching materials

(d) to organize orientation programs for education officers to keep them informed of the developments that are taking place in schools and teachers' college curricula

(e) to transmit programs through the mass media to support the developments that are taking place in education

(f) to organize courses, seminars, and orientation programs for the guidance of teachers and educational administrators

(g) to coordinate educational research in Kenya
The Syllabus Formulation Process

The rationale for including the unit on the struggle in the history and government syllabus, and indeed for making Kenyan history a part of the overall curriculum is derived from the KIE's curriculum formulation process. According to the KIE administrators, one of the significant accomplishments in the effort to address curriculum relevance in Kenyan education is the existence of a very clear sequential protocol in the syllabus and overall curriculum formulation process. In particular, this process allows for accountability - being able to determine who is responsible for what is happening at each stage. Even more important it provides a feedback from which future syllabus reform can be based, since this is at the heart of the search for relevance.

The Case of the 8-4-4 Secondary School History and Government Syllabus

The formulation of the 8-4-4 history and government syllabus followed the KIE's protocol and was designed with the goals of the 8-4-4 school system reforms in mind. In particular, that the syllabus should be geared to relate the students' learning to their immediate environment. Consequently, the KIE first carried out needs assessment, before the initial introduction of the Kenyan history, within the 1985 history and government syllabus, and before its subsequent revision in 1992. It collected data about the then existing curriculum to determine what the needs of
various participants in the survey were. The respondents included in this survey were: teachers, students, parents, educators, and teacher union officials and representatives. The KIE made a conscious effort to cover as wide a range of the Kenyan public as it deemed necessary in order to have a pulse on the educational needs of the country. Additionally, the data collection process included observation of teacher practices, particularly during the syllabus revision. The aim of the latter exercise was to gauge how the then existing syllabus was being translated into practice.

The KIE staff then carried out subject conceptualization, which is the planning stage where the decision about what to teach is made - based on the analyzed data. It is also at this point when the KIE formulated the learning objectives, the intended learning outcomes, the learning opportunities which should be provided, and how the outcomes were to be evaluated. It was therefore at this point that the decision was made to include the struggle for Kenyan independence as one of the units in history. The decision was based on the analysis of the respondents data.

Additionally, the KIE's new concern was to formulate a syllabus which not only reflected the findings of the collected data, but, more importantly, one which was responsive to the students local environment, in keeping with the overall goal of the 8-4-4 curriculum. The new syllabus and curriculum was intended to ground the students on familiar learning material before they mentally ventured out to areas which would seem more abstract.
The conceptualization of the original 1985 syllabus included the most prominent Kenyan historians - Gideon Were, William Ochieng', and Bethwell Ogot. The involvement of the historians was significant in legitimizing the newly introduced Kenyan history in the overall syllabus.

The history subject panel played an important role in the formulation of the syllabus at the conceptualization stage. It is one of the many panels which represent each area of the curriculum. Its membership includes teachers from schools, colleges, and other institutions of higher education. There are at least eight secondary school teachers on the panel, one from each of Kenya's province. These members are appointed by the KIE Council based on interest, or areas of knowledge of the members. The panel is headed by an expert from the Inspectorate who participates in all the curriculum development activities.

The history panel was responsible for writing the history and government syllabus after it reviewed the survey data, together with the KIE staff. The various topics which make up the unit were formulated at this stage. The syllabus was then reviewed by the course panel and forwarded to the Academic Board. It was then forwarded to the director of Education who had to approve the history syllabus project like any other project which is to be implemented. However, before implementation the new history syllabus was piloted in representative sample schools countrywide. The piloting was carried out in one school per each of Kenya's school districts. Additionally, before implementation the KIE had to develop curriculum materials and resources which were also piloted. These
materials included a new syllabus, books, evaluation guides, schemes of work and lesson plans. From the data collected during the piloting, the final revised curriculum package was formulated and it is this which was implemented nationally.

On paper and according to design, the syllabus formulation process has direction and is not capricious. There is a methodology for data collection, and the target groups are clearly identified for these purposes. Thus, the KIE staff see the institution as active and responsive to public concerns about education, because of the attempt to translate survey findings into a functional history and government syllabus. The overall process is then an attempt of initiating curriculum development from the bottom, as opposed to a process whereby the KIE staff would act on their own and impose on the public a curriculum which has its inception and final product from within the KIE.

**Analysis of the 1973 and the 1985 History Syllabi**

The 1985 history and government syllabus replaced the 1973 history syllabus which was used in the 7-4-2-3 school system, it was an integral part of the search for relevance in education, in curriculum, and particularly in the field of history. The pressing mission of the KIE was to address the issue of relevance, by formulating a curriculum which met the needs of Kenyan students and thereby met the requirements of the new 8-4-4 system. Moreover, the differences between it
and the 1973 syllabus reflect the various forms the search for relevance has taken. The first area of difference between the two syllabi was related to the format, specifically arrangement of regional histories. In the 1973 syllabus, the history syllabus was divided and further compartmentalized into regions i.e. World regions' history and African regions' history. The latter was divided into four regions - west, central, south, and east. Kenyan history was studied as part of the overall East African history, it was not separately examined. World history was taught in the first two years, followed by African history. The KIE decided to reorganize the syllabus into one overall history syllabus in the 1985 syllabus, as opposed to the fragmented approach, because they wanted to emphasize the study of history as one discipline without regard to region.

Furthermore, in the 1985 syllabus, the major emphasis and focus of study was the history of Kenya. There was material devoted to the study of Kenyan history at each of the four class levels. This history had previously been overwhelmed by other materials when it was a part of the East African regional history. This change in emphasis was part of the government's effort to refocus Kenyan children's attention to their history first before studying other people's histories. There was a sense of urgency on behalf of Kenyan children and a concern that what they were learning about themselves was not adequate. The KIE made the conscious decision to separate Kenyan history in order to make students feel it was about them. Hence, the inclusion of the unit on the struggle and the separation of Kenyan history from East African history was an obligation.
and a necessity for the sake of the children.

Revision of the 1985 History and Government Syllabus

The search for relevance has also meant the continuous evaluation and revision of the history and government syllabus, this in turn has led to the rearrangement and the elimination of some topics. As a result, how the whole syllabus is organized has been affected by these changes. The 1985 syllabus revision was a result of concerns raised by teachers, educators, politicians and the general public, among other constituents of education.

The revision took place in the first place, because there was a realization, during syllabus evaluation, that the topics on Kenya were positioned to be covered toward the end of the school year. This order of topic guideline usually meant that there was not enough time to cover the topics on Kenyan history during their assigned school term, hence they were rolled over to be covered in the following school year, or the teachers were forced to hurry in their effort to complete discussing the units assigned for the particular class level. The unit for the struggle of independence was one of the units which suffered the fate of being glossed over for the sake of time or postponed to the following year. Generally, Kenyan history was not receiving the necessary attention yet this was the original purpose of reformulating the syllabus, it was supposed to be at the center of the study of history. The revision and the rearrangement of topics in the 1985 syllabus
produced the 1992 syllabus, and was meant to address this concern.

Additionally, the 1985 syllabus was revised because of the concern that there was no linkage between what the students were learning at different class levels (from form I to form IV), yet one of the intended goals for the study of history was to show the interrelationship of historical events or happenings. For example, in the 1985 syllabus, students studied about Kenyan nationalism in the third year under the unit on the struggle, but they had to wait until the fourth year to study about the three required biographies of Kenyan political figures, considered Kenyan nationalists. There was no immediate connection between the construct of nationalism and the provided examples, the consequent rearrangement of the syllabus led to combining the two areas under the unit on the struggle. Moreover, topics on nationalism and nationalists movement were reformulated to be discussed from the Kenyan vantage first in form three and then from the Pan-African context in form four. This change was meant to provide for a progressive discussion on the topics so that the students could see the interrelationship between them. The KIE was concerned that the isolation of topics lead to an ineffective syllabus guideline, and undercut the aim of having an integrated approach to the study of history.

The thematic arrangements of units in the 1985 syllabus was a break from the chronological ordering of the 1973 syllabus. Hence, prior to its revision, there were concerns coupled with an ongoing debate whether to rearrange it thematically or chronologically. The thematic approach was a new experience for
teachers and they had to adjust to it on their own without much guidance from the KIE. The first problem they faced was a poor sense of width in their coverage of the history topics. Their history lessons covered from the beginning period or era of the suggested topic to the current time. Secondly, the thematic approach also meant the use of case studies which they found to be overburdening given their teaching loads, and the given time allotted for covering the syllabus.

The lack of width perception was compounded by the fact that the syllabus had no clear guidelines of the depth of topic coverage. Not only did the teachers find this to be a problem, so did the students. The latter found tests to be problematic since they had no idea how much information was required of them. Likewise, their tests papers showed evidence of very poor concept of historical time - eras and epochs. Students confusion stemmed from the fact that teachers had become dependant on a chronologically structured syllabus, and their consequent open ended approach to practice based on the 1985 syllabus left students seeking for coping methods. Hence, a partial chronological approach was introduced to the 1992 revised syllabus to provide both the teachers and students with a sense of manageability in terms of time and place in history, as a remedy. The KIE staff now feel that both teachers and students are able to cope better.

Finally, after the introduction of the 8-4-4 system there was continued public outcry about the overburdening academic load that students had to carry (see, "Streamline Messy 8-4-4", 1992). Consequently, the government responded by revising the whole secondary curriculum, through the KIE. Furthermore, the
number of required mandatory testable courses that the students had to study was reduced to eight from ten - by 1993. The KIE then had to decide what material mattered or was unnecessary within a subject syllabus. The history and government syllabus was not exempted from this exercise, consequently many topics were combined or eliminated. That there is information which can be deemed unnecessary by the KIE, under certain situations, shows that the search for relevance is still continuous and the process is sensitive to public opinion, especially if the opinion is channeled through the government. Nevertheless, history remained an elective course even after the change in student load requirement.

The Struggle and the Evolving History Syllabus: An Analysis

In the current 1992 syllabus, the units on the history of Kenya are organized chronologically, starting with the unit on The Emergence of Kenyan Societies and Their Indigenous Institutions up to the Nineteenth Century and ending with the unit on the Developments in Kenya Since Independence. On the other hand, the units and subsequent topics in World history are more thematically organized - the various global regions are studied under the specified themes. For instance, under the topic of Industrialization in the Third World, three countries representing three continents are studied, namely Brazil, India, and China. The countries are examined as examples of the topic being studied. This approach is a
major break from the 1973 syllabus which was predominantly chronologically organized.

The difference between the 1973 and the 1992 syllabi on the unit on the struggle for Kenyan independence offers an even better illustration of the changes previously discussed. In the 1973 syllabus, the struggle was part of the unit - The Emergence of the Modern East African Nations. Like the rest of the other units, it had no specific objectives which were to be achieved at the end of its examination. Also it covered the histories of the East African countries, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The areas to be studied included:

a) Early nationalist organizations and the opposition to white settlement.
b) The second world war and its effects on nationalism
c) K.A.U. and mau mau
d) The Kabaka crisis
e) Tanzania African National Union
f) The later stages of constitutional advance
g) The winning of independence.

The only topic which specifically focused on Kenya was the one on KAU and mau mau. Also, the syllabus guideline was general, which meant that the teachers had a lot of freedom to study other areas not mentioned.

In comparison, in the current syllabus the Kenyan struggle has a whole unit solely devoted to it. In fact, there is no examination of the other two countries' quest for independence. Likewise, there are more detailed objectives of what the
students are expected to achieve after the study of the unit. For instance, according to the KIE (1992), learners should be able to, "... (b) trace the origins and the developments of nationalism in Kenya; (c) explain the various nationalist movements and their impact; ..." (p.28) (see appendix D for the rest of the objectives). These objectives are meant to provide closer guidance to teachers, unlike the previous syllabus which had an open ended approach to practice. Additionally, the syllabus is very detailed in outlining and pin pointing the areas of the struggle that are to be studied; these subunits are:

a) Early political organizations

b) The emergence of independent churches and schools

c) The Trade Union movement

d) Political organizations after 1945

e) Constitutional changes leading to independence

f) The independence constitution

g) Biographies of Kenyan leaders.

Under some of the subunits there are topics which the KIE included to be examined. For instance, included under the subunit The Trade Union movement are: (i) African Workers Federation and (ii) Kenya Federation of Labour (see appendix E for a more detailed outline). Hence the focus on the Kenyan struggle is more detailed than in the 1973 syllabus.

To underscore the change in focus of the history syllabus, in the 1973 syllabus, East African history had at least two school terms set aside in the fourth
year. On the other hand, in the 1992 syllabus, half of the secondary history syllabus is devoted to Kenyan history and government, more time than even the 1985 syllabus.

In the new syllabus, each suggested topic in the guideline is taught or examined by teachers. They feel obligated to do so because all the material in the syllabus is testable. On the other hand, in the 1973 syllabus, only the material covered in the third and fourth year of secondary school was tested in the terminal national examinations. There were many included areas in the overall syllabus which were omitted by teachers because they were optional, or teachers deemed them unnecessary to study since they were already tested in the preceding year's national examination. In the current syllabus there is no optional topic, all are potentially test material.

The Addition of Government to the History Syllabus

The revision of the school system and of the curriculum led to the introduction of the new subject of government at the secondary level. Its introduction was an attempt to address the issue of curriculum relevance by making students aware of their political environment. According to the Ministry of Education (1992), through its study "...the learners are exposed to the organizations and administrative structures and functions of society" (p.28).
Comparison: Order of History Units in the 1973 versus the 1992 syllabus

The Order of Units in the 1973 Syllabus

Form 1
Ancient civilizations ex. Egypt, Mesopotamia
Early European history ex. the renaissance and reformation

Form 2
World history:
North America, Russia, China, India, Africa

Form 3
African History - two out of three regions:
West or Central or South

Form 4
East African history:
Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania

The Order of Units in the 1992 Syllabus

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The themes in World history include the cases studies of the following:
Ancient pre-civilization eras, early civilizations ex. Egypt and Mesopotamia, Africa, Europe, South America, and Asia.
In essence it is the equivalent to the study of civics. Since its introduction in 1986, it has been studied together with history as one subject - history and government. Anyhow, there is a very strong support for the teaching of government, by the KIE staff, because of its stated purpose. And in that sense, they believe the 8-4-4 history and government syllabus is superior in its coverage, over its predecessor, since the latter disregarded including the functions of government.

Another intention for combining history and government was so that there might be an interdisciplinary approach in teaching the two subjects. Hence, in both the 1985 and 1992 syllabi the two subjects were supposed to be compatible, however, the curriculum designers recognized then that combining them was problematic, and continues to be seemingly arbitrary. There has been no mechanism of linking them since. As Adala, an Inspectorate administrator, acknowledges, "We have tried to find order between history and government but could not. Currently we have put it at the end of the syllabus, at the end of each form". It follows then that there is no curricular reason why the units on government have been placed at the end of each section of the different forms. Indeed, combining the two subjects has been a marriage of convenience for the curriculum designers because it means less complaints from the public about extra courses for students. Also, it means one less separate examination paper to be set. However, it has left teachers trying unsuccessfully to find a connection for students. Ultimately they have ended treating it as a separate course within a course.
Finally, the inclusion of government has had an adverse effect on the portion of the syllabus which deals with history by reducing the time available for the latter's study. Once again, the most adversely affected history units are those which immediately precede the units on government. This means then that such units like the struggle for Kenyan independence are usually hurriedly examined by teachers, so that they may cover the required area on government.

Summary

The rationale for including the unit on the struggle is based on two factors. First, through the curriculum formulation process (in particular the needs assessment phase) the government was able to determine what Kenyans wanted as part of the history syllabus. As the KIE staff point out, the opinions solicited ranged from students to educators and many others. Second, there was a growing concern among historians and educators about the educational welfare of the Kenyan children, in that they were growing up without exposure to Kenyan history other than in the general coverage as part of East African history. As Wekesa notes, "We needed to make an obligation to teach our children our history...we must think about the children of Kenya." These two factors lead to the identification and inclusion of the unit of the struggle as an integral part of Kenyan history and government syllabus. To that end, the KIE prides itself in looking out for students interests.
Teachers Views on the 8-4-4 History and Government Syllabus

According to the teachers, the changes in the history syllabus, resulting from the restructuring of the overall school curriculum, has had some beneficial effect on the coverage of Kenya's history. They recognize that the restructuring was partly undertaken to refocus attention to students immediate and national environment; unlike the old history; Kenya and not East Africa became the focus of the new history and government syllabus. In that sense, the 8-4-4 system is better than the old one. Also, at the secondary school level it means the students should be able to follow historical development at the national perspective after doing so from their immediate local environment perspective like their districts, at the elementary level. Hence, the restructuring has lead to a developmental study approach to Kenyan history. Likewise, teachers express some satisfaction about the fact that the current history syllabus pays attention to some topics which the preceding syllabus did not cover, among these topics is the struggle for Kenyan independence. Whereas the old syllabus covered a wide range of topics it underemphasized topics on Kenya. Consequently, the 8-4-4 syllabus is advantageous to the students to the extent that it is Kenyan centered because it builds students' knowledge about their country.

However, the teachers' predominant assessments of the 8-4-4 history and government syllabus tend to be negative, characterized by dissatisfaction with certain aspects. On the one hand, they appreciate the advantage that students
receive by focusing on Kenyan history, a point of view they share with the
curriculum designers. On the other hand, they decry the fact that the emphasis on
Kenya has been at the expense of a wider syllabus which ought to include the East
African region. Thus, there is lost opportunity in studying Kenyan history as part
of an integrated regional history. Furthermore, teachers are convinced that
curriculum restructuring has compounded this current narrow focus of the
syllabus, through the addition of more subjects or areas like government. In turn,
there is less class time devoted to the history portion of the syllabus.

In spite of the revision of the 1985 syllabus, one of the major complaints
by teachers is that the syllabus is still discontinuous - topics are divided arbitrarily
according to class levels (form I through form IV). They do not see the order that
the KIE intends it to have. The units which are thematically organized do not have
a flow, they do not successively progress into each other, whatever relationship
there is between them is forced or is capricious. The same problem applies to
some of the topics within a unit. Thus, teachers are usually forced to provide
background information which the syllabus overlooks, so that students have a
bearing on what the issue is about, and to make a link between topics. The
omission of mau mau from the unit on the struggle, is an example of the disruption
in the flow, where teachers go out of their way to include such an overlooked
topic. They point out that, historical events are related and students need to see
that, otherwise their comprehension is compromised because they find it hard to
follow. One of the priorities of future syllabus restructuring by the KIE should be
introduction and maintenance of continuity of themes and topics. Additionally, the introductory easy topics should be in form I and the more difficult ones should be in form IV. The teachers believe that the students find it easy to organize their thoughts in such a manner. At the same time such a syllabus organization makes it easier for them to plan their instruction.

As previously noted, an integral part of teacher practice is deciding how much in-depth one should cover a topic within a unit. In relation, the teachers complain that there is no such guideline from the KIE. For instance, the unit on the struggle includes many organizations and events (like trade union actions) however, the teachers find themselves on their own when it comes to deciding how deep to cover them. As a result they resort to different methods of dealing with the problem of depth. The most common way is by reviewing the past test papers to gauge the depth of information tested. They do not find any reason to devote much time on areas of the syllabus which is usually tested by multiple choice as opposed to essays.

Teachers also count on their experiences to determine how much in depth to cover a topic. Those who have had longer teaching experiences under both systems have the advantage of combining the syllabus format from the previous system and that of the current 8-4-4 system. Finally, depth is determined by following the syllabus guideline and the depth of textbook coverage of topics, particularly the KIE textbook.

To the chagrin of the Inspectorate some of the teachers use the KNEC
examination guide, which is a revision test guide and is not meant for determining practice. However, this is evidence of the teachers continuing search for a method of determining depth. Many of them would like a more explicit guidance on the depth of topic coverage.

Testing and the Syllabus Formulation Process

The Kenya National Examinations Council is the body which is responsible for student evaluation. It was created by an act of parliament in 1980, after a recommendation by the 1976 Gachathi Commission. It replaced the East African Examinations Council after the resulting political fall out among the three East African countries of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania. As Oluoch (1984) notes, its role is to supplement the work of the curriculum developers at the KIE, by constructing examinations. It also plays an active role in the approval and adoption of new or revised syllabuses for examination purposes. Therefore, it follows that the KIE has to be sensitive and aware of the potential disruption which revision can bring about to the examination format and to the testable material. Hence, the KNEC is a crucial part of the overall quest for curriculum relevance since it provides feedback to the curriculum designers and the public on students' test performance.

The most profound result from the introduction of the new format is that every syllabus unit is covered in the test questions, the only variation being the
number of questions devoted to each unit. Also, a topic which is covered by a multiple choice question is not covered by an essay question. An analysis of test papers from 1989 to 1995 shows that there have been questions about the struggle for Kenyan independence each year. This comprehensive testing of all the units is a break from the pre-1989 test format where just a select few units were tested each year. There was no method of determining from which area of the syllabus the questions would be set.

The type of examination questions have changed dramatically under the 8-4-4 history and government syllabus. Whereas, before the 8-4-4 syllabus test questions were open ended essays, now they are either directed structured essays requiring a number of specific responses or they are multiple choice. To illustrate the difference, one of the 1995 paper one (1) questions from the unit on the struggle asked: Explain six grievances which Africans nationalists in Kenyan had against colonial rule between 1945 and 1963. (12 marks) (KNEC, 1995). The same question under the pre-8-4-4 system would have asked, for instance: Account for the grievances which African nationalists in Kenya had against colonial rule between 1945 and 1963. The second option allows for a more extensive exploration of the question, as opposed to the first which has definite expected required answers.

To the curriculum designers, the 8-4-4 test format eliminates circuitous and aimless writing; it protects against unnecessary width and breadth in answers. The previous format overemphasized expression and the open ended essay questions
caused student confusion. The current questions are more specific to the point. Nevertheless, there is flexibility in what is acceptable response, for instance, non recommended material which addresses required test answers is acceptable in cases where test material can not be found in the current textbooks. However for the most part it is what is in the provided syllabus guideline which is acceptable response.

**Teachers and Testing Under the 8-4-4 System**

The teachers complain that the format of the tests does not contribute much toward the appreciation of topics like the Kenyan struggle for independence; it does not allow for in depth discussion or reasoning. The answers are either simply statements of information and are limited to the number of points required, or they are left to chance of whether the student can remember the specific response. Hence, the 8-4-4 students lack critical thinking because they usually memorize and regurgitate the information they were provided. The teachers, particularly those who have taught in the pre -8-4-4 system, complain that there is also poor writing skills since the students do not have to expand on their ideas. Consequently, they may not be as well prepared for the rigorous college learning which requires a background grounded in detailed essay writing.

The national exams also influence how the teachers test over the course of the terms, they may not repeat the past years' questions but the format and the
requirement are the same. They use the past papers as guide as to how to set their questions. There is no motivation to ask questions which require detailed writing or independent divergent thinking. Instead the students are prepared by being asked questions which encourage convergent thinking. Teachers do not want to familiarize students with an assessment method which is different from the KNEC's, this would be disadvantageous to students. Therefore, through their testing methods, the teachers themselves are guilty of reinforcing and compounding the students' mental shallowness.

The change in the testing format is more likely a means of convenience to facilitate the grading of tests papers, given the amount of material that students are required to cover in the 8-4-4 system. Ultimately, the teachers think that the relevance of learning the struggle for independence, unfortunately, suffers the same fate as the other history units, it simply is an end to passing a test.

**Non-educational Influences on Curriculum Development**

The curriculum developers stress that first and foremost in Kenya, the school syllabus is not divorced from the influences of the political environment and bureaucracy. It is a reflection of what the existing political regime and those in politically powerful positions can tolerate and what is considered as sensitive. For instance, the director of the KIE serves at the pleasure and the behest of the Ministry of Education. It is a political appointment by decree without any
screening process, by an independent body, to ascertain the appointee's qualifications or scholarly background. Likewise, the KIE is under the direct control and is answerable to the Ministry of Education. Indeed, as Shiundu and Omulando (1992) affirm:

...KIE also acts as the eye of the government (watchdog) on all curriculum matters in the country. It advises the government on matters related to both public and private non-university educational programs, whether they are legitimate and meet the requirements of Kenya as a nation" (p.268)

In acknowledgment of the political influence, the coordinator of curriculum program pointed out that some of the curriculum changes have been a result of ministerial order or a result of snap political decision (Eshiwani, 1993).

Ultimately, the government's anticipated reaction or its decisions on curricular matters plays a major role in how the curriculum designers perform their responsibility. Curriculum formulation takes place within a limited space of freedom and the KIE is constantly aware of its place in the political sphere.

There are two specific outstanding examples in which the political environment has a played a role in syllabus decision making. First, during the process of structuring the unit on the struggle for independence, the decision about the inclusion of Kenyan political biographies was contentious among the KIE staff; there were some political figures, like Oginga Odinga, who could have been included but for the fact they were out of favor with the government. So, there
was a conscious decision to omit him along with some other politicians who were
seen as hostile and in opposition to the government. A compromise was reached
which as Wekesa noted, "...only included a list of those who are dead". Yet, even
being deceased alone was not a sufficient criterion, one had to be considered non
controversial to be included in the political biography. Thus, the KIE went out of
its way not to be at logger heads with the government.

A second example of influence on the curriculum decisions by the political
environment, is the inclusion of what is termed the "nyayo" philosophy in the
history and government syllabus. The root of this "philosophy" can be traced back
to the death of president Kenyatta. When president Moi succeeded him, he
promised to follow the footsteps (nyayo) of the late president, based on the
foundations of love, peace, and unity. Thus "nyaoism" was born and introduced
into the history and government syllabus. Teachers and the KIE staff belittle its
importance, and they believe that its inclusion into the syllabus is a political
decision which is temporary and is most likely to change if there was a turn over in
the government. In the final analysis, the curriculum reflects the will of those in
the government, in terms of what the staff thinks the government might allow or
not tolerate.

The national orientation or outlook (including political views) of the
curriculum developers, or lack thereof, tend to influence what is included in the
syllabus, according to Adala and Wekesa. They both based their conclusions on
work done within the history panel and administrative departments of the KIE.
According to them, it makes a difference whether individuals consider the teaching of Kenya as a nation's history or the histories of ethnicities in Kenya.

Finally, at a time when Kenya is trying to indigenize school curriculum, it is faced with a shortage of human and other resources in its curriculum development process. For instance, as Wekesa acknowledged, for an extended period of time in 1995, the KIE did not have a curriculum specialist in the field of history. Such a lack of specialist is not uncommon. Consequently, those who are relied on (e.g., school teachers) usually do not have the necessary formal academic background for such an undertaking, and do not understand the theory of curriculum and development. The lack of resources in turn curtails research and innovation in the current attempt to address relevance.

**Controversial Topics: The Case of Mau Mau**

**Historical roots of mau mau: An overview.**

The period between, 1952 and 1956, known as the emergency era, was marked by violent uprising by the Kikuyu against the colonial government. This revolt acquired the name mau mau. This term neither has a Kikuyu nor any other African meaning, nor is its origin known. Mau mau has been referred to as a revolution, guerillas, a movement, an uprising, a revolt, a group, and as freedom fighters. In this study I will use all, but the last term, interchangeably. Theories as
to why the mau mau came about have ranged from purely tribal explanations to nationalist based reasons. The last decade has witnessed increased attention on the issue, mainly through historical field work research.

The colonial government's view as to the origin of mau mau was embodied in the Corfield Report (1960). According to the report, the seeds of the revolt were sown when the Kikuyu primitive society came into contact with the highly civilized European world. This led to their social and psychological instability. The report generally dismissed or denied Kikuyu grievances, and mau mau was seen as an atavistic movement trying to pull them back to savagery. However, this theory has been largely debunked as historians have endeavored to carry out field research on mau mau. At the time of its exposition (pre independence), it was used by the colonial government as a propaganda tool against the mau mau.

Historians like Kanogo (1987) and Furedi (1989) trace the origins of the grievances which spawned mau mau, back to the occupation of the so called White highland by the European settlers. Much of Kikuyuland was appropriated to Europeans through the colonial government authority. Landlessness in turn led to the creation of squatter system (between 1903 - 1905). The system allowed Africans to stay on European land to provide labor, while cultivating a piece of the land. Indeed some of the Kikuyu squatted on the same land they had previously owned. Also many landless Kikuyu went in search of scarce city jobs. Until 1918, there were few restrictions placed on squatters, since the settlers had not consolidated their control over the squatter system. Hence, Africans were able to
cultivate crops and raise livestock without much interference. At times they even
sold their surplus crops at a lower price to the settlers. There was also illegal
squatting, otherwise termed "kaffir farming", where a settler would allow an
African to use his land in return for payment in cash or in kind. The cheap pool of
labor they provided was vital to the existence of settler farms. From 1918, the
settlers with the aid of the colonial government, began an attempt to regulate the
squatters. From 1919 laborers were required to carry identification cards as a
further means of social control of both legal and illegal squatting. These legislation
and their subsequent amendments did not discourage both types of squatting,
which frustrated the settlers and who in turn resorted to more stringent
measurements, including forcible evictions. As these efforts of the settlers social
control progressed, the Kikuyu squatters underwent a thorough process of
radicalization, particularly between 1929 and 1948. Furedi (1989) lists five areas
which shaped the squatter resentment and resistance. First, there was anger that
the landlord-tenant relations which had existed were being overhauled. There
was a heightened sense of insecurity because not only were squatters being evicted
for non-economic reasons, but the settlers were making the rule as they went
along. Secondly, insecurity was compounded by the tenuous relations the
squatters had with their original homes. There was not enough land in the Central
province, especially Kiambu, and many squatters were not welcomed back after
being evicted from European farms. Thirdly, squatters faced eroding economic
living standards as result of increasingly strict enforcement of government anti-
squatter laws like the 1929 de-stocking policy, it led to butchering, shooting, confiscating, or forcing the sell of African livestock. Finally, the squatters had no civil rights and had no legally recognized channels for airing their grievances. They had no chiefs, local native councils, or courts. Hence, the settlers had direct power over Africans living in their farms. All these issues worked toward radicalizing the squatter communities. Hence, the role of the squatters in the emergence of mau mau is crucial to Kanogo and Furedi's explanation of the causes of mau mau.

Lonsdale (1992) and Rosberg and Nottingham (1966), analyze the role played by the urban sector, Nairobi in particular, in tracing the root of mau mau. They state that there were many land dispossessed Kikuyu in Nairobi who were unemployed or low wage earners whose politics took on a more militant and radical character. Some of these unemployed were former servicemen who had served in the British African corps in the second world war. They were led by labor unionists like Bildad Kaggia and Fred Kubai, who also made up the militant wing of KAU. They were able to vote out the moderate KAU leadership who favored a more constitutional approach to change. Hence, this new alternative leadership gravitated toward violence as a means of putting pressure on the colonial government. At the heart of their grievances was land alienation from their land. Indeed, these unemployed and disposed Africans played a crucial role in oathing and recruiting members to what was to become part of the mau mau movement.
Historians, like Throup (1988), have emphasized the role that the actions or inaction of the colonial government played in either encouraging or not discouraging the emergence of mau mau. For instance, the Norman Humphrey's 1944 agricultural proposals is offered as an example of miscalculated government actions. These recommendations to the colonial government were made because the latter was alarmed by the potential ecological problems resulting from prospects of soil erosion, due to constant grazing and shifting cultivation in Kikuyuland. The government was also concerned by the replacement of food crops like sweet potatoes and cow peas by commercial crops like maize and wattle, which were both considered to exhaust nitrogen from the soil. Humphrey's proposals suggested the reallocation of Africans to new settlement areas from the overpopulated Kikuyu districts like Nyeri, to be followed by reforestation schemes of the depopulated areas. Also only Europeans were to be the only ones allowed to grow the cash crops of tea and coffee. These measures were introduced without the understanding nor the knowledge of the Africans who they affected the most. And to carry them out, force was considered as a viable option. In turn, the colonial government raised the wrath of the peasants. The soil conservation policy was a disaster which further alienated and radicalized the peasants, as exemplified by the experiences in Muranga district 1947-1948. It paved way for the violent specter of mau mau. The peasants resented the idea of forced communal terracing, and in 1947 all three Central province districts were disrupted by peasant revolts against the agricultural policies.
In addition, government actions were influenced by a belief in the myth of merrie Africa - African societies founded on communal systems - which the former was determined to preserve. According to Throup, this mind set had serious consequence of thwarting the role of the proto capitalists (artisans, traders, small businessmen etc.) as potential and alternative leaders for their communities, instead of the political militants in Nairobi. They were denied economic access, and were seen as disruptive, individual oriented Kikuyus who were undermining the fabric of peasant life. The proto capitalists predicament had been exacerbated by the local chiefs whose political legitimacies were fatally compromised. The chiefs had colluded with the colonial government and consolidated their wealth, pushing the peasants even further away from any moderating forces led by the proto capitalists, like the Kenya African Union.

The poor leadership under governor Mitchell, which failed to incorporate the moderating Kikuyu political forces, also partly contributed to the flare up of violence, according to this school historical of thought. He was hostile to African politicians and failed to satisfy African political and economic expectations. He had been captured by the settlers, maintaining their privileged political and economic status. Hence, his government had no squatter policy. Indeed he saw them merely as fundamentally necessary for the economic viability of the colony. In turn, he did not understand African opposition to the White highland policy. This paternalistic attitude further alienated the Africans and fanned the flames which bred mau mau.
Finally, Lonsdale (1992) traces the emergence of mau mau to the ongoing upheaval of the social order which had previously existed under the Kikuyu labor theory of value. The labor theory was based on a material aspect which allowed for the acquisition of property. Its moral component stressed persevering self discipline, familial obedience, and respect of land relationships between people. Within the system, the wealthy and the poor had complementary needs, with the former providing opportunities for the latter. The unraveling of this relationship was at the heart of the conflict and the debate from which mau mau was to emerge. As the Kikuyu society evolved in the colonial system, the new wealth did not correlate with the labor theory. Unlike virtuous wealth which was bound by public obligation, the new wealth was gained due to immoral state actions. It displaced the moral underpinning which had characterized the labor theory. In relation, increasing numbers of Kikuyus were becoming landless and being excluded from the means of production and a chance for self mastery - part of the social contract of the labor theory. Hence, the poor started asking class questions. That was because the relationship between labor and the interaction of people and land, by which the Kikuyu defined themselves, was being transformed through exploitation by the rich Kikuyu. With the identity of the poor as Kikuyus at stake, mau mau became an effort to redress this wrong.
Outcome of mau mau.

Mau Mau had an immediate adverse impact on Africans, particularly the Kikuyu. Many more Africans died than Europeans, at the hands of both the mau mau and the government forces. Many others were detained or imprisoned, and yet many more were evicted from the White highlands back to the already overcrowded reserves. Mau mau uprising also provided an excuse for the colonial government to further reallocate the Kikuyu to guarded centralized villages, hence making policing them easier. This was an effective way of relocating people from the potential high mau mau activity areas, effectively cutting the latter's peasant support and their means of supply. In turn, the settlers were able replace the evicted Kikuyu squatters with African laborers from Rift Valley and Nyanza.

Ironically, the declaration of state of emergency in 1952 and the subsequent uprising, also provided the government with the cover to carry out some of the agrarian programs it had not been able to before. The colonial government had realized that there was a need to introduce economic reform to avert another mau mau. Hence, the 1953 Swynnerton plan became the blue print for African agrarian development. The government realized its potential political and social advantages. Fundamental Kikuyu land tenure reforms were pushed through, creating consolidated small holdings and entrenching land rights of those who had fought on the government's side against the mau mau.

Economic consequences for Africans were mixed. The forest fighters lost
the most from the uprising. They did not participate in the land consolidation project during the emergency years. Instead, the moderates like Kenyatta and the conservative loyalists had a more favorable outcome. They were able to consolidate their wealth and accumulation due to their closeness to the colonial government. Thus, the redistribution of land and tenure made possible the reconstruction of Kikuyu society around this new economic elite. Furthermore, as Kanogo (1987) points out, the mau mau were left out when the national leaders accepted loan financed schemes for land buy backs from settlers, after independence. In essence, the leaders had preempted distribution of free land. Also, many of the peasant farmers resorted to wage labor to supplement their farm incomes.

Mau Mau uprising also led to the suppression of political expression through banning of political parties. During the critical years of the uprising no African political party was allowed to function. However, as Nottingham and Rosberg (1966) point out the arrest of KAU leadership at the beginning of the emergency allowed the non-Kikuyu politicians to assume leadership roles which showed that the KAU's objectives had support among non Kikuyu leaders. Also, politically, it was the moderates who were part of the process of setting the terms of political peace and who played the major role in negotiating for independence. Once again, the mau mau were left out of this process altogether.

Historians (Gordon, 1977; Kipkorir, 1977; Maloba, 1989) acknowledge that mau mau played a role in the decolonization of the Kenyan colony because it
forced the British to reassess their political policies toward Africans. Not only was economic reform necessary but also the political realization that Africans had to be incorporated in the flow of political development; the resulting constitutional reforms were made inevitable as a result of the mau mau uprising. It helped break the political power the settlers had, bringing about a realization that Kenya could not survive as a settler dominated country or a white minority country. Mau mau made the educated African elite more palatable for the government to work with. The government was determined not to allow a regression to the mau mau "madness". In this sense, mau mau provided the impetus for political decolonization. So, beginning with Lyttelton Constitution of 1954, the government began a process of preparation to transfer political power to Africans.

Mau mau in the syllabus.

The topic of mau mau provides an example of the dilemma involved in curriculum formulation when the topic at hand is considered controversial in the public and political domain. There are lingering questions about the group which have been part of the public domain even before independence, the major ones being: Were they fighting for Kenyan interests or their own interests? Were they Kenyan nationalists or Kikuyu tribalists?

According to the KIE staff, the topic of the mau mau is considered sensitive by the government for various reasons, for one, there is concern that the
discussion of the topic might have a negative psychological effect on students. At the time of the syllabus formulation, there were some who were afraid that if it was included it would incite the children to violence or rebelliousness. Secondly, there was also a school of thought, best articulated by historian William Ochieng', that the phenomenon was but a Kikuyu movement fighting for their own land, hence it could not be considered a nationalist movement. On the other hand, those curriculum formulators who favored mau mau's inclusion did so because they considered it an integral part of a nationalist movement to achieve Kenyan independence. The views of those who opposed the inclusion of mau mau in the syllabus prevailed over the ones who thought it would have been appropriate to explicitly include it in the syllabus.

Furthermore, as some at the KIE would point out, the syllabus guideline is not a unit plan so there should not be much read in the omission of the mau mau. It is up to the teacher to include it, relying on their experience and also on the guidance of past tests to determine whether it belongs in the syllabus. Hence, it does not have to be mentioned in the syllabus outline, it still can be taught. And even though the beginning teachers may have difficulties in such determinations, they do learn with time what to focus on.
Evaluation of the Syllabus Formulation Process

KIE's Evaluation

The most important factor in the curriculum formulation process is that it includes the people whose interests are represented in education. These include: teachers, students, parents, educators, and the teachers' union representatives (Kenya National Union of Teachers). Their input in identifying topics of interest, and in participating at various levels of the process is crucial. Hence, the syllabus formulation approach attempts to marry a bureaucratic process which relies heavily on the initiative and decisions of the KIE, to a grassroots approach which is based on the solicitation of opinions from the concerned general public.

The KIE staff also sees the institute as a resource center for teachers - providing technical and expert assistance whenever the teachers need it. They have available audio and visual material that the teachers can borrow. The visual material are mostly black and white film reels. However, the staff is concerned that teachers do not take advantage of these resources. Nevertheless, the KIE staff is satisfied that the institute is fulfilling its mission of organizing seminars and addressing curricular concerns.

Whereas the KIE staff is proud of the overall curriculum process, they are aware of the various challenges which they face in this endeavor. The experience of formulating the history and government syllabus, and the related units on the
struggle for independence, provides evidence of these challenges. First, according to the staff, the validity of the data collected during the pilot period from the teacher feedback is sometimes suspect. Usually, the teachers value their inclusion in the pilot program because there are benefits and advantages which they are provided and enjoy. Indeed, being part of such programs in Kenya is usually competitive because of such benefits. Hence, the KIE staff has concerns that the teachers' assessment of their experience with the material being piloted could be based on what they expect the KIE to hear. Given that they do have a vested interest in the pilot program, they sometimes try too hard to provide data which they consider beneficial to their being kept in the program. Nevertheless, these teachers are still a necessary part of the curriculum formulation process. Hence, the analysis of such data has to be done with the fact that some of the data might be skewed.

The difference between syllabus piloting and its national implementation can be frustrating, even in such cases as that of the history syllabus which was first piloted in all of the Kenyan school districts, before being introduced country wide. As experience has shown since its formulation and implementation, the issue of time, lack of resources, and the format of units and topics have became problematic. As is usually is the case, during the piloting phase the teachers are provided with the necessary resources and teaching materials - syllabus guidelines and textbooks. However, there is a scarcity of these supporting materials during the national implementation of the a syllabus. The rural schools usually face the
most challenging task in their effort to acquire the new material, due to poor
funding and to overwhelming student demand - there are not enough textbooks for
them. However, the most frustrating problems are the unforeseen, as opposed to
the anticipated ones like the shortage of resources. The KIE staff is aware of most
of these problems and acknowledge the difficulties faced during the
implementation period. Consequently, continuous syllabus evaluation and survey
feedback is necessary to address these problems.

Even though the teachers are included in many parts of the formulation
process their voice is inhibited due to the power relations which is part of the
design process. This is particularly evident during the conceptualization process.
This phase involves discussion among teachers, heads of department,
representatives from the Inspectorate, and the KIE. Teachers usually find
themselves at the bottom of the totem pole of the power structure, hence they feel
intimidated to be able to openly criticize or oppose views by those above them.
This lack of openness is a sign of the powerlessness of the teachers. They do not
directly challenge their status and they have consequently been conditioned to fit in
the lower echelon of the power structure; they are not co-equals in the syllabus
formulation process. The lack of balance of views means there is less of the
teachers' views. Ultimately, it is those with the bureaucratic power due to their
ranks in the educational infrastructure, whose voices are heard, and they are the
ones who decide what is included in the syllabus. Yet, in the final analysis it is the
voiceless teachers who have to implement these guidelines.
The voices of parents are absent for most of the process other than at the needs assessment stage. The parents' major impediment in participating in this process is lack of organization at both local levels and at the national level. There is no formal organization which looks out for their interest and which voices their concerns. As the teachers have demonstrated through their union, it is important to be organized in order to be heard and to play a role in the overall curriculum formulation process. It is those who are organized who are empowered in the formulation process. Due to this vacuum of representations, many groups, like religious institutions, have taken it upon themselves to assume the role of parents' spokespersons in matters of curriculum and syllabus content. However, these supposed spokesmen's role as representatives is viewed by suspicion by educators.

Furthermore, there is a culture of illiteracy among parents which complicates the participation of parents in the formulation process and which the curriculum designers have to contend with. Hence, in cases where parents' views are solicited it is the western educated parents who speak for the parents. There is a replication of the power structure totem where the uneducated are at the bottom and feel intimidated by those who are. What is ironic is that much of pre-independence Kenyan history deals with the life experiences of these illiterate who do not have a forum in the formulation of the syllabus. They are particularly a potentially a rich source of historical information on the struggle for independence. Nevertheless, together with the educated parents, predominantly a post colonial generation, their voices are generally absent in the whole curriculum formulation.
process, other than at the beginning where their concerns are solicited.

Students participation in the curriculum formulation process is limited to
the needs assessment stage, like parents, even though they are the most important
stakeholders in the whole educational process. Their voices are absent in the rest
of the process. Like teachers, they are not organized and therefore others speak
on their behalf. In the totem of power they are below the teacher and parents. All
the other interested parties usually speak on their behalf and assumes the mental
attitude of knowing what is best for them.

Teachers and the Syllabus Formulation Process

The teachers consider themselves as outsiders when it comes to the
syllabus formulation process; they are passive participants in the process. They
see the KIE as a bastion of curriculum designers. Many teachers are not aware of
the seminars and workshops that the KIE holds for teachers, and its
multidimensional role in the overall education of Kenyan children. In cases where
they are invited to workshops held by KIE usually at the institute's ground, they do
not have the incentive to attend because they feel their voices are left out in the
final formulation of the working document. Nevertheless, they strongly believe
that they would have a role to play if the formulation process was democratic and
they were invited to participate. As it is now they see the process as dictatorial;
the KIE designs and reforms the syllabus which then is sent to teachers,
accompanied with circulars noting the changes, and their responsibility is to implement it. To the teachers, this process which seemingly omits their voices, is alienating, removed, and heavy handed. Teachers feel patronized by decisions which are made at the top and passed down to them to implement.

Teachers are frustrated by the lack of knowledge of how and why certain changes are made in the syllabus. There are those teachers who believe that these changes are made without their complaints, while there are others who think that whenever teachers or the public complain about an area in the syllabus, there is a capricious decision to trim off syllabus material. To the teachers, this is tantamount to meddling with the syllabus and has very little to do with developing a coherent syllabus. For instance, the sub unit on Britain's policy of decolonization which was in the 1985 syllabus was eliminated from the revised 1992 syllabus. This was done for reasons teachers believe is best known only to the KIE. Yet, what is even more frustrating to the teachers is that when some of these changes are made, there is usually no accompanying teaching material. Hence, the teacher is forced to go out of his or her way to compensate for the lag between the syllabus change and the writing of the pertinent material - particularly textbooks. The search for appropriate material is a major challenge especially in the rural areas where textbook supplies are scant.
General Observations

The most predominant and important form of learning resource in Kenyan secondary schools is the textbook. As already mentioned the availability of textbooks varies among schools. However, regionally, the rural schools suffer more from lack of adequate supply of textbooks than do the city schools. All the history textbooks which are used in secondary schools are in English since it is the medium of teaching at this level, as opposed to the primary level where different mother tongues are sometimes used in the first few grades, in the rural areas - depending on the regional location of the school.

The five most commonly used textbooks in teaching secondary history are: Secondary History and Government: Form 3 Pupils Book (KIE, 1989), History and Government: Form 3 (Patel, no date), History and Government of Kenya (Odhiambo & Wanyande, 1989), History and Government: Form 3 (Singh, 1993). The standard textbook in all the schools is the KIE textbook. It has been revised once, the new one (1994) was introduced for the 1996 school year. The KIE also has an accompanying revision book - K.C.S.E. Revision: History and Government Paper 1 (Wafula, 1993). Even though the KIE prefers the use of its textbook as the basis of instruction, it does not frown on the use of other textbooks.
All these textbooks reflect the influence of the syllabus in that they all strictly adhere to the format and the ordering of the units and the topics. There is generally very little deviation, and where there is such deviation by the addition of extra material, the added information is very brief. There is a sense of monotony and familiarity when one opens any of the textbooks. They are replicas of each other.

Moreover, textbook organization and content provide the best evidence of the lag time between syllabus reform and the production of supporting teaching resources. All the books published before 1993 reflect the order of the 1985 syllabus and consequently divide the unit on the struggle into two chapters: *Early political and social movements from 1919 - 1939*, and *The struggle for independence from 1939 - 1963*. Nevertheless, it was not until 1996 when the revised 1994 KIE textbook was introduced to match the revised 1992 syllabus, by including previously missing topics, like the three political biographies students are required to be familiar with. This is part of the teachers' complaints, that the textbooks do not simultaneously reflect the changes in the syllabus. Of the five books the only one which follows the order of the 1992 syllabus is Singh (1993).

The other area of similarity among the textbooks is the content of the covered topics. Specifically, the textbook content on the struggle is about political associations, trade unions, and the personalities involved in these associations. Hence, it is a study of dates, political associations, and names of office holders. To highlight the similarity in content, the coverage of the
associations have common attributes in that all the textbooks emphasize three areas about them: who founded them, their aims, and the reaction of the colonial government to their ambitions. Furthermore, the history of the Kenyan independence struggle is a chronological study of events from 1919 to 1963. This format is broken only by the inclusion of the social rebellion by Africans through schools and religion, and the study of the three political biographies. In the former topic, the material is arranged in a case study format with the examination of a few such pertinent cases. It is almost as if the authors of the textbooks were working from the same research source.

The depth of material coverage of material range from the wider scope of Wanyande and Odhiambo to the terse, almost cryptic notes of the KIE revision book. However, the texts are written in simple understandable language for these level of students. There are very few accompanying visuals (photographs, illustrations, or sketches) on this unit, in all of the textbooks. Indeed the K.C.S.E. revision book has none, whereas the 1989 KIE standard text has six. All of the photos are of political figures, in particular - Kenyatta. There are no photos of the political rallies or life in the cities or country side. Likewise there are no illustrations which depict the life of people during the struggle. Most of these photos are the same, even though they are in different books.

As for the authors' scholarship background, Atieno Odhiambo is the only historian with a doctorate, as per date of publication (Wanyande has since earned a doctorate in Political Science). Odhiambo is a
renowned Kenyan historian who has published extensively on the colonial period in Kenya. The KIE textbook is co-authored by secondary school teachers, KIE staff, and Ministry of Education staff. On the other hand, the Singh and the Patel books are written by hired ghost writers. They are published under very suspicious circumstances, in that they do not list what the qualifications of the authors are, and the books written by these supposed authors range from history to sciences. Generally, this calls into question the overall level of research involved in producing these textbooks.

Textbooks and Myth Making

*Sote tulipigania Uhuru - We All Fought for Independence.*

The tone of how Kenya has remembered the effort to attain its freedom both in public and in the school curriculum (as reflected in the textbooks) is a product of the social and political environment in which Kenyans have gotten to accept the idiom that they all fought for independence. Kenyatta was the first to publicly state this belief which soon was to become one of the Kenyan social and political axioms. He was aware of the debate about who played what role during the struggle. In a 1964 speech to commemorate Kenyatta day (October 20th) - the date the British arrested him for alleged mau mau activities, he stated:

There has been murmurs here in Kenya about the part played by one set of people, or another set of people in the struggle for uhuru. There has
been talk of contribution made, or refused by this group or that...All this is unworthy of our future. (1968; p.241).

However, it was four years later when faced with increased political dissension by those who felt that the government was not doing enough to redress the wrongs of the lingering effects of the colonial economy, that he made the statement which has since become part of Kenyan social and political mantra. In a national address he stated:

I myself would like to see any freedom fighters (*mau mau* - italics mine) who claim that only they themselves - and not everybody in Kenya - brought uhuru...for we (were and ) are all freedom fighters. We all fought for uhuru, and it is only cowards who used to hide under beds while others were struggling who go about talking of "freedom fighters." (Kenyatta, 1968; p.343)

Hence, the belief that all Kenyans had a role to play in the attainment of independence was strengthened if not born. It is this viewpoint which is reflected in the written history and government textbooks, in the syllabus guideline, and is consequently taught to the students.

The official history and government textbooks, written by the KIE (1989 & 1994), set the tone in projecting this viewpoint in various ways. In the first place, they include for study various political associations which were formed in different parts of the country. These early associations were formed exclusively on ethnic basis and to address ethnic based needs and demand, as most Kenyan historians
attest to (Bogonko, 1980; Maloba, 1989; Odhiambo, 1981). However, the KIE textbooks make an effort to "detribalize" them by overlooking their ethnic composition, instead they emphasize their African nature. For instance, when discussing the formation of the Kikuyu Association, the authors write how the Africans who had helped the British to fight the Germans, led by Harry Thuku formed it. Instead of referring to the particular ethnic group which formed these associations and agitated for their own interests, the textbooks use the term "Africans" to refer to their membership and leadership. So in that mind set, the Young Kavirondo Association (YKA) was not demanding higher education for Nyanza province (Luos and Luhyas), but for "the Africans". On the Kikuyu Central Association, the KIE authors (1989 & 1994), write "...KCA mobilized people to agitate for land, labour, education and African representation in Legco (legislative council)" (p.149), and as to its actions in opposition to the banning of female circumcision in Kikuyuland, they write , "...the KCA started independent schools and churches where Africans could learn without the guidance of missionaries."(p.150). By not referring to their ethnic base and following, the KIE textbooks give an impression of a national outlook among these associations.

The textbooks correctly notes that the KAU remained a predominantly Kikuyu movement in Central province, but in keeping with the idea of inclusion, the authors state," Through his travels within the country, Kenyatta attracted many more members to the party." (p.173). There is no historical evidence of such success by Kenyatta or any of the officials of this association, Bogonko (1980)
notes that due to internal wangles, lack of time and other political problems, a real
mass movement did not take root in other parts of the country. Indeed, even
though the leadership was multi-ethnic, the following was predominantly Kikuyu.
The textbooks are however honest in noting the rift between KANU and KADU
and how the smaller ethnic groups were afraid of the domination by the larger
groups, in particular the Luo and the Kikuyu. Nevertheless, the authors still write
that, "Kenya's party politics were now on an ethnic basis and there were clashes
between communities and personalities" (1989; p. 177). Yet, the historical
evidence was that previous party politics was predominantly on ethnic basis, this
was not the first time. The two parties' national policies and plans for the future of
Kenya (source of the rift) are not discussed in much details, but mentioned briefly
in a few sentences in both books. In fact, there is more material devoted to the
activities of KAU (three and half pages) than to both KANU and KADU (two and
half pages) in the revised 1994 KIE textbook.

The KIE textbooks also present the effort to attain independence as a
national effort by noting how different ethnic political associations interacted in
their effort to agitate against the colonial government. Hence, Thuku (the
chairman of East African Association and a Kikuyu), with the help of Kenyan
Indians traveled as far as Kisumu (Luoland) where "he addressed large meetings".
Likewise, the KCA gave considerable help to the Ukamba Members Association
and the Taita Hill Association. Once again the impression is how Africans were
united in their efforts to overthrow colonialism. Likewise, Singh (1993)
editorializes in his introduction to the discussion of the early political association by stating:

As you will see, the organizations all had a lot in common, whatever their ethnic base. They were united in demanding better conditions for Africans together with the removal of certain discriminatory legislation. (p.93)

Like the KIE textbook (1995) and Patel (?), he then progresses to write about effort to attain independence as a united African front, as Kenyans, against British colonialism.

Of the four supplementary textbooks, Odhiambo and Wanyande (1989), is the most historically honest in portraying the history of the effort to attain Kenyan independence. They point out that the early political associations addressed the concern of their ethnic people, and that they were inevitably local and tribal. Hence, they point out that the YKA was founded by educated Luos from Maseno and the KCA as being centered among the Agikuyu. They do not use the euphemism of "people" and "Africans" to mean specific ethnic groups as the other four books do. They also discuss the differences which split KANU and KADU a little bit more than the other three books. Their textbook has a lot more anecdotes from this period unlike the other three textbooks, but like them it is bereft of detailed discussion about the issues and differences which drove these associations. They also do not deviate from presenting this history in a chronological order following the guideline of the syllabus. In effect it is the story of the effort of
different associations to fight colonialism.

**Jomo Kenyatta in the Textbooks**

There is no individual to whom the textbooks devote as much to as they do Kenyatta. This is by design, since he was the first president of Kenya and also because of his anti colonial activities which were directed toward the attainment of African self government.

The Jomo Kenyatta story is one of rags to power. It is the story of a poor Kikuyu boy from an unstable family background, and who through hard work and perseverence of hardships, beat the odds to become president. Many students can identify with his early years as a student who was not particularly distinguished in his school work. However, he was able to contribute to the various callings in his life because he was persistent and was educated. Indeed, the opportunity to represent the grievances of his people came about because of his education and the consequent command of the English language.

Kenyatta's personal history is that of a quintessential African, like most students, living in two worlds and cultures - the western and the traditional African. He underwent a Kikuyu circumcision ritual - for adult initiation, confirming his African culture. Yet, a year later he was baptized as a Christian, without renouncing his Kikuyu identity.

Politically it is the history of the maturation of an individual, from apathy
and indifference, to Kikuyu nationalism, to a Kenyan nationalist, and into a Pan-Africanist, agitating for the whole of Africa. However, it is his role as the Kenyan nationalist - someone agitating for the sovereignty of Kenyan Africans which is most highlighted. Kenyatta is shown as someone whose actions were calculated in aiding all Kenyans whether it was on his KCA sponsored trips abroad or the writing of his book *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938). He is portrayed as a peacemaker, a unifying influence on different ethnicities and one who was against ethnocentric individuals. For instance, in reference to the feud between the moderates and the militants in KAU’s Nairobi branch, as to what tactics to use in the effort to attain independence, the KIE authors (1994) write, "Kenyatta, however, frustrated the plans of the radicals by insisting that KAU must not be turned into a Kikuyu union." (p.142). Not only do the KIE authors simplify the issue, but they omit the fact the radicals won this internal battle, and moderates like Kenyatta lost the immediate debate. Likewise, the biography is presented as the voice of moderation and personification of a level headed person. He rejected violence and opted for a constitutional approach to freedom, roundly condemning mau mau at will when called upon by the colonial government. Odhiambo and Wanyande (1989) quote him as saying that, "KAU speaks in daylight. He who calls us Mau Mau is not truthful. We do not know this thing Mau Mau". (p.93)

Additionally, Kenyatta was willing to suffer for his people after being falsely accused of being a mau mau. He accepted his punishment without complaint. He was willing to take the blame for others. Yet, more important upon
being released and becoming president he had the vision and the heart to preach reconciliation, calling on Africans to forgive and forget. Long before president Nelson Mandela preached reconciliation between Africans and whites in South Africa, Kenyatta had perfected this sermon.

The textbooks presentation of this historical biography is also characterized by hyperboles and over-statements. On Kenyatta's role in the KAU, the KIE authors write that his, "...greatest achievement was to teach the people to be united as Kenya people...People now began to see themselves as "Kenyans" and not as members of individuals ethnic groups. The ethnic community was no longer the highest political unit." (p.174) These are probably the most ambitious statements by any of the books. However, the other books are just as guilty of such editorials. Odhiambo and Wanyande (1989) state that while in Britain, Kenyatta"...wrote the most important book ever written by a Gikuyu: Facing mount Kenya." (p.92), and also that as an individual he carried himself with dignity and enjoyed the good life until his death; what constituted "good life" is not expounded on. Singh (1993) for his part states that Kenyatta could have died during his imprisonment but for the fact that he had such a "strong natural constitution".

The history of Kenyatta is also written uncritically. There is very little mention of his articulated political beliefs. Instead, it is an account of what happened to him and in his life. In a telling statement of the uncritical nature of the biography, the KIE authors state that "...Kenya became a Republic with Mzee
Kenyatta as the first President." The term mzee is a Kiswahili word generally used in reference to the elders, particularly the respected. Hence it is a term of respect and endearment.

Mau Mau in the Textbooks

The first government sponsored KIE textbook (1989) completely omits mau mau as a subtopic or its mention, the closest to acknowledging it is the mention of an outbreak of violence which halted political progress. The idea of progress in this case being positive development as opposed to the violence which was regressive. The second edition, 1994, devotes to mau mau one and a half pages. According to this revised KIE textbook, it was composed of ex-servicemen and KAU extremist nationalists, and it does refer to them as freedom fighters. Their aim was to demand reforms. What the reforms are is not discussed. Also not mentioned are the villagers and squatters whose participation was integral in the uprising as borne out by research (Kanogo, 1987; Furedi, 1989; Throup, 1988). The exclusive Kikuyu composition of mau mau is not mentioned, the former are mentioned only in reference to the fact that after the declaration of state of emergency, because of the mau mau uprising, they were arrested en masse. Finally, the consequences of the uprising are discussed in one paragraph.

The other textbooks, other than Patel, do include the mau mau. However their discussion of the uprising mirrors that of the KIE. Significantly conspicuous
is the lack of discussion as to what their grievances were. Also, it is portrayed as a freedom movement, and no mention is made of its ethnic Kikuyu composition. In fact Singh (1993) states that it found support in other parts of the country, a historically inaccurate statement.

Summary

The KIE has played a major role in the search for curriculum relevance, it has been responsible for formulating a history and government syllabus which is supposed to meets the 8-4-4 educational goals set forth by the Kenyan government. To meet this task it has solicited the help of teachers, other educators and certain members of the public, like the clergy. Additionally, the Inspectorate and the Examination Council have been part of this process. The major change in the history portion of the syllabus has been the emphasis of Kenyan history. This is a departure from the wide coverage of regional African histories. As a result topics like the struggle for Kenya's independence have found more focused coverage. And just as important, the KIE has included this topic in an effort to address the concern of raising national consciousness among the students. Nevertheless, there are topics within the unit covering the struggle, which the KIE remains sensitive about including, due to political sensitivity.

The efforts of the KIE have had a mixed reaction from the teachers. On the one hand they are appreciative of the change in syllabus focus which
emphasizes Kenyan history, but on the other hand they are very critical of the syllabus formulation process. They feel that they are overlooked, and that their opinions are not sought when the syllabus is being constructed or revised.

As part of this search for relevance, the textbooks in many ways mirror each other and have followed the format of the syllabus guideline in their arrangements of topics. They are influenced by the socio-political environment in which they have been written. Finally, whereas the KIE textbook is the recommended text, teachers also use other commercial textbooks to supplement their lecture notes.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE STRUGGLE AND THE HISTORY & GOVERNMENT SYLLABUS: 
TEACHERS AND STUDENTS VANTAGE

Introduction

The post colonial search for relevance in the formulation of the overall curriculum, in Kenyan education, has been the predominant domain of curriculum experts at the KIE and the various representatives of the government. Teachers have been included at rudimentary stages of the process, for the most part. Yet, it is these teachers who have to translate the new recommendations and syllabus changes into practice. Moreover, unlike the previous pre-8-4-4 history syllabus, the current history and government syllabus does not provide suggestions or guidelines as to how these objectives should be met through practice. Furthermore, under the 8-4-4 system the major objective of teacher practice is supposed to be relating history (in this case) to the students lives, so that they can identify with the field of study. Hence, teacher inclusion provides a chance to analyze the role that they play in the adaptation of the KIE syllabus recommendations.

Likewise, the major aim of including students in this study is to examine what predisposition they have before they are taught the unit on the struggle, and
their experiences after they are taught the unit. First, this is important in
determining the students' sense of what relevance means to them. Their inclusion
also provides an opportunity to assess how their concerns about the unit on the
struggle as part of the wider history and government syllabus, compares to those in
the higher educational power structure - the syllabus designers and the teachers.
Indeed, are their concerns being addressed? After all, the search for relevance in
Kenyan education, in all areas of the curriculum, has always been taken under the
banner of "concern for our children's well being". Yet to date there has been no
evaluative research on the curriculum which includes students' voices and
opinions. However, as this study attests to, when the students are provided the
opportunity to air their views, they are able to analyze and evaluate teacher
practice, the work of the curriculum designers in terms of the syllabus, and their
roles as participants in the learning environment.

Translating the Syllabus Guidelines into Practice: Determinants of Teacher
Practice

Based on the findings of this study, teachers' practice are influenced by
their perceptions of the significance of Kenyan history and its various components
like the struggle for independence, how they see their roles as teachers, their
expectations of students' achievement, among factors. Hence, by including
teachers and examining their views and practices, this study proceeds beyond the
assumption that there is a shared tacit understanding of the meaning of relevance in
the history syllabus between teachers and the curriculum developers.

Perceptions on the Relevance of Studying Kenyan History

First, teachers view Kenyan history as performing a basic social function
of informing the students about their past. The latter should know this history to
expand their knowledge base of what took place in their past as a people. There is
strong sentiment, among them, that students ought to know both their different
ethnic origins, and also their Kenyan origin. It is important for the students to be
aware that there does exist a history which reflects the various experiences of the
Kenyan ethnic groups as separate entities and as a collective body. Indeed, the
teachers point out that it is to this end, the emphasis of the country’s history, that
the 8-4-4 history syllabus was introduced in 1985.

As part of the general history, Kenyan history encourages and promotes
critical thinking. It sets a critical intellectual process in motion which leads to self
motivation to look at other options in a question or a situation. It enables further
inquisition beyond the given answer. Teachers hope to have the students look at
the possibilities of "what ifs" in their thinking about historical issues.

The teachers want the students to see the relationship and continuum of
historical time, that is, the relationship between the Kenyan past, the present, and
the future. They are convinced that the learning of history not only informs, but
also influences how students see their present world. Hence, the latter can not for instance appreciate present Kenyan socio-political environment without understanding Kenya's past colonial legacy and its impact on modern economy and politics. To the teachers, it is of paramount importance to learn about such historical past and events because they currently impact on students lives.

Both the students and teachers do share some similar views about why it is important to study Kenyan history. Teachers believe that as a result of its study students will be able to appreciate their role in determining how Kenya's future ought to be, especially in the economic and social environment. Therefore, this means that the future of the country is partly determined by how well students understand and perceive their role in how this future should come about. First of all, future roles should be directed toward the social betterment of the country by steering clear of such pitfalls as ethnic divisions. The future Kenyan society must be a non-confrontational one, where there is co-existence of the various ethnic groups. Such a future is imperative in light of the 1992 ethnic clashes which led to social upheavals and general misery among many of the Kenyan ethnic communities. Thus, the learning of Kenyan history ought to promote a sense of positive activism among students to create a tolerant future social environment for all Kenyans.

Additionally, they both expect the learning of Kenyan history to provide the knowledge to participate in political and civics activities. To the teachers, the study of Kenyan history engenders a sense of civic responsibility among students.
They are made to realize that they have a role to play in the continuing and evolving social and political history of the country as citizens of Kenya. Thus, at this early age the students should acquire information and skills which they will use in the future as responsible citizens. The students' views mirror that of the teachers since they also believe that by learning the past they are able to analyze the previous mistakes, and from that build a just society which has all Kenyans interest at heart. Their role in the current historical time and place is to be prepared for future roles in the country. According to Omondi, a student, in a statement whose sentiment is echoed by most of the other students, "We are supposed to learn Kenyan history because we will be the leaders of tomorrow, and if we don't learn our country's history how will we therefore run it or rule it wisely..." Therefore, Kenyan history is seen as a crucial and an integral educational contributor to the cultivation of such a sense of responsibility.

Learning Kenyan history does not just address issues of cognitive concerns - acquisition of information, comprehension, and assessment of the past - instead, it also engenders affective constructs among students. By examining the questions of Kenyan people's origin and how the country has evolved, students develop a sense of self and collective pride. Indeed, both the teachers and students consider the fact that there is a written Kenyan history as a source of pride, because it contradicts the colonial European notion that Africans had no history before the arrival of Europeans to Africa.

Both the teachers and the students believe that the learning of Kenyan
history promotes a sense of national identity, it cultivates patriotism and nationalism among students. It enables students to examine and comprehend the efforts and sacrifices that people from different ethnicities made, in their different and collective experiences, which subsequently led to the birth of Kenya. And even though there might have been qualitative differences, many of these historical experiences were similar among the various ethnicities, for instance, the introduction of Christianity and western education, their conquest by the British, and their effort to organize against British colonialism. The study of Kenyan history promotes this sense of national identity by de-emphasizing tribal affiliation while projecting a historical national image. This is of importance since many of the students grow up in mono-ethnic locations, and a study of a collective Kenyan past would help them in seeing the commonalities they have as a people from the same country.

The students expect to be more introspective and to be aware of themselves as individuals and as Kenyans, by studying Kenyan history. This is because they expect Kenyan history to address historical questions of who they are, their origins, and what the future might hold based on the past. Hence, the study of Kenyan history should lead to interpersonal growth. Likewise, it also enables the students to appreciate the interconnectedness of human heritage, according to Misumi, a student, "...to have a general knowledge of not only our culture, but other people's culture too", or "...it helps us realize that human beings are interdependent and any action for people in one part of the world influences..."
the rest" (Odindo), and finally"...so that we can have knowledge about our worldwide human experience" (Anna). So the study of Kenyan history leads to a deeper appreciation of the linkage of human experience.

To the students, the study of Kenyan history provides the necessary information from which they can draw past experiences to prepare themselves as protectors of the hard won Kenyan independence. Indeed, the primary reason for learning about Kenyan history is to learn about the struggle for Kenyan independence. Therefore, failing to guard Kenya's freedom after being taught about this era in Kenyan history would be a let down to the past Kenyans who laid the groundwork for the students freedom.

The students look to Kenyan history to provide them with mental coping mechanisms, and means of preserving the African past achievements and way of life, against western influence. There is a popular notion that the western influence is corrupting and it undermines the African way of life, hence one of the ways to counter such a phenomenon is by learning about the Kenyan African past. There is a paradox which the students, particularly the ones in city, face because on the one hand they ape western popular culture like music, fashions, grooming etc., and on the other hand there is a desire to preserve the African way of life by learning about the past and using this knowledge as a buttress against western influence. In particular, the students look forward to learning about the African resistance to European colonialism as a good example of how to draw lessons to fight against western infringement.
Finally, the teachers strongly believe that history is better approached by first studying one's own and by acquiring the pertinent analytical skills applicable to familiar phenomena. So, Kenyan history should be the foundation of historical study of other histories like European, American etc., because as Kenyans, the students are in a better position to understand more about themselves and to relate events to their immediate environment. Additionally, they would be able to widen their mental outlook and relate the happenings in other societies to the Kenyan situation. The study of history should be an approach from the familiar to the unfamiliar. Consequently, without such a historical background and skills one cannot analyze current events like the civil wars in Africa or in Europe (as in Bosnia), and come up with varied perspectives about such events. In this sense history is enabling -it provides a means for comprehension of past and current events which is important in the mental development of the students. To the teachers no other subject accomplishes the task of understanding current events as well as history does. The study of history in the secondary school would be incomplete without that of Kenya.

Perceptions on the Relevance of Studying the Struggle for Independence

The curriculum developers included the unit on the struggle for Kenyan independence, for reasons already discussed, as part of the effort to address the issue of what is relevant to include in the history syllabus. Additionally, the
teachers' perception of its significance and place in the history syllabus, plays a role in their practice. Likewise, the inclusion of students views provides an opportunity to examine whether they share the similar reasons with the teachers, and what the relevance of the study of this unit means to them.

First of all, there is a very narrow line between the reasons why the teachers consider the study of Kenyan history as important, compared to the study of the struggle for Kenyan independence. Whereas there is a belief between both students and teachers that the study of the general Kenyan history promotes nationalism, they consider the unit on the struggle as the most crucial topic in this endeavor because it examines the development of nationalism as one of its objective. Thus, its study is a potential means of reaching political and social unity based on a shared collective past experience. The significant lesson to be derived from the unit is that the struggle was not the domain of only a few groups like the Kikuyu or the Luo, but a collective participation of all the ethnic groups which currently make up Kenya. In the words of teachers, "... each group had a role they played in the struggle" (Kariuki), and, "As you know the struggle was not by one ethnic, only the Kikuyus, others took part like the Luos, Taitas, etc.. It brought Africans together" (Wairimu). Yet another teacher, Nyambati, refers to Kenyatta's (1968) book, Suffering Without Bitterness to underline the view that freedom could not be brought by a single group. Therefore, students should be aware that all Kenyans participated in this struggle, albeit there are qualitative differences in how the various ethnic groups participated. It enables the students to overcome
tribal strife and differences, since it provides a blue print and an example of what can be done and achieved in instances of multi ethnic unity. The lack of such knowledge would mean one less way of countering the issue of tribalism. At the same time it shows that there is always a price to pay for such acts, hence Kenyans should be prepared to do so. The teachers, students, and curriculum developers all share the viewpoint that the study of the struggle is necessary because it promotes a sense of nationalism.

Most of the teachers believe that the struggle has been included in the syllabus because it highlights better than any other topic, the past hardships that Africans had to undergo under colonialism. It is not only a lesson in African patience and perseverance, but it is the history of Africans using peaceful and violent means so that they may have the opportunity to determine their own destiny. Hence, it is important for students to realize that the path toward self rule was a process which took time to be accomplished. Hopefully, the students will appreciate this quest for freedom as part of their political and social heritage, and they will guard and pass on the memory of their elders' hardships. Also, the teachers believe the study of the struggle for independence, more than any other topic in Kenyan history, provides stronger reasons for students to respect the country's political independence. It is an antidote against taking this freedom for granted.

The struggle is the most important part of the history of Kenya because it led to the birth of the country, in addition to highlighting African hardships as
outlined above. The study of this period allows students to examine the birth and evolution in Kenya of a nationally oriented political culture, which predates the post colonial era.

One of the major concerns expressed by both the teachers and the students is the need to safeguard the political and economic gains which the country has won. There is a fear that there are some people from within, who would turn to retrogressive actions, and consequently conspire against the country. The study of the struggle cultivates an appreciation which promotes the necessary preemptive vigilance against such treachery which would turn back the clock, and lead to further oppression of Kenyan people. Furthermore, learning about the struggle shows the young people that there are multiple approaches to deal with political problems, particularly in light of the political repression and dictatorships in Africa. According to Wairimu, "The study of the struggle is relevant because it is another approach to deal with problems, especially now that neocolonialism is present and dictatorships are common in Africa, how do we fight and guard against these?" It shows that during oppression people can fight and offer resistance to regain their freedom. It is another way of arriving at a solution granted it could be violent, long, and drawn out. Such an endeavor, as both the teachers and students point out, requires self-sacrifice which plays an integral part in any political struggle.

The freedom fighters were not only driven but they also had objectives, they knew what they wanted to achieve. Teachers and students believe that studying and knowing these objectives would be to the best interest of the
country. The freedom fighters had laid the foundation of what the country was to be like; hence, whatever changes and progress is to be made should be carried out with what was originally intended for Kenya in mind. The struggle also provides a basis for comparison between the past experience of the country and the present status. Kenyans can ask how social and economic conditions have since changed in the country. Students can evaluate where the country has been, as they are prepared to take over the leadership of the country.

Whereas the students have some idealist expectations of why they are required to learn about the struggle for Kenyan independence, they also have a less idealist view as to why the need to study the unit. Indeed the overwhelming reason among them for the inclusion of the unit is so that they may be provided with information about this historical phenomenon. It is an opportunity to be familiar with this past history in terms of who was involved, why they were involved, what events were associated with the struggle, and how the struggle evolved over time. They are primarily interested in acquiring information so that they may be aware of what Kenya went through during this period, any concerns about analyzing the information or applying it to current events seems secondary. This type of contradiction characterizes many of the students opinions. On one hand they sound very idealist, and on the other hand they are resigned to accepting less loftier goals and are less ambitious.
Teachers Characterization of Nationalism and Nationalist

At the heart of the study of the struggle for Kenyan independence is the objective of tracing the origins and development of nationalism. The three groups of teachers, students, and curriculum developers all state that the significance of learning about the unit is that its promotion of a sense of nationalism among students. Yet, what is the teachers understanding of the term? Additionally, the objectives on the struggle intends for learners to able to explain the various nationalist movements and their impact. Consequently, the teachers should be able to express and define in their practice the meaning of construct of nationalist, in terms of groups or individuals.

Teachers definition of nationalism have certain common characteristics among them. Nationalism is defined as an affective entity characterized by a feeling of togetherness which has its roots in some shared creed amongst a people. It is an emotion which unites a group of people who have a covenant or an understanding among themselves. The phrases that the teachers use to describe nationalism include: sense of pride, love of country, a feeling of togetherness, and sense of belonging and commitment. There is almost a spiritual quality to the idea of nationalism according to the teachers. On the other hand, there is a an insidious aspect of nationalism which is characterized by excessive love for one's country at the expense of others. In such cases, nationalism leads to the vilification of other countries because an individual feels that his or her country is better than others.
based on purely subjective reasons. Thus, nationalism can be constructive and destructive.

The construct of nationalism and its various ways of expressions is related to or tied to a well defined geographical space. In the modern era, the geographical space is the defined political boundary which makes up the country. Hence, Kenyan nationalism should be about the feelings of pride or love for country as a whole and should not be about peoples attachment to their various ethnic groups. This is the difference between nationalism and tribalism. The latter is about one's attachment to their ethnic affiliation at the expense of the country.

Nationalism also has an active quality, it is driven and there is a purpose to it, it is not merely the aimless sense of pride people have in their country. In Kenya the early stage of nationalism had as its purpose the overthrow of the colonial system. Hence, it took on the form of peaceful agitation, but at times nationalism took on the specter of violence. These Africans felt strongly about their new identity as Kenyans and directed their energies toward finding a solution to their colonial problem, a quest for freedom on their own terms. Currently, nationalism should be an effort aimed at building the country. Hence, it is a continuous process aimed at improving the country's economic and social environments, undertaken with an understanding of the various ethnicities. According to the teachers, there was a stronger sense of nationalism before independence; in the post independent Kenya, the country has not had such a directed, unifying goal. Likewise, they do not think that the students are
particularly concerned about expression of nationalism or patriotism, for instance, during flag raising ceremonies or other activities which require the honoring of the country's national symbols. To the teachers this apathy is symptomatic of the whole society's attitude toward the expressions of patriotism. They point to most of the landmarks which defined the struggle, for example, the detention centers and houses, which have since deteriorated without much attention paid to them, as examples of apathy. Additionally, according to the teachers, there are economic factors which are outside factors which are beyond individual's control, and which help shape the sense of nationalism. That is because the students and many other Kenyans are more concerned with how to survive and how to make a living than with the expression of patriotism. These are more pressing needs. Historical appreciation which might lead to a sense of nationalism is not part of the economically struggling Kenyans, it is a luxury for rich countries like the United States to indulge in.

Teachers definitions of the construct - nationalist, are derived from their views of what nationalism is. They consider nationalists to be affective people who are proud of and love their countries. However, simply living in the country is not enough for people to be considered as nationalists. Instead, these are activists who commit their lives to achieving political rights. They are ready to sacrifice their lives in their endeavor to achieve these rights. They are involved in economic and social construction of the country for the betterment of all the citizens of the country. They do not look at issues from their ethnic or religious
view but from a countrywide basis. One can not be considered a nationalist if they are partially committed to these causes.

Participants in the struggle.

As previously alluded to, teachers believe that each ethnic group had a role to play in the struggle against colonialism and in the achievement of independence. Therefore, there is no point in sidelining the topic because a group would feel left out. The struggle was not by one ethnic group, i.e only the Kikuyus, there are others who took part like the Luos, the Taitas etc.. Many of the teachers feel that there has been a false perception that only the Kikuyus were the ones involved in the struggle. Hence, teaching about the topic should lead to the debunking of such falsehoods. As an example of how he believes the struggle was integrated, Kariuki notes that there were people like Achieng' Oneko (a Luo) whom he heard Kikuyu women sing about, during his childhood. Along with most of the teachers, he believes that the struggle brought Africans together through collective participation. In that sense, it was a Kenyan movement, inclusive of all ethnicities fighting for the same cause. However, this does not overlook the fact that some people played more of a role than others, whether they were involved in organizing political parties or in violent protests.

The common feature about the examples of the people that teachers consider to be nationalists, is that they are all from the political arena. Just as
striking is that they are all associated with the colonial era, and most of them are deceased. The most recurring names of people who teachers consider to be nationalists are: Kenyatta, Ngala, Mboya, Odinga. Kenyatta was the first leader of independent Kenya. He was prime minister from December 1963 to June 1964 when he became the first president of the Republic of Kenya; he ruled until August 1978 when he died in office. Odinga is one of the founders of Kenya African Union - the first attempt at a national political association. After independence, he broke away from the government to form an opposition party (Kenya Peoples Union) in 1966, it was subsequently banned in 1969. He spent most of his post independent political life in opposition to the government. He died in 1994. Mboya was the preeminent trade unionist in post independent Kenya, he was intimately involved in the political struggle for Kenyan independence. He is attributed by most Kenyan historian for organizing what then became the post independent union movement. His assassination in 1969 marked a low point in the ethnic distrust between the Luo and the Kikuyu. That is because the Luo believed that the Kikuyu were involved in his death due to his potential political threat as a successor to Kenyatta - a Kikuyu. Ngala was the leader of the opposition party KADU, which was a conglomeration of small ethnic groups. He died in a mysterious road accident in 1972. These were the people who teachers consider as embodying the qualities, already identified by teachers, which nationalists are supposed to have.

However, there are those individuals who most teachers feel are
overlooked, in particular those who were considered radicals. The two most overlooked recurring names are Bildad Kaggia and Dedan Kimathi. Kaggia was born at Dagoretti in 1922, and was educated at Kahuhia. He joined the army and served in North Africa and Britain from 1942 to 1945. After the war he became active in trade unionism and politics. In 1951, he became the Nairobi KAU branch secretary, after the militant wing he was associated with, took control of the party. He played a crucial role in fomenting and providing urban support for the mau mau uprising, and along with six others, he was arrested, tried, and imprisoned for mau mau activities.

Kaggia joined KANU upon being released in 1961, ran and won a parliamentary seat, and was appointed Assistant Minister when Kenya achieved independence. He became increasingly vocal after independence, calling for land for the landless. In June 1964, he resigned from his post in protest of what he saw as the government's inactivity in addressing these concerns. He, consequently, joined the opposition party of Kenya Peoples Union, and lost his parliamentary seat. He left the KPU in 1969 and rejoined KANU but never regained his seat. Since the 1970s, he has eschewed politics preferring a religious, non-political life.

Even though he hails from the same province, Kimathi was born in Tetu Division of Nyeri in 1920. He had elementary school education and briefly joined the Kings Africans Rifle, among the other sundry employments he had. By late 1940s he committed himself to KAU activities, and subsequently became the Nyahururu branch secretary. Like many other poor Kikuyu, he joined the effort to
organize an insurgency to regain lost land and to drive the British out of Kenya. He became leader of the mau mau in the Aberdare forest, due to his intelligence and eloquence. Furthermore, he tried to better organize the resistance effort through the formation of the Kenya Defense Council and the Kenya Parliament. Kimathi came under increasing pressure from the colonial state force, since he was considered the most important resistance leader, also at the same time he was at odds with other guerilla leaders. He was wounded by the colonial security forces in October 1956, put on trial, and sentenced to death under the emergency regulations. He was hanged in February 1957. He has remained an enigmatic figure in Kenyan history, considered by some as a hero of the struggle and by others as the leader of a sectional revolt who could not work with other people.

Nevertheless, in spite of the controversy which might surround these two Kenyans, to the teachers, they deserve to be considered as part of the nationalist history. Also, teachers have a concern that by disregarding them, there might be misdirected accolades to the wrong people who may not have played as a major a role as the syllabus claims they did.

What being a History Teacher Means to Teachers

Teacher perceptions of what their roles are in the classroom as practitioners play a major role in their effort to translate the syllabus guidelines into relevant practice, by relating the history material to the students lives. Most of
them consider themselves as decoders of intricate historical information. Part of their role is to make understandable to the students complex historical concepts and constructs. Hence, being a history teacher means being an interpreter of historical events, some one who analyzes and interprets events and then draws conclusions for students. In that sense, the teacher is the initiator of learning in the classroom, whether it is through lectures or examinations. He or she is the subject and plays the central role when it comes to interacting with the materials to be learned. The role that the teachers assume as decoders means also that they are the most conversant person with the material, in fact as some of the teachers noted that it would be an embarrassment if a student was to raise a question that they were not familiar with, or if a student seemed to know more about a topic than the teacher.

Being a history teacher also means being someone who can pass on knowledge to students, in essence some one who can "deposit" historical information. The teachers see their role as being able to impart historical knowledge to students and consequently relating the material to present situations, on their behalf. Indeed, effective practice is based on how well a teacher can deliver such material. The teachers bear the bulk of the responsibility for students' learning through their effort to make the latter understand what is being taught. This is partly achieved by pointing out to the students historical events in the past which would enable them to expand their knowledge base. They are not overly concerned with students opinions or changing students minds, leave alone
determining what historical background the students might be bringing into the learning environment. Such an exercise in information delivery mandates a controlled learning environment in which the teacher plays the central role, and students absorb as much of this information as they can. An effective history teacher therefore has to be in control of the learning environment. The way teachers view their role is based partly how they are trained and also on their experiences as students.

On the other hand, many of the same teachers see their role as facilitator whose work is to lay the groundwork for critical thinking. This is a contradictory position to the one where they see themselves as "imparters" of knowledge. In this instance, they see their role as grooming students to be independent thinkers. As Nyange states, it means that the teacher should be an eloquent, persuasive person who can present different ways of viewing historical phenomena. Teachers are there as the catalyst for critical thinking, inspiring students to achieve analytical capabilities, encouraging students to their own way of thinking. Through analysis and evaluation of the presented historical material the students should be able to find a means of arriving at their own conclusion. Therefore, the teacher has to realize that his or her opinion is but one way of seeing things; furthermore, he or she can not be dictatorial in her practice, she has to allow other points of view. This perception of what the teacher's role should be in class implies an interactive learning environment between students and teacher, and among students, unlike the previous one where the teacher was the "informer" of events. Nevertheless, to
the teachers both roles are directed toward achieving student comprehension, and
critical thinking, regardless of paradoxical nature of their approaches.

Finally, the teachers see themselves as responsible for socializing the youth,
by preparing them to become adult. Teachers believe that the learning of Kenyan
history and the struggle for independence are necessary in preparing the youth to
function in the future, in the larger society. The teacher makes ready or shapes up
the unprepared youth for future role. In this sense, the students are like
apprentices who are expected to acquire and perform certain mental activities.
Since the teachers have been trained and they specialize in history, they in turn
train students on how to think, and to perform higher level cognitive skills. They
point out what is important and is worth knowing. Likewise, they make the
determination of how much to stress within a topic, in any given area of the
syllabus. Hence, learning history is an exercise in intellectual apprentice in which
the students are to benefit from in the future, when they are adults.

**Teachers' Expectations of Students**

It is important to note that the students who study history in form three
have chosen it as one of the elective humanities subjects they will be tested in
during the national examination. Hence, they are mentally prepared to face the
task of learning history. Yet, what the teachers think about their students
predisposition toward history as a part of the school curriculum, plus the teachers
assumptions of what learning skills students bring into the classroom, are other related factors which influence their effort to address the issue of relevance in their practice.

To the teachers, the students lack self-motivation in finding relevance in the topic of the struggle. They are frustrated that they can not impress on the students the significance of learning about this era so that they may appreciate its study. Students seem not to value or to care for these topics, and do not perceive the relationship or connection between what this history is telling them and their current lives. The students are not enthused about studying the colonial history, of which the struggle is a part. As Baraza notes, "It is a boring topic to the students - they will prefer to sleep than to listen to the tales of how people formed organization and so on". Furthermore, the topics are seen as "primitive". In another sense the students see themselves as sophisticates, living in a modern era. They do not want to be associated with this history. They seem to be ashamed of it, it is as if it degrades their lives. For instance, according to Wairimu, students consider it a burden when they are assigned homework to gather background information from their parents and other older people. On the contrary, there are other areas, particularly political development, that students are alert and seem to see as relevant.

The teachers also believe that there is a dichotomy of students background which impacts on how they view the struggle for independence and its current influence on the socio-political environment. On the one hand, there are the city
students who intermingle in multiethnic environment. They take for granted their ethnic backgrounds, are passive and seemingly oblivious about their ethnic differences. What is important to the city students is their immediate environment, they do not show any evidence of concern about relevance and multi-ethnicity. The study of the struggle and the coming together of different ethnicities to fight against British colonialism seem to have little bearing on their lives. They do not see their multiethnic intermingling as having been influenced by the fight for independence. On the other hand, there are the rural school students whose experience in a multiethnic environment is limited. They interact socially, predominantly among people of their own ethnicities. They acquire the book knowledge geared toward promoting national unity but they do not have an opportunity to see its translation into a practical exercise of inter-ethnic interaction. Consequently, the teachers believe that the relevance of the unit in terms of ethnic unity geared to fight for a common goal, is either taken for granted by the city students in their multiethnic interactions, or lacks the proper social environment to be realized in the rural mono-ethnic environments.

The driving force in students learning which supersedes all other concerns is the goal to pass national exams. Teachers believe students would not notice the difference if the struggle was omitted. Students have arrived at the conclusion that passing tests is what matters and not what they are covering. Indeed, why should they think critically and see the relevance in studying the struggle for independence? Hence, they attend extra sessions of school on the unit about the
struggle, just like they attend tutoring on the other units, not because they care
about the topic, but so that they may do well in their exams.

**Teacher Practice:**

**Relating The Struggle for Independence to Students Lives**

Teacher practice involves the preparation for the lesson, the class session,
and the evaluation of the students. Most of the teachers prepare their lessons in
the staff or faculty rooms. These faculty rooms are open spaces where the
teachers share common tables. In most of the city schools teachers have assigned
table space, as opposed to the rural areas where there is no such space for
teachers. These rooms accommodate all the teachers of the various discipline.
Indeed, it is very rare to find a staff room for a specific discipline. In the rural
schools it is not uncommon to find old dilapidated furniture - chairs without
cushions or broken tables. In most schools there are no resources like typewriters
or copier machines for teachers. What is there in terms of such supportive
resources, in the school, the secretary is in charge of. Some of the teachers who
live in the school compound in the rural areas opt to work in the comfort of their
houses.

There is a constant teacher traffic every forty minutes as they change
classes. Also since the rooms cater to all the teachers, it is common to have
teachers in the rooms at all times of the school day. Class preparation then has to
be done within this public environment, sometimes characterized by teacher talk and interruptions from the school office.

Mr. Baraza's practice: An analysis of a lesson

Mr. Baraza is a history teacher at Kasarani secondary school which is located in one of the out-lying middle class suburbs of Nairobi. It was one of the first coed government (public) schools in the country, and also one of the few remaining biracial school, having African and Asian students. The students who attend this school are from a varied background from lower working class groups to upper middle class. Mr. Baraza is one of the few male teachers on the faculty, and he has been teaching history here for the past five years. He is a graduate of the Kenyatta University teacher education program, graduating before the introduction of the 8-4-4 system.

Mr. Baraza's preparation for the day's lesson on the pre-independence constitutional changes, takes place in the faculty room. The faculty room is actually made of two rooms, an outer expanse room which has a large table with chairs surrounding it, and a smaller room to its east side. The outer room is used mainly for tea breaks and general gatherings among teachers. The inner room has tables and chairs lined against the walls, forming a rough square with space in the middle. Not all the teachers have their desks or planning space in this room. There are textbooks and student tests papers on Mr. Baraza's desk. On the wall
facing the chair there is a pin up of class schedule, together with sheets of papers with notes and scribbling on it, which seems like reminders. There is a working phone in this room which is a rarity in most school faculty rooms. There is no photocopier or typewriter.

Mr. Baraza uses the textbooks on his desk - the KIE (1989) textbook, Wanyande and Odhiambo (1989), to prepare for the day's lesson. He also has available old notes from previous lessons, which he uses for reference in writing class notes. He does not use library resources or other articles from newspapers or magazines. He does not have a copy of the syllabus guideline and subsequently does not refer to it during his lesson preparation. The bell rings to denote the change of class just as Mr. Baraza completes the lesson plan.

Mr. Baraza's class is made up of sixteen African students, nine females and seven males. There are no bulletin boards in the classroom, or any visual materials like pictures on the wall. The students are seated in rows, although scattered all over the classroom. Mr. Baraza starts the day's lesson by reviewing the previous day's. While he introduces the topic which is part of topic on constitutional developments in pre-independence Kenya, the whole class is quiet but for his clear voice which dominates the room. He writes the topic on the board and then starts talking about the day's lesson. Soon a pattern emerges characterized by teacher talk, pauses for short teacher questions and the subsequent students' responses. The teacher questions are mostly lower cognitive level types which the students respond to in one word or a few phrases.
Teacher: Who can remember what happened in 1923?

Teacher: What were the EDC's?

Teacher: Who was the first African to be elected to the legislative council?

Another striking attribute of the lesson is the level of note writing by both the teachers and the students. During the lecture Mr. Baraza pauses to write note outline on the blackboard. The notes are clearly written in a combination of long and shorthand. Also, most of the students start writing in their notebooks as soon as Mr. Baraza had begins talking during the review of the previous lesson, as if on cue. They continue to do this throughout the period, not waiting to be told by the teacher when or what to write. The most repetitive student action is the lifting of their heads to look at the board and the lowering of heads as they record in their notebooks. Once in a while they will pause from this activity, raise their hands and hope to be called upon to answer a question. Their answers are short, a few words. Apart from the teacher's voice the other predominant sound is their scribbling in their notebooks. Students do not talk among each other.

During the whole period there are no interruptions from outside the class - there no messages from the office, or hand delivered announcements. When the bell rings, the students wait to be dismissed by the teacher, none of them moves neither do they stir as if they are impatient. Mr. Baraza then assigns the next reading and then dismisses them. He heads for the faculty room to take a break before the next class.
Summary

Teachers practice as characterized by Mr. Baraza's tend to be the same across schools, regardless of whether they are city or rural schools. They all are dominated by the use of lecture or exposition as the form of instruction. There is minimal students participation other than when they are called upon to answer knowledge type questions. To most of the teachers, the use of lectures is the most convenient within the current 8-4-4 system.

Influences on Teacher Practice

The width of the syllabus and the time constraints which is characteristic of the 8-4-4 system, have had important influence on teachers decisions to choose the lecture method as a means of instruction. They feel that the syllabus covers too many topics within the unit on the struggle such that there is not enough time to adequately devote time to cover each in detail. Hence, given the amount of material that they are faced with, the best way to teach as much as possible is to lecture. According to Baraza, "Why exposition? Because there is no time to cover much during the year". Lecture is well suited for achieving such a wide coverage.

The issue of time has reshaped teacher practice in a way that did not exist in the old syllabus. Currently there is the phenomenon of tuition - after school sessions, which never existed before. Teachers feel compelled to teach when
school is officially not in session, during holidays and Saturdays. These are
supposed to be private tutorial sessions, but they have turned into unofficial school
time. Teachers use this opportunity to make up for material they did not cover
during the school year, or cover new material so that they may be ahead when the
official school time begins. Once again their instruction is primarily lecture based.
However, tuition has not been without controversy. To the critics, particularly
parents who can not afford the fees, they are opportunity for parents to profit from
parents desire for their children's education. Teachers are accused of charging high
exorbitant fees. Yet they have become a way for teachers to cope with the issue of
time and the seemingly wide syllabus.

Teacher practice is also determined to an extent by what expectation the
teachers have about the knowledge that the students bring into class about the
struggle for independence. As exemplified by a teacher comment, "...But when
you are narrating you assume that they don't know, and with these boys you have
to explain and cite examples" (Anna, 1995). This perception combined with
various roles that the teacher see themselves playing, reinforce the teachers
perception that they are the provider and reservoir of information. It follows then
that they would choose lecture as the means of instruction on this unit.
Teachers on Ideal Practice

The teachers' ideas of what makes for ideal practice is either student centered or teacher centered, unlike the students who unanimously consider a student centered approach as the ideal form of teacher practice. Nevertheless, all the teachers admit that they all use a teacher centered practice even though they can identify and they do recognize the advantages of the student centered approach. The teacher centered approaches considered ideal include the Socratic method - which involves inductive questioning, lectures, and narration. These teachers do not see the need to change their practice even if they had time. They do not think that the students are well equipped mentally to decipher the historical information they have to deal with, so even given more time they are convinced that the telling method is the most effective way of teaching the unit of the struggle for Kenyan independence.

Most of the teachers, however, if given time would use more student centered approach in their practice. They would use small group discussions or have the students role play some of the events during the struggle. They believe students would be able to understand better and retain more information as opposed to when they are told. Also, it makes the students active participants in the classroom and not simply passive objects in the classroom. The teachers recognize that these approaches place the students at the center of their learning and help make history relevant to their lives.
Teachers Evaluation of the Unit for the Struggle for Independence

The inclusion of the unit on the struggle for independence is long overdue for the various reasons which have been expressed. As opposed to the previous syllabus which addressed the Kenyan quest in a general manner, teachers can devote more time and focus on it in details. It is not only relevant but it should be an interesting topic to the students. Yet, the teachers feel that there are still more improvements which can be made to make the unit more relevant and more effective.

For one, the written syllabus objectives should be more specific and clearly stated. Presently they are generally stated, which is unfortunate according to the teachers, since such objectives would provide them with the necessary guidance of depth and width in their coverage of the topics within the unit. As a result of this drawback, they have to determine on their own how best to translate into action the stated objectives. The unclear statement of what the learning of the struggle should achieve does not make it easy to teach the unit. These teachers' sentiments are sustained against the background of what the KIE considers as a successful effort it has made in revising and changing the 1985 syllabus objective guideline.

Additionally, the syllabus avoids discussing the general African economic grievances, like landlessness, which were raised before the period of the struggle, but were highlighted during the struggle for independence. These grievances have lasted into the present time. They should be included and examined in a format
which links them with the current period. Such an approach makes the study on the struggle more meaningful, because it provides a basis or comparison of how the country has changed progressively or regressively. Without the continuation of such an historical examination, and from the abrupt ending of the unit on the struggle, the unit's significance is minimized.

The syllabus is also silent on topics like racism and the policies of separate racial development. This is important to examine in light of the fact that Kenya has a multiracial society. How do the past relations and policies influence or address how the different races currently see one another? Likewise, due to the reintroduction of a multiparty system in Kenya, there has been a renewed interest in the formation of political parties, hence it would be appropriate to link the historical growth of parties during the struggle, and their role in present day Kenya. Historical understanding will be better served if there is such an approach which provides for linkage in topics between the past and the present.

Many of the teachers believe that the struggle should include the other East African countries' struggles against colonialism since they had a common foe, namely the British. Such an approach would lead to a more integrated approach, and would point to the fact that the history of the three countries are related.

Finally, the study of the struggle would be better served by the inclusion of certain pertinent topics which are currently omitted or underemphasized. The unit should include the experiences of the common people - the peasants and the wage workers. The hardships which they faced, like forced labor, land evictions and
acquisitions by the government, and the resulting social and economic ramifications etc. are absent in the syllabus and the literature about the struggle. Their voices are absent and thus silenced. Furthermore, including such information would help the students evaluate how the lot of the common person has fared since independence; after all, it was on their behalf that the struggle was waged, and some of these people were mobilized by the freedom fighters to fight the colonial government, they included the former world war two veterans whose experiences in the world war included the de-mystification of the invincibility of the white man.

The teachers distinguish among different levels of participants in the struggle - common person (mwananchi), mau mau - who were violent activists, and nationalists - the political leaders. For them to participate they all had to benefit from the struggle somehow. There is also an assumption that these groups were communicating among themselves, and were well coordinated, more so that they had the same goal. However, there are questions about the legitimacy of dividing the Kenyan people into these categories, and the validity of the assumption of unity.

**Mau Mau in the Syllabus**

The most mentioned topic which the teachers believe should be part of an explicit part of the syllabus guideline is that of the mau mau uprising. Most of them believe that it was the high point of the struggle, and it is the one topic which
makes the overall study of Kenyan history whole. It was the apex to which the Africans efforts and political activism built up to, and the crisis of colonial oppression came to a head. Other activities can not match mau mau's place in the rank of events which led to the independence of the country. African activism became less militant and less angry, after reaching a high point during the state of emergency and the resulting mau mau uprising. Various teachers attest to this view, according to Wairimu, "It was the climax of the struggle...without mau mau the unit on the struggle is not complete", and Rehema, "It is the most important part of the history of Kenya. It led to the birth of the Kenyan nation", and finally Anna, "...mau mau outshines all the other activities during the struggle". Consequently, it is inconceivable to the teachers that it would be omitted from the syllabus, its significance is what makes the unit complete. To the teachers, mau mau wanted to improve the conditions for Africans. Their effort was central to the nationalist movement, and further more since their mission was to fight for Kenyan land and independence, it is compelling to include them in the syllabus guideline. According to Nyambati, " Mau mau movement was the major impetus for nationalist struggle for independence...Mau mau was the engine driving the vehicle of nationalism." or as Wairimu states."Mau mau was the glue in the struggle which brought people of different ethnics together." This uprising to the teachers, marked the dawn of aggressive pursuit for independence. Hence, Kenyan nationalism can not be taught unless mau mau is included. Indeed, teachers use the available material to teach the topic as part of the overall history syllabus even
though it is not mentioned. The nature and importance of the subject necessitates its discussion.

Finally, it was through mau mau that the colonial government saw the seriousness of Africans. They captured the perseverance and spirit of all Kenyans and not just the Kikuyus who were fighting for their land. It was a movement which was active and aimed at resolving the problem of colonialism and its negative results. This determination was part of what convinced the British about the high price that Africans were willing to pay to gain their independence. It threw the struggle into a completely different phase. There might have been some other impetus for the struggle for independence but none was larger or more important than mau mau.

**Teachers' Reflection on the Omission of Mau Mau**

The omission of mau mau from the unit on the struggle undercuts part of the effort to address the issue of relevance in the history syllabus. Teachers view this omission with much suspicion, they do not accept the KIE's argument that the unit does not have to be explicitly mentioned for it to be significant.

The major reason why the topic has been omitted, according to the teachers, is because the topic has been politicized. In other words, the syllabus is being held hostage to government's desires and political whims since it is in charge of curriculum formulation through the KIE. It dictates what can and what can not
be included. The teachers believe that this deliberate effort to minimize the role of
the mau mau is part of the politicization of the syllabus. The present government
is afraid that Kikuyus would feel like they had a lot to do with independence, if
mau mau was explicitly included. It sees mau mau as glorifying the activities of
the Kikuyus during the struggle. Consequently, mau mau is treated as a radical
Kikuyu group using violence to fight for Kikuyu land, and their effort is not
appreciated. They have been effectively sideline by being branded as tribalists,
consequently their image as nationalists is tarnished. The teachers believe that the
government considers that the study of mau mau might bring disunity among the
other groups or diminish the role of the other ethnics in the struggle since there is a
belief that the struggle was a Kenyan affair. Therefore the topic is considered
sensitive.

The omission of the topic is a way of keeping people ignorant and a means
of shielding students from knowing about issues that the government does not
want people to know. There is a fear that as people know about such issues they
might challenge the government's position. Hence, the government has tended to
stress what are usually considered non controversial topics, like formation of
political parties. Furthermore, some historians have not helped the cause of how
mau mau is taught at school, someone like the preeminent historian William
Ochieng' looks at it negatively as a Kikuyu chauvinist movement. Such preeminent
historians' views (see for instance Kipkorir, 1977; Ogot, 1977) are usually
considered important in such debate, even though it might be contrary to the way
other historians look at it.

Finally, according to the teachers, as long as there are elements at the KIE who are biased and are not nationalist looking, there will always be the omission of mau mau from the written syllabus. However, it would not do much by omitting the topic because they see it as an inevitable part of the study of the struggle.

STUDENTS VANTAGE

_Students Expectations and Teacher Practice_

The history students are exposed to the topic on the struggle at the primary level, albeit very briefly. Hence, by the time they arrive in secondary school, they have a general idea of what the unit is about. They have very clear expectations of what ought to be in terms of practice and the supporting material. Likewise, their expectations are also tempered with the realities of the learning environment.

Students expectations fall into two categories: what they would ideally like the teacher practice to be, and what they actually expect the practice to be like. They would like activities which have them at the center of their learning, in the classroom, and also encourage them to use community resources to augment what they have learned. They would like to have debates, drama - or role playing, and small group discussions. The students would like to visit the museums, archives and places where the activities of the struggle took place. They are aware of the
many people who lived through the fight for independence and would like to have them invited to class. These people have first hand experiences to recount which other sources like books can not equal. Students believe that these activities would help them to understand the topics better. Furthermore, it would make the lessons both interesting and relevant, by relating them to phenomena which they can identify with. They are convinced that a student centered approach would give them a clearer insight into what took place during this period.

Whereas the students ideal expectations of teacher practice is one which is student centered, they seem to be resigned to the reality of a teacher centered practice. They expect the teacher to lecture and to provide notes, and also to assess their progress through tests. In relation they expect to write notes, at most ask questions of clarifications, and to sit for tests. The students expectations reflect their educational experience and environment in which the teacher plays the major role, and is in control of the activities which take place in the class. It is therefore not surprising that they would expect the same activities which are associated with the teaching of other topics, to take place when it comes to the teaching of the struggle. They have been groomed to believe that the onus of responsibility of an effective learning environment is teacher centered, characterized by careful teacher preparation for the lesson, introduction of the material, and the provision of notes and assignments. They see themselves as recipients of this information and their responsibility is to absorb it. They do not have to reflect or use it to act or relate it to their lives. Consequently, their roles in
the class is tantamount to clerical work, recording past events without regard to its impact on their immediate lives.

**Students Characterization of Nationalism and Nationalist**

The students consider nationalism to be an affective construct, or a passive civic related construct, or they have no idea of what it means. The students who consider nationalism to be an affective construct, use descriptions like: having devotion, love and pride for one's nation, or feeling of loyalty for one's country. The second definition is closely related to the preceding one in that, the underlying factor for nationalism is obedience to the country's laws. According to the following example which typifies the attributes of the definition, "Nationalism is the way citizens of a country like Kenya abide by the laws or bills of a country..." (Dora). The corollary to this definition is one where nationalism is a passive phenomenon which simply requires being a citizen of a country. Finally, there is a group of students who do not have any idea of how to define or characterize nationalism even though they do use the construct in reference to the unit on the struggle.

In the first place, students' definition and characterization of who qualifies to be a nationalist is an extrapolation of their characterization of the construct of nationalism. They consider nationalists as people who think about the whole country, and in turn acts sacrificially on its behalf. They are courageous people
who are willing to challenge the political status quo in order to bring about positive change for their people. Their actions are based on love and concern for their country.

Another consistent characterization of nationalists is based on the idea of nationalism as a passive construct. In this case, students consider nationalists as people who are not confrontational but are subservient to the government. Obedience to the government's law and order is held as a true sign of a nationalist. Such student definition of nationalism include phrases like, "He is a loyal and obedient to his country", (Misumi), "The person ... above all is loyal to the government of that country" (Stella), and "A person who is lawfully a citizen of particular country..." (Gad). This characterization is the converse of the first one and many of the students offer both of them seemingly oblivious of their contradictory nature.

The definitions have a sense of being grounded in the present lives of the students, but the students examples of such individuals can only be found in the past. There are no living people who the students use as examples of nationalists. They have to go back in time to recite names like Odinga, or Thuku, or Kenyatta. To the students the term nationalist is inextricably tied to the struggle for independence. They do not envision it outside this historical period. Furthermore, the irony is not lost that the students overlook how these figures they cite as examples had to break the law in order to bring about change.
Unit Assessment: What Interests Students

The subtopics which attract the students most attention have properties which they believe do promote admirable national virtues, or provide new insights which they were not aware of, or subtopics they can relate to current events and happenings. Those students who found trade unions interesting did so because they saw in these movements Africans' determination and perseverance against the colonial machinery arrayed against them. The political parties likewise led to unity and political awareness among different African people. The students find these constructs as essential political virtues in present time Kenya.

Students are very much interested in topics which add to their understanding in new ways they have not thought about, or topics which debunks a view they have prior to studying the unit. For instance, Leni, a student talks about how his mind was changed when:

...the teacher taught us about the mau mau rebellion and its results.

According to my expectation I had ruled it out as I was thinking that mau mau was just a resistance among the Kikuyu people against the British rule but and was not for the struggle for independence.

Such topics which challenge their knowledge and belief about the struggle for independence are the ones the students remember the most. Likewise, the teacher who provides a different way of looking at the struggle or new information is the one who holds their attention.
Subtopics about phenomena which the students can see or relate to in the current environment, like political parties and trade unions, also hold the students attention and they find interesting. According to one of the students:

I found the trade unions of much interest to me because most of what was taught are things that we can relate to in our daily lives thus I found it to be much involving even to the present generation unlike other topics which don't seem to have any relevance to your present life. (Teresa)

Thus, the study about the struggle in this case is about politicians and political parties that the students can identify with because some of the people like Daniel Moi are still alive and politically active, while KANU is still the majority political party. These topics seem immediate - in the here and now- unlike many of the pre-independence topics which the students find boring, removed, and of no relevance.

Conversely, there are unit areas and topics which the students find of least interest and do not hold their attention. Indeed, some of the teachers complain that some of the students would rather sleep through these areas than listen to the lecture. The most common topic cited as a bore and of least interest is that of early tribal political associations. To the students, the unit is far removed from their experiences. Many of them do not understand how it is considered as part of the unit on the struggle for Kenyan independence, since the associations were interested in the affairs of their own ethnic groups. In fact, it is on top of the list of topics which students would recommend to be omitted from the unit. It is not surprising that the students find these topics boring, because they do not see the
connection between these areas of the units and the overall picture of the struggle for independence.

Students find the lack of detail about certain topics not only frustrating but also inhibiting their interest to learn about the topics. Some of the sub topics are barely mentioned and do not have a developed narrative which explains further associated events. For instance, when discussing the case of the district associations one of the students observed that the "...details are missing, it is like a suspense without the suspense" (Mukula). Hence, they are left with a sense of incompleteness of the story. They expect more details about the different aspects of the struggle be it political parties, mau mau, or biographical information about the various individual who played a role in the struggle.

**Students Expectations and the Struggle's Social Folklore**

Most of the students have some preconceived notions and expectations about the material that the unit covers. There are two major influences on the expectations of what would be included, which leads to either fulfillment of expectations or disappointment. The first is the social folklore which revolves around the struggle for independence. The major source of this folklore is the media - the government run radio and television programs which expound the government approved views, during national holidays. Also, there are newspaper articles which are devoted to news items on the quest for Kenyan independence.
during these holidays. Students also cite parents as another source of such information about the struggle. The second source of information comes from what is taught in fifth grade elementary social studies, in a brief unit on Kenya's quest for independence. They all are exposed to the unit during the elementary course. Given such a background, it is not surprising that they do have preconceived ideas of some of the areas that they expect to be covered and what might be included in these areas.

Also, given this assumed general knowledge about the struggle, the information that teachers decide to include in their practice is crucial in determining how the students view the relevance or irrelevance of the unit. This is because to some of the students who have access to sources of media, teacher practice could be a revisit to the past, as stated by one of the students. Or even more disheartening to a teacher would be a learning environment where the student does not seem to find any new knowledge or way of understanding about the unit. A student noted after the coverage of the unit:

There was no difference from my expectations because on October 20th. (a national holiday), I watched on t.v. a program about the struggle for independence. From what I watched and what I was taught in primary school...When I compared it to what our history teacher taught us I discovered that there was no difference." (Dinda)

To some of the students, the teacher practice simply contributes to the general social folklore about the struggle.
National celebrations of independence and political rhetoric which surround these events, contribute and reinforce the social folklore which influences students expectations, this is best exemplified by the Kiswahili political mantra: *Wafrika tulijinyakulia uhuru* - Africans we grabbed or took by force our own independence. In turn, students' expectations revolves around the issue of what the African experiences were during this period. There are no expectations of learning about the Asian or European experiences. Even more telling is that most students do not expect other outside non African influences to be considered in the study of the unit. To them the colonial government was an abusive system which relented to African demands through force and negotiations.

Similarly, the role of Kenyatta in the struggle for independence, is a major part of the social folklore which influences students expectations of what they will be taught. Many of the students expect Kenyatta to feature preeminently in all facets of the struggle and are surprised when they are faced with information which contradicts their expectations, such is the case of the relationship between the mau mau and Kenyatta. According to one of the students, "We are all aware of the assistance Kenyatta and other nationalists gave to the freedom fighters; these included guns. However, he denied having any links with the mau mau." (Ayal) or as another stated, "I expected Kenyatta to bravely admit that he was behind the mau mau movement. In contrast he denounced his association with the movement." (Kip). Many of the students hold such views even after the unit has been taught. In a way it is a sign of the powerful influence of the social folklore on
The discovery of the level of ethnic identity and regional divisions among Kenyans is an issue which students find disconcerting. From social folklore surrounding the struggle, Africans fought together to bring about this freedom, however, the first topic under the unit is about district level tribal associations. This is counter to what students expect and they find it hard to see the relevance of this topic in the unit or how it was a part of the struggle for independence, "...The declaration and emergence of district association, this was one area which I somehow felt that we ought not to have learned about because it does not have any relation to the struggle for independence." (Teresa) To the students, the struggle for independence was about the struggle of all Kenyans therefore the inclusion of tribal associations as part of the unit is disconcerting.

Lessons from the Struggle

One of the main questions that this study explores with the students before and after they are taught the unit is: what is the current relevance in studying the struggle for independence? In other words, can they relate what they are being taught about the struggle to current happenings in the Kenyan society and their lives? After all, it is worth reiterating that the major focus of the syllabus and its consequent translation into teacher practice, under the 8-4-4 history and government syllabus, is to enable students to find relevance in what they study.
According to the students, the lessons to be learned from the struggle apply mostly to the larger society. For one, Kenya can trace its identity as a black African country back to the struggle. The sense of "Africanness" is derived from the fact that the struggle pitted black Kenya against white Britain. Additionally, Kenyans rediscovered their cultural heritage through their opposition to the British oppression. Hence, the establishment of their own independent religious and educational institutions was both a way to fight back against the British and also a way of reaffirming their "Africanness".

The students consider the struggle to have been a multiethnic affair where one's ethnic background was not considered important in the effort to gain freedom. Consequently, the quest for unity is one of the lessons to be learned from the struggle since it was a movement of people united with an aim of achieving a goal. The students recognize that there are problems with unity among the different ethnic and social classes and find in the struggle the blueprint for dealing with some of these problems, "...we learn that if we work as a group despite our background and social status, we will be able to change things for the better..." (Teresa).

Students consider it unfortunate that Kenyans still do not see themselves first as people of a country but of tribes. Likewise, just like the rest of the Kenyan society the current leadership have to face the major stumbling block of tribalism, which divides them. Until they deal with it, the students feel that they can not effectively the fight against some of the economic and social problems like tribal

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wars and diseases. In relation, the students find the current political leaders to be lacking the ideals and commitment that the leaders of the struggle had, as pointed out by Daudi, a student, "Before, the politicians acted as one, now all politicians want to become leaders".

The struggle was more than simply about unity it was also about how to coordinate activities. The students rate the current coordination of national effort to deal with economic, political and social issues, very low in comparison. They find in the struggle the example of how to tackle these concerns and the ideal of how the country ought to be run and be organized, "We also learn that coordination is the best policy for whichever goal one wants to achieve and this can be applied in nationwide issues..." (Teresa). The students also see the political and social organizations as an example of collective, organized effort to mobilize Africans positively nationwide, to attain specified goals. However, organized mobilization in the current political arena has meant the regional and ethnic efforts to confront other groups of dissimilar party affiliation. The politically motivated 1992 ethnic land clashes is the one activity which the students point to as a resulting example of negative mobilization.

The roots of plural political representation can be traced to this period. Africans formed multiple political parties due to the differing ideas of how to attain independence. It was also during this period that Africans first experimented with the formation of other organizations like trade unions. The current political environment does not reflect a similar cohesive political atmosphere of the pre-
independence era. The students point to the current political intolerance as hypocritical because many of these leaders were the same people who were there during the foundation of plural representation.

There are lingering legacies from this era which are of relevance to the current political environment. The recent calls in the 1990s for majimbo - regional political sovereignty based on a loose form of a federal system - can be traced to the era of freedom struggle. This period was not only marked by political unity, but also by division based on whether one came from a major ethnic group or minor ethnic group. These differences have once again emerged with people calling for such political, administrative divisions.

The disproportionate allocation of resources can also be traced to the struggle. There are those who came out of the struggle as politically influential and they have been able to allocate themselves the land over which the struggle was fought over. Hence, the students are able to make a connection between the struggle, the economic consequences for Kenyans, and how the current distribution of wealth land, in particular, is related to this period.

Part of the students perception of this time period and its consequent relevance to Kenyans is romantic and is based on a very simple reading or rendition of the past history. For instance, that the past politicians acted in unison leads them to consider the current politicians as turning their back to this tradition of political unity. However, a critical analysis might lead them to realize that such a unified front was never there throughout the struggle for independence.
Summary

The teachers reasoning as to the relevance of the study of the unit on the struggle for Kenya independence mirrors that of the curriculum formulators and the students in many ways, be it for nationalist, for academic, or for socialization reasons. They are responsible for the translation of syllabus objectives into practice which should meet the requirement of relevance under the 8-4-4 education system. For most of them practice is predominantly teacher centered lectures and the provision of notes to students. Among the many reasons why they have chosen this teaching methodology are lack of teaching time and the overwhelming width of the syllabus.

The students sense of relevance is best embodied in their sentiment about the lessons that are drawn from studying the unit. They see a chance to learn from the past, and are very much aware of the problems of ethnic divisions and social disruptions. However, their ideals and desires to participate more in the learning environment are curtailed by a straight jacket teaching methodology and an obsession to pass national examination.
CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The focus of this study and the reported findings have highlighted the Kenyan government’s effort to provide a relevant localized curriculum which students can relate to, when translated into practice. However, there are areas of concern at the various hierarchial levels of the education process which still need to be addressed, in regards to syllabus formulation and its consequent translation into practice. To that end, I have used the work of C. A. Bowers (1987) The Promise of Theory: Education and the Politics of Cultural Change, to illuminate some of these concerns. Bowers scholarship is primarily related to the sociology of knowledge and is geared toward formulating a theory of education that contributes to students being aware of their role in creating meanings and purposes, instead of passively accepting the social realities defined by others. This approach is appropriate in assessing the effort of syllabus relevance and localization under the 8-4-4 system.
Revisiting the History and Government Syllabus

The Formulation Process

The general curriculum formulation process has undergone drastic changes since the definitive work of the Ominde commission in 1964. In its report, the commission resolved that, "As we consider the growth of the national unity alongside the other needs of Kenya, it appears to us that a permanent curriculum study unit is needed." (p.39). Since the expression of this concern, the KIE has developed as the curriculum study unit or the curriculum formulation institution for primary and secondary schools in Kenya. Additionally, the issue of curriculum relevance was one of the major reasons the commission proposed the establishment of such an institution, outside the concern for national unity. Hence, the current 8-4-4 curriculum is the latest innovations of the KIE in a line of multiple experimentation with curriculum at both the primary and secondary level.

The continuous syllabus reformulations has successfully lead to a more relevant history and government syllabus to the extent that the study of Kenya is at the center. Compared to the previous syllabus which had a wider regional coverage, the students can better relate to the 8-4-4 history and government syllabus which emphasizes the geographical area of Kenya. Also, by making Kenya the main focus of the syllabus, the KIE has succeeded in introducing more topics which students can identify with. In the inherited history syllabus at the time.
of independence, Kenyan history was non-existent; instead candidates for the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate either studied "The development of tropical Africa", or "Alternatives history syllabus for candidates in Africa". These were succeeded by the study of East African history, which included Kenyan history, and was subsequently followed by the current 8-4-4 syllabus. This evolution has been a positive development in the effort to localize the syllabus.

However, the effort to localize the syllabus has not been without outside influence and interference beyond the control of the KIE. To that extent, political considerations are the most important tacit variables in the syllabus creation process, even though on paper there is a syllabus designing protocol, which seems to be independent of such influences. These considerations includes: Who are the individuals and groups ruling the country, and what are their perception of the role of curriculum in the overall social environment? What areas of the syllabus are considered sensitive? What are the curriculum formulators perception of the political climate, and how secure or insecure do they feel? As the case of political biographies shows, it was the fear of offending the government which was the deciding factor as to who should be included in the history syllabus. Consequently, regardless of what the curriculum protocol produces, it all can be undercut by the fear of the government's decision, and the capricious governmental decrees on educational matters. In essence, the curriculum designers are in control of their responsibility to the extent that the government allows them, since the role of government, through the Ministry of Education, casts a shadow over their effort to
formulate a relevant curriculum. The government is the ultimate power broker in matters of curriculum formulation.

By including teachers, students, and community members in the formulation process, the KIE is trying to incorporate more varied opinions and is trying to move away from the more mechanistic curriculum formulation approach Stafford (1975) criticized it for. This approach as been beneficial in involving those whose interests are at stake. Instead of leaving the whole process to experts to formulate the curriculum, there is an effort to provide a forum to voice non expert opinions. Unfortunately, instead of being a first step in a more inclusive process, the teachers', students' and parents voices are still muted in the overall process. Nevertheless, the process has the potential to be more responsive to their needs.

A Bastion of Experts: The KIE

The KIE building is located in Nairobi as previously noted, in an area of the city called Ngara. When one visits these grounds, they first have to walk through a manned security gate. At this location they have to identify themselves, state who they have an interest in seeing or what business they have there, also they have to declare whatever contents they might have if they are carrying a bag, for the most part they have to leave such a bag behind. Once cleared they can then approach these grounds to complete their business. Just how accessible is the KIE? And
how many teachers would be willing to go through this process to obtain material or receive help or advice?

Currently, the KIE and the teachers do not have a coherent line of communication. The teachers view the KIE as "them", bureaucrats residing in ivory towers removed from the task and from the reality of teaching Kenyan children. Many of the teachers are unaware of the resources that the KIE has to offer, or some of its other responsibilities geared toward helping them. The reasons for the breakdown can partly be traced to the centralization and inaccessibility of the KIE, and poor communication mechanism between the two groups. The institution has over ninety percent (90%) of its constituent outside the city, and for the rural teachers, it is out of reach the further away they are from Nairobi. The communication breakdown has meant the alienation of teachers from the curriculum process, they play a secondary role in its formulation process. Instead, teachers see their responsibility as translating the syllabus guideline into practice. There is resentment of this sense of being powerless and they believe that they should be playing a larger and an integral role in the overall curriculum formulation process.

On the other hand, the KIE believes its process is inclusive of teachers. The KIE staff point out the fact that teachers are represented in the history panel, and during the various feedback surveys and seminars the KIE conducts for reform proposes. The teachers opinions are taken into consideration before the KIE changes the syllabus. Indeed, secondary school teachers were involved in the
writing of both the 1985 and 1992 syllabi as members of the history panel, and they also write portions of both the 1989 and 1994 history and government KIE textbooks. Yet, in spite of all these efforts by the KIE, there is a belief among teachers that if they were the curriculum developers, the process would be better, since they would accommodate more varied opinions.

**Syllabus Formulation and the Legitimation Process**

The syllabus formulation process is characterized by what Bowers terms "legitimating authority" - in this case, the invoking of authority to justify the nature of information which is part of the history and government syllabus. It is the curriculum experts who are responsible for determining what information about the unit on the struggle is to be examined. As Wekesa (1995) noted, the formulation process included the most prominent Kenyan historians. Indeed, how then can teachers question what has been screened through the opinions of such authority? To paraphrase Bowers (1987), in the current situation, the teachers responsibility is to model to the students how they should relate to what is being defined as real.

This process diminishes the role of teachers both as critical thinkers who are intimately involved in the on going syllabus interpretation process or as what Giroux (1985) terms "transformative intellectuals" - people who combine scholarly reflection and practice in the service of educating students to be thoughtful, active citizens. Even when a teacher disagrees with what is suggested in the guideline or
textbooks, they have no choice but to "transmit" this reality to their students, who in turn mirror their way of thinking. Hence, the teaching of the unit on the struggle fits the pattern of what Bowers describes as the reproduction of the conceptual maps of the teachers in the minds of the students. Consequently, teachers challenge of the KIE process is seen as threatening, and in the learning environment, teachers authority is threatened by student questioning, as Kariuki, a teacher, stated "...you feel uncomfortable when students have knowledge which you do not have".

Ultimately, both the teachers and the students are rendered powerless in this totem pole. Yet, even within this framework there are signs that both teachers and students continue to rethink these realities as their experiences challenge the sense of national consciousness proposed and advocated in the syllabus.

Reification of the Syllabus Content

The language of the examination of the struggle for independence has been objectified to the point that certain areas of the unit have taken on the quality of what Bowers (1987) refers to as "thingness". He refers to such a process as reification - the process of transforming what was a subjective reality into an objectified socially shared reality, or the moment of forgetting about the human authorship of subjective reality. At the heart of the study of the struggle is the examination of the rise of Kenya nationalism and the various nationalists.
movements. Yet, the teachers' practice, the textbooks, and the syllabus guideline have contributed to the reification of these constructs to the point that the students can not relate to them within their immediate experiences. In fact to both the students and the teachers, nationalism exists only in the political world and not in the everyday lived experiences of *wananchi* (common citizens). Instead, it is particularly associated with people who lived in the past, and with the present people to the extent that they had political careers dating in colonial Kenya.

A good example of the reification of the constructs are found in examples provided by the students and teachers as to who they think are nationalists. If the goal of the study of the unit like the rest of the syllabus is to foster a sense of nationalism, then the students have to see themselves as part of the definition of what nationalism is about.

What is lost in this reified world, where Kenyan nationalists live in the past and in a different political world, is what Bowers (1987) points out as the lack of realization that such social realities and constructs have human authorship. To that extent, the syllabus and the teacher practice have both failed in creating in students a sense of nationalism which is born of the awareness that the students are in control of what this nationalism means, to them, and in its interpretation, and that it could change over time because it is humanly authored. The students therefore do not participate in what Freire (1980) terms "naming their world"—giving voice to their own experiences. Instead what students and teachers consider to be nationalism is grounded outside their experiences and based on geographical
placement - being Kenyan.

Teacher practice contributes to the reification of the content in the unit on the struggle because, to paraphrase Bowers (1987), of how it approaches the phenomenon as inevitable and a natural part of reality. The history of this period is taught as unquestionable "facts". Hence, the students are required to write these facts and are not expected to question them. The facts in essence have taken on a life of their own in an objectified world, out of students reach. If students are to relate to this history, then such objectification has to be made problematic through questioning.

**The Syllabus and Audible Silences**

**Mau Mau in the Classroom**

Bowers (1987) refers to audible silence as, "...those areas of experience where there is an awareness that is not, for one reason, or another, communicated." The most obvious area of such silence which pertains to the syllabus is the omission of mau mau from the syllabus. The social experience of many of the students from Kiambu and Thika districts have been affected by the mau mau uprising and the resulting policies of the colonial British governments. Many of them still live in what were termed squatter villages and former security villages. The former came about as a result of the displacement of their fore-
families by white British settlers, whereas the latter were designed to prevent mau
mau guerrillas from getting local support. The creation of these villages and their
lives is part of the story of the effort to gain independence, yet by the omission of
the mau mau rebellion and leaving it up to the teachers to decide whether to
include it, the syllabus has failed to live up to the chance of relating the students
lives to what is being learned. As Bowers notes, the role of the school should be
to provide "...the opportunity to put into a broader historical and social
perspectives those aspects of existential experience that are not explained
adequately by the dominant belief system" p.(64). The omission of mau mau from
the syllabus denies the students such an opportunity.

Why then is mau mau omitted from the syllabus, given that it is generally
acknowledged among Kenyan historians that it focused attention on colonial rule
thereby forcing the British to rethink their policy, and consequently, contributing
to the achievement of Kenyan independence (Furedi, 1989; Kanogo, 1987;
Kipkorir, 1977; Ogot, 1975). The participants responses as to who was part of the
struggle provides an insight to the question and the resulting answer. All the three
groups are overwhelmingly of the opinion that the struggle was waged by all
Kenyan ethnic groups, granted that there were qualitative differences. This
interpretation is meant to promote a sense of national unity and to show that all the
Kenyan groups made sacrifices in the achievement of independence. Indeed, the
syllabus objectives and the KIE textbook are designed and are written to project
this viewpoint of national unity. And as a basis of assessment, the two resources
have successfully achieved this goal among teachers and students. Yet, on the other hand, regardless of one's position on the sense of national outlook or lack thereof by the mau mau, it is a historical fact that the uprising was confined among the Kikuyu. And it is the nature of its ethnic composition which has proved primarily problematic for it to be included in the syllabus, and for its interpretation even among historians who study Kenya. As Buijtenhuijs (1972) eloquently argues, the existence of a people or of such a group, as mau mau, that seemingly fought and suffered more than everybody else for independence, is incompatible with the view of "we all fought for uhuru", which is promoted by the government. Additionally, as Ogot (1976) asks, "Is it going to be easy for Kenyans to accept the idea that their country's political independence was only brought about by a movement in which most of them never participated?" (p.7).

Hence, the government has decided to emphasize collective Kenyan participation in the struggle, at the expense of mau mau. In cases where mau mau is mentioned in the KIE textbooks (1989 & 1994), the government has effectively "detribalized" it into a movement of "African ex-soldiers and extremist nationalists". Consequently, there is a deafening silence in the syllabus, due to the omission of mau mau.

The Uhuru Crowd: In Search of Loyalists

The syllabus is replete with examples of "nationalists", people who
contributed to the effort to free Kenya from colonial rule. However, conspicuously missing from the syllabus guideline and the supportive textbooks, are the unit recommendation and accounts of the role of people who collaborated (loyalists) with the British against other Africans. As Ogot (1972) noted, there is a need to study the groups which were indifferent to or hostile to the freedom movement. There are many questions which he believes ought to be raised and pursued, among them are: Who were they? How homogeneous was this crowd? What were their motives and other forms of compulsion that drew them together? Or, were they traitors or far sighted collaborators?

The issue of collaboration and resistance is particularly relevant to the lived experiences of the participating students from Kiambu and Thika, whose lives have been affected by such activities during the era of the struggle. However, there is a selective syllabus amnesia, probably reinforced by political fear, of discussing this issue, because there is popular belief that many who collaborated are the ones eating the fruit of _uhuru_ - freedom, and are in power. As Ng'ang'a (1977) points out, those who resisted "...had lost the political, economic, social and, above all, legal battle in a country which they believed they had liberated." (p.383). Yet as Ogot (1972) asks, "To what extent is political independence in Kenya a victory over the loyalist forces and to what extent is it a "deal" between the loyalist and the nationalist forces?" (p.147) The issue of social or economic cost of such collaboration and its consequences on the society are not dealt with. In turn, the silence around the topic robs the students a chance to study and to assess what is
considered Kenyan nationalism in juxtaposition to collaboration, so that they can arrive at their conclusions.

**The History of the Struggle and Taken for Granted**

As Bowers (1987) explains, when experience is taken for granted, there is no awareness of alternative definitions or values; it is simply part of the natural order of things. The history unit which examines the struggle provides a good example of such a language and knowledge in the syllabus guideline, the textbooks, and the teacher practice. The most outstanding of such taken for granted knowledge has to do with the title of the unit. What is it that the syllabus means by the term -struggle? How were the various activities during this period characteristic of a struggle? What qualified action or inaction to be included as part of the struggle? There is discussion that the activities during the so called struggle quickened the attainment of independence, but others like Kipkorir (1977) have suggested otherwise, noting, after all Kenya was the last of the three East African countries to attain formal independence. Nowhere is the issue of what is meant by the struggle problematized through analysis.

Additionally, the tacit acceptance that Kenyan attained its independence as a result of a "struggle" has led to the de-emphasis of the issue of decolonization as an imperial policy at the end of second world war. Indeed, as previously noted, the sub - unit on Britain's policy of decolonization which was in the 1985 syllabus
was eliminated from the revised 1992 syllabus. Yet, many historians acknowledge
the role of the internal indigenous forces which came to bear on the decolonization
process, however, they also acknowledge that these were not the only factors
responsible for the dismantling of the colonization (Hargreaves, 1988; Maloba,
1989; Ochieng', 1990). The KIE syllabus and the textbooks devote very little
space to the examination of external forces which came to bear on colonialism, and
its consequent demise.

The other major area of taken for granted, is the assumed understanding of
what nationalism is. The importance and significance of nationalism is tacitly
understood to be a virtue, yet the issue of nationalism can be very problematic.
There is an assumption of a Kenyan nationalism whose roots can be traced back to
the pre-independence era. Yet, is there such a phenomenon? And what is its
nature? Indeed, what makes for a Kenyan nationalist? Nowhere in the textbooks,
syllabus, or in the teachers' practice is there an effort to define or characterize what
is meant by nationalism. Other constructs which fall under the taken for granted
ideas include Kenyan patriotism and nation building. There is an assumed
understanding among the teachers and the students that learning history and the
struggle lead students to acquire these "virtues", yet they are not explicitly
discussed or analyzed to reveal the multiple interpretations that might be
associated with them. Such assumptions are part of what creates the phenomenon
Bowers terms the "unconscious culture" - an unarticulated sense of a non-
problematic mutual understanding.
Additionally, the assumption of nationalism as a virtue is conversely matched by the assumed evil of what is termed "tribalism". The teachers and students point to tribalism as one of the evils which Kenyans, unfortunately, currently face in spite of the lessons of unity during the struggle. There is a sense of this detestation by how the textbooks refer to the effort toward independence as a Kenyan effort, and not different efforts by different ethnicities who had no sense of the construct of "Kenya" as a country. Behind the syllabus objectives of developing a sense of patriotism and national pride, there is an underlying tacit effort to discourage what is termed tribalism, yet there is so no explicit discussion of the construct in the syllabus as a juxtaposition to nationalism. Indeed, as discussed in chapter one, the issue of tribes and tribalism takes on more problematic dimensions when their colonial historical roots are examined. As Bowers (9187) notes, such an outlook of the social as non-problematic leads to a non-questioning attitude toward such deeper cultural codes.

In Search of Women in the History of the Struggle

There is a taken for granted belief that men lead and fought for independence of Kenya. The phrase by curriculum designers, teachers, and students "We fought for our in.Jependence", can be translated as men fought for our independence, that is because in all the provided examples of those who lead or participated in this effort, not one woman is mentioned, instead each person
rattles off a list of male names. Hence there is a tacit understanding that the
struggle was a male domain. Furthermore, all the names and pictures of
participants in the textbooks are men, further reinforcing this taken for granted
belief. The participation of men is not problematized by asking where the women
were, or whether their lack of representation is due to a sexist outlook by male
historians who dominate Kenyan historical research and scholarship.

Nevertheless, there has been more research carried out particularly starting
in the 1980s on the role and participation of women in the struggle. Most of the
research revolves around the women of Central province and are by women
historians. Research by Kanogo (1987) and Presley (1986) highlight the fact that
women were involved in local political wings of the major associations as far back
as the late 1920s. In Kiambu women split from the Kikuyu Central Association
(KCA) and formed their own - Mumbi Central Association, since they were either
denied membership in political associations, or they were relegated to performing
menial roles and their voices were absent in the discussions. As Presley notes their
return to KCA in 1933 on their own terms, and consequently redefining their
involvement in political associations. They would go on to play varying role in the
other major political parties, even though the leadership roles were still
predominantly male dominated.

Women were also active in political activism and labor protests particularly
in the rural areas. The exploits of Mary Nyanjiru are cited by Presley (1986),
Rosberg and Nottingham (1966) as playing a crucial role in the labor unrest which
followed the arrest and detention of Harry Thuku - pioneer in the struggle to gain Kenya's independence. Eyewitness accounts of the events which led to the massacre of Africans, attribute her challenge to lead the storming of the jails as the precipitant of the shooting during the protest. She was one of the first Kenyan women martyrs in political / labor activism. Yet her place in Kenyan school history is absent. The KIE books recount of this massacre notes that, "A fracas broke out and the police aided by the settlers from Norfolk Hotel opened fire at the Africans" (p.148), and Patel (?) writes, "...his supporters confronted the police in a peaceful demonstration demanding his release. The police panicked and fired into the crowd..." (p.167). Even Odhiambo (1989), a noted Kenyan historian, makes no reference of the role of the women who challenged the men to action at the jail. By discussing such activism in general terms, the perception which comes across is that there were no women involved, after all it was a labor union strike and men were the predominant members of these unions.

Research by Throup (1988) notes the crucial role women played in the 1946 - 1947 peasant revolt against colonial agricultural policies, like soil conservation measures which Africans eyed with suspicion. The lack of female labor led to the collapse of these programs in places like Murang'a. Such policies and the consequent resistance contributed to the radicalization of the Kikuyu peasantry.

However, it was during the mau mau rebellion that women's role in the struggle became more prominent. Using narratives of women from this era, both
Kanogo (1987) and Presley (1986) reconstructs how they were a crucial part of the guerrillas. They played a major role in the collection and dissemination of information to the guerrillas in the forest. It was partly through such information that the guerilla knew about the British troop movement, and coordinated their attack plans. Also, the women organized the collection and transportation of food, medical supplies, materials for making weapons and other necessary provisions. They also collected money to aid in the fight. According to Presley, "From the first day of the uprising women were the primary source of these items" (p.130). She further argues that it is doubtful whether the rebellion would have lasted as long as it did but for the crucial role of women.

Additionally, women fought along side men in the guerilla warfare, granted that there fewer of them in the forest armies. Others lived in the forest alongside men to carry on domestic roles of caring for the forest communities. Finally, women just like men paid a heavy price in supporting such efforts of resistance, through detentions and jail terms. They suffered the ignominy of overcrowded jails and the resulting torture just like men did.

In conclusion, if the syllabus is to be relevant and complete, then it must include the history of the role of women in the struggle. There is nowhere in this part of the syllabus where the lives of over forty four percent (44%) of Kenyan student population (females) is reflected in the syllabus. By omitting the discussion of women's role and side lining mau mau, the curriculum designers have silenced the voice of a major constituent which participated in the struggle for
independence. Kenyan students deserve better. As Presley notes in her 1986 research:

Part of the legacy of mau mau is that large numbers of the Kenya population credit the rebellion ...with the political victory which produced independence. When this retrospective pride in the rebellion is discussed as a part of Kenya's national heritage, it is absolutely essential that women's contribution be recognized. (p.124)

As the preceding discussion aims to show, the research for such participation does exists, now it is up to the curriculum formulators to have the courage to include it in the history that Kenyans want to be part of their children's inheritance.

Assessing the Learning Environment

Students and Convergent Thinking

A combination of teacher practice and the above factors have successfully killed the sort of participatory interaction with historical information necessary to relate the discipline to their lives. The students are alienated from the knowledge they are supposed to learn. A very negligible part of what they learn is actually a result of their participation. In most of the classrooms, the learned material and how the learning proceeds, is determined outside their environment. The teacher ultimately decides what is to be learned, how to learn or tell it, and what role the
listeners are to play. The students have been socialized in this atmosphere whereby they know their roles, and questioning or challenging why something happened the way it did is not one of them. They have resigned themselves to a passive role in the learning environment. The telling method of the teachers have undercut the students need to be a part of the learning environment by contributing through discussion, questioning, and thereby constructing their own realities.

There is every effort to encourage convergent thinking through the testing method, what they can regurgitate is important but more important is making sure it is similar with what is provided in class. In the students world, there is only one way of approaching the truth; they are not encouraged to thinking divergently to arrive at different ways of looking at these objectified realities. The presented social reality surrounding the unit on the struggle and the history and government syllabus is perpetuated without much questioning and regardless of differences in existing opinions. However, when provided the opportunity to express themselves, students raise questions which show that they are capable of just such tasks of challenging such presentations and making what they are being taught problematic. The enthusiasm and outspokenness of the students about the struggle for independence, manifest in the interviews, is lost in the classroom.
Testing and Odds-making

It is ironic that the effectiveness of the syllabus is compromised by the emphasis on tests, given that one of the goals of the 8-4-4 system was to divert attention away from tests. There was a fear that the previous system relied heavily on the testing of students. However, there is more competition in the current system than the previous one given that there are more students competing for relatively fewer spaces at the university. That is so because the 7-4-2-3 education system weeded out students through progression and competition at the end of seventh grade and fourth form, leading to the ultimate competition at the end of sixth form for the scant university slots. Currently, there is one level where students are sorted - eighth grade. Hence, the students are not so much concerned with the relevance of the syllabus as they are with passing tests. To the students, classroom teacher activities are geared toward better achievement in tests. The issue of tuition is an evidence of the increased emphasis on testing, during these sessions the students, students cover extra learning material and are also drilled in examination sitting techniques. Hence, the phenomenon of year round schooling has been introduced, in a backward way.

In relation, a good history teacher is a good odds-maker - predicting the areas of the syllabus most likely to be tested, since testing plays a major role in the lives of both students and teachers. For teachers it is a way of measuring success and a means of achieving promotion, for students doing well in tests is a way of
gaining access to the university, which is an access to a white collar job. However, 
the onus of responsibility is on the teacher, for the students to do well on tests. 
Hence, the teachers have different ways of trying to determine those areas which 
they emphasize. They use various methods including table matrices to try and 
prognosticate where the tests would be set from. A good teacher is a good odds-
maker.

**Textbooks**

In acknowledgment of the varied nature of pre-independence political 
activities, Kenyan historians like Atieno Odhiambo (1981) called for the writing of 
a nationalist history that reconciled every community to the fact that they "fought" 
for *uhuru*, and were thereby entitled to partake of the "fruits of *uhuru". By 1989 
when the 8-4-4 school system fully replaced the 7-4-2-3, a version of this history 
had been written for secondary school pupils. However, what version is it?

**The African Voice**

There has been a major improvement in the publication of textbooks by 
Africans to reflect the African point of view since independence. This was one of 
the concerns raised by the Ominde commission as early as 1964 when it stated 
that, "The trouble is that hardly any of the new history books have yet been

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written...we have not yet been enabled to share in an African way of thinking about history". The commission argued further, that until this was accomplished the task of localizing the curriculum was incomplete. As late as 1976 the Gachathi commission reported that the majority of staff who wrote book manuscripts at the KIE were expatriates. Hence, it recommended that local authors write relevant materials to supplement the KIE books. By 1995 this challenge seemed to have been admirably taken up by Kenyan historians and textbook writers. The KIE's textbooks are written exclusively by Africans. Likewise, there are multiple African written textbooks, reference books, and other commercial books which the students can choose from. This effort to produce and use textbooks by Africans precedes the 8-4-4 system, indeed in the previous system the major text was co-authored by one of the foremost Kenyan historians - Gideon Were. Hence, the availability of the African written texts have helped localize the study of the struggle and the history and government syllabus as a whole.

Nationalization of History

The textbook content which covers the unit on the struggle for independence provides a good example of the difficulties which historians face in writing a history of Kenya, as Ogot (1976) outlined in a speech to the Historical Society of Kenya. It is an attempt to define what being a Kenyan means by invoking the past "shared historical consciousness"- in this case the organized
opposition to colonialism. In essence it is a nationalization process - defining what areas will be accepted or omitted as part of the past, which the country would like to recollect and maintain in its historical memory.

Consequently, the writing of the history of the struggle faces many similar problem that the writing of the overall national history of Kenya faces. For one, colonialism was not a uniform phenomenon, experienced and reacted to uniformly, among and within the different ethnic groups. Therefore there are paradoxes and contradictions which presents a problem to writing a national history of the struggle. Nevertheless, it is clear that those whose histories have been nationalized are the moderates and the constitutional conservatives like Jomo Kenyatta, Ronald Ngala, Thomas Mboya, and Harry Thuku. On the other hand, the radicals and the militants who advocated violence or who since independence opposed the government's policies have been left out of this history. They include people like Dedan Kimathi, Oginga Odinga, and Bildad Kaggia. These are the people who lost the internal battle to politically shape the future of the country.

Additionally, the idea that "we all fought for independence" has been nationalized and accepted regardless of conflicting evidence to the contrary. Like religion, it has become an unquestioned belief. The textbooks have played a role in this and consequently "detribalized"associations and elevated the national role of Kenyatta above the differences and the in fighting which took place during this era of political activism.
Other Observations

Analysis of the texts show that there has been an attempt to include the role of the various ethnicities through the inclusion of the various social and political movements. However, the discussion of these topics (ex. early political associations) are so shallow such that most of the students do not see their relevance or connection with the effort to fight for Kenya's freedom. Hence, this history lacks depth and detail, and reads like the embellished outline of students' notes. Also, the history of the struggle in secondary school is written with uniformity of perspective, as if from the same research source. It is part of the effort to find a consensus framework. Hence, it denies the students the opportunity to analyze historical issues associated with the struggle from differing viewpoints, and the chance to add to their knowledge.

Since, they follow syllabus outline, the textbooks omit topics omitted by the syllabus. These recommended textbooks like the KIE's do not reflect the whole history of the period because certain portions like the emergency period or the role of women are de-emphasized or are missing. Additionally, it is uncommon to find teachers using texts which do not follow the syllabus guideline format and offer differing information like Ochieng's (1985) A History of Kenya. There has to be more effort by African historians to include more information about the activities in this area regardless of whether it is testable material or not. Further more, such research already exists and it will add to a more in-depth understanding.
of history of the African effort for independence. Just having books authored by Africans is not enough, they have to be substantive - which the current books on the market are not. More important there has to be the courage to deal with the complexities of history, as Ogot (1976) argues:

If we are going to have a meaningful history of the Kenya...then we must develop the courage and confidence in ourselves in order to take a close hard look at our past, both the best and the worst." (p.5)

Other Related Recommendations

Syllabus Formulation

The fundamental change in the syllabus formation process and the need to address the issue of relevance should be the decentralization of certain roles of the KIE. In relation there ought to be provincial KIE branches, to make the decentralization complete. These branches can provide support to teachers in many of the areas designated as KIE's responsibilities, like, conducting in-service seminars, workshops etc., with the initial support and coordination with the headquarters. Ultimately, the decentralization ought to lead to district branches which can play the same role only at a lower level.

A decentralized KIE allows for better communication between it and the teachers. As it is now, most of the teachers in the rural areas are not aware of the
programs or supportive material that KIE has; and those who know find it difficult to take advantages of the offered services. Not only is Nairobi removed from their world, it is unreasonable to expect teachers to travel from remote sites like northeastern Kenya to attend a seminar in Nairobi. However, a decentralized KIE makes it easier to work with teachers. Therefore, the current centralized location of the KIE is one of the impediment in the overall curriculum support system for teachers.

Teachers have to play a more involved role in the syllabus formulation and reform process, and a decentralized process allows them to participate more than they currently do. Provincial and district branches would be ideal in aiding the continuous reform to localize the history syllabus, because they would be drawing ideas from them and other people from the local areas.

Revisiting Government (Civics) in the Syllabus

Whereas the addition of government to the secondary curriculum is commendable, combining it with history has been to the detriment of both. Currently, there is no basis for having the two disciplines combined, the decision to do was well intentioned but arbitrary. Hence, teachers presently feel rushed too cover the overwhelming material in order to complete the coverage of the syllabus. Instead, government should be maintained but should be separated from history. All the units of government should combined to make a one year course taught in
first form and tested as part of the civics and constitutional knowledge requirement for students. The testing can be at the end of the first year or anytime over the course of students education, with a minimum required knowledge to pass. The score should be part of the university admission process to the extent that a student has a pass in the course. Such an approach would still maintain the government's aim to expose learners to the organizations and administrative structures and functions of society (see Ministry of Education, 1992). This change, like others which have been made in the history and government syllabus, should first be piloted in a targeted school region to allow for the modifications of its introduction.

Localizing the Syllabus Content

Learning about the struggle should be grounded in the students lived experiences and social environment. Indeed, if the syllabus is to be relevant then it has to incorporate what Bowers (1987) terms "students phenomenological culture" - areas of the students' life world pertinent to what is being taught. Hence, there ought to be an option for the various districts or provinces to do case studies of topics in the syllabus related to their immediate geographical areas. The study of the unit on the struggle for independence lends itself admirably for such an approach, since there were African activities of various levels and of qualitative differences in many parts of the country. Hence, students in Kiambu might do a
case study on the mau mau rebellion and its impact on land distribution, or
students within Kisumu can study what the struggle meant for the economic lives
of their parents. The main thrust of such an approach is to relate what is within the
syllabus to the students lives. Consequently, providing such an opportunity and
localizing the issues is one step towards addressing the problem of reification and
the objectification of knowledge.

**Teacher Practice**

The major challenge teachers face in translating the guideline into relevant
practice is to localize the topics by relating them to the students lives. This is
particularly true as long as testing remains the main focus of teaching and the
whole education system is geared towards it. Yet, even under the pressure to do
well in tests, there are still ways of involving students other than figuratively
drowning them in lectures. These lectures are characterized by continuous teacher
talk and involve the provision of notes to students. It is a variation of teaching
known in Kenyan as "spoon feeding" - provision of information without any
students mental activity. Moreover, the teacher notes are drawn almost
exclusively from the same texts the students use.

Given the current learning environment, why not be overt about the
provision of notes and in the process accomplish more in one's practice? The
teachers ought to divide the four day weekly lessons into two parts. In the first
two lessons, the teacher should use the other student centered methods to relate
the topic to students lives and hence make them relevant to the students, it could
be or role playing or a debate related to one of the topics, this approach also
supports the use of case study. For the remaining two classes the teacher can
spent the time providing notes.

Such an approach rids teacher practice of the pretenses that there is
independent student thinking taking place in the classroom by actually introducing
a chance for such an activity, while maintaining the concerns of providing students
with notes. The teachers who practice in schools which have supportive
resources, especially mimeograph machine, have the added advantage of providing
students with mimeographed note outlines which would save more time for
classroom discussions.

**For Further Research**

There are areas related to this study which warrant further research. For
one, what is the role of the socio-political environment in shaping students
attitudes toward Kenyan history and nationalism. How are the students influenced,
for instance, by the cult of political personality; indeed, do they see themselves as
Kenyans or as belonging to different ethnic groups, in light of the history syllabus
attempt to promote patriotism?

Secondly, how are women portrayed in the overall history syllabus? Who
are the women considered to be of historical import to be included, and how are
they represented to the students? Thirdly, what are some ways the history and the
literature syllabi can be integrated, in order to collectively address the issue of
Kenyan nationalism, instead of burdening the history and government syllabus with
this responsibility?

Finally, since the Kenyan experience, with colonialism, closely resembles
that of Zimbabwe and South Africa - how do these two countries portray their
struggle for independence to their children? These are but some of the areas which
would enhance the study of curriculum and further enable an understanding of
Kenyan education, and as in the last suggestion, facilitate the comprehension of
comparative study of education in Africa.

Summary

There has been admirable effort in addressing the issues of relevance and
localization of the history and government syllabus. The inclusion of teachers and
other non-expert voices ensures that the general public is represented in the
process. However, the 8-4-4- system is too much driven by national testing,
consequently teachers tend to gloss over the material on the unit on the struggle.
For this history to be more relevant, teachers will have to change their teaching
methods, the books will have to be more inclusive of women's role, government
has to be separated from the syllabus, and the KIE has to be decentralized to allow
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Appendix A

Teachers Questionnaire
Teacher Questions

1. In your opinion, what is your role as a history teacher?

2. What do you think is the purpose of including Kenyan history in the history and government syllabus?

3. What do you think is the purpose of including the unit on the struggle for Kenya independence, in the history and government syllabus?

4. If students were to ask you, "What is the present relevance of learning about the struggle?" What would you tell them?

5. Describe your understanding of the terms:
   a) nationalism,
   b) nationalist.

6a. What does this syllabus accomplish well? How do you know?

   b) What are the frustrations of teaching from this syllabus?

8. Describe your idea of the ideal:
   a) history and government syllabus,
   b) unit on the struggle for independence.
      - What would it include or exclude?
      - What would it take to get to the ideal from here?
      - What would be needed to maintain this ideal?

9. If I were to attend your lessons on the unit on the struggle what are some topics of discussion I would expect to hear?
10. What would you like to teach, about the struggle for independence, that you usually do not have the opportunity to?

11. If I were to attend your class, what methods would I see you using to teach the unit on the struggle for independence?

12. In your opinion, describe ideal methods of teaching the unit on the struggle for independence.

13. Describe the resources, for example textbooks and any other materials, which you use to prepare for teaching the unit on the struggle?

14. What would you advise and suggestions would you make to the history panel regarding:

a) the history and government syllabus?

b) the unit on the struggle for independence?
Appendix B

Questionnaire: The KIE Staff and the History Panel
Questions for the KIE Staff & History Panel

1. Describe your role in the curriculum formulation process.

2. How is it decided whether a topic should be a part of the history and government syllabus?

4. Describe the strengths of this syllabus designing process.

5. Describe the frustrations of this syllabus designing process.

6. What is the purpose for including Kenyan history in the secondary education curriculum?

7. What is the purpose for including the struggle for independence the Kenyan history syllabus?

8. Describe the materials and resources you expect teachers to use when:
   a) preparing to teach this unit, b) teaching the unit.

9. Describe the future factors which you would expect to influence the formulation process in regards to the history and government syllabus.
Your thoughts before the teaching of the unit on the struggle

1. What are the reasons for you to learn Kenyan history in secondary school, in your opinion?

2a. What do you think is the purpose of learning about the Kenyan struggle for independence?

b) Describe your understanding of the terms:
   i) nationalism
   ii) nationalist

3a. List and describe some topics about the struggle in the independence you expect the teacher to discuss.

b) Why would you expect these topics to be discussed?

4. What exercises or activities do you expect to be involved in during the lessons?

5. Describe how you expect the lessons to be taught?
Your thoughts after the teaching of the unit on the struggle

1. Describe how what was taught:
   a) differed from your expectations about the unit,
   b) was similar to your expectations about the unit.

2. Did you find the teaching of the struggle of independence to have current relevance or not? How so or how not?

3. Describe the topics which were of most and least interest to you, and what is it about them which made them so?

4. Which student exercises or activities did you participate in? Which of them would you maintain or change? How so?

5. Assume that the panel responsible for writing the history syllabus asked for your opinion on how the struggle is examined in your class,
   a) what changes would you recommend to be made?
   b) what would you recommend to be maintained?

6. What books or other resources did you use or refer to when learning about this unit?
Appendix D

Objectives for Form 3 History and Government Syllabus
By the end of the course, the learner should be able to:

1. appreciate the importance of History and Government;

2. demonstrate an understanding of how people and events of the past have influenced the way in which people live and behave;

3. understand the social economic and political development of certain parts of the world and relate to the history;

4. derive through the study of history an interest in further learning;

5. develop the capacity for critical analysis of historical data;

6. appreciate the need for an importance of mutual social responsibility;

7. develop a sense of patriotism and national pride through participation in various development activities in the country.
Appendix E

Objectives & Guideline for the Unit on the Struggle for Kenyan Independence
4.0 POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE IN KENYA - 1919 TO 1963

4.1 Specific Objectives

At the end of this topic, the learner should be able to:

a) explain the origins, organization and effects of political and social movements;

b) trace the origins and the developments of nationalism in Kenya;

c) explain the various nationalist movements and their impact;

d) describe the constitutional and political changes leading to independence;

e) analyse the roles played by leading Kenyan personalities in the 20th. century.

4.2 Content

4.21 Early political organizations in Kenya:

i) East African Association;

ii) Young Kikuyu Association;

iii) Young Kavirondo Association;

iv) Kavirondo Tax Payers and Welfare Association;

v) Kikuyu Members Association;

vi) Akamba Members Association;

vii) Taita Hills Association;

viii) Coast African Association.
4.22 The emergence of independent churches and schools.

4.23 The Trade Union movement
i) African Workers' Federation;
ii) Kenya Federation of Labour.

4.24 Political organizations after 1945:
i) Kenya African Union;
ii) District Associations;
iii) Kenya African National Union;
iv) Kenya African Democratic Union.

4.25 Constitutional changes leading to independence.

4.26 The independence constitution.

4.27 Biographies of Kenyan leaders:
i) Jomo Kenyatta;
ii) Tom Mboya;
iii) Ronald Ngala.

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ABSTRACT

The Kenyan government has continuously recognized the potential socialization role of Kenya's history, in particular the topic on Kenya's struggle for independence, as a means of engendering a sense of national consciousness among students. This case study focuses on how this struggle is examined in the current secondary history syllabus, as part of the effort to formulate and implement a relevant syllabus.

A qualitative case study design was used to facilitate the study. Consequently, the findings and results are based on the analysis of a triangulation of data, which was collected in Kenya, through interviews, observations, and documents. There were three groups of participants: teachers, administrators, and students.

The search for relevance at the syllabus formulation level has meant the partial inclusion of parents and teachers in the process, although it still remains the domain of the Kenya Institute of Education. Also, non-educational factors, particularly in the socio-political environment, has continued to influence what is considered relevant. Likewise, topics which are considered controversial - like mau mau - have been omitted.

Unlike the pre-8-4-4 education system, there are more textbooks written by Kenyans on the struggle. Not only do they provide new information to the students, but they also play a significant role in perpetuating and reinforcing some of the general historical "myths" about Kenya's quest for independence.

The translation of the syllabus guideline into relevant practice, by teachers, is influenced by their perceptions of their role as teachers of history, their interpretation of the constructs -
nationalism and nationalists - and their attitudes towards students learning. Conversely, students' perceptions of the relevance of the unit are influenced mainly by the social folklore surrounding the struggle. However, their main interest is in passing exams.

In conclusion, the search for a relevant syllabus which relates the students' lives to what is taught, is hampered by: (1) the alienation of teachers from the formulation process, (2) reification of historical knowledge, (3) the audible silences resulting from the omission of the role of women and the mau mau, and (4) the taken for granted knowledge about what constituted the struggle.
APPROVAL OF EXAMINING COMMITTEE

Odell Van Dempsey, Ph.D.
Robert M. Maxon, Ph.D.
Scott W. Bower, Ph.D.
Charles K. Murray, Ph.D.
Perry D. Phillips, Ed.D., Chair

11/18/96
Date