

THE UNIVERSITY OF HULL

CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN KENYA:
AN ASSESSMENT OF THE EVOLUTION AND
OPERATION OF THE WESTERN MISSIONARY IDEOLOGY

being a Thesis submitted for the Degree of

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JAMES ELIJAH OTIENDE, Dip. R.E., B.Phil (Ed.), M.Ed.

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ABSTRACT

This study analyses the problems of moral education within Christian Religious Education in Kenya. It focuses on the displacement of African Traditional Education by the Western Missionary Ideology. The latter's influence on Christian Religious Education is deeply rooted in official commissions, reports and teaching programmes. A separation of moral education from Christian Religious Education in Kenya is suggested. The moral developmental approach of Piaget and Kohlberg is proposed as a basis for this separate moral education.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AACC	All Africa Conference of Churches
ATE	African Traditional Education
ATR	African Traditional Religions
CCEA	Christian Churches' Educational Association
CCK	Christian Council of Kenya
CE	Christian Education
CI	Christian Instruction
CIEO	Catholic International Education Office
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CMSGBI	Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland
CRE	Christian Religious Education
FMSGBI	Foreign Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland
IBEA	Imperial British East Africa Company
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KCS	Kenya Catholic Secretariat
KEC	Kenya Episcopal Conference
KIE	Kenya Institute of Education
KISA	Kikuyu Independent Schools Association
NARET	National Association of Religious Education Teachers
NCCK	National Christian Council of Kenya
OT	Old Testament
RCM	Roman Catholic Mission
UNESC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

INTRODUCTION

The Scope of the Study

1. The Problems

Despite present government and church co-operation in religious education in Kenya, it is clear that each has its reasons for fostering the subject and that they are not the same. The government's main reason for having religious education in schools is a moral one, it hopes that it will enable morally educated citizens to emerge; that of the churches is an evangelistic purpose, it hopes to make more Christian converts. Attempts made by the churches to focus attention on their efforts to assist the government in achieving the national goals of education have not deflected them from their basic proselytistic purpose.

The Kenyan government's co-operation with the churches in education, because the two have their own different reasons for co-operation, has invariably been problematic, if not dangerous. Even where co-operation is cordial, this does not make the reasons for the two parties' espousal of religious education the same. The churches are not content to sacrifice their belief in the value of schools which have a Christian character and promote Christian standards, whatever the degree of government control of the educational system. What has to be emphasised is that each sanctions religious education for different reasons. It is among the aims of this thesis to bring these reasons into clearer focus.

It is becoming clear that an inability to discern the fundamentally divergent aims of the government and the churches, is a central cause of the inadequacy of the religious education in schools and the failure of moral education. As long as the colonial and missionary basis of religious education

dominate the churches' thinking, the subject will continue to be hampered in its development. Recent moves in the subject towards neo-confessional aims cannot disguise the fact that as long as no sincere attempts are made by the churches to harmonize indigenous values with modern values, a contemporary moral education cannot spring from religious education.

An aim of this study is to attempt to show that current traditional Christian religious education in Kenya, is not an adequate vehicle of moral education. Moral education is taken to mean education in morals, social norms, knowledge and comprehension of the moral decision making machinery, consideration and awareness of one's feelings and those of others. It includes a consideration of questions of justice and benevolence. This study will endeavour to probe the facts of moral education in the country within the historical pre-colonial, colonial and the current independent eras.

Within this three-dimensional historical construct a recurring theme will be the adherence by the churches to the colonial missionary mentality. The analysis of this theme will require an evaluation of the present condition of Christian religious education. There will be an attempt to show that only by the curriculum developers of the subject surpassing the missionary ideology would they constructively address themselves to crucial questions affecting the adequacy of religious education in providing a strict moral code of values for the nation.

Questions that are crucial to the subject include the following:

- a) Does Christian religious education enhance good citizenship, character development, acceptable moral standards; does it prepare young people to take their places in Kenyan society?
- b) Is the contribution of Christian religious education simply to be seen in terms of faith development, conversion to Christianity, and as a vehicle for indoctrination to western moral values in the

guise of modernity?

c) Is the children's own African up-bringing a contributory factor to good citizenship, character building and acceptable moral standards; does it prepare them to take their places in Kenyan society?

d) What contribution to the development of a more acceptable religious education might a recognition of the value of African indigenous education make?

e) How might moral education be conceived in order to achieve its own ends rather than serve those of religious education as understood by the churches?

Religious and moral education from the churches' viewpoint was subordinate to and served the purposes of a rather parochial interpretation of the dominical command, "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations" (Mt. 28, v.19). In this context Christianity, an alien religion to Africa, can be viewed as an agent of cultural imperialism with its accompanying paternalistic overtones. Mission churches not only shared, but were also influenced by home-based social, economic and religious ideas, in what they saw as their motives. This study will attempt to substantiate the assertion in the case of Kenya, by focussing not only on the origins of the Church Missionary Society but also on how these ideas influenced the churches' views on the interplay of education and their overriding task of evangelism: the teacher was also the evangelist and the school was also the church.

This study will attempt to show how the missionary biases, perceptions and preconceived views in shaping their reactions and attitudes to traditional African cultures have influenced their role in education and their understanding of religious education in Kenya. This study concerns itself with the churches' attitudes and reactions to religious education, and how these attitudes and

reactions have continuously shaped and influenced the development of religious education in the country, often by making its moral role subservient to its evangelistic purpose.

However, it will not be directly within the scope of this study to concern itself with the history of Christianity in Kenya, except as this history is significant for the churches' attitudes to religious education. This study will not, in a pure historical sense, concern itself with the history of education in the country, except as historical developments in education have influenced the churches' views on religious education. Neither will it deal with the preparation of religious education teachers for the country. Finally, it will not engage in a detailed study of moral developmental psychology, although it recognises the contributions of Piaget and Kohlberg to developmental and moral education. They are considered in relation to a possible role for African traditional education in moral and religious education.

2. Research Methodology

This study is based on a variety of materials, from official and church sources in Kenya and Britain, and on a review of studies in Kenya. The sources consulted consisted of official colonial and post-colonial government reports and commissions on education, government and church official publications, periodicals, unpublished dissertations and papers, and relevant books and articles. The material in Kenya was, in general, more valuable, being closely related to the issues involved in the churches' understanding of educational theory and role in educational practice - particularly religious education practice. With independence the churches not only lost their original control over education, but had to face the problem that their members' faith was strained and superficial with little or no strong influence on their moral conduct. Basic to this problem is the fact that Christianity, because it is

not deeply-rooted in the cultural background of the people, is only superficially accepted by most of the people. What seems to be influencing the values in the daily living of people, particularly the young, is the secularism of western society with its largely materialistic ethos. This has resulted in the churches' current concern with what they consider to be anti-Christian elements which advocate the separation of moral education from religious education in schools.

To collect the data in Kenya demanded spending the 1980/81 academic year in that country. The field-work was an important opportunity to consult with church and academic personnel who are involved in the framing and conducting of religious education in the country. It was a chance to study specialised documentation only available locally, for much that is currently taking place is largely in the experimental stage and lacks systematic evaluation. Whatever data is available is in the government and church files and records. The distribution of such materials is usually restricted, and access to the sources tends to be on confidential basis. In several instances, such material was in the form of random reports on the entire educational structure and the effectiveness of it, rather than specifically that of the position of Christian religious education. Thus, a substantial amount of the specialist data used in this study is not only unpublished, but in a number of instances cannot be given proper bibliographical reference because it is in an unpublishable form.

The review of the studies carried out as part of the field-work in Kenya has been invaluable. Although the picture drawn from the review is only tentative and inconclusive, its contribution towards evaluating the position of Christian religious education in respect of moral education is considerable.

3. The Aims of the Study

This study aims to:

- a) Draw attention to the fact of African indigenous education and show how moral and religious education was effected in a pre-colonial time. It pays particular attention to recent studies in this area, and evaluates the relevance of pre-colonial educational theory and practice for moral and religious education in Kenya today.
- b) Review and assess the missionaries' civilising endeavours and evaluate the impact of their ideology on education in Kenya. It makes particular reference to their insistence in educational reports and commissions that African education must include religious instruction for the moral good of the African.
- c) Evaluate the position of religious teaching in independent Kenya. It shows that the churches include this subject on the timetable for the same reasons as the earlier missions.
- d) Review current studies in order to show that the present research trends in education point to the need for a moral education separate from religious education.
- e) Analyse and draw out the general implications of the view that religious education is a means of moral education. It particularly considers the importance of traditional moral education and suggests the relevance of basing moral and religious education on the cognitive developmental moral reasoning stages of Piaget and Kohlberg.

CHAPTER ONE

AFRICAN TRADITIONAL EDUCATION*

1. The Argument

This chapter argues that there were educational systems in Africa before the coming of the Europeans, that these educational systems had aims which were achieved, that the existence of ATE prepared children to be self-reliant, that in this education there was a key significance attached to the coming-of-age ceremonies, and that these ceremonies had some common characteristics. When the Europeans colonized Africa they failed to recognise the existing tribal customs, rituals and practices as an effective system of education. Where they did concern themselves with ATE, they generally regarded it as inadequate for it did not provide the "literacy and formal schooling"¹ which they considered to be central to education. This was a mistaken view.

The fault lay deep...there had been little or no examination or analysis of what already existed in Africa itself. There was, indeed, a naive belief that Africa had no education and there was no understanding of the fact that education is itself part of the social organisation of any society, whether or not that society has anything which might be recognised as a school. 2

Thus, this chapter argues that had western educators, especially those concerned with moral and religious education, looked sympathetically at what was happening in ATE then the Christian Religious Education⁺ programmes in Kenya would have a clearer and more educationally secure basis. It further

* Hereinafter referred to as ATE.

⁺ Hereinafter referred to as CRE.

1. Castle, E.B., Growing Up in East Africa, (London: O.U.P., 1966) p.39.

2. Wilson, J., Education and Changing West African Culture, (New York: Teachers' College, 1964) p.17.

attempts to demonstrate that, in the Kenyan situation, separate programmes of moral and religious education based on both the methods and content derived from ATE and cognitive developmental psychology would be most helpful. This study argues that the current CRE programmes in Kenya negate these educationally sound bases and embrace programmes which have not departed from the original missionary educational aim of winning Christian converts. This, it is argued, amounts to the mis-use of the nation's educational institutions.

The fact that ATE, like western developmental psychology, though in a crude manner, took into consideration stages of intellectual and personality development is particularly pertinent to this study. For it is to be maintained that the tendency for CRE programmes in Kenyan schools to ignore educational developmental psychology is partly to blame for the limited success of these programmes. They would have had greater success had they drawn on psychological findings. Similarly, had religious educators been sensitive to the values of ATE and incorporated them into their modern approach, CRE would have been more effective. This is particularly sad, for CRE in Kenyan schools is in the unique position of being entrusted with the very important task of helping children to achieve good moral standards and build strong characters.

2. The Debate Concerning ATE

Much recent literature in ATE has argued that it is highly significant in the educative processes, yet there are some writers who regard it as very superficial, confusing and culminating in meaningless generalities. They do not recognise its reality and question the very concept of ATE as problematic. They see inherent problems in ATE which range from those of meaning and analysis to those of scope and relevance. Ocitti, in writing about ATE among the Acholi of Uganda, held that not only was this aspect of African education

ignored, but that there were still those "who refuse to believe that African indigenous education ever existed at all".¹

Both Hoernle and Hellmann raise doubts about the attempt to adapt Bantu education to Bantu cultural institutions on the grounds that this was not only very difficult but that if attempted would retard development. "Education, all education, must be directed towards training the individual for the requirements of modern society and preparing him to take a responsible place in it".² Murray, writing of the same situation, dismisses ATE in even stronger terms.

The conception that education has a "social purpose", and that its function is to preserve and propagate the group's "culture", conflicts with the Christian standpoint that man is an end in himself and his social institutions merely mean to aid him to a better life. Educational principles must not be mixed up with the "facts" of descriptive sociology. The function of education is not to hand down the culture of a community from the more to the less mature members, although this was seemingly the case sometimes. 3

Perhaps, however, the sharpest criticisms of ATE were made during the Malangali school experiment in Tanzania. The Malangali school tried to develop an educational system which was based on ATE, though it made such modifications as would enable the children to live in modern society. It took account of consistent social and economic change, but sought to develop within children a respect and pride for their tribal traditions and history. In a changing context it showed them the value of tribal behaviour patterns and their moral and religious worth. Yet this experiment was severely

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1. Ocitti, J. P., African Indigenous Education : as Practised by the Acholi of Uganda, (Nairobi: E.A.L.B., 1973) p.vii.
 2. Hoernle, A. W., and Hellmann, E., "The Analysis of Social Change and its Bearing on Education" in The Colonial Review vii (December, 1952) 8, p.240.
 3. Murray, A. V., "Some Principles of Bantu Education" in The Colonial Review, vii (June, 1952) 6, p.174.

criticised. It was held to be an unjustifiable experiment to the extent that its results could not be predicted. It was criticised for being idealistic and impracticable. It was felt to be unfair to protect the African from outside influences. Indeed the Africans were to be blatantly Europeanised and their native customs were not to be preserved.¹

More recently opponents of ATE such as Cameron and Dodd, criticised it for producing conformist behaviour patterns. It leads to "personal conditioning being education in conformity...behaviour is prescribed and transmitted, knowledge is not questioned...there is an approved formula for everything, the hypothesis has no place."² A similar criticism is voiced by Zanolli.

It is not considered proper to excel....To work hard and be obedient is accepted, but extra effort resulting in a larger field or a greater crop yield than is necessary for the family's subsistence is frowned upon. The neighbours become jealous and destroy one's seed or steal one's cabbage. 3

Against these criticisms this study maintains that ATE possesses features which are relevant to CRE in contemporary Kenya.

1. ATE Misconstrued

Castle considers ATE in the light of the early missionaries' misconceptions of it.

One of the saddest mistakes of the early missionaries was their assumption that they taught education to an entirely uneducated people. If literacy and formal schooling constitute the whole of education, they were right, but in

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1. Mumford, W. B., "Malangali School", Africa, iii (July, 1930) 3, pp.284-290.
 2. Cameron, J. and Dodd, W. A., Society, Schools and Progress in Tanzania, (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1970) pp.49-50.
 3. Zanolli, N. V., Education Towards Development in Tanzania, (Basel: Pharog Verlag, 1971) p.39.

so far as education is preparation for living in the society into which we are born, they were profoundly wrong. For in the deepest sense African customary education was true education. Its aim was to conserve the cultural heritage of the family, clan and tribe, to adapt children to their physical environment and teach them how to use it, explain to them their own future and that of their community depended on the perpetuation and understanding of the tribal institution, on land, language and values they had inherited from the past. These aims were achieved, and most effectively, long before Europeans brought to Africa the other view that education necessarily involved the skills of writing and the reading of books. 1

All societies have means of transmitting to their emerging generations knowledge and values which enable the young to assume their proper adult roles. Education systems existed in Africa long before its colonisation, and Busia claims that they gave continuity to African societies.

In African communities, the older generations passed on to the young the knowledge, the skills, the mode of behaviour and beliefs they should have for playing their social roles. 2

ATE was geared to preparing children specifically for life within their particular societies, a point well made by Scanlon, with reference to sub-Saharan Africa.

The education of the African before the coming of the European was an education that prepared him for his responsibilities as an adult in his home, his village, and his tribe. In sub-Saharan Africa, it varied from

1. Castle, E. B., op. cit. p.39. It is not entirely true that ATE was wholly non-literate: Vai of Liberia and Mum of Cameroon, had invented their own systems of writing.

Brown, G. N. and Hiskett, M., "Introduction" (pp. 19-25) in Brown, G. N. and Hiskett, M. (Eds.) Conflict and Harmony in Education in Tropical Africa, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1975) p.22.

Rodney, W., How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, (London: Bogle - L'Ouverture Publications, 1972) p.263, draws attention to the existence of the universities of Al-Azhar in Egypt, of Fez in Morocco and Timbuctu in Mali, before the western colonisation. He adds that, "The colonizers did not introduce education into Africa: they introduced a new set of formal institutions which partly replaced those which were there before. The colonial system also stimulated values and practices which amounted to new informal education."

2. Busia, K. A., Purposeful Education in Africa, (The Hague: Mouton, 1969) p.13

the simple instruction given by the father to the Bushman youth of the Kalahari to the complex educational system of the highly organised and sophisticated Poro society of West Africa, with its myriad of ceremonies and countless degrees. The majority of the tribes probably fell somewhere between the Bushman and Poro with respect to the educational arrangements they provided for their youth, offering rituals to mark the end of puberty and relying heavily upon custom and example as the principal educational agents. 1

ATE has been overshadowed by modern school education practices. It has sometimes disappeared due to the demise of an older generation and its forms and richness are found only in the evidence of anthropological studies.² The picture of the disintegration of both the traditional ways of life and ATE is given by Busia.

Much of the old way of life is passing. The solidarity of the small, homogenous group of kinsfolk, the close-knit organisation of the village, or chiefdom or tribe, the rituals by which their sense of belonging was constantly renewed, have been undermined. Larger and more heterogenous groups and societies have emerged. The social awareness that now needs to be inculcated in the young must include these larger groups; the concept of membership of one another must extend beyond the tribe; the attention to the individual's behaviour must not be limited to concern for his conformity to the established ways of the group, but must, in the contemporary situation, show a deeper respect and appreciation for freedom and change. 3

Traditional African ways have often become the victims of change. However, with the advantage of hindsight, it is to be regretted that missionaries were unable and unwilling to integrate aspects of ATE into their own educational thinking and practices.⁴

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1. Scanlon, D. G. (Ed.), Traditions of African Education, (New York: Teachers' College, 1964) pp.3-4.
 2. Lawrance, J. C. D., The Iteso, (London: O.U.P., 1957).
Read, M., Children of their Fathers, (London: Methuen, 1959).
 3. Busia, K. A., op.cit., p.17.
 4. Junod, H. P., "Anthropology and Missionary Education", The International Review of Missions, XXIV (April, 1935) 94, p.213. The Christian missionaries were the Africans' first European educators, and therefore could have been the first to take cognisance of the motives of ATE, and consequently marry them into their new education.

ii. Characteristics of ATE

a) Relevant Content

ATE was integrated in content and functional in approach. Its content was rooted in the daily tasks, activities and deliberations of tribal society. Success meant the acquisition of competency in a variety of developmental tasks. There were, of course, very specialised skills where knowledge was the preserve and province of an endowed family, clan or tribe, e.g. rain-making. The effects of ATE were security and conformity. The young were initiated into a living tradition.

ATE was environmentalist-centred. It was an education which emphasised an awareness of the children's surroundings, of the social, political, economic, historical and spiritual aspects of tribal life. It enabled boys and girls to be useful and respectable members of their own societies. Their learning was often parallel and comprised a similar knowledge.

Indigenous African education of girls is not in many respects, very different from that of boys. The fetching of wood, the drawing of water, and the tending of certain crops are economic contributions to the family made strictly by girls, as is the preparation of food; all this is taught by the adult women. Some crafts are reserved for men and some for women. In some parts of Africa weaving is strictly the sphere of men, while the making of pots is strictly the sphere of women. 1

ATE was life-long, and did not end with children's coming-of-age ceremonies. Both the young and the old continued to learn from their tribal environment, from the activities that took place around them. This continuous aspect of ATE is noted by Wilson.

1. Wilson, J., op.cit., p.19.

It is important...to note that education does not cease with attainment of adult status. It is most probable that recurring festivals and the excitement and mime of drumming and dancing which accompanied them (puberty rites) are perpetual and repeated reminders of the facts and history and accumulated experience of the group essential to its continued existence and well-being. Again this may be accompanied by ritual and practice not readily acceptable to western ideas of behaviour. 1

Thus ATE was an education of an environmental nature which was offered to girls as well as boys as an integral part of a person's life experience. It was both practical and theoretical. It involved vocational training, so that the children learned, for example, pottery, basket-making and wood-carving. Domestic skills like cookery, child-care and dress-making were the domain of girls. Military training was given to the boys, so that they would know how to fight and defend their society. Physical training, including wrestling, dancing and tug-of-war were also taught.

ATE was concerned with skills and attitudes, which were essential for the formation of relevant ethical concepts and helped in the development of acceptable societal behaviour. Its oral literature was rich and included stories, songs, folk tales, proverbs and riddles. The oral literature was not "artistic entertainment material solely but served an educative purpose".² Through the use of oral literature the norms of society were passed to the children who were helped to conform to these norms. Society insisted that learning was a continuous process from birth through adulthood. Tales, proverbs and riddles were therefore told to the young both for entertainment and moral education. Nandwa asserts the educational value of oral literature of ATE.

1. Ibid., p.20.

2. Nandwa, J. A., 'Oral Literature Among the Abaluyia', M.A.Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1977 p.vi.

The education that was conveyed through the oral literature was of great value. The children were prepared to live in the community and the correct ideals were passed to them. Emphasis was placed on good manners, obedience to elders, hospitality, co-operation in common tasks, practical skills, on restraint and endurance of hardship....Control over natural impulses was emphasised, especially the control of sexual desire. This was governed by strict customary law with its prescribed rules and penalties, some of them very severe. 1

The content of ATE thus included the physical skills. It taught children how to live in their physical environment and promoted the social skills which showed children how to relate to other members of the family, clan and tribe. It inducted them into religious beliefs and practices which enabled them to relate to the spiritual world. Kimilu's conclusions are important.

My findings show that the Akamba traditional education is both formal and informal and that it aims at imparting attitudes and skills through which an individual Mukamba could preserve his cultural identity and exploit the economic resources....The whole content of the Akamba traditional education falls under four major avenues of learning...folklore, initiation ceremonies, music and manual works....In every function, say a religious ceremony, gardening, herding, pottery, singing, story-telling, there is a lesson to be learned. This lesson which will be referred to as the "functional intention" may be described as the reason, aim, purpose, or intention for the action or function. But it is noticeable that whereas a function may be performed for a specific purpose, the participants or spectators may learn other lessons beside. 2

Importantly in ATE great care was taken to teach only with regard to children's age, status and mental or intellectual development. Thus, for example, up to an early childhood stage the mother, through songs, stories and proverbs taught acceptable behaviour, hospitality, generosity, neighbourliness and obedience. From this stage to that of late childhood, children

1. Ibid., p.377.

2. Kimilu, D. N., 'A Study of the Akamba Traditional Education and its Relationship with Formal Primary Schooling', M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1972 pp.28-29.

were told stories at the fireside. At the adolescent stage through fables, legends and tribal stories about the traditions and customs of society, boys were prepared for circumcision. During the period of seclusion following the boys' circumcision they were instructed in sex education and its bearing on marriage and they were prepared for adult life.

Adolescent girls were likewise prepared for marriage through stories, songs and proverbs. Sex education which emphasised moral purity was an integral part of their education. To be a virgin at the time of marriage was praiseworthy, honouring to her parents, and giving a girl respect in society. For girls who engaged in pre-marital sex there was severe punishment, for example, the rubbing of stinging plants into the private parts. Sexual morality was stressed. Laziness was scorned as it would probably lead to a girl not getting married.

b) Objectives Realised

Two points need emphasising about ATE. Firstly it considered the maturational level of the children very carefully, a point well made by Kimulu.

At every age status there is an expected mental maturity and a degree of the enlightenment of the truth, as a result of which no responsibilities will be assigned to any individual beyond his expectation. And so the way the children are handled is not necessarily the way adolescents or adults are handled. Similarly a Mukamba will tolerate the violation of the taboos by the children because given the required time they do learn and obey customary prohibitions. 1

Secondly, its methodologies were appropriate to the children's level of learning. Three are particularly interesting: the home-centred methods which included imitation, early responsibility and listening; community-centred methods which included peer-group play and fire-side learning; and institution-centred methods which included initiation, secret societies and apprenticeships.

1. Ibid., pp.63-64.

Traditional African societies nurtured children in acceptable character traits. Punishments and rewards were used as helpful training instruments.

African societies have a wide variety of educational activities ranging from informal play and imitation, to formal educational institutions. Teaching is systematic and directed, but often the child is not aware of the teaching methods. Character is moulded through training. 1

ATE's goals were, therefore, conduct or behaviour-centred. They were oriented to knowledge and were practically-centred. ATE integrated a complex web of norms and standards, basic to which were the propagation of life and inter-personal loyalty. As Busia observes, ATE, in contrast to modern school education, was clear about its objectives.

Traditional education sought to produce men and women who were not self-centred: who put the interests of the group above their personal interest: whose hearts were warm towards the members of their family and kinsfolk: who dutifully fulfilled obligations hallowed and approved by tradition, out of reverence for the ancestors and gods, and the unknown universe of spirits and forces, and a sense of dependence on them. There was always the awareness that human life was the greatest value, and increase in the number of the members of the community the greatest blessing the gods and spirits and super-natural powers could confer on the living. 2

Thus, the richness, complexity and relevance of ATE can be shown by setting out its achieved objectives:

- a) ATE helps children and young people to acquire a knowledge of and show appreciation for the historical background of their society, which includes telling the stories of their origins and the myths and legends of their tribe, tracing the movements of their people, understanding and explaining traditional laws, customs, beliefs and practices, as well as the economic activities which took place in their society's area and the causes and results of internal and external contacts and conflicts.

1. Plueddemann, J. E., Indigenous African Education, (Jos: Association of Evangelicals of Africa and Malagasy for the Africa-wide Christian Education Strategy Conference, 25th-31st January, 1973) p.26.

2. Busia, K. A., op.cit. p.17.

- b) ATE helps children and young people to understand the structures and functions of their society's political system, to understand and explain the accepted norms of their group, recognise the role, rights and obligations of individuals and to demonstrate those skills and abilities which achieve social justice through communal means.
- c) ATE helps children and young people to identify, understand and have respect for and appreciate differing life patterns and cultures, and have respect for and identify and preserve worth-while elements in their own culture.
- d) ATE helps children and young people to recognise and understand the need for and importance of the interdependence of societies, recognising the need for peace and war, and understanding the place and importance of interdependence for survival and continuity.
- e) ATE helps children and young people to recognise the basic unit of the family, as a useful social institution, to respect and appreciate their rights and obligations within the family and society, to understand and explain the relationship and interdependence between different families and societies, and to know and appreciate the importance of preserving possessions of family and society.
- f) ATE helps children and young people to understand, use, manage and conserve the environment for individual, family, clan and societal development, identify problems in the environment and the potential and use of local resources, acquire the skills relevant to the use of the resources of their area, and understand and appreciate the importance of local co-operation in the use of the environment, as well as to identify the position and size of their land area and resources through "study".

- g) ATE helps children and young people to develop the attitudes, beliefs and values that lead to an equitable distribution of wealth, identifying the major components of their society's wealth, understanding the values pertaining to wealth in their society and the factors which contributed to the accumulation of individual and societal wealth, understanding the distribution and value of society's resources, and demonstrating willingness to share the resources of the family with others and the desire to work for social equality.
- h) ATE helps children and young people to show respect for the dignity of labour and appreciate its role in the production of wealth. It enables them to show a respect for work, an understanding that labour is the source of wealth, to develop a sense of devotion and duty, and appreciate the need for self-reliance and efficiency.

Each of these objectives is capable of deeper analysis. A framework of activities, skills, knowledge and resources common in contemporary curricular thinking demonstrates this depth. As an example, a fundamental objective is set out in some detail. The one selected concerns the recognition of the significance of the family as a basic social unit.

The Family As a Basic Social Unit

Learning Group	Specific Aims/ Objectives	"Pupil" Activities	Endowment Imparted (Skills and Attitudes)	Imparted Knowledge	Resources	Level of Learning
	Recognition of the family as basic unit	1. Role playing	1. Responsibility	1. Family Environment and membership	1. Resource persons (for e.g. father)	The approach would be on an integrated
	which is useful as a social institution	2. Visiting other related families in the societies	2. Understanding	2. Role of Members	2. Homestead	level of learning,
		3. Talk by an elder or need for co-operation, authority, respect, hospitality, respect, dependability at home.	3. Sympathy	3. Basic needs	3. Neighbourhood and society	of life
		4. Stories, riddles, proverbs told at home.	4. Traditional society's patriotism.	4. Family and environmental needs and possessions	4. Social functions (for e.g. cultural activities)	and occupational experience.
		5. Participating in communal cultural activities.	5. Patriotism	5. Social organization and neighbourhood	5. Immediate environment garden, forest and lake	
		6. Observing available aids and families	6. Overall development of the intellect.	6. Utilisation of and conservation of resources at home and in the environment.		
		7. Making and modelling in plays and in real life - dressmaking, housebuilding and planting.	7. Respect			
			8. Hospitality			
			9. Observation			
			10. Discussion			
			11. Participation			
			12. Comparison			
			13. Utilization			
			14. Concentration			
			15. Listening			
			16. Modelling			
			17. Conservation			
			18. Presentation			

iii. Religion and Morality Central to ATE

a) Rites in ATE

The rites de passage were the zenith of ATE.¹ The importance of these rites within the general context of ATE is affirmed by Scanlon.

For the youth, the rites de passage marked the culmination of an epoch in his life. As a child, he had been introduced by his elders to the legends surrounding previous exploits of his tribe, to the mysteries of his religion, to the practical aspects of hunting, farming, or raising cattle, and to his community responsibilities. Now he occupied a new position in the society. In some cases, he had been prepared for the rites; in others, secrecy surrounded the event, for reaction to the ceremony was itself an important part of the ritual. A variety of formal observances, in addition to the experiences of daily living, impressed upon the youth his place in the society in which religion, politics, economics and social relationships were invariably interwoven. 2

While the rites de passage were central to what constituted ATE there was considerable variation in the duration of the ceremonies.³ Despite these variations, Scanlon shows that the rites of passage had a number of common features.

Parts of the rite were secret and were confined to those men and women who had themselves experienced a similar initiation; the rites always signified a "rebirth", and the boys often took new names to indicate that they had been "reborn"; the ritual was always characterised by pomp and ceremony, which served to impress upon the participant the importance of the occasion; the ceremony represented a fusion of religion and magic, of law and medicine; all boys and girls were expected to experience the rite, and the occasional individual who had not participated found that he had no status in his society; those boys and girls

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1. Laye, C., The Dark Child, (Paris: Noonday Press, 1954).
Kenyatta, J., Facing Mount Kenya, (London: Secker and Warburg, 1932).
Goldthorpe, J. E., Outlines of East African Society, (Kampala: Makerere College, 1958).
Read, M., The Ngoni of Nyasaland, (New York: O.U.P., 1956).
Raum, O. F., Chagga Childhood, (New York: O.U.P., 1940).
Fox, L. K., (Ed.) East African Childhood: Three Versions, (Nairobi, O.U.P., 1967).
 2. Scanlon, D. G., op.cit., p.4.
 3. Ibid., p.14.

who experienced the ceremony at a particular time were often given a collective name which indicated their age set, and members of the same age set were encouraged to look upon members of their group as brothers and sisters. 1

These rites were an important focus of ATE. They were procedural and included a specified length of time in exclusion during which older members of the community instructed the initiates or candidates in the accepted standards of the society. The rites included both physical and social training, and were important for all responsible adults interested in the continuity of their societies. During this period, according to Wilson, religious and moral education were very important.

Moral training is also a strong theme of the rites evidenced most notably in endurance tests and trials of courage sometimes of a kind barbaric to the western mind. Respect for the elders and all forms of organised authority are taught. Role playing and dramatisation are used to teach the young the kind of conduct, ceremony, and discharge of responsibilities expected of them. 2

Kenyatta in his classic analysis of the Kikuyu, accords cliteridectomy considerable educational importance.

...this operation is still regarded as the very essence of an institution which has enormous educational, social, moral and religious implication, quite apart from the operation itself. For the present it is quite impossible for a member of the tribe to imagine an initiation without cliteridectomy. 3

This rite was an indispensable measurement of whether the children had attained the expected levels of education, sociability, morality and religion demanded by Kikuyu society. Nothing else, it would appear, adequately served such a function.

1. Ibid.

2. Wilson, J., op.cit., p.20.

3. Kenyatta, J., op.cit., p.133.

b) Religious and Moral Education in ATE

Traditional African societies were bound up together through their religious ideals. Religion played a unifying role, and could not be disentangled from the numerous societal activities and functions. It was all-inclusive and encompassing, particularly in human relationships. ATE not only emphasised a religious approach to life, but it also socialised children to accept that the natural as well as the super-natural worlds were to be revered, for these were fundamental to society's existence. Failure to show the appropriate reverence would result in its destruction. There was a belief in God and spirits. During religious rites and ceremonies this belief was naturally central. For example, at funeral ceremonies, with their accompanying songs, children learned the religious beliefs of their society.

The cosmologies were based on the existence of a Supreme Being who was Spirit and Creator, and the source of all power and energy. He granted existence to all created things. He animated the gods, the spirits and human beings, animals, rivers, trees, rocks and all matter. Their metaphysics conceived the Creator as a universal vital force that animated and energized all created things whose real essence consisted not in matter but in the energy and power infused into them by the Creator. 1

African Traditional Religions* both dealt with moral education and ^{were} ~~was~~ supportive of accepted regulations and customs.² Morality and religion were inseparable. Religion gave force and credibility to a society's moral values

1. Busia, K. A., op.cit., p.14.

2. It seems that there is a misconception as to the source of moral values in African societies. Like western moral values, these have more than one source, however, but unlike western moral values, which arise from a supernatural order, they do not arise from a single order. (Dzobo, N. K., "Values in Indigenous African Education", Brown, G. N. and Hisket, M. (Eds.) op.cit., pp.76-87).

* Hereinafter referred to as ATR.

and emphasised the proper behaviour among all its members.

Traditional religion in East Africa was articulated wholly within the structure of the tribe. Its beliefs and values were taught through communitarian rituals. Worship was conducted by representatives of the different social groupings - clan, family, chiefdom, professional association. Religious beliefs represented the attempt to come to grips with a particular experience - experience of environment and way of life, experience of a particular history lived in this environment, and a particular social experience. All these factors accounted for the different combinations and emphases within the various traditional religious systems, and contributed to an original view of man and his relationship to the world which was the basis for a characteristic value system. These ideas and values were expressed in an equally characteristic form of symbolic classification. 1

Informally through ceremonies, prayers, worship, the pouring of libations and offering of blood sacrifices, children were educated in the religion of their tribes. The result was that children came to observe, without explanation, the religious rites of their societies. Since the observations were non-explanatory the mystique accompanying the supernatural was very strong. Children's own households, age groups and communities saw to it that they were lawful and feared God. The primacy of religious and moral education in ATE is argued by Moumouni.

Moulding character and providing moral qualities are primary objectives in traditional African education. Almost all the different aspects of education of the child and the adolescent aim towards this goal, to a greater or lesser degree. In the family, parents concern themselves with the bearing, the manners, honesty and integrity of the child. Outside the house, games, the society of his friends in the same age group, and the demands they make on each other, constitute a real source of character-building. Sociability, integrity, honesty, courage, solidarity, endurance, ethics and above all the concept of honour are, among others, the moral qualities constantly demanded, examined, judged and sanctioned, in ways which depend on the intellectual level and capacities of the child and adolescent. 2

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1. Shorter, A., East African Societies, (London: R.K.P. 1974) p.85.
 2. Moumouni, A., Education in Africa, (London: Andre Deutsch Ltd., 1968) p.22.

Lijembe also stresses the integrative and all pervasive nature of the religious and moral aspects of ATE.

...moral training was part and parcel of every aspect of traditional education passed on by generation after generation....Children were trained from their earliest years to be respectful, obedient and mannerly, these being the standards by which adults become acceptable to society. All parents, and fathers in particular, were very stern with children who in any way departed from such standards. Furthermore, the punishment for children who misbehaved, however harsh, had to be accepted by them without question or complaint. Thus the children, respectfully submissive, learned to fear their fathers as harsh and severe, being called upon in their positions as heads of the family to punish whatever serious misbehaviour they themselves observed or was reported by the mothers. Strong feelings of dislike, though dutifully suppressed, were frequently mixed in with fear. 1

3. Conclusion: ATE in Retrospect

ATE is "a rich source of information, worthy of creative reflection".² It enshrines the most important goals of the various educational activities, the development of character and the formation of very high moral standards. The various educative processes insisted on such qualities as courage, endurance, acceptable manners and morals. These qualities were imparted with regard to age groups and usually successfully acquired goals. Change has and is still taking its toll of ATE, but the overriding need to help children achieve socially acceptable moral standards and develop a strong character still persists. Schools are important agents for ensuring that this need is met.

Indeed, this need is most pressing today in view of the fluidity of moral values in contemporary Kenyan society. In ATE the learning was on-going,

1. Lijembe, J. A., "The Valley Between : A Mluyia's Story", Fox, L. K., (Ed.), op.cit., p.15.

2. Moumouni, A., op.cit., pp.32-33.



providing the necessary learning experiences for the development of the children's personality as a preparation for their adult roles. Through interaction with the physical and human environment, the personality was helped to develop. The human environment, starting with mother and father, moved to include a whole family, a peer group and ultimately the entire community. The physical environment reinforced the children's innate qualities. By learning through the cultural activities of their community, and by imbibing and emulating the values of their society children were prepared to be useful adult members of the adult group.

ATE was functional and utilitarian. Learning and production were inter-related. It offered the skills necessary for production and also encouraged a proper attitude to work and social living. This education included serious training in good manners and high moral standards. It fostered the former in terms of eating, greeting, relationship between sexes and respect to elderly members of society. To some it may have been deficient in that it curbed children's freedom, emphasised respect and fostered prestige,¹ but it was purposeful and serious. It also realised worth-while societal ends. So far as moral education was concerned, children grew up with a clearly defined code of conduct "for the boy or girl tribal law and moral code, like the Jewish 'Shema' were written in the mind and heart to become part of all thinking and feeling".²

ATE was governed by age groups or stages of intellectual development which made it meaningful for the children. It attended to the development of children's personality in a unique manner. Intellectual development was an

1. It is acknowledged that the curriculum for ATE was narrow in scope in that reading and writing were hardly included. The responsibility for teaching was left to all elders, and therefore no teaching profession emerged. ATE was also tribalistic, i.e. different tribes fostered different values.

2. Castle, E. B., op.cit., p.40.

integral part of ATE. Oral literature, particularly riddles and proverbs, lessons in tribal history, geography, biology, botany, scientific observations and mathematics, all provided the children with an opportunity to gain cognitive skills. The emphasis was on early maturation so that they could assume adult roles at an early age. However, the children's readiness was taken into account throughout, and learning was geared to their age group or mental stages. Moumouni has acknowledged the widespread existence of three such age groups or mental stages across Africa "despite difference in detail, such as the precise number of groups".¹

- a) Its first phase was from birth to about five or six years. Education was imparted or guided by the mother. There was occasional participation by the father and an acknowledgement of his role as a future disciplinarian. The mother sowed seeds of proper and acceptable conduct.
- b) Its second phase was from five or six years to nine or ten years. Education was arranged according to sex. Boys were taught by older boys and girls by older girls. There was an emphasis on the value of and involvement in productive communal work. Apart from this most spare time was devoted to games with peer groups.
- c) Its third phase was from nine or ten to fourteen or fifteen years. There was increasing involvement in productive, communal work aimed at making the children independent and self-reliant. Apprenticeships were a common feature of these ^eyears. There were also adolescent classes concerned with preparation for adulthood and its responsibilities.

1. Moumouni, A., op.cit., p.25.

Malinowski, B., "Native Education and Culture Contact", The International Review of Missions, XXV (October, 1936) 100, pp.508-515.

Thus ATE was holistic, relevant, functional and community centred, but at a certain moment in the history of most African countries, including Kenya, an alien system of education was superimposed upon it. The result was that traditional values were increasingly ignored or forced into the background. Children who went to school were torn between two loyalties and were usually alienated from their traditional societies. The mistake was not that they adopted new ways or approaches to doing things but that in the process they either neglected or rejected whatever was related to traditional societies. It is, therefore, imperative that with independence ways should be found to develop relevant educational approaches based on the constructive aspects of ATE.

We have moved from relatively stable slowly changing cultures to rapidly changing cultures. The break with the past comes with outdated traditional aspects of education. African intellectuals are coy about the feeling that cultural pattern of the pre-colonial East African societies is outmoded. They are now articulate about the need for finding African roots in education and other socialisation processes. 1

1. Wanjala, C. L., 'Alienation in Modern East African Literature', Ph.D. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1977/1978, pp.12-13.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EVOLUTION OF THE WESTERN MISSIONARY IDEOLOGY

1. The Perspective of the Western Missionary Ideology

The last chapter has argued that prior to the western intrusion there were among the African peoples educational systems, which transmitted knowledge and behaviour patterns to the new generations. African societies had closely woven social structures which perpetuated accepted customs, relationships and legal codes. This ATE was largely informal, although aspects of it lent themselves to formal training, especially during the seclusion periods after initiation. Western school education therefore, did not come into a vacuum. As it came, however, it tended to destroy the traditional systems of social training. The result of this was that younger generations, despising what was taught under ATE, became alienated from their indigenous societal backgrounds.

ATE had produced well-rounded persons who were not only self-reliant but were also knowledgeable in proper human relationships. The new generations have come to live in two worlds, the watered-down one of the traditional societies and the western one. This latter is fostered by modern school education which is founded largely on the efforts of missionaries. The missionaries fostered CRE and ensured that it was an integral part, not only of their schools, but also of schools founded by the colonial governments.¹ Thus, to understand the problem of religious and moral education as it exists

1. This is universally the case in what became British territories in Africa after the Berlin Conference in 1884, which worked out the partition of Africa among the European powers. In the French territories education was humanistic and idealistic, without direct religious education and so the mission schools had a lesser part to play in general education. The French education policy was secular, practical work-oriented and had "moral subjects" like sanitation, farming and higher standards of living. It stressed the third principle of the French Revolution of 1789, that is fraternity rather than taught Christian Education. Mumford, W. B., Africans Learn to be French, (London: Evans Bros. Ltd., 1935) pp, 39 and 68-69).

today, it is necessary to analyse its roots as they appear in missionary education and to isolate those forces which prompted missionary societies to engage in a struggle in which on occasions "white martyrs outnumbered black converts".¹ The situation in Kenya can be described in this way.

The purveyors of the Christian message were not received as long-awaited deliverers freeing man from the thralldom of sin. Initially the message made little impact. They were coveted for their goods and their technical abilities. The missionary attempt to enrol the African in the kingdom of believers was paralleled by the African attempt to enmesh the missionary in the web of tribal politics. 2

It is evident that there were very deep personal and religious convictions behind the efforts of many missionaries. These outweighed considerations of health, personal hostility and ignorance of Africa. These convictions also exposed the missionaries to manipulation by African rulers. Despite these dangers, missionaries found their way into Africa and

...missionary actions were set in the context of a pattern of belief which...constituted an important psychological buttress in the excessively trying days which accompanied the initial fumbling attempts to plant focal points for the diffusion of Christianity in Africa...the missionary zeal and assumptions of divine protection overran the boundaries of ordinary prudence. 3

Krapf, for example, despite having unsuccessfully laboured in Ethiopia for seven years, (1837-1844) was chastened but not defeated by the experience. He interpreted that experience as being divinely ordained, so that he would be free to go and minister to "the pagans of East Africa, where his real work

1. Cairns, H. A. C., Prelude to Imperialism : British Reactions to Central African Society, 1840-1890, (London: R.K.P., 1965) p.10.

2. Ibid., pp.10-11.

3. Ibid., p.11.

belonged".¹ And even when, after a decade in his new station, he had only two invalid African converts he was not disheartened about further missionary efforts. He wrote

If all missions should fail, and fail at the same time, so completely that no trace of them should remain, I would still, with my prayers, my labours, and my gifts, cling to missionary work with body and soul, because it is commanded by my Lord Jesus Christ, and where He commands, there He calls and gives victory. 2

The missionary zeal was frequently excessive and appeared to be motivated by deep religious principles which often took little account of danger. Death in the course of the missionary endeavour became akin to courageous behaviour. A divinely inspired missionary often did not pause to calculate the odds in difficult situations or when faced with what seemed to be insurmountable obstacles. The missionaries believed that ultimately they would be vindicated and that their hardships and trials could be used in the service of God. To volunteer to serve in Africa was a "'practical proof' that Christianity was more than veneer".³ This "implied something more than a comfortable house and a quiet existence in a British parish".⁴

Outside their own political dominions the missionaries were able during the pioneer period to do little more in a religious way than to sow the seed in hope. Many of the impediments were only too obvious. A mission station could become temporarily untenable as the result of a severe famine, a succession quarrel following the death of a chief, the approach of a raiding tribe, or even the cutting of communications by an upheaval hundreds of miles away. Permanent installations were useless as

1. Murray-Brown, J., Faith and the Flag : The Opening of Africa, (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1977) p.30.

2. Ibid., pp.30-31.

3. Cairns, H. A. C., op.cit., p.19.

4. Ibid.

long as the migrations involved in shifting cultivation might leave the original site isolated after a few years... Still, the missionary's impact upon the free tribal life was in the long run his most important activity... 1

The missionary mentality can be seen as either a thirst or a malady whose solution or cure was actual participation in missionary activity in Africa. Thus Krapf's ambition was to see the setting up of mission stations across Africa, despite the numerous hardships. He wrote in a letter dated 20th June, 1851 and addressed to Dr. Barth of Württemberg.

And yet I keep to my purpose. Africa must be conquered by missions; a chain of missions must be effected between the east and west though a thousand warriors should fall to the left, and ten thousand to the right....The idea of a chain of missions between east and west Africa will yet be taken up by succeeding generations, and carried out; for the idea is always conceived tens of years before the deed comes to pass. This idea I bequeath to every missionary coming to East Africa....The chain of missions will yet be completed when the Lord's own hour is come. His mills grind slowly, indeed, but beautifully. 2

The missionary societies depended on an enthusiasm and fervour from home-based Christians for their funding. "We considered it to be our duty, to make Christians at home acquainted with the unknown countries of the African interior",³ wrote Rebmann. Krapf further spells out the purpose of sending reports of the explorations of Africa to their missionary societies:

The friends of missionary labour...should also obtain some knowledge of this unexplored portion of the East African coast, and thus become better acquainted with the various routes by which messengers of the Gospel may press forward to some common centre. 4

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1. Oliver, R., The Missionary Factor in East Africa, (London: Longman, Green and Co.Ltd., 1952) pp.66-67.
 2. Groves, C. P., The Planting of Christianity in Africa 1840-1878, II, (London: Lutterworth Press, 1954) pp.109-110.
 3. Ibid., p.103.
 4. Ibid., p.105.

Thus, the missionary societies publicised widely the work of individual missionaries though their efforts "represented a selective capacity to interpret events in a fashion congenial to the missionary".¹

Although the missionaries' endeavour could be interpreted at one level as suicidal, it could also be interpreted from a particular theological view as an ultimate commitment. And within a short time of their endeavour, they had, with their missionary societies become influential in Europe. In particular, Livingstone's accounts of his undertakings in Africa played a significant role in this public relations exercise.² Belonging "to the godly poor, but not ashamed of his station, nor too proud to try and rise above it",³ he made a name for himself by his work in Africa. This is amply demonstrated of Livingstone by Moorhouse in respect of the anti-slavery pressure group and missionary interests' meeting held on 1st June, 1840, in Exeter Hall.

And among these fervent, patriotic, well-meaning, committed and slightly hysterical Christians, was a man who was destined much more than anyone else in Exeter Hall, in London, in the whole world, to exemplify the spirit which was now being proclaimed and released as a benison upon degraded Africa.... He was David Livingstone and he was very close to an ordination ceremony that would transform him into a Christian Minister as well as a doctor of medicine. Before the year was out he would have sailed for Africa, to a lifetime's obsession of such heroic, such epic proportions, that alone he would do more to kill the slave trade and exalt the Christian missionary profession than all the glittering meetings of nobility, of bishops, of politicians and enthusiastic well-wishers that might be held in Exeter Hall or anywhere else on the face of the earth. If this day's work marked the real beginning of the missionary success story, it was Livingstone who translated it into a fable. 4

1. Cairns, H. A. C. op.cit., p.18.

2. Livingstone, D., Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa, (London: 1857).

----- The Last Journals, I and II, Waller, H., (Ed.), (London: 1874).

----- Missionary Correspondence, 1846-56, 1 and 11, Schapera, I., (Ed.). (London: 1961).

----- Private Journals, 1851-53, Schapera, I., (Ed.), (London: 1960).

----- African Journals, 1853-62, 1 and 11, Schapera, I., (Ed.) (London: 1963).

3. Murray-Brown, J., op.cit., p.31.

4. Moorhouse, G., The Missionaries, (London: Eyre Methuen, 1973) pp.27-28.

After his death in Africa in 1873, and subsequent embalming and final burial at Westminster, he became a source of inspiration for further missionary work. Livingstone had brought back very optimistic reports, seeing his "difficulties in the light of his own insurmountable courage". He believed in the integration of Christianity with commerce and civilization, in order to rejuvenate Africa. Shortly before the Zambezi expedition of 1858-63, he wrote to Professor Sedgwick,

That you may have a clear idea of my objects; I may state that they have more in them than meets the eye. They are not merely exploratory, for I go with the intention of benefitting both the African and my own countrymen. I take a practical mining geologist to tell us of the mineral resources of the country, an economic botanist to give a full report of the vegetable productions, an artist to give the scenery, a naval officer to tell the capacity of river communications, and a moral agent to lay a Christian foundation for anything that may follow. All this machinery has for its ostensible object the development of African trade and the promotion of civilization; but what I can tell to none but such as you, in whom I have confidence, is this. I hope it may result in an English colony on the healthy high lands of Central Africa....I have told it only to the Duke of Argyll. 2

Accordingly whatever barriers were raised, these were ultimately to be overcome, given that God's purpose must be fulfilled. Cairns explains

To Livingstone the inferiority of the African called not for brutality or exploitation but for the exercise of moral trusteeship. African backwardness elicited a feeling of responsibility owed by a moral aristocrat to the weak, the suffering, and the needy among whom he laboured. Superiority was a trust and its usage had conditions attached. The fact of superiority was not in question, but rather obligations. Contentment sprang from well-being, the consciousness of superiority justly utilised. 3

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1. Cairns, H. A. C., op.cit., p.12.
 2. Quoted in Moorhouse, G., op.cit., pp.134-5, but source not shown.
Monk, W., Dr. Livingstone's Cambridge Lectures, (London: Deighton, Bell and Co., (1858) republished in 1968).
Murray-Brown, J., op.cit., p.33.
 3. Cairns, H. A. C., op.cit., p.20.

Thus, the missionary saw himself as called to leadership among the Africans. He was to fulfil his obligations dutifully and devotedly in a Christian manner. He was in the forefront rejuvenating Africa, since he was called upon by God to be used for this grand purpose.

The mission stations were seen as centres of western civilisation in the middle of savagedom, and on numerous occasions it did not quite matter whether or not they were winning followers to Christianity. What was important was the civilizing influence of the missionaries' very presence in Africa, for then their contact with African societies would eventually change the latter's moral and spiritual outlook. To realise their ends they became involved in learning and writing African languages.

As to entering the centre of Africa from this Quarter, I cannot consider it impossible, but it would be connected with great difficulties....I think a traveller can only by degrees advance towards the interior, if he studies the languages, and forms connections with natives,

wrote Krapf from Mombasa to his friend Captain Graham in Bombay on 1st May, 1845, of his travels in 1844-45.¹

Africa, in short, was a cause which provided an opportunity for humanitarians to do unquestioned good from positions of leadership. Missionary propaganda constantly informed the missionary of the importance of his work. Africans were "waiting" for the gospel. Dead missionaries were martyrs, and live missionaries were heroes....Missionaries clearly derived pleasure from a satisfying contemplation of the nobility of their actions. The desire to ameliorate the lot of the Africans was undoubtedly intermingled with a personal quest for the self-satisfaction of undertaking altruistic work. 2

1. Quoted by Groves, C. P., op.cit., pp.98-99, was earlier quoted by Groves, C. P., from East and West Review, 111 (1937) p.268.

2. Cairns, H. A. C., op.cit., pp.21-22.

2. The C.M.S. and the Western Missionary Ideology

Murray sees a parallel between the late 18th century European historical situation and subsequent missionary work in the 19th and 20th centuries. Discussing the work of the Church Missionary Society he says that it was a product of the European historical situation,

...that in the period and Church which gave birth to the C.M.S. we see prefigured many of the attitudes towards 'social inferiors' and how (if at all) to educate them, towards the role of Christianity as an instrument of 'civilization' and towards the Church's dual mission as an agency of social change and social control - which we meet later on, dressed up in pseudo-scientific racialist rhetoric, when we study the C.M.S. in Africa and elsewhere. 1

The British historical circumstances called for considerable efforts in the maintenance of greater social control in the light of two revolutions, the Industrial and the French. In Britain the period towards the end of the 18th century was one of transition. It saw an economic and social transformation from the Industrial Revolution which was wholly new in Europe. The British rulers were particularly concerned to maintain social control over the people in a bid to stop the ideas first developed during the French Revolution. It is Murray's opinion that conditions in Britain, given its

1. Murray, N. U., The Church of England in the Late 18th Century: The Development of Missionary Ideology, Unpublished Staff Seminar Paper, Department of History, Kenyatta University College, 24th January, 1978, p.2.

Indeed, Murray, like Oliver, op.cit., and Cairns, op.cit., inclines to the view that the missionary societies would best be understood within their ideological background. The fact is that it was the western missionary ideology of their time that culminated in their endeavour in Africa, and elsewhere. Murray, Oliver and Cairns are more probing and critical of the missionary rationale departing from the European evangelical revivalism and anti-slavery approach of the C.M.S. Murray maintains that the C.M.S. was the "missionary arm" of the Church of England, and therefore held a "special position" both in England and the British territories. The C.M.S. she adds, was "accorded a non-official, quasi-established position with the Colonial structure", influencing colonial policy at home (p.2). Otherwise, Moorhouse, G., op.cit., Anderson, W. B., The Church in East Africa, (Dodoma: Central Tanganyika Press, 1977) and Okullu, J. H., Church and Politics in East Africa, (Nairobi: Uzima, 1974), have tended to treat the mission movement without examining its ideological roots.

"haphazardly organised government",¹ were conducive to a revolution. Plumb has made a similar assessment.

Profound changes in the economic life of the country must necessarily disturb its whole social structure, and the Industrial Revolution was no exception. Naturally, too, it bred a new attitude of mind to the old problems of society - poverty, crime, debt, disorder, and of course, a critical attitude to the ancient and inefficient constitutional machinery which bore so little relation to the needs of society. Satire or self-satisfaction, the common responses of the Augustan age, were replaced by analysis and constructive criticism. But the most dominant note is a growing moral imperative, an insistence that human virtue can be measured only by its immediate social value, an attitude of mind which could justify both reform and repression. 2

The British ruling class, the gentry and the nobility considered the Church of England to be a social ally, one of the forces of social control. After the glorious Revolution of 1688-9 the Protestant Dissenters, having helped to restore the status quo, were rewarded with legal toleration. They were, however, "barred from first class citizenship",³ which was reserved for the members of the Church of England who received both material and moral support. Such support promoted social control.

The principal pillar of the State...every wound which one receives, must necessarily endanger the safety of the other... both must stand or fall together, in consequence of their indissoluble tie, and mutual support. 4

The C.M.S., following in the footsteps of the Church of England, saw its role as one of the forces of social control in the British Empire. Like the

1. Ibid., p.3.

2. Plumb, J. H., England in The Eighteenth Century, (Middlesex: Penguin, 1950) p.84.

3. Murray, N. U., op.cit., p.5.

4. Gordon, A., The Plain Duties of Wise and Christian Subjects, (n.p., 1793) pp.44-45.

Church of England in the late 18th Century, the C.M.S. was intent on instilling habits of total obedience, subservience and submission throughout the Empire.

Side by side with the story of the C.M.S., nay, closely interwoven with it throughout, is the story of the awakening of the Church of England from a state of torpor and deadness to an increasing sense of its high vocation, its great responsibility... 1

It was a "propaganda machine"² for the Monarch's representatives across the British Empire. Since the relations between the Church of England and the ruling class were cordial in Britain, some kind of working relationship between the Monarch's governors and the C.M.S. in the Empire was to be supported and consolidated.

Missions extend the visible and organised Christian Church, or Churches; and, in due time, they make Christian nations. Such results as these are to be aimed at, and prayed for. Viewed, however, in the light of eternity, they are chiefly valuable in so far as they promote the salvation of men. The grand aim of missions is (1) to fulfil the Lord's command to preach the Gospel as a witness to all nations, which affects eternity because His coming depends upon it; and (2) to gather out of the world the spiritual Church which is the true Body of Christ, and which will live on into a future when all earthly church organisation is forgotten. 3

Accordingly the C.M.S. was a society composed of Church Evangelicals, determined to be seen as a dignified group. Murray asserts that

in their eagerness to shake off the stigma attached to 'enthusiasm', they set out to prove themselves staunch upholders of the social order; in the process they adopted a dynamic paternalist outlook which was later exported to the colonies by the C.M.S. 4

1. Kennaway, J. H., "Preface by the President of the Society", Stock, E., The History of the Church Missionary Society : Its Environment, Its Men and Its Work, Vol.1 (London: C.M.S., 1899) p.v.

2. Murray, N. U., op.cit., p.5.

3. Stock, E., op.cit., p.xiv.

4. Murray, N. U., op.cit., p.7.

The Church Evangelicals tended to be well-to-do and well-connected individuals, and although their aims were suspect they were not considered to be dangerous or socially disruptive.¹ Consequently, as far as the working class was concerned, the Church Evangelicals had the proper social credentials, and were thus unlikely to be suspected of flirting with a revolution which would jeopardise their property.

However, their objectives were still suspect. Because of the extraordinary zeal of the Church Evangelical clergy and their backing by influential laymen, they were seen as an aggressive faction about to realise greater conquests.

Not a single bishop gives them the slightest recognition beyond what he is officially obliged to give....But the power of the Lord is with them. They are not only, by His grace, bringing thousands of individual souls out of darkness into light, but they are gradually leavening the teaching of the Church, to such an extent that the doctrines which they alone in 1796 are setting forth in Scriptural fulness will, fifty and a hundred years later, although still hated by some and ridiculed by others, be admitted, even in derision, to be "the popular theology", that is the theology which is in fact the religion of the English people. 2

The Church Evangelicals were intent on revitalising Christianity among the British people, unlike other Church of England clergy whose preaching had been deadened and reduced to moralizing. Rather than preach and wait for results, they methodically moralized the British people, fighting against traditional habits and social practices which they interpreted as hindering the Christianisation of the people. Thus, they sought the removal and exclusion

1. Among them were included such prominent names as Thomas Clarkson, Zachary Macaulay, William Wilberforce, M.P., (all leaders in the Anti-Slave Trade Campaign); John Bacon, Sculptor, Member of the Original C.M.S. Committee; Henry Thornton, Banker and Philanthropist; John Newton ex-slave dealer (Stock, E., op.cit., pp.42-44). Colquhoun, J. C., Wilberforce and His Friends, (London: Longmans, 1867).

2. Stock, E., op.cit., p.44.

of tempting situations, vice and un-Christian influences in society. The removal and exclusion of bad habits would enable the Holy Spirit to prepare the way for believers to be ready to receive the Divine Grace.

The object of all Evangelical activity, whether embodied in the movement to put a stop to Sunday newspapers or to the slave trade, was to attack the human depravity which was the source of all evil. Pure religion, it was confidently expected, would spread in the wake of his righteous vigilance. 1

Social control, with the maintenance of the status quo was central to their thinking. The poor, to whom the Evangelicals particularly appealed, were still to be kept in their place. In this way the Church Evangelicals were active propagandists for state order. They promoted subordination, submission and obedience through subtle, persuasive and oratorical machinery.

The ministers of religion have great opportunities of influencing the minds of the people with respect to political questions... (the minister of religion) can blend a political, with a religious sentiment. He can work it into a prayer or a sermon. By an artful association of religious and political ideas the mind has been heated and wrought up to a certain degree of susceptibility. Thus prepared it has been struck by a political artificer, and received that impression he wished it to retain. But, am I going to recommend it to you to be political preachers? God forbid... What I have just mentioned, was merely with a view of reminding you, how much the minister of religion is capable of influencing the public mind. Here is a power in our hands, by the exercise of which, some have thrown society into disorder: it may be successfully employed by us to better purposes. 2

The lack of a state school system in Britain was an opportunity for them. They used their privileged position by providing education for the poor in Church Charity Schools, Schools of Industry and the Sunday Schools. With competition from schools set up by the Protestant Dissenters the poor were even induced or

1. Murray, N. U., op.cit., pp.8-9.

2. Bean, J., A Charge Addressed to the Clergy of any Diocese, (n.p. 1792) pp.17-19.

bribed to attend with offers of bread or clothing. Such offers were later to be used as a bait to win followers by missionary sects.

However, one element in their educational provision was overlooked, that of the content of education.

The organisers of these Church schools never satisfactorily answered for themselves, and those hostile to the schools, the question which was to concern missionaries later: What should children (especially the 'socially inferior') be taught? If they were taught to read in order to read the Bible, wouldn't they turn their ability to infidel books and dangerous uses? Wouldn't it be harmful - as well as morally wrong - to educate the poor above their proper place in society? To enable them to ape their 'social betters'? 1

To the Evangelical educators their schools were seen as a vehicle of importing proper morality. Combating the evil of idleness, they sought to diminish poverty among the poor. With the jobs created by the Industrial Revolution the Christian Schooled poor were assumed to better their lot.

The Church Evangelical educators were determined to see their objectives through, and if they could not realise their aims on the home base, the C.M.S. would indirectly achieve their objectives through its work in the British colonies. It evolved principles relevant to the achievement of its objectives.

The first is that those only are qualified to call men back to God's allegiance who are His true servants themselves. Perhaps we are too ready to boast of what is called "the C.M.S. principle, spiritual men for spiritual work", considering our own spiritual failures and unworthiness; but the principle, nevertheless, is obviously and indisputably right. The second is that we are to be content, in actual missionary work, with nothing short of the real return to God of those who by nature are alienated from Him, that is, their real conversion in heart and life. The third is that the qualifying of men for such a service, and the success of their efforts, are the work of the Holy Ghost alone. 2

1. Murray, N. U., *ibid.*, pp.10-11. Murray gives the example of Hannah Moore as one of the outstanding Evangelical educators whose overriding determination was to use schools for the creation of the kind of Christians that the Church Evangelicals wanted; but for her the otherwise ruinous effects of their education would not have arisen (Murray, N. U., *ibid.*, pp.10-11).

Chadwick, O., The Victorian Church, I (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1970) pp.186-192; and pp.299-308.

2. Stock, E., op.cit., pp.xiii-xiv. Also, pp.63-67.

The C.M.S., therefore, had a dual evangelistic purpose. It operated on the home front as well as on the overseas front. This double purpose could also be seen in other missionary societies founded in Britain by Protestant Dissenting movements towards the late 18th century.

Thus, evangelizing abroad was of a piece with evangelizing at home. Both were given a special urgency by the course of the French Revolution. Evangelicals took it upon themselves to be religious and moral activists; active at home in working for the subordination of the people and trying to prepare their hearts for 'vital' Christianity; active abroad in spreading Christianity - in preparation for Christ's coming. 1

The reverses of the Roman Catholic Gallican Church, liberty of worship in several countries, the birth of missionary societies in numerous countries, the opening of the South Seas as a result of Captain Cook's voyages and the hopes for an end to the slave trade, were all interpreted by Church Evangelicals and Protestant Dissenters as harbingers or signs of God towards universal Evangelization.

The missionary zeal of these Protestants, which was codified by the events of the 1790s, was to some extent a logical progression in the history of Christianity and, in particular, a natural stage in the development of Protestant Christianity. Their forefathers had broken away from Rome, there had been a long period of struggle throughout Europe for survival, followed by an equally long period of consolidation. It is scarcely surprising that not until almost the end of the eighteenth century were they confident enough of their own security, strong enough in their self-assurance, to re-examine their fundamental texts and take heed of the literal injunction to go out into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature. 2

This, then, was the historical climate in which not only the C.M.S. but also the missionary societies of the Protestant Dissenters were born. Evangelization among the heathen demanded urgent steps to be taken if they were

1. Murray, N. U., op.cit., p.13.

2. Moorhouse, G., op.cit., pp.32-33.

Warren, M., Social History and Christian Mission, (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1967) p.37.

Gray, R., "The Origins and Organisation of the Nineteenth-Century Missionary Movement", Kalu, O.U. (Ed.), The History of Christianity in West Africa, (London: Longman, 1980), pp.13-21.

to receive the word of God before the end of the millenium. The heathens were urged to submit to the message of God carried by the missionaries who were the instruments of God.

God had promised that the Gospel would be preached to all inhabitants of every nation prior to the establishment of His kingdom, and it was up to His Saints on earth to challenge infidelity and spread up progress towards the millenium. This task seemed less daunting when the fulfilling prophecies were taken into account. God had promised the extension of true religion in the Last Days and, since the course of the French Revolution and wars demonstrated that these were the Last Days, that extension it was believed, could be easily accomplished by His chosen instruments backed by an immense outpouring of grace. 1

3. Conclusion: Christian Moralization in Future Missionary Education

Thus, British missionary activity was prompted by many forces particularly the loss of ground by the Church Evangelicals in Britain, and their desire to use their success in the British colonies to regain their traditional hold on the poor. Inevitably, they also tried to prevent Protestant Dissenters from spreading what they considered to be their blasphemies and seditious religious beliefs to the heathens within the British Empire. An undignified and sad competition for converts began which transported to Africa these home-based antagonisms. These were only partly resolved when missionary societies were allotted their differing geographical areas and spheres of influence.² While they had to try and camouflage their true intentions from their British society, in Africa they had no fear of losing face. If their

1. Murray, N. U., op.cit., p.12.

2. Davis, W. T., "Competing Views of the Kingdom of God in Africa", The Ecumenical Review, 32, (April, 1980) 12, pp.115-128.

Kalu, O. U., "The Task", pp.1-9 and Udo, E. A., "The Missionary Spheres of Influence in South-Eastern Nigeria, 1900-52", pp.159-181, in Kalu, O. U., (Ed.), op.cit.

Capon, M. G., Towards Unity in Kenya, (Nairobi: The Regal Press, Ltd., 1962).

Ward, K., 'The Development of Protestant Christianity in Kenya, 1910-1940', Ph.D. Thesis, Trinity College, Cambridge, 1976.

Barrett, D. B., et.al. (Eds.), Kenya Churches Handbook : The Development of Kenyan Christianity, 1498-1973, (Kisumu: Evangel Publishing House, 1973) pp.21-39.

message was irrelevant in Britain it would not be so to the heathen Africa.

This then was their justification for taking their missionary cause in Africa so fervently. Had not Christ given the command "to make disciples of all nations"? In obeying this imperative the Church Evangelical missionaries sought to establish the old status quo in Africa, where in the course of time the colonial masters and the Africans were to be limited by ties of patronage and dependency. In contrast to Britain, in Africa the old status quo, with all its paternalistic fervour, would be unhindered by the class antagonisms prevailing in Britain.¹ In Africa they would even liaise with the British colonial forces, who would respect them as allies, for they were proclaiming to the Africans the same message of subordination, submission and obedience.² Other missions shared this purpose, so they too began to construct the old British status quo.

The missionaries in Kenya then saw themselves as upholding those forces of social control which had faltered in Britain. They established schools to perpetuate their views, and these schools were to transmit their version of proper morality, without the obstacles found in Britain. Murray points to the parallel between the Evangelical mission in Britain and that in the British colonies.

Once again, Evangelical clergymen set out to remove temptation from the weaker vessels of society in order to pave the way for religious conversion and 'real morality'; once again they saw the need of breaking 'vicious' social and sexual habits, and eradicating the evil of idleness. Evangelicals sought to turn 'idle' Africans into 'economic producers' and 'honest toilers', as they had during the preceding century tried to turn the lazy natives of rural England into 'honest factory operatives'. Education was - in both cases - at the center of the 'moralizing' process. 3

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1. Murray, N. U., op.cit., p.17.
 2. Warren, M., op.cit., pp.15-35.
 3. Murray, N. U., op.cit., p.18.

The issue arose as to what content and structure of education was to be given to the Kenyan Africans. It was answered by the introduction of a heavy religious and moral curriculum.

In Africa, perhaps more than anywhere else, education was a specific instrument of evangelism...The 'bush' school which was throughout Africa the main agency of primary education was also throughout Africa the main agency of evangelism. The teacher was also the evangelist. The school was also the church. 1

1. Warren, M., op.cit., pp.113-114.

CHAPTER THREE

CRE IN KENYA: ITS ORIGINS AND FRAMEWORK

Consideration has been given to what the missionaries felt, what they saw as their religious purpose, and how they responded to the dominical call within the context of the western missionary ideology. This has been illustrated by the case of the C.M.S. It is now necessary to begin to demonstrate how the western missionary ideology was to be rooted in missionary education; to show how the missionary societies shared with the colonial government similar educational aims.

In order to take their place among the white settlers who are occupying the country, they (Africans) must be fitted to understand the work and methods of the white man...It is the duty of all who have anything to do with natives who are just coming out of the darkness of heathenism, to so train them that they should not aspire beyond what they are able to do. But so that they shall be able to fill some place in the economy of the country where they dwell. 1

1. Origins of Missionary Education in Kenya

The missionary endeavour in Kenya was initiated by Krapf and Rebmann of the C.M.S., who opened a school at Rabai Mpia near Mombasa in 1846.²

Krapf's ideals had been to evangelize the ^{Orma} Galla, a Cuchitic group who lived

1. Strayer, R. W., The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa: Anglicans and Africans in Colonial Kenya, 1875-1925, (London: Heinemann, 1978) p.93. Here Strayer was quoting an African Inland Mission missionary, Stevenson in 1909.

2. It is important to note that the 18th and 19th centuries were not the beginning of European missionary contact with Africa. Kenya has had contact with the missionaries from as far back as the late 15th century. Roman Catholic missionaries accompanied the Portuguese explorers. The difference between these early missionaries and their modern counterparts is that whereas those in the 18th and 19th centuries sought to use education as a propaganda machine, those earlier ones used education as a bait for political purposes. Those Africans who were to be used in the service of the Church were mainly sons of chiefs who would usually be sent overseas to receive their education. (Groves, C.P., The Planting of Christianity in Africa to 1840, I, (London & Redhill: Lutterworth Press, 1948) pp.132-138; Anderson, W. B., and Clements, S., "A History of the Kenya Churches" Barrett, D. B., et al. (Eds.) op.cit., pp 29-39).

in both Kenya and Ethiopia and with whom he had come into contact during his missionary work in Ethiopia from 1837-1843. He originally intended to build a chain of missionary stations across Africa, and he and Rebmann sought to use school education at Rabai Mpia to evangelize the Rabai people. Later he led a group of Methodists to East Africa. They established a station at Ribe, near Rabai in 1862. As in 1846, a school was established as an instrument in this evangelistic campaign.

In 1876 the United Methodist Mission opened a station at Jomvu for work among the Muslims, while in 1875 the C.M.S. had opened Fr^eetown, a settlement for freed slaves. A few selected free slaves were trained as future catechists and clergy for work on the Kenyan mainland. While those who were not considered suitable for ordination were taught industrial trades, the emphasis was on evangelical work. In 1882 the C.M.S. opened a station among the Taita people in the interior and in 1890 another among the Taveta people on the Kenyan mainland. The United Methodists started their work on the Tana River in 1885.

The Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEA) was formed under MacKinnon in 1888, and missionaries soon followed the officers of the company into the highlands of Kenya. The British Government was reluctant to accept official responsibility for Africa and worked through chartered companies. The IBEA Company brought the 'Pax Britannica' into East Africa when it was established in Mombasa in 1888. When the Germans began showing an interest in acquiring Kenya and Uganda, these were declared British Protectorates; Uganda in 1894 and Kenya the following year.

In 1891, Captain Lugard, an agent of the IBEA Company, had marched into Uganda to replace Jackson. In the same year the Company, having been disappointed by the British Government over money allocated to build a railway

1. Oliver, R., op.cit., pp.5-6.

from Mombasa to Uganda, decided to abandon Uganda during September.

In October, 1891, however, the C.M.S. guaranteed it £16,000 to remain in Uganda for an extra year. It was this action that was to retain Uganda and Kenya for the British Empire. The same October MacKinnon encouraged the Church Industrial Mission, (later to be known as the Church of Scotland Mission), to advance further inland and work with the Kikuyu. However, it remained at Kibwezi until 1899. Then under Watson, it was able to continue with its advance to the Kikuyu.¹

In 1892 the Roman Catholics, who had earlier in 1862 established a presence in Zanzibar, opened a station in Mombasa and another in the Taita Hills in Taita. In 1893 an Independent Protestant Missionary Stuart, established himself among the Akamba people in the Ukamba Hills, near Machakos. The first group of missionaries from the African Inland Mission arrived in 1895. They were a non-denominational group of Americans, who were greatly influenced by evangelical Baptists and Adventists. They were led by Scott, an American who had been in West Africa. They established a station among the Akamba people, but were later to move to Kijabe, near Nairobi, where they worked among the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin peoples of Kenya's Rift Valley, the Akamba having proved unresponsive.²

The 1895 party had included MacClellan, Wilson and Hotchkiss. In 1896 this group set up a school and a dispensary. Hotchkiss was later to return to Kenya with American Quaker missionaries and organise the Friends' African Mission at Kaimosi to the east of Kisumu, a railway terminal town on the shores

1. Groves, C.P., explains the point of the transfer from Kibwezi to Kikuyu thus: "But sparseness of surrounding population and other handicaps led to a transfer to Kikuyu in 1898, Watson only surviving the change by two years." (Groves, C. P., The Planting of Christianity in Africa, 1878-1914, Vol.III, (London: Lutterworth Press, 1955) p.88).

2. Oliver, R., op.cit., p.171.

of Lake Victoria, in 1902.¹ Meanwhile, the Leipzig Evangelical Lutherans, who had been working among the Akamba people in the Kitui District since 1888 opened a station at Mulango. This station later became an African Inland Mission station.

The railway reached Nairobi in 1899, and this coincided with considerable missionary enterprise in the highlands of Kenya. In this year the Roman Catholics opened the now famous French Mission St. Austin's, as well as the Holy Family Church, both in Nairobi. In 1900 the C.M.S. who had established themselves in the Kenyan highlands, opened what was later to become Kabete School, near Nairobi. It was later to extend its sphere of influence by establishing stations at Kahuhia and Waithaga. However, the missionary enterprise was not restricted to the centre of the country, and during the first years of the twentieth century it extended to Western Kenya in what are now the Nyanza, Western and Rift Valley Provinces.

Western Kenya was opened from both sides. The C.M.S. from Uganda set up a station at Maseno to the north of Kisumu and established Maseno School. This became a secondary school officially in 1938. Maseno became an important educational centre in the whole of present Western Kenya. The Roman Catholic Mill Hill Fathers started their work in Nyanza in 1904 and by 1939 their school, St. Mary's at Yala to the north of Kisumu, officially became a secondary school. In 1906 the African Institute of the Church of God started their work at Kima near Maseno, among the Banyore group of the Luyia people. Both the Nilotic Independent Mission at Nyahera, near Kisumu and the Seventh Day Adventists found their way into the area in 1907.

1. Hotchkiss, W. R., Then and Now in Kenya, (London: Oliphant Ltd., 1937)

Sketches from the Dark Continent, (London: Headley Bros., 1903).

While this was taking place in Western Kenya, the Kenyan highlands were not neglected. The Roman Catholic Consolata Fathers had established themselves early in the century in Nyeri, the present Eastern Province of Kenya, and also at Limuru from where they extended their enterprise to Fort Hall, present day Muranga. In 1891 the Holy Ghost Fathers started work among the Akamba people, a work which was later extended to Kabaa on the Athi River, to the east of Nairobi. Their school at Kabaa was moved to Mangu in 1926. Meanwhile the Church of Scotland Mission started a second mission station in the Kikuyu area in 1909 at Tumutumu.

This account of the several threads in the establishment of missionary education in Kenya must include mention of the Alliance High School at Kikuyu. It was founded in 1926, a creation of the Protestant missions' conference at Le Zoute, Belgium, at which the Kenyan missions in attendance agreed to form an alliance and co-operate with the colonial government's new educational policy for her African Empire.¹ This school along with St. Mary's at Yala, Mangu-Kabaa, and Maseno were important in Kenya's future development. The Alliance High School at Kikuyu received the colonial government's material and moral support, while the Protestant missions assured the government of their co-operation: a reciprocal relationship between the missions and the government. The Roman Catholics followed suit and through co-operation with the government developed what later became Mangu-Kabaa on similar lines to the Alliance High School.

The position at the end of 1911, therefore, (see Appendix 1), was that missionaries of many denominations had spread throughout the country and had established schools without any help from the colonial government. Their schools were built to reflect what the various missions considered to be their

1. Colonial Office, Report of the East Africa Commission, (London: H.M.S.O., 1925) Cmnd. 2387.

Christian traditions. In the four secondary boarding schools - the Alliance High School at Kikuyu, St.Mary's at Yala, Mangu-Kabaa, and Maseno - CRE permeated the students' lives. There is no doubt that high standards of academic education were offered and their schools performed well in the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate, but nevertheless, their overall aim was one of evangelisation. The schools were instrumental in achieving this purpose: "evangelism before teaching".¹

The schools were established along sectarian lines and furthered sectarianism among Kenyan young people.² The Protestant missions not only competed among themselves but also against the Roman Catholics. Initially the mission schools sought to train catechists and evangelists. At first some of these had to be bribed in order to accept training. In the mission schools Christian instruction* was compulsory, and in a few cases industrial training was offered. There was competition for converts in the more populated areas and the first converts tended to be individuals who had been ostracised by society and who had everything to gain by turning to Christianity and serving as catechists and evangelists.

Soon the missionaries discovered the expedient of using progressive schools in their endeavour to win converts and overcome the African people's

* Hereinafter referred to as CI.

1. Munro, J. F., Colonial Rule and the Kamba: Social Change in the Kenya Highlands, 1889-1939, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), p.163.
2. Kipkorir, B. E., The Sectarian Factor and Kenya's First African Secondary School, (Nairobi: University College, Typescript, 1967).

repugnance towards adopting the missionary religion.¹ What was not new was the overriding aim of missionary education, that is, to evangelize and enlist converts to Christianity. This rationale for the provision of missionary education was explicitly spelt out by the Foreign Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland (F.M.S.G.B.I.) as early as 1902.

We expect the converts in foreign lands to be themselves the most potent missionaries to their fellow countrymen. If they are to be that, they must have education; they must have Christian education. Knowledge, we think, is power, Christian knowledge is spiritual power, and if the Christian natives of a country are to be influential, as they should be, in diffusing the spirit of Christianity, and directing attention to it from those who are outside the Christian body, they must be Christians of the first capacity in every way; they must be able, some of them, to deal with the most learned of those who are not Christians; they must all of them, high or low, be able to manifest to their neighbours that Christianity is not a mere delusion, or a matter suited only to the ignorant, but that it can command the highest intellectual powers and the highest intellectual knowledge, and bring them into submission to the service of Christ. 2

The message was clear: educate for converts, for offensive and defensive purposes. It serves as a preface to the examination of CRE in schools in colonial Kenya. Historically the situation eventually demanded the colonial government's involvement in education, but prior to this the missions pursued

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1. Progressive schools were those set up along the lines of the Alliance High School, Nagu-Kabaa, Maseno and St. Mary's, which not only offered Christian instruction but also provided a sound academic education. Detailed discussion of an example of African repugnance to the missionary enterprise is given in Dachs, A. J., "Missionary Imperialism: The Case of Bechuanaland" in Journal of African History, XIII (1972) 4, pp.647-658. In view of the repugnance of the African people to the missionary message the Edinburgh meeting of the World Missionary Conference of 1910 considered missionary problems in relation to the non-Christian societies. Their Report, The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions, (London: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1910), resolved that it was imperative for the missionary in a pagan society to "study and get to know the native religion" (p.19) besides understanding "the native concept of things and the heathen method of thinking", (ibid.).
 2. F.M.S.G.B.I. Report of a Conference of the F.M.S.G.B.I. arranged by the London Secretaries' Association, held in London on 17, 18 and 19 June, 1902, p.27. This particular report was printed for private circulation only.

their overriding objective of evangelization through their schools.

The history of colonial education in Kenya was greatly affected by these missionary origins. As it developed later it demonstrated a pattern of schooling which was concerned to unite both the Christian and academic aspects of education. A new missionary approach arose out of the negative reaction and African repugnance to the purely religious aspects of education. The original approach had tended to create isolated pockets of missionary spheres of influence, yet increasingly the people wanted an education for utilitarian reasons. They wished to obtain employment in the colonial government besides becoming Christians. The missionaries had to revalue their educational strategy to provide education that inter-wove CI with general academic education in order to meet the new colonial social and economic circumstances.

Nevertheless, as the expanding Churches suffered increasing disappointments from within their ranks, the minds of Protestant missionaries turned partly to economic remedies...but it reflected a growing opinion that successful adherence to a new faith might involve adoption of certain new economic and social standards. If the African Christian was to abandon his place on the old ladders of economic prosperity and social prestige by practising monogamy, he must be compensated by learning a trade or new methods of agriculture which would open the way to new ambitions. If his children were to sleep at home and live a Christian family life, he must have a house with two rooms instead of one. If he was to read the Bible, his house must have windows to admit the light, and therefore its shape must be square and not conical; nor could he afford to rebuild it every five years to meet the needs of shifting cultivation. If his children were to be educated, he must learn to do without their services on the farm and yet earn enough to pay their school fees. Again, to pay the government tax and his Church tithe he must have ready money; and, if he was not to leave his family to work on a railway or a plantation, he must produce not only for himself but for the market. 1

1. Oliver, R., op.cit., pp.213-214.

2. The Framework of Missionary Education

i) Oldham's Strategy

Oldham, then Secretary to the International Missionary Council, was the architect of missionary education in Africa, particularly of the type of CI that was to be offered in British territories in Africa. Oldham was influential in the Colonial Office as well as in missionary circles. He was linked with the former through membership of the Advisory Committee for Education in Tropical Africa. He was involved in the Committee's work between 1923 and 1925, when it was responding to the Phelps-Stokes Reports.¹ These had advised on the type of education suitable for freed Negroes in the U.S.A. +

The co-operation between the missionary societies and the colonial government in Kenya was largely due to Oldham's influence in London. He was instrumental in the establishment of Jeanes School at Kabete, with the Revd. Dr. Dougall as its first Principal. Dr. Dougall was one of the secretaries to the Phelps-Stokes Commission, but for the Jeanes School appointment he was seconded by the Church of Scotland. Although an able educator, his school and its associated movement were doomed to failure. It was interpreted by the Africans as an inferior type of education. The manual-work orientation was seen as a disguised political manoeuvre which aimed to keep Africans subordinate. Africans sought that western education which was a means to realising the European advantages. The rural science and gardening offered

1. Jones, T. J., Education in East Africa: Phelps-Stokes Commission Report, (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1924).

----- "An Educational Policy for African Colonies", Christian Education in Africa, An address at the F.M.S.G.B.I. Conference at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, 8th-13th September, 1924 (Edinburgh House).

----- The Educational Needs of the Peoples of Equatorial Africa, An Address at the 29th Annual Session of the Foreign Mission Conference of North America, 1922 (New York, 1922).

----- The Four Essentials of Education, (London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926).

J. H. Oldham was among the contributors (Loram, C. T., Jones, T. J., Work, M. N. and Phelps-Stokes, A.) to the Twenty Year Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1911-1931, (New York, 1931).

at Jeanes School were not capable of meeting this.¹

Oldham, in speaking to the Student Christian Movement in Cambridge in the Autumn of 1923, about the western contribution to education in Asia and Africa, emphasised that it was mainly the work of foreign Christian missions. He welcomed the trends towards government involvement in education. It had at its disposal huge resources compared with those available to missionaries. In his opinion there were two questions which needed to be resolved with increasing government involvement in education in Asia and Africa. They were "the relation between the state and voluntary agencies in education"² and "the place of Christian education in the national system of education"³ in new overseas territories.

With respect to the relationship between the colonial government and private agencies in overseas education, Oldham felt that the most fruitful relationship was one where "the main reliance should be placed on private effort, liberally aided by the government, and not on the establishment and maintenance of schools by the government itself"⁴ as had been recommended by the Despatch of 1854 adopted by the British government in India. He maintained that this relationship speeded up educational advancement, enhanced the spirit of local initiative in the educational field and created variety in the new rational systems of education, while avoiding the tendency towards bureaucratic

1. Anderson, J., The Struggle for the School, (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1970), pp.20-21.

Heyman, R., "The Initial Years of Jeanes School in Kenya",

Battle, V. M. and Lyons, C. H., (Eds.), Essays in the History of African Education, (New York: Teachers' College Press, 1970), pp.105-123.

2. Oldham, J. H., "The Western Contribution to Education in Asia and Africa", S.C.M. Christian Education in Africa and the East, (London: Unwin Bros.Ltd., 1924) p.7.

3. Ibid., p.10.

4. Ibid., p.7.

arrangements in the systems.

Oldham had firm views on the role of Christian instruction within the new systems. He maintained that it should hold a pivotal position because the new systems were being set up in non-Christian countries.

In all countries there must be a place for a definitely Christian education if a complete and unmutilated view of life is to find expression. This necessity exists in countries that are professedly Christian. In these countries, however, the short-comings of a purely secular system of education can to some extent be supplemented by influences outside the schools. In a non-Christian country, however, it is impossible to dispense with Christian schools if there is to be a strong Christian Church. Unless those who are to be leaders of that Church receive their education in a Christian atmosphere, it is idle to hope for the growth of strong Christian personalities. For the Christian Church it is, therefore, vitally important that a place should be conserved for Christian schools within the national system. This can be secured only on two conditions. The first is that the schools are strongly national in their sympathies and character; they cannot survive as foreign institutions. Secondly, they can command respect only by the high quality of their work. 1

His views on the continuing role of missionaries in education overseas aimed to serve the best interests of the missions. The colonial governments were to leave the educational work to private agencies because this safeguarded the missionary purpose of evangelization through schooling. Where there is co-operation between missionary societies and colonial governments, the missionaries can continue to include CI in their missionary education programmes, affording it the significance it deserves, particularly among the non-Christian people. The argument was that if CI was given in Christian countries, then in the case of the schools of non-Christian countries it must have an even more significant place. Oldham viewed the provision of CI in non-Christian countries as the sole reason for missionaries engaging in the education of the peoples of Asia and Africa. He made this clear at Cambridge in 1923.

1. Ibid., pp.10-11.

In dealing with the question of Christian education among the peoples of Asia and Africa, we are touching the springs from which, more than from any other source, we may hope that the regeneration and reinvigoration of the world may come. 1

He maintained that education would only be helpful to the African people if it had a religious basis, which was the end of all that could be meaningfully called education. With particular reference to Kenya, he drew attention to the report of the Education Commission of the East African Protectorate in 1919 which had advocated and stressed the inclusion of CI in the educational system.

The great danger of a secular education divorced from moral and religious instruction is that it tends to break down the native beliefs, which we often regard as absurd superstitions, but which do take the place of a religious or moral law and keep the native more or less straight, without replacing such beliefs by anything else to take their place. The native requires something more than an abstract moral code in place of his primitive moral law, and a definite religious belief is necessary if he is to become an honest and respectable member of society. So strongly does the Commission feel on this subject that it recommends in cases where government schools are now or may hereafter be established among pagan tribes that definite moral instruction based on religion should be given in such schools to replace the restraints of so-called superstition and tribal control. 2

1. Ibid., p.10.

2. Oldham, J. H., ibid., p.88, from East Africa Protectorate, Report of the Education Commission of the East Africa Protectorate, 1919, (Nairobi: Swift Press, 1919) p.7.

Its Chairman was J. W. Barth. This seems to be an interesting admission that the traditional African societies had a system of values which served towards social self-control for the African societies. It is a paradox that while this could be admitted by the authorities the missionaries who claimed to be representatives of the people were hardly sympathetic to the values of social control prevalent among their so-called flocks. In education, especially CI, it could have gone a long way towards Africanizing Christianity, and thus laying firm foundations for ATR in schools.

To Oldham this emphasis on the need for CI in schools in non-Christian countries was a means towards the Christianisation and civilisation of the peoples of these countries. Even where colonial governments established their own schools a way still had to be found to guarantee the inclusion of Christian instruction. The Christian missions' determination to have this included in education programmes in overseas territories was pursued tirelessly. Not surprisingly, missionary bodies were represented on the Advisory Committee for Education in Tropical Africa which formulated educational policies for British territories in Africa. Oldham, as Secretary of the International Missionary Council, was one of the members on this Committee and used his membership to enhance Christian missionary purposes.

ii) Realising Oldham's Strategy

The views put forward by Oldham at the Cambridge Student Christian Movement were to be developed and crystallised in a book with Gibson called The Remaking of Man in Africa.¹ Its publication was welcomed by the 21st Annual Conference of the C.M.S.G.B.I. held at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, Herts., from 15th to 17th June, 1932. The Conference noted this book in its proceedings.

The Remaking of Man in Africa has been sent by the larger mission boards to their missionaries in Africa, in order that they may study the education policy therein suggested and offer detailed criticism and comment. The African Education group devoted some time to the best use to be made of this book, which had occupied it for most of the previous year, and thereafter turned to a study of Christian marriage. 2

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1. Oldham, J. H. and Gibson, B. D., The Remaking of Man in Africa, (London: O.U.P., 1931).
 2. C.M.S.G.B.I., Report of Twenty-First Conference, High Leigh, Hoddesdon, Herts., 15th-17th June, 1932, (Entry No.26, "Africa", p.32). Under the same Entry it was reported that the Revd. J. W. C. Dougall had accepted the educational advisory post to the missions in Kenya and Uganda for a period of five years (p.32). He was the first Protestant missionary educational adviser for Kenya and Uganda.

The book by Oldham and Gibson is of key significance in understanding what the missionary societies' view of CI was and their sense of urgency regarding it. Chapter IV on "What is Christian Education?" comprises the following sections: 1. Christ the Centre of Christian Education; 2. Knowledge of Christ as a Person; 3. The Teaching of the Bible; 4. Christ Revealed through Persons; 5. Practical Consequences; 6. The Practice of Christianity; 7. The Knowledge of God; 8. An Unconditional Demand; 9. True Freedom; 10. Reliance on the Holy Spirit; 11. Worship; 12. The Discipline of Things; 13. The Curriculum; 14. Anatomy of Secular Subjects; and, 15. A Manual of Religious Education.¹ This shows the salvation history orientation of CI.

The missionary societies felt that African man had, metaphorically, to be remade. Oldham and Gibson saw their book as a contribution from CI towards the achievement of this purpose. They viewed CI as a redemptive solution to the missionary burden that the Europeans had been divinely chosen to undertake. Ocaya-Lacidi and Mazrui have expressed similar sentiments concerning missionary education in Uganda.

The missionary school as a principal medium for helping Africa towards a secular civilisation was also the central medium for the propagation of a new concept of the devout society. The best schools in Uganda were religious schools. The missionaries were bringing into Uganda a religious feature of western civilisation, the Christian values, in a form which many westerners had already rejected in the course of their own modernisation. Sacred, sometimes fanatical and prudish values, were central to the Ugandan educational system - and yet the ultimate imperial aim was at the same time to produce from the schools African men and women with modern secular skills necessary for the new society of the twentieth century. 2

1. Oldham, J. H. and Gibson, B. D., op.cit., pp.38-48.

2. Ocaya-Lacidi, D. and Mazrui, A. M., "Secular Skills and Sacred Values in Uganda Schools: Problems of Technical and Moral Acculturation" Brown, G. N. and Hiskett, M. (Eds.), op.cit., p.279.

Thus the missionaries saw themselves called upon by Divine Providence to make a distinctly Christian contribution to the civilisation of the African peoples via CI. Missionary education was based on the truths of the Divine Revelation, and the understanding that evangelization and education led to the same end. Motsetse, in the then Bechuanaland Protectorate, dismissed secular education.

But as the Duke of Wellington is alleged to have said, 'Educate men without religion, and you make them clever devils', so we believe that religious teaching is necessary in our school as the best guarantee of the development of a noble character. Not, however, the dogmas of any particular European denomination, for the curse of Christian sectarianism has, in Africa at least, well succeeded in making the confusion of tribal quarrels and disruptions worse confounded. By religion here we include both the lower connotation accepted by biologists and other scientists, which, in the words of Professor J. S. MacKenzie, is "a certain absolute devotion to what is recognised as highest and most valuable", and the higher meaning of the love of God and the devoted service for one's fellow men. 1

Therefore, the school had academic and spiritual purposes to fulfil. From the missionary viewpoint the schools "brought new understanding and enrichment of life".² This was not, however, a position with which many Africans could agree. Even during the increasing involvement and participation by the colonial governments in education, the missionary societies continued to impress upon them that secular education was not in the best interests of the African people.

The effects of government supervision and grant-in-aid system are to lay all the emphasis on the technical functions of the school in knowledge of subjects and skill in the use of the environment. There is every temptation to think that progress is the inevitable result of knowledge and that knowledge itself needs no redemption.

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1. Motsetse, K. T., "An Educational Experiment in the Bechuanaland Protectorate", Oversea Education, V (January, 1934) 2, p.61.
 2. Oldham, J. H. and Gibson, B. D., op.cit., p.24.

To withstand that temptation Christian education must get away from the purely intellectual tradition that knowledge, even religious knowledge, is the thing that matters. We need a more profound and personal grasp of what education means in order to escape from what Professor T. F. Jessop has called "the plethora of our knowledge and the paucity of our understanding". 1

The churches' role as an educative agent through worship was emphasised and an important place was given to the Christian evangelist.

Here is another picture of this young movement: A hard day's work at a company camp has come to an end. The company is gathered around the fire. Some traditional folktales have been acted and sung. The Elders of the church are delighted with all this gay, youthful exuberance. But to their surprise the monitor-evangelist turns straight to a service of worship. Three signals suffice, silence reigns, the boys calm down at once and one after another they rise, one to say a verse of Scripture, another to sing a hymn and another to pray. Thus, smoothly and without hesitation, verses, prayers and singing create an atmosphere of worship. Each one takes his part. Each is conscious of the vivifying presence of the Holy Spirit. Then they prepare for bed. Mats are spread out and sleep is not long in coming. 2

Oldham and Gibson were responsible for the brand of CI which dominated missionary education and colonial administration. The Gospel of Jesus Christ was central to the purpose of schools converting pupils. The CI lessons were to impart knowledge of Jesus Christ as a person because real Christianity was thought of as fellowship with other persons in Christ; the holding of mutual trust, love and loyalty.³

The teaching of Scripture is given a foremost place in the curriculum of mission schools. A systematic course is planned annually for the different grades of schools. The aim is to give definite knowledge of the Bible, and particularly of the life and teaching of our Lord. Scripture is regarded as a leading subject in the annual examinations

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1. Dougall, J. W. C., "Education and Evangelism", The International Review of Missions, XXXVI (July, 1947) 143, p.320.
 2. Clerc, A. "An Experiment in the Religious Education of African Boys", The International Review of Missions, XXXII (October, 1943) 128, p.404.
 3. Oldham, J. H. and Gibson, B. D., op.cit., p.39.

of mission schools. In the country schools the children frequently commit some of the more famous passages of Scripture to memory. In fact the strange paradox arises that a child of a backward, primitive, pagan village, far away from civilization, may have a better chance of a real Christian education than many a child brought up under the system of education that prevails in Christian England. 1

The teaching of the Bible was to be reinforced by the inspiration and example of Christian teachers. When it came to the training of teachers, they stressed that it should include training for CI, which involved teaching the Bible, telling Bible stories and conducting school prayers. Those who trained were to be selected on the basis of their Christian character, notwithstanding their academic ability. Thus the missionaries were to be allowed to train their own teachers if a CI acceptable to their missionary societies was to be achieved.² The foreign missions were charged to send the right people overseas, men who would help realise the missionary societies' ends. Those already in the field overseas were to be trained in the latest approaches in CI during their furlough.³

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1. Whitfield, J. N. B., "Christian Education in South Madagascar", The International Review of Missions, XXXII (April, 1943) 126, p.176.
 2. Oldham, J. H. and Gibson, B. D., op.cit., pp.70-78.
 3. The C.M.S. prepared their missionaries at their training college at Islington. As Hodge, A., "The Training of Missionaries for Africa: The Church Missionary Society's Training College at Islington, 1900-1915", Journal of Religion in Africa, IV (London: 1971) 2, points out - "Most societies regarded a true Christian character and thorough consecration to missionary work as a more important qualification than the educational attainments of a candidate offering himself for missionary service". (p.82). At Islington long and short courses were offered to prepare the candidates for missionary work overseas, and the bulk of their work was a three-year course for non-graduate candidates of which religious knowledge and theological study constituted a major part. To this might have been added, in 1927, the subject of moral hygiene, as emphasised in the F.M.S.G.B.I. Report of the Sixteenth Annual Conference held at The Hayes, Swanwick, Derbyshire from 12th-18th June, 1927. (Entry No.7 "Moral Hygiene in the Mission Field", p.49). The F.M.S.G.B.I. Report of the Twentieth Annual Conference, held at The Hayes, Swanwick, Derbyshire from 17th -20th June 1931 notes that there was discussion on Christian education overseas by its Advisory Council for Christian Education Overseas and that Oldham's pamphlet on religious education was discussed (Entry 8, p.29).

Teachers were to become friends of the pupils in order to impress upon them that a true Christian relationship is based on the virtues of loyalty, unselfishness, and consideration for other persons. The pupils were to learn the overriding significance of the knowledge of God, worship, service to the will of God, and obedience. They were to trust in Him, love Him and be devoted to Him unconditionally. Christian teachers in schools were to be prayerful and dependent on God to work through them by way of the Holy Spirit to bring the pupils to Jesus Christ.¹

The Christian teacher needed on the mission field is one who, with enthusiasm for the enlargement of the pupils' capacity, has yet a profound conviction of the limitations of his own activity. He is a man who, while struggling to help his people in their battle with want, disease, ignorance and fear, knows also that selfishness and pride are the first parents of all evil and that 'he who would wage such war on earth must first be true within'. So long as education moves in the limited and superficial sphere of learning subjects and skills, this deeper understanding of reality is out of reach. But when education is undertaken as a Christian vocation in the name of the Church by men and women who know their own need of repeated conversion, and know also the inseparable link between knowledge and obedience, there can be a more personal character in the process. They are able to communicate to their pupils the knowledge that is not a function of the mind as a spectator but of the whole being in action. They can impart some understanding of God and Christ, of man and nature, of the Bible and history, which is living knowledge as a man knows his friend or a shepherd his dogs or a countryman the look of the fields. That personal quality in education is the first essential and it is the only safeguard of the Christian school....If Christian education depends on Christian obedience and sensitivity, the teacher must be a leader. Those who are emotionally insecure cannot reveal the true significance of life. If children are to learn the unity of purpose and release of spirit which come from the obedience of faith, they need virile men and women as their teachers. Only vigour, courage and responsibility can challenge the powers of falsehood and fear. If they are to find in Christ the Lord of all good life, they must have teachers who themselves are adventurous, strong and free in the friendship of God. 2

1. Oldham, J. H. and Gibson, B. D., op.cit., pp.41-48.

2. Dougall, J. W. C., loc.cit., pp.320-321.

3. Conclusion: Missionary Education and Christian Instruction

Missionary education, therefore, was centred around CI which was seen as the *raison d'etre* of education for non-Christians. Literacy was incorporated in order to enable students to read the Bible. Arithmetic, English, history, geography, vernacular, hygiene, music, agriculture and manual work were also taught. But the main orientation was still towards Christian moral instruction and exhortation, as illustrated for example, in both the institution established by Motsetse for the Makalala people of the then Bechuanaland Protectorate and Siriba, a teacher training college in Kenya.

The following is the time-table showing approximately the number of hours allotted to the more important subjects out of a working week of thirty six hours, excluding Saturdays and Sundays; we gather for divine worship twice every Sunday:

<u>Subjects</u>	<u>Hours</u>
Prayers and Scripture	2½
Arithmetic	4
English	6
History and Geography	4½
Vernacular	3
Hygiene and Moral Lessons	1
Singing	1
Agriculture and Manual Work	12
Other Subjects	2
	36
	1

...morning prayers and assembly take place each day and a compulsory church service is held on Sunday mornings. 2

Not surprisingly agriculture and manual work also featured prominently in colonial and missionary education. The rationale for manual work emerged from influential anthropological and ethnological circles. These held that it undermined the African people's mental ability to attempt academic education.

1. Motsetse, K. T., loc.cit., pp.63-64.

2. Jackman, C. W., "A Composite Training Centre: Siriba in Kenya", Oversea Education, XXV (January, 1954) 4, p.137.

These circles insisted that any African educational policy must take cognizance of these sentiments. These views at their best maintained that African people were only capable of being trained rather than being educated. This was due to their mental inferiority and their small, underdeveloped brains. To these circles the African "was well suited to menial and tedious occupations such as farming and unskilled labour, provided...that he could be taught to overcome his natural lazy inclinations."¹ Nevertheless, colonial and missionary education still over-emphasised CI and was unsympathetic to African cultures. Awori reflectively lists the results of the lack of hindsight on the part of missionary education.

One of these was the fact that moral training was so stressed that even today many of us who go to church do so out of habit and the fear of hell rather than the love of God. A more negative aspect of missionary education involved the degradation and denunciation of various aspects of African culture. Polygyny, witchcraft and sorcery, secret societies, and the acceptance of the human body are only a few examples. Certainly anyone who has read the Bible knows that the teachings of Christ are very simple. He also preached a simple life for man. Nowhere does the Bible say it is necessary to wear clothes or to have one wife before Christ will accept you into his kingdom of love. Accepting Christ does not mean that Africans abandon a functionally good form of social organisation (polygamy and the extended family) for one which is rather unstable (monogamy and the nuclear family). 2

Even though the colonial governments in Africa had control of education through grants-in-aid, the missionary societies only co-operated with them on condition that CI was assured a central place in colonial education.

The missionary societies saw education as interwoven with the overall European civilising burden. Inevitably the colonial educational reports

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1. Lyons, C. H., "The Educable African: British Thought and Action, 1835-1885", in Battle, V. M. and Lyons, C. H. (Eds.), op.cit., pp.13.
 2. Awori, T., "The Revolt Against the 'Civilizing Mission': Christian Education in Liberia", Berman, E. H. (Ed.), African Reactions to Missionary Education, (New York: Teachers' College Press, 1975), p.125.

were influenced by missionary societies' lobbies, particularly through the International Missionary Council in London. While Oldham was Secretary of this Council, he ensured that the western missionary ideology was translated into colonial and missionary education. CI was to permeate the education offered to Africans as a basis for their proper morals as well as an influence towards their character development.

The Colonial Administrations are basing much of their activity on the principle of trusteeship and the same principle can equally be applied by the Church in considering the part that it must play in tropical education. The Times, in a recent leader headed "The Church and Schools", stated, "The real end can be stated in a sentence: it is to secure adequate Christian teaching by competent teachers in all elementary schools for all children whose parents wish them to receive it". In present conditions, and for a long time to come, adequate Christian instruction cannot be given in colonial areas. ...Colonial education is still in its infancy, the educational structures have still to be built up and staffs found. If the Church overseas recognises the immeasurable importance of maintaining the Christian influence in education, especially when dealing with primitive peoples, it cannot withdraw from active participation and allow expansion to take place on lines directed by the state. 1

1. Walker, W. B., "The Church Overseas and Colonial Education", The International Review of Missions, XXXIII (July, 1944), 131, pp.269-273.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION IN COLONIAL EDUCATIONAL
REPORTS IN KENYA

1. Background to CI in Colonial Educational Reports

In 1911 the Department of Education was created by the colonial administration of Kenya, as recommended by the 1909 Education Report.¹ Prior to its establishment there was no government participation in education, despite the missionary societies' wish for an overseas educational policy on the part of the British Government. This wish was for a policy which would supplement their efforts to meet the educational needs of Kenya. The establishment of the Department of Education was a step towards such a policy. The colonial administration was to enhance the missionary societies' participation in education by awarding grants-in-aid towards their educational expenses. This was, in effect, a recognition by the colonial administration of "the importance of the work that the missionaries had been carrying on since 1846".²

It was not until the inter-war years that the British government framed a general educational policy for its overseas territories. This was as a result of criticisms levelled against the government regarding its educational practice overseas. For example, it was asserted that the education offered was not only unsuitable but was also harmful to the economic, social and

1. East African Protectorate, The Frazer Report, 1909, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1909). This Report advocated a racially-oriented educational system. It consists of nine sections: 1. The Education of Europeans; 2. The Education of Goans; 3. The Education of Dutch; 4. The Education of Indians; 5. The Education of Arabs; 6. The Administrative System; 7. The Industrial Education of Negroes; 8. The Principle of Religious Neutrality in connection with Negro Education; 9. Negro Education: Some General Principles.

2. Matua, R. W., Development of Education in Kenya: Some Administrative Aspects, 1846-1963, (Nairobi: E.A.L.B., 1975), p.26.

political development of the Africans.¹ In 1918 the Colonial Office appointed an Education Commission, which reported in 1919.² This Education Commission Report reinforced the development of an educational policy resting on colonial administration co-operation with missionary societies. Thus, "a pattern of co-operation developed in which missionaries depended on government financial support while the state relied on the missionaries for the supervision, management and partial financing of the schools".³ The missionary societies were, then, charged with the task of African education, which meant that CI, with its evangelical aims, now had both the covert and overt support of the colonial administration.

This was acknowledged by the Director of Education, Orr. Speaking to the C.M.S. Home and Foreign Committee, he commented on the difference which separated his idea of education from that entertained by many of their missionaries.

In 1914, however, I suffered a very great disappointment, as I found that education in Kenya still amounted to little more than learning the Bible in the vernacular and Swahili. The country, and especially the military demanded African clerks, and in spite of the number of missions scattered over the country, the education provided was entirely inadequate to enable the African to take a proper share in the work of his own country. 4

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1. Elvin, L., Education and the End of the Empire, (London: Evans and Bros., n.d.) p.8ff.
 2. East African Protectorate, op.cit., (1919).
 3. Mutua, R. W., op.cit., p.26. Also
Leys, N., The Colour Bar in East Africa, (London: Hogarth Press, 1941) pp.125-140.
Hill, M. F., The Dual Policy in Kenya, (Nakuru: The Kenya Weekly News, 1944) pp.98-115.
Leakey, L. S. B., Kenya: Contrasts and Problems, (London: Methuen, 1936) pp.148-166.
——— Defeating Mau Mau, (London: Methuen, 1954), pp.127-141.
Scott, H. S., "Educational Policy in the British Colonial Empire", The Year Book of Education, 1937 (London: Evans Bros., 1937) pp.411-438.
 4. Orr, J. R., "Education in Kenya Colony" An Address given to the C.M.S. Home and Foreign Committee, Church Missionary Society Review, 73 (1922) p.233.

Orr defended the official policy and refused to act in any way which would jeopardise the missionary societies' continued participation in African education.

The reply I gave to the Legislative Council would, I think, meet with your approval. I said that the missions were supported by voluntary contributions for the propagation of the Gospel, and that they were in honour bound to direct their education to that end. If, however, the State demanded a high standard of literary education and was prepared to pay for it, I felt confident that the missionaries would rise to the occasion and provide it. 1

From the establishment of the Department of Education in 1911 to the end of the first half of the 1920's, a system of African education was emerging in Kenya where the colonial administration aided and supported the missionary societies' educational enterprises. The colonial administration, despite the crisis it suffered during World War I as a result of the poor education offered by the missionary societies, was not keen to establish its own schools to meet the needs of Africans. It followed a policy which was designed to meet the cost of secular education in mission schools, leaving the cost of CI to be met by the missions themselves. Mission schools selected their teaching staff. The missionary societies were, therefore, able to view education both as an evangelistic enterprise and as a means of supplying the manpower requirements for the colonial administration. African parents willingly allowed their children to receive a missionary education when it became evident that this would secure their employment as clerks for the colonial administration. This was consonant with the British government's general colonial policy of administering the "colonies with a view to their being ultimately able to administer themselves"² in the very distant future. Thus, the missionary

1. Ibid., pp.233-234.

2. Scott, H. S., loc.cit., p.412.

societies, in co-operation with the colonial administration, were helping towards the implementation of this general policy.¹

In the meantime, the African people who wanted to be educated had no choice but to attend mission schools, with the expectation that this would lead to a conversion to Christianity.

Now although most missionary societies would not refuse education to a native if he said that he wanted education and not Christianity, it remains true that the primary object of mission schools is a religious one, and a native attending such a school is certainly expected to attend classes of religious instruction and to be a candidate for eventual baptism. 2

Even sympathetic whites such as Leakey, who were in favour of giving the African people an alternative system of education to cater for those who did not necessarily wish to be Christians, still maintained that all African education should be under the aegis of missionary societies. He was

entirely in favour of the policy of maintaining most of the African education under missionary control, but at the same time I believe that there ought to be one or two non-mission schools in every district, so that natives who do not want to embrace the Christian religion, do not make an outward show of doing so, in order to please their teachers. 3

In fact, as early as 1924 the missionary societies had introduced a 'conscience clause' in which they undertook to admit African people to their

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1. Oldham, J. H., Christian Education: Its Meaning and Mission, (London: The Auxiliary Movement, 1931).
—— Education and Evangelization (London: The Auxiliary Movement, 1934).
—— The Modern Missionary: A Study of The Human Factor with the Missionary Enterprise in the Light of Present Day Conditions, (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1935).
—— New Hope in Africa, (London: Longman Green and Co., 1955).
—— Paramountcy to Partnership, (London: O.U.P., 1960).
Cell, J. W., By Kenya Possessed, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1976) specially p. 276ff.
 2. Leakey, L. S. B., Kenya: Contrasts and Problems, (London: Methuen, 1936), pp.150-151.
 3. Ibid., p.152.

schools irrespective of religious faith.

After full discussion, missionary societies have agreed to adopt a conscience clause exempting objectors from attendance at religious instruction, thus throwing open their schools to all natives of the Colony without regard to their religious views. 1

It would appear, however, that this was little more than a theoretical position. There are no statistics to show whether the clause was widely used. Few African parents were aware of it, and of those who were, few would stand out against the Christian instruction of mission schools. There were two main reasons for this. Firstly, it was thought fashionable and progressive to be a Christian, and secondly, economic and political pressures, which were difficult to resist, were applied to bring Africans to conversion.

Thus, when the missionary societies agreed to introduce a conscience clause they realised that effectively it would make very little difference to their educational work. The Education Department's reports show that the missionary societies' evangelical aim was colonial administration policy. This is clear from the 1953 report.

It is the declared policy of the government that the education must have a spiritual basis. The majority of Secondary Schools and the vast majority of intermediate and primary schools are under the management of Christian Missionary Societies. In government schools, prayers are held morning and evening on week-days, and there are, in addition, the usual Sunday services. Very many boys and girls are prepared for Confirmation in these schools during the year. As the children attending government schools are of different denominations, opportunities are given both in and out of school hours for missionaries and representatives of African churches to conduct religious instruction. The Department owes a great debt to the Missionary Societies for the help given in this respect. 2

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1. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Education Department, Annual Report, 1924 (Nairobi: East African Standard Ltd., n.d.) p.23.
 2. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Education Department Annual Report, 1953 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1955) p.38.

These same missionary societies later succeeded in convincing the 1963 working party of the Commission of Enquiry into Kenya's education to retain the conscience clause as a safe-guard against schools compulsorily teaching CRE to children whose parents did not wish them to be instructed in the Christian religion.¹ Again, it must be assumed that few parents knew about this clause, and that those who did would not have wished to appear to be interfering with the running of the schools by requesting that their children be withdrawn from CRE classes.

This situation is not surprising, for when the Commission of Enquiry into Kenya's education was set up, the missionary societies showed themselves to be aligned with the national ruling party's overall aspirations.² It was inevitable that the Commission of Enquiry would endorse the missionary societies' recommendations on the future of CI in schools with the African people who had just won their independence. Once again the missionary societies were sensitive to prevailing circumstances and secured the concession of retaining CI in the school curriculum. They were well aware that parents had virtually abdicated their educative responsibilities to the schools. Indeed most parents did not know what went on in schools since they themselves had never attended one. It was not the practice of schools to inform the children of the conscience clause. When it came to CRE, they treated it as any other subject and expected the attendance of the children.

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1. The Commission of Enquiry was appointed by the Minister of Education on 19th December, 1963, and began its work on 15th February, 1964. In October 1964 it produced the Kenya Education Commission Report, Part I, (Nairobi: The English Press, 1964); the first national report on education in Kenya. This is commonly known as the Ominde Report, after the name of its Chairman, Professor S. H. Ominde.
 2. Education: A Statement by the Christian Churches in Kenya, (Nairobi: KCS and NCCK, 1963). The Statement was signed by the late Bishop Obadiah Kariuki of Muranga on behalf of the Chairman of the Christian Churches Educational Association and John J. McCarthy, the Catholic Archbishop of Nairobi. KANU, What a KANU Government offers, (Nairobi: Kanu, 1963).

The missionary societies endeavoured to continue the policy of co-operation in education with the new Kenyan government. In this they have been successful. The policy of co-operation with the missionary societies in African education resulted in the creation of the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies in 1923.¹ This was instigated by the CMSGBI.² This committee gave the missionary societies considerable influence, especially during the period when Oldham was the Secretary of the International Missionary Council. The committee became the principal agent in the formulation of the educational policy in the British colonies. It met monthly, and in 1925 produced a White Paper on the British Educational Policy in Tropical Africa, covering all aspects of education in Africa and led to the establishment of the Colonial Educational Service which promised co-operation with voluntary agencies in African education, provided that they respected the general educational policy set up by the British government. It was recommended that Advisory Boards of Education were to be set up in the various colonies.

The 1925 White Paper was followed by Educational Ordinances in the colonies which regularised the colonial administrations' co-operation with the missionary societies through grants-in-aid to the societies as long as they adhered to the British government's regulations on establishing and maintaining schools.³

In brief, the White Paper confirmed and made official and general the British belief in the value of voluntary Agencies and a religious basis for education, in the need for consultation between the parties interested, and, by its reference to 'local

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1. In African territories under the British this was officially referred to as the Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical African Dependences.
 2. Colonial Office, African Pamphlet No.17, (London: HMSO, 1923).
 3. In the case of Kenya, there had already been an Education Ordinance in 1924, which enacted the Grant-in-Aid Rules. There were other Education Ordinances in 1931 on School Area Committees and African District Councils; and in 1934 on District Education Boards.

conditions', in the desirability of giving a measure of responsibility and control to local authorities. 1

The 1925 Report of the East African Commission paid tribute to the missionary efforts in African education while at the same time pointing to the inherent weaknesses of missionary education, with its emphasis on evangelization and literacy divorced from the realities of the conditions of the African communities.² It therefore appealed for the active participation of the colonial administration in order to marry African education to "hygiene, agriculture, craft, and the growing needs of the community as a whole",³ rather than to enhance the type of education the missionary societies were giving. Consequently it sought to use the funds available to the colonial administration to achieve its avowed aim of establishing an African education which reflected the African situation. Paradoxically, this report strengthened the place of CI in the curriculum by its insistence on the importance of character training in all schools.

But to our mind far more important than the question of curriculum is the influence of a school on the character and outlook of African pupils. In addition to religious and moral instruction, discipline is essential, and by discipline we mean the combination of the encouragement to individual effort with the training in individual self control. Education is the means whereby the individual native can develop his capacity to the utmost; but with the African, as with other people, the sense of social responsibility and the superior claims of the community over the individual must be borne in mind....Games and athletics teach the team spirit, and should, therefore, be regarded as no less important in the African village school than they are in the English public schools. 4

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1. Mason, R. J., British Education in Africa, (London: O.U.P., 1959) p.42.
Scott, H. S., loc.cit.
 2. Colonial Office, Report of the East Africa Commission, (London: HMSO, 1925) Cmd.2387, pp.50-53 - Chairman Ormsby-Gore, M.P. This East African Commission is popularly known as the Ormsby-Gore Commission after its Chairman.
 3. Ibid., p.50.
 4. Ibid., p.52.

In fairness it needs to be emphasised that this report did not deal directly with education.¹ That it reported what it did about character training shows the influence of missionary ideology at this time. Thus, although the Report emphasised the economic and social purpose of African education, it still exaggerated the place of CI in education in the character development of the African people.

2. (a) The 1925 Memorandum and CI

This memorandum was submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Advisory Committee on Native Education in the British Tropical African Dependencies on March, 1925. The Committee urged that a public statement be made concerning the British government's educational policy, as a guide to those who were already involved in educational work in Africa. The Committee was comprised mainly of missionaries from the various societies. It also requested the Secretary of State for the Colonies to issue the memorandum along with a Parliamentary Paper. By this means it was intended to initiate discussion concerning the African educational policy on the part of the British government more widely.² The memorandum covered a number of areas in relation to African

1. Ibid., p.3, shows its terms of reference, i.e. to consider and report,
a) on the measures to be taken to accelerate the general economic development of the British East African Dependencies and the means of securing closer co-ordination of policy on such important matters as transportation, cotton-growing, and the control of human, animal and plant diseases,
b) on the steps necessary to ameliorate the social condition of the natives of East Africa, including improvement of health and economic development,
c) on the economic relation between natives and non-natives with special reference to labour contracts, care of labourers, certificates of identification, employment of women and children, and
d) on the taxation of natives and the provision for services directed to their moral and material improvement.

2. Colonial Office: Colonial Memorandum on Education in British Tropical Dependencies (London: HMSO, 1925) CMD.2374 Chairman: Ormsby-Gore, then Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. Its recommendations are usually referred to as the 'Thirteen Principles'.

education besides the place of religion and character training.¹

The memorandum laid down the policy for the educational development of Kenya for the period up to the 1950's.² It satisfied the missionary societies who saw the value of co-operation with the colonial administration. It can hardly be envisaged that the colonial administration ever considered an alternative approach. It was, in fact, handicapped in terms of management and supervision in a way in which the missionary societies were not. It was a matter of expediency for the colonial administration to give the missions financial aid. While it took advantage of the shortage of funds on the part of the missionary societies, they exploited its manpower weaknesses.³

The missions, therefore, welcomed the educational policy of co-operation recommended by the memorandum, particularly its stand on CI and character training. While still maintaining that what counted as African education should not lead to the alienation of the African people from their tribal communities, the memorandum was categorical about the crucial role of CI, as a means of producing the acceptable type of African person in the western sense. This, of course, was notwithstanding the disintegrating effect which western influence on the African societal systems had. The memorandum maintained that despite this, it was sensible to exploit the African religiosity to enhance the status of CI in schools, as a safeguard against the ulterior effects of western influence on the African people.⁴

1. The other topics covered were: 1. Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa; 2. Encouragement and Control of Voluntary Agencies; 3. Co-operation; 4. Adaptation to Native Life; 5. The Education Service; 6. Grants-in-Aid; 7. Study of Vernacular, Teaching and Text-Books, 8. Native Teaching Staff; 9. Uniting Teachers; 10. Inspection and Supervision; 11. Technical Training; 12. Education for Girls and Women; and 13. The Organisation of the School System.

2. Mutua, R. W., op.cit., p.59.

3. Ibid., p.27.

4. Colonial Office, Cmd.2374, op.cit., pp.4-5

It further stressed the importance of industriousness, extra-curricular activities, and even boarding schools towards a remoulding of the African's character. Most important was the place it gave to CI, asserting that above all else, the

greatest importance must therefore be attached to religious teaching and moral instruction. Both in schools and in training colleges they should be accorded an equal standing with secular subjects. Such teaching must be related to the conditions of life and the daily experience of the pupils. It should find expression in the habits of self-discipline and loyalty to the community. With such safeguards, contact with civilisation need not be injurious, or the introduction of new religious ideas have a disruptive influence antagonistic to constituted secular authority. History shows that devotion to a spiritual ideal is the deepest source of inspiration in the discharge of public duty. Such influence should permeate the whole life of the school. 1

Not only did the educational policy concur with the missionary societies' ideology, it also assured the colonial administration that CI was a means towards creating docility in the African people. This was necessary, in order that the colonial administration could govern the colonies without any local resistance, which assurance the colonial administration earnestly sought. Since the missions promised this they became indispensable to each other in the administration of the colonies. Whenever the Secretary of State for Colonies acted in the interest of the British Empire, he strengthened the position of missionary societies at the same time.

In the 1935 Memorandum this position was consolidated.² Co-operation between the missions and the colonial administration was emphasised, for this

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1. Ibid., pp.4-5. Read, who was a Professor of Education with special reference to Education in Tropical Areas at London University, Institute of Education made a scathing attack on the 1925 memorandum's whole principle of expecting to marry western education to African needs when all that was aimed at was the transferring of western values through schooling. Read, M., Education and Cultural Traditions, Studies in Education, No. 2, (London: Evans Bros. 1956) p.9.
 2. Colonial Office, Memorandum on the Education of African Communities No.103, (London: HMSO, 1935). There was yet another similar memorandum in 1944, Colonial Office, Memorandum on Mass Education in African Society, No.186, (London: HMSO, 1943).

was a pillar in the fabric of colonial policy. It suggested the creation of propaganda machinery in the various districts to help the advancement of the African communities.¹ It saw the purpose of African education in terms of economics and character shaping. It also proposed that further advancement and opportunity for Africans depended on their being judged to be of good character in the western sense.

The first task of education is to raise the standard alike of character and efficiency of the bulk of the people, but provision must also be made for the training of those who are required to fill posts in the administrative and technical services as well as of those who, as chiefs, will occupy positions of exceptional trust and responsibility.

As resources permit, the door of advancement through higher education must be increasingly opened for those who, by character, ability and temperament, show themselves fitted to benefit by such education. 2

In this respect the educational views expressed by Scott, Orr's successor as Director of Education, in the 1925 and 1935 memoranda are pertinent to this study. Having served as a Director of Education in Kenya, Scott knew from experience the background of the policy of co-operation and especially its bearing on CI. He was in conflict with Roman Catholic missionaries on this issue. They felt that he was

...pursuing a definite anti-missionary policy of trying to flagrantly oppose the Colonial Office policy regarding the education of Africans and attempting to change the religious character of African schools, even making them entirely neutral. 3

1. Scott, H. S., loc.cit., p.428.

2. Colonial Office, No.103, op.cit., para.1.

Scott, H. S., loc.cit., p.420.

3. Mutua, R. W., op.cit., pp.45-46. The degree of opposition to Scott, can be seen in the East African Standard, (Weekly Edition) of 21/2/1931 "Roman Catholic Reply to Education Department Annual Report, 1929", p.16; Kieran, J. A. P.'s study, 'The Holy Ghost Fathers in East Africa, 1863-1914', an unpublished Ph.D. Thesis submitted to the University of London, 1966, p.202; the Kiambu District Intelligence Report, 1927, and the East African Standard (Weekly Edition) of 21/1/1931, p.43.

The missionary societies generally were opposed to Scott's liberalism in education, which they interpreted as paving the way for a non-religious basis of character formation in the schools. This they saw as dangerous. The missions always maintained that they were the spokesmen of the African people and they saw this as a warrant to resist the attempts, direct or indirect, by Scott as the Director of Education, to secularize African education.

Scott held progressive views on the issue of CI in African education. This can be seen from his impressions of the role CI was expected to play in social control. He questioned the line of thinking of the Committee behind the 1925 Memorandum on the subject.

Can the relation between Christian religious teaching and the conditions of life and the daily experience of the native pupil be anything but antagonistic or at least disruptive? Can the introduction of new religious ideas be anything but antagonistic to the tribal authority and to the tribal beliefs? If they are not antagonistic, are they truly Christian. 1

He maintained that the Committee's views on CI were based on uncertain grounds. It was clear that the Committee intended to change African social systems in a way which enabled the Christian influence to be paramount.

Scott also challenged the missions concerning the way in which they used the situation of partnership with the colonial administration to their own advantage in Kenya. The missionary societies mainly propagated the Gospel. They were thus only able to provide what he referred to as "general or literary"² education, which defeated the whole justification of grants-in-aid from the colonial administration.³ This was done under a self-imposed custodial or

1. Scott, H. S., loc.cit., p.421

2. Scott, H. S., "Some Aspects of Native Education in Kenya", Hussey, E. R. J., Scott, H. S. and Willis, J. J., Some Aspects of Education in Tropical Africa, Studies and Reports, No.IX, Institute of Education, University of London, (London: O.U.P., 1936) p.28.

3. Mutua, R. W., op.cit., p.44.

trusteeship responsibility for the African people. He therefore cautioned the missions not to overplay the evangelical purpose of schooling, but to consider also the enhancement of the welfare of the African people.

It is perhaps worth adding...that on the mission side the prospect of success depends at least in part on the recognition by the missions that it is worth considering whether the evangelization of the African does not depend for its success on the general improvement of the life of the African almost as much as on the religious conversion. 1

Scott's stance was certainly very realistic and was a timely reminder of the need for a sensible approach to the missionary societies. The general British government political strategem was one of exploitation camouflaged by a policy of trusteeship and the missions were involved in this. The C.M.S., for instance, intent on pursuing its evangelical ideology, in effect also enabled the colonial administration to pursue a policy of material exploitation in Kenya.² Through missionary education there began a disintegration of the communal ideas of traditional African systems. These were replaced by alien western ideals which turned the educated Africans away from any feeling of responsibility for their less fortunate fellow-men.³ Nevertheless, the missionaries insisted on CI within their educational provisions for Africans. This is what they demanded of the Phelps-Stokes Commission to East Africa in 1924.⁴

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1. Scott, H. S., "Some Aspects of Native Education in Kenya," loc.cit., p.41.
 2. Mutua, R. W., op.cit., pp.56-61.
 3. Hill, M. F., The Dual Policy in Kenya, (Nakuru: The Kenya Weekly News, 1944), pp.99-101.
 4. Jones, T. J., Education in East Africa; Phelps-Stokes Commission Report, (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1924).

2. b) The Phelps-Stokes Commission and CI.

The missionary societies' demand for the British government to declare its educational policy for her territories in Africa and the Ormsby-Gore Commission were both products of the first African Phelps-Stokes Commission which dealt with West, South and Equatorial Africa.¹ The second African Phelps-Stokes Commission was in Kenya from February to March, 1924. The Commission made a comprehensive study of the state of African education in the colony and made detailed recommendations regarding the improvement of African education. It emphasised industrial and trade-oriented education for the African people. The Commission's overriding intention was to keep the Africans in a subservient position in relation to their colonial masters. This was also consonant with the missionary ideology which emphasised industriousness, submission and obedience to the powers that be, whether they be benevolent or despotic.

Mutua illustrates the philosophy behind the recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions in Africa.

Since the coming of the administration and the settlers, the missionaries, like all other immigrants were convinced of the eventual domination of Europeans over Africans. They, as the self-appointed guardians of African interests, set out to educate the Africans for this status. Naturally they turned to areas that had experienced similar problems and were convinced that the experiences of the Negroes in the Southern States of North America and those of the Bantus in South Africa were similar to what the Africans in Kenya were bound to face eventually. Consequently, the experiences of Negro educational institutions were considered to be directly relevant and transferable to educational development in Kenya and indeed the whole of Africa. 2

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1. Osogo, J. N. B., "Educational Development in Kenya, 1911-1924", Ogot, B. A., (Ed.) Hadith 3, (Nairobi: E.A.P.H., 1971) p.112.
 2. Mutua, R. W., op.cit., p.56. Other related sources are:
King, K. J., "Africa and the Southern states of the U.S.A.," Journal of African History, X (1969) 4, p.659 and
Walbank, T. W., "British Colonial Policy and Native Education in Kenya", Journal of Negro Education, 1 (1938) 7, pp.521-532.
Further detailed discussion of the American-African connection of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions is also available in King, K. J., Pan-Africanism and Education: A Study of Race Philanthropy and Education in the Southern States of America and East Africa, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

The purpose of this thesis is not to be unfairly critical of the tremendous contributions of missionary education to the development of Kenya, but, rather, to analyse the missions' intentions regarding CI. It is not the intention of this study to be anti-Christian, but in exposing the assumptions and prejudices of the past, particularly where they continue to be embedded in the current programmes, it is hoped to put both moral and religious education on a better road to a more constructive future. It is, therefore, intended to be constructive not destructive, although it is necessary to be both severe and challenging with respect to the missionary societies' view of what CRE should be.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission saw its recommendations for African education in Kenya lead to the setting up of the Jeanes School at Kabete. In a spirit of co-operation with the colonial administration the missions were actively engaged in this venture. This project, it was hoped, would secure the future of missionary education, and prevent a separation of CI from vocational education. On the part of missions, there was no dichotomy, because they saw the African educational problem as both a moral and a technical one.¹ This justified their presence and participation in the activities of the Jeanes School. What they counted as education was inseparable from CI. Only with this ingredient would education produce good citizens. Education they held sought to train the mind, the body and the soul or character. The latter could only be accomplished through CI, and was of paramount importance in relation to everything else.

1. Lewis, L. J., Equipping Africa, (London: Edinburgh Press, 1948) pp.31-41. He also draws attention to Loeb, M. B., et al., Who Shall be Educated? (London: R.K.P., 1946). This line of reasoning is progressively argued out in Dougall's J. W. C. Jeanes' Movement Conference Papers held in Salisbury, Zimbabwe in 1935: "Religious Education in the Village School", (pp.224-236), and "Religious Education in the Training College", (pp.236-247); delivered on 1st June, 1935, Carnegie Corporation of New York Village Education in Africa: Report of the Inter-territorial "Jeanes" Conference, Salisbury, S. Rhodesia, 6th June, 27th May, 1935 (Lovedale, South Africa: Lovedale Press 1935). Dougall attended as an Educational Advisor to the Protestant Missions in Kenya and Uganda. He evidently drew upon his experience as the first principal of Jeanes School at Kabete in presenting his papers at this conference.

CI was, therefore, highly placed in the curriculum of African education.

The missionary societies hardly draw any distinction between the church and the school.¹ They clearly feared division with the attaining of independence as a result of which they wished to confront the ruling party designate in 1963, pledging their support and loyalty.

There is no doubt that the Phelps-Stokes Commission recommendations were well-meaning and educationally sound. Its study of African education was detailed in nature, but tragically the colonial administration felt it politically expedient not to execute its considered recommendations, despite the colonial administration's pledge concerning the importance of African interests given in the Devonshire White Paper.² The recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission have been carefully summarised by Osogo.

The Phelps-Stokes Commission recommended co-operation between the government, the missionary and the settler in the work of educating Africans; they thought that this education should aim at character, health, agriculture, industry and wholesome creation. They further stressed that African education should be adapted to local realities, be imparted in the vernacular at least up to the sixth year of education, and also that it must enable the children to have respect for their African culture and ensure that they did not lose interest in their communities. It pointed out that it was wrong for African children to sing patriotic songs of their colonizers such as the British "Grenadiers", or the French "Marseillaise" while they despised traditional African music. Similarly they expressed their disapproval

1. C.M.S.G.B.I. Report of Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting of Conference of Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, (London: Edinburgh House, 1938) pp.64-68. This twin relationship of the school and the church is also alluded to by Dougall, J. W. C., "The Relationship of Church and the School in Africa", The International Review of Missions, XXVI (April, 1937) 102, pp.204-214. He saw the basis of this relationship hinging on the question of the inter-relationship between religion, life, evangelization and education. Dougall also expressed the same views in "Christian Education and the Life of the African Mission", East and West Review, 2 (1936) pp.341-349.

2. Osogo, J. W. B., loc.cit., p.113.

Colonial Office, Report of the Commission on Agriculture, (London: HMSO, 1923), generally known as the 1923 Devonshire White Paper.

of giving greater attention to the teaching of the history and geography of Europe and America than to that of Africa itself. 1

The recommendations of the Phelps-Stokes Commission were hardly implemented. Those regarding the setting up of Jeanes School at Kabete, in 1925 were rendered void due to quality of candidates the missions selected for admission. The misgivings felt in this situation led to the eventual demise of the school. The missions selected candidates who were docile and loyal to the Christian cause. The role that the Jeanes School teachers were expected to play in improving the general conditions of life in the rural areas bush or village schools as focal points was not fulfilled.² This was not unexpected. Othieno says that the missions "failed to differentiate Christian ethics from the European way of life. To them becoming a Christian generally meant the negation of the traditional way of life".³ Thus their candidates to Jeanes School were to be persons who could ensure that the missions' cause was paramount.

The Phelps-Stokes Report stressed the fundamental place of the development of character in an African education and the importance of the African economic and social systems.⁴ The important role of CI in African education was

1. Osogo, J. N. B., loc.cit., p.113.

2. Ibid., p.114. An assessment of bush schools or village schools is to be found in Murray, A. V., The School in the Bush: A Critical Study of Native Education in Africa, (London: Longman, 1929). This book was a result of a tour made by the author through Africa (he had only a stop-over in Mombasa) between April, 1927 to January, 1928. The aim of the tour was to find out the teacher training needs of African education. Bush Schools, as Greaves, L. B. "The Educational Front in British Tropical Africa", (pp.482-496), The Year Book of Education, 1940, (London: Evans Bros.Ltd., 1940), showed were hardly easy to define. Initially they were meant for religious instruction, but soon incorporated literacy in order to enable the attendants to read the Bible. They included hygiene, agriculture, civics, geography and history. However, the teaching was sub-standard, only given in order to inculcate the facts of the Bible, although they formed what Greaves referred to as "the broad basis of popular education" in the missionary outposts, p.488.

3. Othieno, N. A., An Outline of History of Education in East Africa, (New York: Columbia University, 1963) p.13.

4. Jones, T. J., Education in East Africa: Phelps-Stokes Commission Report, p.136.

recognised by the colonial administration "as an element and as the foundation and colouring of school activities".¹ The divergent purposes of African education, seen from the position of the missions, the colonial administration, the settlers and the traders were analysed in the Report.² It maintained that despite the differences among the interested parties about purposes there was agreement regarding the place of CI in character training in African education.³

The Commission's Report drew attention to the exclusiveness of character training in order to achieve expected moral values and behaviour,⁴ listing three approaches. These were

...the inculcation of simple virtues by direct instruction, the formation of right habits which deepen through practice into principle, and the influence of religious teaching with its expression in personal, school and community life. 5

In attempting to show the crucial role of CI in character training the Commission's Report pointed to the place given to it in the 1925 memorandum.⁶ However, the Commission's Report was not able to recommend that CI be made a compulsory curriculum subject in the schools.⁷

The Report demanded that character development be divorced from ethics and related to the daily experiences of the African peoples as these were experienced in their communities.⁸ In order to translate into reality the

1. Ibid., p.139.

2. Ibid., p.7.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p.12.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid., pp.13-14.

interaction between CI and character development the Report suggested that religious educators should bear in mind the following guidelines, set out in the form of questions.

Do the native people understand the relation of religion to their daily activities? How does their conception of this relationship differ from that of their belief in idol or fetish? Has Christianity freed them of superstitious fears and degrading elements of their customs? 1

In terms of methodology, four approaches were to be employed: the personal example of staff, the religious organisations of the school, moral and Christian instruction based on the study of the Bible, and ensuring that all school activities were to be conducive to character training.² The entire atmosphere of the school was to "reflect such a vital interest in character development as to leave the pupil in no doubt as to its primary importance."³ That meant pervading the whole school life with Christianity, the backbone of character training in African education.

Not surprisingly, the Commission's Report appealed especially to the missions, and Oldham, writing of its educational implications, stressed its significance for the missionary societies.

The great service rendered by the Phelps-Stokes Commission is that they put forward, if not a philosophy, at any rate a programme of education which gives promise of commending itself to governments and at the same time is not only in harmony with missionary aims, but provides the means of carrying out those aims more effectively. The Commission have succeeded in doing this not by the method of compromise, nor by trying to bring about an artificial and extended harmony, but by getting at the fundamental truth regarding the purposes of education, in which, because it is the truth, governments and missions can find common ground. 4

1. Ibid., p.14.

2. Ibid., pp.14-15.

3. Ibid., p.15.

4. Oldham, J. H., "The Christian Opportunity in Africa: Some Reflections on the Report of the Phelps-Stokes Commission", International Review of Missions, XIV (1925) 54, pp.175-176.

The Commission's Report recommendations were encouraging to the missions as they sought to mould the African into a Christian character.¹

Smith, a long-standing senior master at Alliance High School, at Kikuyu, has drawn attention to the welcome given by the missions to the Commission's Report. They were particularly appreciative of the grants-in-aid and the board opportunities offered for their missionary education in Kenya.²

Mwambanga suggests that the missions welcomed the way CI was highlighted in the Commission's Report.³ On the British government front, the Colonial Office, in a second White Paper in 1925, expressed support for the recommendations of the Commission's Report, as these would enhance "the inculcation of true ideals of citizenship and service"⁴ among the African people.

Nevertheless, though in the minority, there were also critics of the Commission's Report who questioned the realism of its recommendations. One of its severest critics was Leys who saw the missions' endorsement of the Commission's Report as a capitulation to the colonial administration's racist views. In effect, those views amounted to a perception of Africans as sub-humans, whose redemption lay in the forceful inculcation of European value-systems.⁵ He criticised the terms of the "aims, social and educational"⁶

1. Ibid., pp.177-179.

2. Smith, J. S., The History of the Alliance High School, (Nairobi: H.E.B., 1973) p.12.

3. Mwambanga, R. N., "A Short History of the Christian Churches Educational Association", Byaruhanga-Akiki, A. B. T., (Ed.), African Traditional Religion and Philosophy, Occasional Research Papers, Department of Religious Studies and Philosophy, Makerere University, Kampala, 14 (July, 1973) 155, pp.3-5.

4. Advisory Committee on Native Education in British Tropical African Dependencies, Education Policy in British Tropical Africa, (London: HMSO, 1925) p.3.

5. Leys, N., "The Education of the African", Manchester Guardian, 26 October, 1926. Cell, J. W., (Ed.), op.cit., pp.276-277.

6. Leys, N., "Leys to Editor", Manchester Guardian, 6 November, 1926. Cell, J. W., (Ed.), op.cit., p.280.

of the educational policy of co-operation advocated by the Commission's Report under which the missions were to work. He maintained that this amounted to "a slave policy",¹ and that the missions should, rather, have adopted a position of neutrality in education whose aim would be to train "African youth to be free citizens of a free society"² consistent with the noble principles of Christianity.

Oldham saw Leys' criticisms as a misrepresentation of the missionary societies' attitude to African education. In defending the recommendations of the Commission's Report he maintained that they were most likely to meet the best needs and interests of the African people for they were "on one hand, to open to the people of Africa the treasures of western knowledge and, on the other to encourage them to appreciate, value and develop what is distinctively and characteristically their own".³ In effect Oldham asserted that the missions' educational policy of co-operating with the colonial administrations was meant to enable the African people to surmount the pressures being brought to bear upon them in their contact with western civilisation. He felt that Leys' scepticism amounted to little less than a desire to keep the African people in a servile position.

The missions determined to make the best of what the Commission's Report offered. They mobilised their evangelistic purposes through bush schools, catechetical schools and educational boarding establishments. The colonial administration was largely resigned to pacifying not only the African people

1. Ibid., p.281.

2. Ibid.

3. Oldham, J. H., "Oldham to the Editor", Manchester Guardian, 29 October, 1926.
Cell, J. W., (Ed.) op.cit., p.279.

but also the various religious bodies who vied with each other for converts.¹ In Kenya, the question of inter-church tensions was to have been resolved by the policy of mission spheres, dividing the country between the religious bodies.² Nevertheless tensions still existed.

In 1924 the Protestant missions in Kenya formed the Kenya Missionary Council for purposes, not of union, but of co-operation with and understanding of one another.³ This Council was the forerunner of the present National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCCK) an ecumenical Christian council whose objectives are still largely the same as those of its predecessor - evangelism, Biblical study and research, CI and training. Early in 1933 the Kenya Missionary Council had appointed a Committee to revise its statement of educational policy. The Committee reported in 1940 and stressed that CI was the only tried means of ensuring world order. It urged co-operative educational planning between the missionary societies and the colonial administration and recommended the creation of a standing sub-committee of the council to deal with education.⁴

Between 1925 and 1948 the place of CI in African education was discussed in almost all the colonial administrations' and missionary societies'

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1. Cameron, J., The Development of Education in East Africa, (New York: Teachers' College Press, 1970) pp.23-29.
 2. Capon, M. G., Towards Unity in Kenya (Nairobi: The Regal Press Ltd., 1962) pp.7-8.
 3. Mwambanga, R. N., loc.cit., pp.5-6. Strayer, R. W., notes that "the Kenya Missionary Council was formed to co-ordinate mission approaches to the government on educational and other matters, but it did not supercede the original alliance", op.cit., p.154.
 4. An Anonymous Author, "Christian Missions' Educational Policy in East Africa", Oversea Education, 12 (January, 1941) 1, pp.84-86.

official reports.¹ The colonial administrations' yearly educational departmental reports paid tribute to the important contribution of CI in enhancing the moral welfare of the African children. These reports showed that school days started with morning prayers, that Sunday services were held in schools, and that each week one period was set aside for denominational teaching. In Britain, in 1927, the Advisory Council on Christian Education Overseas was formed to serve as a crucial link between Christian education in Britain and its counterparts overseas (See Appendix 2 for the constitution of the CMSGBI, especially items Two and Three stressing the evangelistic aims of the Conference). The Advisory Council on Christian Education Overseas was an arm of the Conference, the predecessor to the present British Council of Churches, an ecumenical Christian council.

1. This is evident, for example, in the following annual educational reports:

- Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Education Department: Annual Report 1926, (Nairobi: Government Press, 1927) pp.15ff.
- Education Department: Annual Report 1929, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1930) pp.21-26.
- Education Department: Annual Report 1930, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1931) p.35.
- Education Department: Annual Report 1935, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1936) p.46.
- Education Department: Annual Report 1936, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1937) p.74.
- Education Department: Annual Report 1937, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1938, p.85.
- Education Department: Annual Report 1938, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1939) p.82.

It is also evident, for example, in the following annual reports of the CMSGBI:

- Report of the Sixteenth Annual Conference, held at The Hayes, Swanwick, Derbyshire, 14-18th June, 1927 (London: Edinburgh House) pp.50-51.
- Report of Twentieth Annual Conference, held at The Hayes, Swanwick, Derbyshire, 17-20th June, 1931, (London: Edinburgh House Press, n.d.) pp.28-29.
- Report of Twenty-First Annual Conference, held at High Leigh, Hoddesdon, Herts., 15-17th June 1932, (London: Edinburgh House Press, n.d.) p.32.
- Report of Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting 1937-1938, (London, Edinburgh House Press, n.d.) pp.64-68 (venue not indicated).
- Report for the Year 1939-1940, (London: Edinburgh House Press, n.d.) pp.55-67, (venue not indicated).
- Report for the Year 1941-1942, (London: Edinburgh House Press, n.d.) pp.57-59, (venue not indicated).
- Report for the Year 1944-1945, (London: Edinburgh House Press, n.d.) pp.20-22, (venue not indicated).

The alliance between the missionary societies and the colonial administration in African education continued to be strengthened. At the 1937 International Conference on Church, Community, and the State, held at Oxford, the churches affirmed their ecclesiastical role in education which was dependent on a mutual working relationship with the state for the good of the several communities.¹ Greaves, a former educational adviser to the East African Protestant Missions, showed the missions' reluctance at the integration of their schools into the State systems, which, they felt was likely to erode their schools' Christian character. The missions felt unable to compromise, despite the inevitability of integration as a result of the missionary societies' limited resources.²

^{later the first Archbishop of Kenya,}
Beecher, who in 1949 was to chair a Committee of Enquiry into the state of African education, was emphatic about what he considered to be the invaluable role of missionary education in "interpreting cultural change to the new Africa".³ He urged the missionary societies to pledge themselves to use every educational advantage at their disposal to retain their influence in African education during integration. The missions were, of course, influential in teacher training. There was also the opportunity for them to initiate programmes for the education of women and girls.⁴ The Colonial Office, faced with pressure from the missionary societies, tended to rubber stamp their views in despatches

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1. Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State, The Churches Survey their Task, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1937). Oldham wrote the introduction to the report "Report on Church, Community and State in Relation to Education", pp.130-166. These same ideas are also echoed in Visser T Hooft, W. A. and Oldham, J. H., The Church and Its Function in Society (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1937), especially pp.168-175 on the role of the church in the world, its evangelistic function.
 2. Greaves, L. B., "The Educational Advisorship in East Africa", International Review of Missions, 36 (July, 1947) 143, pp.333.
 3. Beecher, L. J., "Missionary Education in Kenya", The East West Review, 5 (1939) p.325.
 4. Ibid., pp.328-329.

to the colonies. This was evident in the 1944¹ and the 1948² memoranda which considered the general development of African education. The missionary societies continued to use their membership of the Advisory Committee in Native Education in British Tropical African Dependencies to their evangelical end.

2. c) The 1949 African Education Committee and CI

Writing in 1946, the Aaronovitchs' were critical of the colonial administration's educational policy. It was, they argued based on absurd factors: the need to produce a small number of Africans who would support the colonial system as clerks and artisans; and the settlers' opposition to the education of African people which had behind it their need of a vast source of ignorant, cheap labour. It was not the aim of the colonial administration to have a better system of African education comparable to that of the Europeans, since that would be strongly opposed by the community of settlers in the colony.³ Meanwhile, the missionary societies sought to educate the African people during the process of evangelisation. Thus, the colonial administration found the missions helpful in providing reliable civil servants since, true to their missionary ideology, the missions guarded and patronised their converts, protecting them against what they considered to be "dangerous ills"⁴ in the African communities.⁵

The evidence of the independent schools and churches in Kenya showed that the missions were often the instruments of the colonial administrators and

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1. Colonial Office, Mass Education in African Societies No.186, (London: HMSO, 1944)
 2. Colonial Office, Education for Citizenship in Africa, No.216, (London: HMSO, 1948).
 3. Aaronovitch, S. and K., Crisis in Kenya, (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1946) pp.132-135.
 4. Ibid., p.133.
 5. Gardiner, K. A., "Special Issues: Education", CMSGBI, Report for the Year 1941-1942, (London: Edinburgh House Press, n.d.) pp.57-58.

settlers, both of whom were "against independent thinking by the subject peoples".¹ It is true that the missions were not necessarily in favour of this but usually it was weighted against their ideology, their desire to use education as a means of inculcating Christian civilization. Nowhere else were the moral Christian and technical aspects of African education in Kenya epitomised as much in the Beecher Report.² Its Chairman was the then Venerable Archdeacon of Mombasa, Beecher, who was closely associated with the C.M.S. This Report must be seen in its historical perspective where the question of the educational development of Africans was related to their preparation for leadership in an independent nation. The bias of the Report towards the religious and technical aspects of African education raises the question whether this could meet the leadership needs of a future independent Kenya. This Report was to be the basis of African educational development for the 1950's.³

One of the Colonial Office's memoranda of the 1940's sought to respond to the "need to educate Africans for responsibility".⁴ In Kenya, in 1948, there was a blue-print of an ambitious plan which aimed to reach an adequate level in the development of African education at the primary school stage within ten years.⁵ Apparently, the Development Committee took from 1945 to 1948 to agree on the Colony's ability to fund the plan. By the time the plan was made public there was need for yet another plan, but this time a realistic one. A proposal for education for self-government entailed the study of western political ideas,

1. Aaronovitch, S. and K., op.cit., p.135.

2. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, African Education in Kenya, (Nairobi: The Government Printer, 1949), generally known as the Beecher Report, after its Chairman, L. J. Beecher.

3. Anderson, J., op.cit., pp.38-41.

4. Mutua, R. W., op.cit., p.64.

5. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, A Ten-Year Plan for the Development of African Education, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1948).

for according to the Committee it was "natural and desirable that peoples under British administration should aspire to tread the path of evolutionary democracy which Britain has marked out to the world".¹ The Committee saw the prerequisites of democracy as two-fold: spiritual and economic development.² As in previous reports the Committee saw character training in African education as a basis for responsible citizenship for self-government in Africa.³

The Beecher Report seized its chance to give its own local colouring to the philosophy of education for citizenship, controlling at the same time the sporadic educational expansion in the country. Only one African was represented on the Beecher Committee; the rest were largely European churchmen.⁴ This ensured that the missionary societies' established view of education prevailed. Evangelical education was not only a social responsibility but also a contribution to the task of African development.⁵ Understandably, the Beecher Report recommended that the foundations of African education should be Christian principles.⁶ The Report was emphatic about the need for the continuation of the policy of co-operation in education between the missions and the colonial administration, consistent with the 1925 memorandum.⁷

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1. Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies, Education for Citizenship in Africa No.216, (London: HMSO, 1948) p.5.
 2. Ibid., p.14-17.
 3. Ibid., pp.18-19.
 4. Sheffield, J. R., Education in Kenya: An Historical Study, (New York: Teachers' College Press, 1973) p.33.
 5. Turner, G. C., "Comments on Education in East Africa", The East and West Review, 13 (1947) 3, pp.67-71.
 6. Raju, B. M., Education in Kenya, (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1973) p.8.
 7. Sheffield, J. R., op.cit., p.42.

The tasks before the Beecher Committee included an inquiry into "the scope, content, and methods of the African education system".¹

To state our objectives briefly, we desire to see a new morally sound education based on Christian principles, conducted with adequate inspection and supervision, providing courses of education each of which is purposeful and complete courses at every level, and which, as a system is balanced in the numerical relationship between the more advanced and the elementary levels, and which lays particular emphasis on the acquisition of practical aptitudes and skills. 2

Its bias towards CI is crystal clear. The Committee's views were influenced by the large body of evidence which pointed to a breakdown in moral standards in African society and the comparative inability of the schools to rectify the situation.³

In British society there was a large established tradition of moral standards based on Christian principles. This tradition was lacking in the African society in Kenya, and perhaps it could only be achieved through African education, given that the African parents did not already practise Christian moral principles.⁴ African schools, therefore, required that CI be given by trained and committed teachers, for secular teachers had neither the relevant expertise nor the commitment.⁵ This perpetuated the policy of educational co-operation between the missions and the colonial administration which allayed the missions' fears regarding their future role in African education.

To reinforce their point of view the Committee quoted the evidence of one of their witnesses.

1. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Beecher Report, op.cit., p.v.

2. Ibid., p.57.

3. Ibid., p.55.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., pp.62-64.

We are the products of a Christian civilization and all that we have to offer is that civilization. It cannot be detached or dissected into parts. Evangelization is as much part of education as anything else and it would be quite impossible for us to devise a system of education which is entirely and totally secular. This is not to say that it is necessary for us to proselytize Moslems, or indeed for that matter those convinced pagans who insist on remaining pagans, but only that in offering what we have to offer we should realise that it is an inseparable compound of our faith and learning. 1

This witness obviously embodied deeply felt views about CI. No doubt there were numerous such witnesses at the time, especially from the missionary or European side, and the Committee made its recommendations accordingly.² The missions then had virtual autonomy over supervision in their schools. If the Colony's Legislative Council gave approval to the Report's recommendations the missions would view this as confirmation of the value and success of their evangelical work. The inspection of education was left to the Education Department, and was carried out perfunctorily, being little more than a symbol of the Education Department's overall control in the country. The Department could hardly raise enough officers to inspect what was going on in the schools.³

The Beecher Report, as expected, was debated and approved by the Colony's Legislative Council. The Legislative Council applauded the Report's recommendations, and particularly supported the colonial administration's educational policy in respect of CI and of its continued co-operation with the missions.

1. Ibid., p.55.

2. Ibid., p.50-54.

3. Ibid., pp.60-62.

The Government not only supports the principle of Christian teaching in the schools and training colleges but also supports the recommendation that the voluntary agencies that have the teaching of Christian principles as part of their intention should play a full part in the organisation of an efficient system of education and that there should be sufficient financial provision for the competent management and adequate inspection of such a system. 1

Consequently, the colonial administration issued a policy statement on African education. This gave the Legislative Council's deliberations and execution of the Beecher Report's recommendations the colonial administration's seal of approval. The policy statement reiterated the Beecher Committee's reasons for recommending a Christian religiously based system of African education.

It is therefore the policy of the Government to continue to work to a great extent through the Christian churches and through other religious bodies which have the same devotion to a spiritual ideal and to the habits of self-discipline and loyalty essential to the well-being of the community. The Government will at the same time seek to achieve the same discipline and spiritual foundations in the teaching in its own schools. 2

Not only was CI to be given prominence in the mission's schools, but the government's own schools were also to give it close attention. At all the stages and points of the schools' curriculum, Christian moral values were to be imparted and emphasised.³ The Education Department, as its follow-up reports showed, were evidently keen to see that CI was properly given.⁴

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1. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Proposals for the Implementation of the Recommendations of the Report on African Education in Kenya, Session Paper No.1, 1950, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1950) p.10.
 2. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, African Education: A Statement of Policy, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1957) p.2.
 3. Ibid., p.7.
 4. This is evident for example in:
Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Education Department: Annual Report, 1949, (Nairobi Government Press, 1951) p.53.
----- Education Department: Annual Report, 1950, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1951) p.33.
----- Education Department: Annual Report, 1951, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1953) p.31.
----- Education Department: Annual Report, 1952, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1953) pp.34-35.
----- Education Department: Annual Report, 1954, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1955) p.33.

However, the problem continually being singled out by these reports concerned the low calibre of teachers, which hindered character training in African schools.

A correspondent to The Times Educational Supplement welcomed the recommendations of the Beecher Report, particularly the content of education to be provided, the need for improvement in the quality of education to be given and its resolution of the part to be played by the missions in education. It lamented the fact that education had entered the political scenario of the colony with the demand by the African District Councils to run primary schools which might exclude the missions and even government officers, except advisers, from participating in African education within the Councils. Notwithstanding this politicisation of African education, the correspondent supported the recommendations, recognising the role that the missions were to play in the teaching of Christian principles.¹

In the House of Commons the M.P. for Rugby, Johnson, drew the attention of the House to the main African objections to the Beecher Report. He said that representation on the Committee had been one-sided, none of the African suggestions had been accepted, the four year primary course was insufficient, and only Europeans could be inspectors and advisers. He also pointed out that Africans wanted the colonial administration to take full control of African schools and missions which only taught religion. In addition, they appealed for constructive technical education as opposed to the demeaning handiwork and agriculture. However, while Johnson's espousal of African objections to the Beecher Report in the House were timely, they were not heeded.²

Very much the same muted response had met the Africans own nationalistic criticism that the Report was only intended to restrict African education.

1. An Anonymous Correspondent to The Times Educational Supplement, (October, 27th, 1950) No.1852, p.821.

2. An Anonymous Correspondent to The Times Educational Supplement, (22nd December 1958) No.1860, p.976.

The elementary schools were so many compared to the top primaries that the majority of students would be forced to leave school after only four years of education. This, it was felt, was very detrimental to African education.... Most Africans thought that the intention of the plan was to get these African children to go to work on the settlers' coffee or pyrethrum plantations after four or so years of schooling. This created a certain amount of bitterness toward Rev. Beecher and his plan and to make it worse, the man was a missionary whose ideas were already rejected by the Kisa (Kikuyu Independent Schools Association) due to their difficulties with the missions. Beecher, being the leader of the East African Churches, was felt to be once again trying to bring the independent schools under his control....At the same time, the plan would prevent the spread of education and guarantee an ever growing amount of cheap labour for the settlers. 1

What the African educators demanded in the implementation of the Beecher Report was flexibility rather than rigidity, especially on the limits placed on both the number of students per class and on the number of secondary schools in the country. Unfortunately, the African people's appeal for such an amendment of the Beecher Report's ceiling on student and secondary school numbers was dismissed on the grounds of political and administrative inconvenience.²

What is pertinent to this study, however, is Beecher's justification for the need for Christian moral training in education in the colony, particularly in relation to African education. He maintained that the need for CI in African education was the only tried solution in overcoming both the apparition of Marxist Communism and the temptations of modernity.³ Not surprisingly, men like Smith hailed Beecher's stand as a means for effective evangelism. Beecher stood for the type of CI that was sympathetic to the missions' cause in participating in African education. According to Smith, CI was "a showing

1. Barnett, D. L. and Njama, K., Mau Mau From Within, (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1966) pp.77-78.

2. Ibid., pp.112-113.

3. Beecher, L. "Kenya: The Problems of a Plural Community", The Year Book of Education, 1951, (London: Evans Brothers Ltd., 1951), pp.630-634.

forth of Christ as the Way, the Truth and Life",¹ and that necessarily meant that it "must be distinct from all else,"² which is precisely what the Beecher Report intended.

Turner observed that mission schools tended to impart "too much information and instruction, with strong pressure to industry and obedience but little stimulus to enterprise and thought".³ They emphasised "an excess of moral precept and homily, with insufficient presentation of the faith and discipline upon which Christian conduct would be based."⁴ Despite these criticisms the missions were determined to use African education to see to it that their missionary purposes took precedence over everything else. Consequently, the missions in Kenya and elsewhere in the British African Empire still went ahead and canvassed for CI as the prerequisite for character training in African education.

2. d) The 1952 Binns Report and CI

The Binns Report formed the second part of the working paper which resulted from the 1951 Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office's study of educational policy and practice of African education in what was then British Tropical Africa.⁵ There were two study groups, the East and Central African group which was chaired by Binns, the Chief Education Officer for the Lancashire County Council, and the West African group which was chaired by Dr. Jeffery, then Director of the London University Institute of Education. The study

1. Langford-Smith, N. "Vision in Christian Education", The East and West Review, XII (January, 1951) 1, p.23.

2. Ibid.

3. Turner, G. C., loc.cit., p.69.

4. Ibid.

5. Nuffield Foundation and Great Britain, Colonial Office, African Education: A Study of the Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa, (London: O.U.P., 1953), generally known in East and Central Africa as the Binns Report, after its Chairman, Binns.

consisted of the preparation of a working paper which was to guide the study groups, a six months' field study, during which there were visits to the African territories, and a two weeks' Cambridge Conference in the September of 1952 which culminated in a working paper for further study.

The two study groups were concerned with the condition of African primary and secondary education. They asked four fundamental questions of the early stages of African education: "How much education was being provided? What was the best way of increasing it? Was it the right kind? If it was on the wrong lines, how could it be guided on the right ones?"¹ Except for the fact that twenty-nine African educators attended the Cambridge Conference, African peoples were not appointed to either of the two study groups. Again, except for a few criticisms of the Beecher Report, the changes advocated by the Binns Report were virtually the same, "less a matter of content than of degree".² Neither reports were put into practice because of the emergency in Kenya and the ensuing colonial policies.³

In the preface of the two study reports there was discussion of the problems the educators experienced in an African setting. Such problems concerned vast yet thinly populated areas, differences among the African people, and the under-development of Africa.⁴ Attention was paid to the development of African education, especially the significance of missions in educational development in Africa and the late entry into the African education scene by the British government.⁵ The criticisms levelled against African education were

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1. Greaves, L. B., "African Education: A Commentary on the Cambridge Conference September 1952", The International Review of Missions, 42 (July, 1953) 167, p.318.
 2. Sheffield, J., op.cit., p.45.
 3. Raju, B. M., op.cit., p.9.
 4. The Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office, op.cit., pp.1-2.
 5. Ibid., pp.2-5.

then cited as justifying the need for the 1952 study of African education. The first criticism was that very few children had a chance of attending school and of those, too few would be said to have continued to receive an education that was really of use to them.¹

Important for this study was the second criticism levelled against African education,

...that the education was effective in breaking-up the old African life, but not in adapting its pupils to the conditions of the new. It was bookish, divorced from reality, and gave its pupils a distaste for manual work and for rural life. 2

The study groups were to investigate the shortcomings of the education offered.³ In the process of finding remedies for the condition of African education, the Binns Report emphasised the importance of CI for such education.⁴ It also advocated the introduction of practical work into the curriculum, emphasising the significance of agriculture and the dignity of manual work for future African leaders.⁵

While still stressing the importance of a religiously based curriculum, however, the Report discouraged leaving the supervision of African education "solely in the hands of church authorities".⁶ It preferred that both mission authorities and the colonial administration be responsible in order to minimise narrow religious pressures from determining the outcome of broad educational questions and to streamline the objectives of education until it was to be seen as an end in itself. This helped overcome the problem of sacrificing the child's interests to the adults' interests. While supporting

1. Ibid., p.5.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., pp.5-6.

4. Ibid., p.63.

5. Raju, B. M., op.cit., p.8.

6. The Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office, op.cit., p.63.

the educational policy of co-operation between the missions and the colonial administration, the Binns Report attempted to attend to the vexed question of education for citizenship as opposed to that for Christian citizenship. The Report maintained that "education has to be thought of not only as preparation for the religious life but also for the life of citizenship."¹

The Report attributed this distinction to the mixed or even narrow interpretations of the educational policy of co-operation between the missions and the colonial administration by these two parties, and spelt out the ramifications of the limited interpretations of the existing policy of partnership in education and urged the formulation of a new policy.

Undeservedly as it may be, one of the tragic things in African education is that so many Africans think that the Churches educate for ulterior motives whilst government agencies are single-minded. Only the striking of a new relationship between church and state in African education will remove this spiritual obstacle in the path of progress. 2

In the meantime there was no reason for the missions to worry, for not only were the recommendations of the Binns Report not to be adopted, but the status of CI was not to be eroded.

The Report was merely a working paper for further study. There were no resolutions passed at the Cambridge Conference and the unanimity on the main issues discussed was no guarantee that the delegates would work towards their achievement.³ Everything was left to the whim of the educators in Africa, and the Binns Report was hardly courageous in suggesting an end to the triple connection of the churches, missions and education as was demanded by the Africans.

1. Ibid., p.64.

2. Ibid.

3. The Cambridge Conference was divided into five discussion groups each of which was allocated one of five topics arising from the two field study groups: a) Responsibility and Control, b) the Expansion of the Educational System, c) The Teaching Profession, d) Organisation and Curriculum, and e) Education and the Adult.

It was clear to the Binns Committee that Africans had valid reasons for demanding this. It was a means of emancipation from European control as well as to ending the autocratic control of the schools by the missionary educators.¹ Advising the missionary societies to democratise their schools, therefore, amounted effectively to licensing the perpetuation of the status quo.

2. e) Conclusion: The Place of CI in Colonial Educational Reports

The Binns Report, in the tradition of previous reports and memoranda on African education, saw its aim as being that of preparing Africans "to live well in their own country".² It sought a liberal system of education for Africans "based on their own African environment and their own way of life".³ According to the Binns Report this amounted to a non-secular based curriculum which addressed itself to the agricultural and rural situation of the African condition. This in itself satisfied the missions, as it was consonant with their missionary purpose of keeping the various groups of people in society within their respective stations. This was hypocritical. It gave the Africans an education generally inferior to that offered to their European and Asian counterparts. It was to resist the impression that those receiving superior education were being prepared for the dominating of the African people. This was demonstrated by Comely, the C.M.S. missionary responsible for Kigari in the 1920's and 1930's.

To those who would precipitously educate the natives in order to supplant the skilled Indians in this colony; I ask them to consider the danger. Unexperienced, flushed with money, surrounded by temptation and removed from restraints of their villages, is it our wisdom to rush babes in Christ into positions where the chances are against them? 4

1. Nuffield Foundation and Colonial Office, op.cit., pp.64-65.

2. Ibid., p.67.

3. Ibid.

4. Strayer, R. W., op.cit., p.92.

Furthermore while claiming that African education was to be married to the African cultures, the curriculum was to be based on the Christian religion. It might have been expected that some recognition would have been given to ATR. This was not the case and it appeared that here was an attempt to uproot the African ways of life.

All their fetish worship has stopped. We were commissioned to destroy every sign of it, e.g. small grass houses, pots, sticks etc....The people have stopped wearing charms. All of the men and some women attend morning and evening worship - many learning to read. 1

It was a sad factor that schooling should be instrumental in alienating the educated African people from the values of their traditional societies. With missionary education there came a physical and moral mobility, usually directed towards the city in search of a lucrative occupation. The very presence of the missionary education typified a sense of cultural superiority, which was crowned by the missionary disinterestedness in African civilization. Missionary education was thus used, not only to undermine the African civilization, but also to adulterate and belittle African value-systems. This was effectively done by eradicating African religious beliefs and rituals which were seen as evil aberrations.²

In this respect, the European missionary, administrator, settler or trader, was determined to replace African cultures by Christianity. This meant permeating African schooling with CI. For as Wanjala points out, while the idea of God was not unknown to the African people, the missions were bewildered by this fact and insisted that Christianity in Africa must be practised in the same way it was done in Europe. Nothing less than this would do.

1. Ibid., p.56.

2. Kieran, J. A. P., op.cit., pp.93-103.

Although Africans were already used to the concept of God, Christians did not bother to syncretise the two in order to make Christianity meaningful to the African. Traditions were banned and severely discouraged, and the conflict of values created cultural schizophrenia in the people who were wedged between the two worlds. 1

Schools therefore were instrumental in inculcating Christian civilization into Africa. Both the missions and the colonial administrators were very aware of this, and used African schooling to this end.

The education offered reflected the British idea of moral behaviour. Thus the educated people were never true to their own cultures and environment. They were only the vehicles of western ideas which they carried to their own fellow countrymen. Because of the tendency of the European missionaries to protect their converts from "heathen forces", they turned out African converts who were "spoilt children". 2

From this assessment of missionary education and Christianisation, it is possible to understand why reports on African education at the time perpetually insisted on a religion-based curriculum, yet it seems anomalous that as the years went by the urgency for, and the emphasis on a religion-based curriculum increased.³ It is interesting to note that the reports tended to 'prescribe' a religion-based curriculum as a 'cure' to a condition brought about by the very effect of Christian civilization in an African setting. The same 'cure' had hardly redressed the European situation, and given that it was the only one 'prescribed' for the African 'malaise', it was not so difficult to predict that it would similarly not bear the expected fruits.

While the missionary educators intended that those who received their education should be alienated from their societies, they were bewildered both by the speed with which it happened and the degree of alienation achieved. They resolved that since the new situation had passed the point of no-return

1. Wanjala, C. L., op.cit., p.19.

2. Ibid., p.20.

3. Nuffield Foundation and Colonial Office, op.cit., pp.67-69. Also Greaves, L. B., loc.cit., pp.320-325.

that they would, rather paradoxically, give a semblance of trying to turn the clock back as a kind of admission of their being responsible for new chains of events. In trying to turn the clock back the missionary educators, therefore, paid particular attention to the African teaching profession. The reports held strong views as to who should be selected for teacher training and what kind of teacher should be produced by the teacher training colleges.

Since it was realised that teachers were crucial to any educational programme, the reports insisted on what they called the development of the teacher's whole personality. They even demanded that tutors should be committed Christians who would influence the characters of their teacher-trainees.¹ The ideal was, therefore, to produce teachers with an impeccable Christian character. Even then the African teaching profession was still to be reinforced by Europeans in order that the African teachers would be enabled both to attain and maintain acceptable professional standards.²

The Beecher Report went even further and ~~included a tailpiece as to who~~ ^{referred to an account typifying} was considered a good teacher in the Southern States of U.S.A., in Negro rural schools. He was someone who was

...honest and tactful, punctual. Keeps a lively and worthwhile programme before the people. Encourages all pupils to take part in useful activities both in and out of school. Teaches courtesy and character traits necessary for successful living - honesty, reliability, politeness, self-respect, promptness, cleanliness, accuracy, and dependability. Knows the pupils, their environment, and home life. Is sympathetic and human in all relationships. Knows the subject, and adapts the programme to the needs of the children and their community. Knows how to secure and maintain the interest and co-operation of patrons in the school. Knows the demands of the teaching profession for character, personality, scholarship, and thoroughness. Emphasises homemaking and a live-at-home programme. Practices professional ethics. Keeps neat and accurate records and makes correct reports. 3

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1. Nuffield Foundation and Colonial Office, op.cit., pp.68-69.
 2. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Beecher Report, op.cit., p.45.
 3. Ibid., pp.45-46.

The Report added that was what many witnesses of the African teaching profession pleaded for. However, if the Jeanes experiment was anything to go by then the missions' intentions as to the calibre of those who would make the bulk of the African teaching profession were subtle, if not evident enough. Even while the rise of nationalism in Africa was leading towards African rule¹ the missions still sought to ensure that CI would be included in the schools' curricula.

In Kenya Dain, Education Secretary of the Christian Churches of Kenya and later Head of Religious Studies and Philosophy, at Kenyatta University College argued the missions' position. He maintained that despite the crisis in CI, the missions' record in African education would be sufficient reason for its continued inclusion in the schools' teaching programmes in independent Kenya. The missions "must out-think, outplan and outlive all secular and religious forces in opposition".² He challenged the missions, "How then can we recover the revolutionary zeal of the Church of the New Testament and so be alive to our heavenly calling to be the salt of the earth and the light of the world?"³ He therefore proposed the missions' infiltration into the nation's educational institutions and apparatus, especially in the area of CI in character training.⁴

Thus the climax of the missions' proposed new strategy was marked by their pronouncement and identification with the aspirations of the ruling party in 1963 which paved the way for the legal basis of religious education in Kenya.

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1. Emerson, R., From Empire to Nation, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960);
Hodgkin, T., Nationalism in Colonial Africa, (New York: New York University Press, 1957);
Shepherd, Jr. G., The Politics of African Nationalism, (New York: Praeger, 1962);
Wallerstein, I., Africa: The Politics of Independence, (New York: Vintage, 1961) and Perham, M., The Colonial Reckoning, (New York: Knopff, 1962).
 2. Dain, R. F., The Church and Educational Planning, (3rd September, 1957) Unpublished paper, p.1.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid., pp.2-3.

(See Appendix 3 for the Joint Church Statement). That marked the beginning of the road towards the overriding need for joint CRE syllabuses shared by both Catholics and Protestants. On the other hand, this action could be interpreted as a new and realistic approach towards the missions continuing their unfinished task, begun by Krapf and Rebmann, using the educative machinery to evangelise while simultaneously attempting to live true to the spirit of Christianity by working towards ecumenical CI.

CHAPTER FIVE

CRE IN KENYA : THE AFTERMATH OF THE COLONIAL LEGACY

1. Church-State Relations in Education

This study has attempted to show that Christian missions played a crucial role in the evolution of formal education in Kenya, though this involvement was triggered off by a desire to Christianise Africans through schooling. The colonial administration's involvement in African education was very gradual. Its policy of co-operation with the Christian missions worked to the advantage of both parties, in spite of some opposition from the settlers. The various educational reports safe-guarded the priorities of the interested minority parties in the country.

With the attaining of independence in 1963 a new situation was created in Kenya. It was important for the missions and the African administration to consider what kind of relationship best suited the new country and what would serve to create a sense of national unity. Independence meant grappling with colonial problems, especially those which stemmed from the division of the Africans along tribal lines. It challenged the colonial religions and the administrative mentality which also separated people along racial and tribal lines.¹ New national aims had, therefore, to be defined in the field of education, which would respond to this situation. An educational programme needed to emerge from the requirements of the new Kenyan nation. In Kenya these aims include national unity, national development at the social and economic levels, social equality, individual development and self-fulfilment, respect for and development of the cultural heritage and international consciousness.² Within these aims is embedded the religious vision of the

1. Cameron, J., op.cit., pp.29-32.

2. Kenya, Secondary School Curriculum Guide, (Nairobi: Ministry of Education n.d.) pp.4-7.

nation, and if Kenya succeeds then the religious root within its thinking is justified. It is this same value-judgement which lies behind the suitability of the content of any syllabus.

Although the important role of the missionary societies in education was recognised by the new administration, they feared that their influence would diminish. They "issued a joint statement expressing their determination to continue their service in the educational field".¹ They were hopeful that the new administration would recognise the need to safe-guard their missions' divine appointment while drawing upon their rich experience in educational planning and policy and their professional expertise.² It soon became evident that the new administration would no longer entertain the continuance of the missions' privileged position in the educational field,³ being determined to take control itself and to introduce a more unified national system of education, unlike the divisive one which had been established by the colonial administration in co-operation with the missions.⁴

The missions were very concerned to maintain their influence and position within the new educational arrangements. To this end their well practised strategy of infiltration was continued.⁵ The missions could not be expected to concede regarding the religious components of the new educational programme. They strengthened their position by co-operating intensively in the name of ecumenism, so that what were previously diverse and disunited CI programmes, serving the respective denominational interests, suddenly became

1. Sheffield, J. R., op.cit., p.67.

2. An Anonymous Author, "Church Schools", Reporter, 111 (1963) 94, p.41.

3. Sheffield, J. R., op.cit., p.67.

4. Ibid.

5. Dain, R. F., The Church and Educational Planning, (3rd September, 1957) Unpublished.

tailored to concur with the national educational objectives. Concerted efforts were made to demonstrate the missions' unity by providing a joint Catholic-Protestant CRE programme rather than denominational-oriented ones. In this way the missions showed the new administration that their religious and denominational rivalries were a thing of the past, and that their place had been taken by a new spirit of reconciliation. Through their unity they hoped to safe-guard the place of religion in the new national educational system.

That the missions succeeded was evident in the 1964 Ominde Report, This Report, reflecting parental wishes through the medium of the missions, recommended a national educational system which embraced a religious component, especially CRE. The missions had, by their joint statement on education, calculated that this would be interpreted by the new administration as a move towards co-operation between the Catholics and the Protestants. This Catholic-Protestant co-operation was indeed welcomed as a step towards a wider national unity. The missions had educated the new leaders, who were, not surprisingly, generally supportive of the Christian endeavours in the Kenyan national life. It was, however, required that the missions should be willing to put aside their divisive rivalries and recognise that the political scene had changed. It could, therefore, be argued that the missions responded to a new situation in a way calculated to preserve the importance of CRE in the schools. However, it was clearly established that "political rights must not be contingent on religious beliefs."¹

It had become increasingly evident to the missions that in order to achieve their aims they should be circumspect. The political realities of the new Church-State relationship were still unknown. The need for caution

1. Dain, R. F., "Church and State in Education in Kenya", The World Year Book of Education, 1966, (London: Evans Bros. Ltd., 1966) p.377.

was evident. The new administration, though from a position of strength, was also equally cautious. It represented only the secular reality. Consequently, although Christianity, in fact, received a favourable position in the public educational system, the State was bound to impartiality in religious matters. It needed to avoid accusations of favouritism towards a particular religious group, for most world religions are represented in Kenya.¹ The general Church-State relations were, therefore, guarded.

A close relationship between the Church and the State has both advantages and disadvantages. It is advantageous in a number of ways: it creates co-operation between Church and State; it establishes a climate conducive to the preaching of the Gospel and witness of the Church; it enables mutual advice to be readily given; it avoids deep and long-lasting misunderstanding; it guarantees protection for the Church; it fosters mutual use of each other's facilities; it makes possible financial support from the State to the Church; it assures joint action between the Church and State on many important matters; and, finally, it enhances the voice of the Church.²

There are disadvantages, however: the danger of confusion between the activities and interests of church and State; the danger of encroachment in each other's affairs; the danger of the Church compromising too readily; a close relationship can provoke strain and conflict between the Church and State; and, the prophetic voice of the Church may be silenced.³ These disadvantages are particularly worrying, for whatever finally emerges as the

1. Dain, R. F., "Religious Education in Kenya", Association for Religious Education, 4 (Spring, 1972) 1, p.8.

2. Mbiti, J., "Church and State: A Neglected Element of Christianity in Contemporary Africa", Africa Theological Journal, (December, 1972) 5, pp.31-45.

Mshana, E. E., "Church and State in Independent States in Africa", African Theological Journal, (December, 1972) 5, pp 46-58.

3. Ibid.

pattern of Church-State relations is likely to recognise the plurality of religions which is characteristic of Kenya. This is a different situation from that in Europe, where the struggle has largely been between the Church and the State. It is virtually impossible for non-Christian programmes to catch up with the Christian ones, however, which is consoling for the Christian groups, as it means that their purpose within education of producing people of Christian character is still realised.¹ Co-operation in education among the Christian denominations is not peculiar to Kenya. A conference held at Addis Ababa in Ethiopia, sponsored by the United Nations' Economic Commission for Africa, discussed African educational needs in the light of the economic and social development hoped for from the independence of African states.² This conference argued a case for increased educational opportunities, and stressed that the goals of African education should be tailored towards fulfilling the requirements of independence.³ This was followed by a further meeting of Ministers of Education of all African countries in 1962 at the UNESCO headquarters in Paris.⁴ The Paris conference recommended the setting up of educational planning machinery in each African state.⁵

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1. Dain, R. F., The Whole Purpose of Education and the Place of Religious Education, Address to CCEA Church Leaders Seminar held from 21st-22nd February, 1974, at the Limuru Conference and Training Centre. Unpublished.
 2. Kenya, though not yet independent, was represented by the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education, the Director of Education, Deputy Secretary to the Treasury, D.T.A. Moi, Parliamentary Secretary of the Ministry of Education, Education Officer and Member of Council of State, (now President). The Conference produced the Report of the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa.
 3. Sheffield, J. R., op.cit., pp.68-69.
 4. UNESCO, Meeting of Ministers of Education of African Countries Participating in the Implementation of the Addis Ababa Plan (Paris: UNESCO, 26-30 March, 1962). D. T. A. Moi, then Minister of Education, represented Kenya at the Conference.
 5. Sheffield, J. R., op.cit., p.70.

The Paris conference was followed, in 1963, by another meeting in Kinshasa, Zaire, which concerned itself with the implementation of the Addis Ababa Plan sponsored by the Economic Commission for Africa,¹ and which endorsed the deliberations of the Paris conference but appealed for international help to meet the expenditure on education among African states. In late 1962 a conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa had been held in Tananarive, Malagasy^{Republic}, which addressed itself specifically to higher education. From this three commissions were established: staffing, finance and curriculum.² It is against this background that the missions' Harare and Kinshasa conferences should be assessed.

i) The 1962 Harare Protestant Conference

The resolutions of the Addis Ababa Conference challenged the policy and practice of missionary education. It asserted that it was neglectful and intolerant of African traditional ways of life; it was divisive in nature; its methodology aimed to produce dependent peoples unable to cope with the increasing development problems; and its schooling was a means of enlisting converts.³ It was clear that the missions had to work out a new strategy for the future of Christianity in African education. They defined this broadly and defended their continued involvement in education.

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1. United Nations Economic and Social Council, Educational Development in Africa: Implementation of the Addis Ababa Plan, held in Kinshasa by the Economic Commission for Africa, February-March, 1963.
 2. Sheffield, J. R., op.cit., pp.7-71.
 3. All Africa Conference of Churches, Christian Education in Africa, Report of the Conference held at Harare, Zimbabwe (then Southern Rhodesia) 29th December 1962 - 10th January, 1963, (London: O.U.P., 1963) pp.32-33.

There is also a broader context in which Christians are called to seek the will of God in education. Since the whole of man's being belongs to God, Christians are concerned with all aspects of the education of all people. 'Christian education' can therefore mean not only a particular form of education but the activities of Christian teachers in secular institutions. This activity includes both the thinking of Christians in seeking to understand God's purposes in education, and their participation in planning and teaching. It can be described as Christian involvement in education. 1

The Protestant religious groups throughout Africa were the first to respond to the deliberations of the Addis Ababa Conference. Under the umbrella of the All Africa Conference of Churches, a member body of the World Council of Churches, and with the financial support of the Board of Trustees of the Ford Foundation, they arranged a conference to discuss the future plight of Christian education* in independent Africa. The issue before them was that of the redefining of the Protestant Missions' own plans for education in Africa. The Harare Conference was a consultative one. It considered a response to the new African situation in education.² It is interesting to note that Dain, Education Secretary of the Christian Churches of Kenya and later Head of Religious Studies and Philosophy at Kenyatta University College, played a leading role in the Conference. He was one of its Study Secretaries,³ and the contents of his preparatory paper⁴ were largely to be reflected in the final document of the Conference.⁵

1. Ibid., p.34.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.2.

4. Dain, R. F., What Do We Mean By "Christian Education"?, A Preparatory Paper. The paper is in six sections: 1) Defining Christian Education; 2) "Unto a Perfect Man"; 3) The Pursuit of Truth; 4) The Nurture of the Family; 5) The Leavening of Society; and 6) the Mission and Service of the Church. (1962). Unpublished.

5. All Africa Conference of Churches, op.cit.

* Hereafter referred to as CE.

The Conference discussed a number of issues of African education which were pertinent to their future involvement in CE. These concerned the aims and principles in CE, policy planning, Church and State education, resources and personnel, the content of education and the new challenges for missions in education.¹ The missions resolved not only to co-operate with the new African states but also to do so among themselves. They also resolved to promote CE so that it would have a significant role in the new educational systems in Africa. The conference "expressed its fundamental belief that Christian principles must permeate the whole of our educational policies."² The missions saw the resolutions of the Conference as the beginning of a new epoch for CE in Africa, just as earlier missions had been encouraged by the Phelps-Stokes Commission.³

The Salisbury Report showed that the Protestant missions were determined to be intimately involved in African educational affairs. It was the persuasive impact of the Report with the missions' resolve to make their presence felt, that left a lasting impression. The Report surveyed the extent of the contribution of missionary education up to the 1960's, particularly as a means of evangelization.⁴ It affirmed that the essence of CE was centred on the Incarnate Christ, from whom the missions derived their divine commission, and that this must be incorporated in the new African educational system.⁵ It recognised the realities of the incoming political sense while taking

1. Ibid., pp.3-4.

2. Ibid., p.5.

3. Ibid., pp.4-5.

4. Ibid., pp.17-30.

5. Ibid., pp.31-32.

cognizance of the criticisms levelled against it.¹

At the same time, however, the Report was determined not to betray the missionary cause. It mirrored the Christian view of education, justified the continued involvement of Christian missions in the future development of education in Africa and listed both the aims of CE and the problems of achieving these aims. It was reconciliatory towards non-Christian faiths, but did not compromise its own Christian position.² The Report was supportive of co-operation between Church and State, where this meant leaving the administrative machinery to the State. The missions were to continue with their role in schools at the instigation of the parents.³ It was the Report's wish that Christian values should be incorporated in the new educational systems.⁴ If a new State was not inclined to the missions' views then they would "have to serve their members by whatever means they can devise",⁵ through Sunday schools, pastoral care or correspondence. This Report was to be the missions' brief for future action on CE.⁶

Calcott submitted "some thoughts on this all-embracing Salisbury Report".⁷ He drew attention to both its comprehensive approach and its balanced background in putting forward the case for the future of CE in Africa.⁸ He showed how it addressed itself to the challenges posed to the Protestant missions by

1. Ibid., pp.32-33.

2. Ibid., pp.33-41.

3. Ibid., pp.42-46.

4. Ibid., p.42.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., p.106.

7. Calcott, D., "Some Thoughts on the Salisbury Report: Christian Education in Africa", Education Consultation, held at Legon, University of Ghana 28th March - 2nd April, 1968. (Nairobi: All Africa-Conference of Churches, 1968). Appendix 6, p.1.

8. Ibid., pp.1-2.

independence in several areas - the economic gap between the majority of the people and the minority-elite as a result of missionary education; the 'prodigal' effect of missionary education, whereby the elite are increasingly less Christian; and the sociological fact of the move towards materialism, individualism, and godless rationalism among the missionary educated elites in Africa.¹ In the midst of the new African condition he maintained that the Report was well in advance of the aims and practices of the missions in today's Africa in its desire to afford CI a place in schools.² To him the problem was that too few African Church Councils and their congregations had knowledge of the Report, and he therefore suggested that means should be found for overcoming this drawback.³

ii) The 1965 Kinshasa Roman Catholics Conference

The Roman Catholics of Africa held a conference on the condition of their education in Kinshasa in 1965.⁴ Their approach was slightly different from that of the Protestant missions, for instead of preparatory papers they sent a questionnaire to the thirty-nine Education Secretaries General in Africa, south of the Sahara. Thirty responded to it. They also gathered the relevant facts on the spot, through interviews and correspondence. Their questions covered a vast spectrum of topics: relations between the Church, the State and other educational agencies; teacher education; parents' associations; universities and international aid.⁵ The Conference stressed the Roman Catholics' involvement in education historically,⁶ and this was seen as the

1. Ibid., pp.2-4.

2. Ibid., pp.4-6.

3. Ibid., p.6.

4. Catholic International Education Office, Regional Secretariat for Africa and Madagascar, Catholic Education in the Service of Africa, Report of the Pan-African Catholic Education Conference, 16-23 August 1965, pp.53-68.

5. Ibid., pp.56-102.

6. Ibid., pp.45-55.

strongest justification for the continuance of such involvement.

The results of the questionnaire highlighted the problems which the Catholic Church felt in its educational work. It regretted,

- a) legislation which, in one way or another, prevents the Church from giving a Christian education to her children;
- b) a hostile or secularist attitude on the part of the government or government officials;
- c) the standardisation of textbooks beyond reasonable limits;
- d) the a-religious or anti-religious mentality of the representatives of certain international commissions or organisations;
- e) the inability or unwillingness of some central, regional or local governments to subsidise denominational education; and
- f) a determination on the part of some persons to exclude God and religion from the school. 1

To overcome these difficulties the study suggested a number of solutions.

These were,

- to insert our educational effort into the national plan;
- to co-operate effectively with governments in the work of education;
- to create a friendly atmosphere with local educational authorities;
- to adopt an ecumenical attitude in respect of other Christian denominations and other religions;
- to seek every means of improving our teaching;
- to give a thorough Catholic education to our charges; and
- to co-operate fully with parents and teachers in the work of education. 2

iii) Tactical Ecumenism in Education

The Protestant and Catholic strategy regarding future involvement in education was similar and motivated by a common fear. Instead of engaging in a futile fight to retain their denominational schools, the missions adopted a peaceful tactic of co-operation. They advocated denominational pastoral programmes, in addition to timetabled CRE programmes,³ which would be conducted during the extra-curricular period. In this way, the State has obviously taken

1. Ibid., p.57.

2. Ibid., p.61.

3. Robinson, D. W., "The Church, Schools and Religious Liberty", AFER, VII (1965) 1, pp.9-22.

over educational enterprises, but the missions have received responsibility for CRE and the welfare aspects of education. Given the increasing demand for education by Africans, and the division of the missions' resources, it was almost inevitable that this should occur. The missions spent what was available on consolidating their pastoral programmes which were the heart of the missionary cause.¹

It is possible to draw out certain features of the Church-State relationship as reflected in the legal position as it has crystallised in Kenya.

i) The missions insisted that CRE had to be included in the new national educational programmes, due to the pressure of parental opinion.

ii) The missions welcomed the fact that they were to be left with the ownership and partial management of their schools.

This ensured the retention of the Christian ideological character of schools, despite the conditions set down by the State for the continuance of such a privilege.² This was felt to be a means for the missions to meet the pastoral care of their followers within the new educational system.

iii) It was imperative that both the Protestant and Catholic missions collaborated as a united front in their own interest, working under the umbrella of ecumenism.³

1. Hamilton, B., "The Role of the Roman Catholic Missions", The Year Book of Education, 1954, (London: Evans Bros.Ltd., 1954) pp.490-496. Also Stopford, R. W., "The Anglican Church", The Year Book of Education, 1954, (London: Evans Bros.Ltd., 1954) pp.497-502.

2. Robinson, D.W., loc.cit. best sums up the conditions in question: "1) the school admits pupils of any religion, 2) provides for freedom of conscience and instruction in any religion of choice, 3) there is nothing in the ideological character of the school that is seriously objectionable to those pupils of other religions, 4) the ideological character of the school is compatible with the provision of efficient instruction and training and the avoidance of unreasonable public expenditure", p.12.

3. Crippen, D., Ecumenical Christian Education (Nairobi: CCEA n.d.). Also Farrelly, T., Why a Common Syllabus?, (Nairobi: KCS n.d.). Both unpublished.

iv) The legal standing of religious teaching, particularly CRE, in Kenya is not unique. The explanation for the present position is to be found in the fact that the missions in Kenya acted more quickly than many of their counterparts in other African states.¹ They were tactful and perceptive concerning their role at a particular historic time.

2. The Constitution of Kenya and CRE

The religious safeguards within the Kenyan Constitution which include freedom of conscience, thought and religion, freedom to worship, teach, practise and observe religion, were very significant for the missions. The Constitution also permitted the missions to set up and maintain educational establishments which would ensure the furtherance of religious instruction, provided such instruction was not forced on the individual against his conscience. In the case of a minor, up to the age of eighteen, the guardian or parent should consent on his behalf to his receiving religious instruction.²

The Kenyan Constitution in respect of the religious rights of the individual stipulates;

Section 78 (1): Except with his own consent, no person shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of conscience, and for the purposes of this section the said freedom includes freedom of thought and religion, freedom to change his religion or belief and freedom, either alone or in the community with others, and

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1. Rev. T. Farrelly was the first Inspector for R.E. in Kenya. He was succeeded by Mrs. E. Welch, followed by Mr. E. Onyango till sometime in 1981 when there were then two Inspectors for R.E.; one for the Ministry of Basic Education and the other for the Ministry of Higher Education. Before 1981 the Inspector for R.E. oversaw religious education at both the primary and secondary schools levels of education. A number of African states have followed the Kenyan example of ecumenical CRE: Malawi, Zambia and Tanzania.
 2. Kenya, The Constitution of Kenya Act, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1969), Section 78 (3). See Appendix VII for extracts of the Constitution of Kenya. Also
— The Age of the Majority Act, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1974).

both in public and private, to manifest and propagate his religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance.¹

Section 78 (2): Every religious community shall be entitled, at its own expense, to establish and maintain places of education, and to manage any place of education it wholly maintains; and no such community shall be prevented from providing religious instruction for persons of that community in the course of any education provided at any place of education which it wholly maintains or in the courses of any education which it otherwise provides.²

The Constitution of Kenya is the basis of the laws of Kenya. (See Appendix 4 for Extracts from the Constitution of Kenya). It can only be altered by a sixty-five per cent majority in the Kenya Parliament. Other Acts of Parliament and Subsidiary Legislation need only a simple majority to be altered, and can be enacted by the appointed minister in a number of ways, usually by orders, rules, regulations, licences and directions.³ An appointed government minister can also repeal his own Act of Parliament or Subsidiary Legislation. Government establishments have their own particular body of rules for regularizing the normal daily routines, consistent with the relevant Acts of Parliament and Subsidiary Legislations.

In regard to the freedom of worship clauses the Constitution of Kenya does guarantee a wide latitude to the religious bodies, and with the present nature of co-operation between the government and the missions, the future of

1. Kenya, The Constitution of Kenya Act.

2. Ibid.

3. Jackson, T., The Laws of Kenya: An Introduction, (Nairobi: E.A.L.B., 1970) pp.10-11.

CRE seems to be assured. The religious bodies know that it would necessitate a change in the legislation if other views or ethical approaches, divorced from a religious basis, were to be introduced into the national educational programme. As things stand at present, the religious bodies are not seriously impeded. There may, however, come a day when legislation will be altered to incorporate other religious and philosophical approaches to a national moral code.

The missions have, in fact, recognised the possibility of such changes and are already canvassing the government authorities not only to retain the status quo but also to ensure that religious teaching should be a compulsory subject up to the sixth form.¹ Welch has appealed for the same situation in respect of CRE at the secondary school stage as at present pertains at the primary school level.² In 1974, at a CCEA Leaders' Seminar, Dain suggested that ten years after the 1963 joint statement was the opportune time for yet another joint statement by the missions on education, in order to stress the place of the Christian prophetic role. (See Appendix 5 for information regarding the functioning of the CCEA). As Dain saw it the "definition of national goals for the total educational programme is an essentially religious task".³

Early in 1970 Father Diepen addressed the Nairobi branch of the National Association of Religious Education Teachers (N.A.R.E.T.) on the question of whether CRE should be compulsory or continue as an option in secondary schools

1. KCS, "Bishops Visit President", Newletter, 10 (October 1981) 10, p.1.

2. Welch, F. G., Religious Education for All. A letter addressed to the KCS and CCEA, and dated 25th June, 1977. Unpublished.

3. Dain, R. F., The Whole Purpose of Education and the Place of Religious Education, p.3.

whilst remaining an examination subject.¹ He stressed the necessity for such teaching in early stages of education, for life experience preceded religious concepts.² As to CRE being examined, he asked very searching questions:

Can we examine how Christian a person is? A Presbyterian Christian? An Anglican Christian? And denominational differences apart, can an examination in religion be conducted by a government? What sort of examination is to be set? 3

He went on to ask a further question: "On the other hand, would students work without the stimulus of an examination, especially in Kenya's over-exam conscious situation?"⁴

While it is difficult to locate Father Diepen's position, it is not difficult to perceive the missions' concern for the fate of CRE in schools in view of the secularism in the Kenyan society.⁵ Gatu, the Moderator of the

1. Diepen, J. V., Religious Education: Compulsory or Optional, Synopsis of a talk given to NARET at Loreto Convent, Msongari, Nairobi on 13th March 1970. Unpublished.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. See the following addresses by Church leaders:

1970 - The Most Rev. Festo Olang, then Anglican Archbishop of Kenya and Monsignor C.C. Davies, representing the Catholic Bishops, Opening Session of the Annual N.A.R.E.T. Conference held at Kenyatta University College 7th-11th December 1970. Unpublished.

1972 - Bishop R. Ndingi, The Reality of Today's Problem, An address to the Annual N.A.R.E.T. Conference held at Kenya Science Teachers' College, 12th-14th April, 1972. Unpublished.

1975 - Bishop R. Ndingi, The Church Responds to Change, An address to the Annual N.A.R.E.T. Conference held at Kenya Science Teachers' College, 6th-10th January, 1975. Unpublished.

1976 - Bishop L. Imathiu, Theology of Liberation, An address to the Annual N.A.R.E.T. Conference held at Kenya Science Teachers' College, 19th-22nd April, 1976. Unpublished.

1977 - Rev. J. G. Gatu, Is Religious Education Disappearing From our School System? An address to the annual N.A.R.E.T. Conference, (venue not indicated), 4th February, 1977. Unpublished.

- Bishop L. Imathiu, speech delivered at the Religious Education Advisers' Annual Conference at the Limuru Conference and Training Centre, 1st November, 1977. Unpublished.

1978 - Rev. H. Etemesi, Religious Education for Life, Opening address to the Annual N.A.R.E.T. Conference held at Limuru Conference Training Centre, 3rd-7th April, 1978. Unpublished.

Presbyterian Church of East Africa, has highlighted this issue, which he explained in terms of a misunderstanding of the principle of sponsorship with the self-infliction of the dilution of the rights of the Christian parents. He also saw the assumed disappearance of religious education, particularly at the primary level, as partly resulting from the fact that CRE is not an examinable subject at the primary school stage so that schools devote the time allocated to examinable subjects. In addition, a number of primary school teachers are increasingly hostile to teaching religion. He even hypothesised that there was emerging in the Kenyan society the American style of Church and State relationship with its accompanying negative attitude towards religious teaching in schools. There are "people who try to say that there should be no religious education in our schools; that this is a place reserved purely for academic learning".¹ Gatu challenged such a tendency, asserting it to be counter to the Kenyan tradition. He felt that "traditional religion provided a strict moral code",² a point expounded in Session Paper No.10.³ He concluded by appealing to the missions to find ways and means of improving CRE in the schools, by recruiting those who were interested in religious teaching, and in educating Christian parents on their rights of religious education as they appear in the Constitution of Kenya.

Lobbying for continuing CRE in Kenya's educational system takes other forms as well. For instance the CCEA has used its annual general meetings to sound

1. Gatu, J. G., Is Religious Education Disappearing from Our School System?, p.3.

2. Ibid.

3. Kenya, The National Assembly House of Representatives, Official Report, Tuesday, 4th May 1965, Session Paper No.10 of 1963/65 African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1965) p.1784.

the authorities on their views as to the role of religious teaching.¹ This was understandable given the discussions about the possibility of a nine-year primary schooling programme for Kenya.² Also the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCK) submitted to the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies that moral and spiritual developments should receive special consideration in the schools and that CRE should take a key place in the curriculum.³

The Gachathi Report was not satisfied that religious teaching was meeting the challenges placed upon it by Session Paper No.10, and recommended that the teaching of religion be separated from religious beliefs.⁴ This was seen by mission groups as a preliminary to legislation and they quickly resisted what they viewed as an attack on the future position of CRE.⁵

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1. The following government ministers have addressed the CCEA at its Annual General Meetings over the span of the last twenty-three years:
 - Hon. M. Koinange, on The Imbalance of Science in the Life of the Country and its Education System. Unpublished.
 - Hon. J. Nyangah, on The Government and Education. Unpublished.
 - Hon. Dr. Kiano, on Co-operation Between the Churches and Government in the Promotion of Education. Unpublished.
 - Hon. D. A. Moi, President, on The Teaching of Spiritual and Moral Values in Schools. Unpublished.
 - Hon. J. K. Ngeno on The Continuing Role of the Churches in Education. Unpublished.
 2. Minutes of the Sub-Committee of the National Primary Christian Religious Education Panel, Syllabus and Materials Implementation, 18th October, 1977, Min.3/77, p.9.
 3. A submission by the Nairobi NCK Church Leaders to the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies, on 14th April, 1976. Unpublished.
 4. Kenya, Report of the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1976). Generally known as the Gachathi Report after its Chairman: P. J. Gachathi.
 5. CCEA Religious Education Report 1978. Also Report of the CCEA Secretary General to the 20th Annual General Meeting of the Association, held in Nairobi on the 3rd November, 1978. The Catholic authorities have equally been concerned about the plight of CRE in view of the recommendations of the Committee, as is reflected in Minutes of the Meeting of the Committee on Educational Policies and Guidelines held at the Kenya Catholic Secretariat, 10th October, 1980. Min.24/80 on moral education, pp.3-4.

Of equal importance have been the memoranda submitted to the government by the missions.¹ (See Appendices 6 and 7). The memorandum to the Minister of Higher Education outlined the missions' 'de facto' position as sponsors of their schools under the provisions of the 1968 Education Act. It requested the minister to provide a career structure for religious education specialists equal to that of other subjects, to emphasise the place of religious teaching in nation-building, both by circular and public statement, and to provide for the teaching of non-examination religious education to all students from Forms 1-6. Further, it requested that the minister clarify his intentions regarding the implementation of the recommendations of the Committee. It was also suggested that a consultative Committee consisting of the Ministry of Higher Education personnel and the missions' representatives be set up to enable frequent discussions on the issues raised by the missions.²

The memorandum to the Ministry of Basic Education drew attention to the missions' acceptance of the transfer to local authorities in Kenya of their primary schools and teacher training colleges under Section 7 of the 1968 Education Act. Under Section 8 (1) of the same Act the missions were appointed sponsors of schools formerly managed by them. In the same memorandum the CCEA drew the Ministry's attention to the responsibilities accompanying the missions' sponsorship status - the preparation of religious education materials, and visiting and advising religious education teachers. In return, they were to be represented on educational committees, have access to school facilities and be consulted on matters pertaining to the posting of teachers to their sponsored schools.

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1. CCEA and the Kenya Episcopal Conference, Memorandum to the Honourable Minister for Higher Education, on October, 1980, and the CCEA, A Memorandum Prepared for Submission to the Ministry of Basic Education, for consideration at a meeting to be held between the Ministry and the sponsors of Primary Schools and Teachers' Colleges, dated 20th February, 1981. Both unpublished.
 2. CCEA, The Report of the Secretary General to the 22nd Annual General Meeting of the Association, held at Ufungamano House, Nairobi, 28th November, 1980.

It is, therefore, apparent from the memoranda that the missions are seeking to re-entrench their positions in education by clarifying the ambiguity surrounding the issue of sponsorship in schools before anticipated changes are enacted. This is not atypical of the missions, for by way of memoranda they succeeded in influencing educational events during the colonial period, and doubtless they still have to tread the road they know best. To be true to their missionary cause and ideology, they must still insist that religious teaching should be the means towards maintaining acceptable moral standards in society. The missions' concern is not restricted to schools, however, and they feel that they are duty-bound to influence events in the University of Nairobi which prepares religious education teachers for secondary schools and primary teachers' colleges. To demonstrate their concern about trends at the University's Faculty of Education, they posed the following questions:

What does the Church see as its role in those areas which affect both students and the faculties? What effect does an outcome of these Departments bring on the teaching of R.E. in secondary schools and teacher training colleges? What impact does it have on the entire Church nurture of its members when all the 'isms' emanate from the University as a seat of higher learning in the country? Is the Church concerned about young people in the country as they develop spiritually and mentally? Thinking Christians should wake up to these realities and do something about them. 1

3. The Ominde Report and CRE

The terms of reference of the 1964 Education Commission are pertinent to this study. The Commission was to consider how schools could:

- (a) appropriately express the aspirations and cultural values of an independent African country;
- (c) take advantage of the initiative and service of regional and local authorities and voluntary bodies;

1. CCEA and KCS, Report of the Church Secretaries/Directors Meeting, held at Daystar Communications, (Nairobi, 21st January, 1977) p.8. Unpublished.

- (d) contribute to the unity of Kenya; and
- (e) respect the educational needs and capacities of children.¹

This was the "first national report on education".² It asserted that "the time had come to relieve churches of the remaining responsibilities for the management of maintained schools".³ Simultaneously, it recommended that arrangements be made "to secure the continuing participation of a church in the religious life of the school in all appropriate cases".⁴ These were to be the rudiments upon which the missions' participation, through religious teaching clauses in the 1968 Education Act, were based (See Appendix 8 for Extracts from Part 1 of the Ominde Report dealing with religious teaching).

Fundamental to the new policy of participation in respect of religious teaching is the inadmissibility of contravening the individual's freedom of conscience enshrined in the Constitution.⁵

Our approach must be the approach of the secular state, pledged to respect the convictions of persons of all religions, and none. To the secular state, the use of any public service to entrench the claims of any religion is repugnant. Consequently, we have had to reconsider the whole question of the relationship of Church and State in education. ⁶

The Report rejects a purely secular system of education. The Commission reported

...that we do not see fit to recommend for Kenya the extreme secular solutions adopted in some countries and that we wish to dissociate religious teaching in schools from the particular objectives of any church, and to apply to it the best that can be found in the way of modern educational principles and practice. ⁷

1. Kenya, Ominde Report, op.cit., p.2.

2. Ibid., p.21.

3. Ibid., para. 30.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., para. 57.

6. Ibid., para. 8.

7. Ibid., para. 72.

While reluctantly recommending a non-secular system of education for independent Kenya, the Report insisted that there should be a shift from the colonial, divisive, denominational-oriented religious instruction. The Report felt instead that a newer religious instruction could serve the purpose of education for national economic development as demanded by many witnesses to the Commission.

That we saw no contradiction between this emphasis and personal intellectual, moral and spiritual development was due to our convictions that these individual fruits of education can never grow in isolation from the performance of practical tasks and the pursuit of concrete objectives. We are persuaded, that wherever there is a challenge, education becomes meaningful....Education is never an end itself: its end is a better life and a fuller service....We believe that all education must conduce towards equality in society; ... we see education as an agent of shaping society....We also see our schools as places for training in social responsibility. 1

The Report directed its energies towards seeing education as an instrument for creating a cohesive, united Kenyan nation. It agreed to the continuance of religious teaching in the educational system.² It was made evident that the Commission heard a minority which advocated the termination of the continuance of missionary participation in the new educational arrangements in the country. This minority recommended an American type of solution for the religious education problem in schools, with "a purely secular school system, leaving the teaching of religion wholly to the churches".³ However, the Commission, convinced that the changes towards a greater ecumenism among the missions was genuine, did not recommend a secular system of education for "it would not work in Kenya at the present time".⁴ The change of attitude among

1. Ibid., paras. 15 and 16.

2. Ibid., para. 72.

3. Ibid., para. 59.

4. Ibid.

the missions was seen as helpful in the government's desire for national unity.

As a consequence of this, the Commission opened the road for ecumenical syllabuses in religious education to be used in government-administered and mission-sponsored schools. The Report recommended that arrangements be made, particularly at the secondary school stage, for the creation of agreed syllabuses and the teaching of comparative religion.

We do think that the possibilities might be explored in the secondary school of a brief introduction of other religious systems, not purely by way of contrast, but also for the purpose of showing the parallelism in the religious philosophies of mankind. 1

Nevertheless, CRE programmes are still largely confessional.

A social ethics programme for all groups, was not welcomed. The Commission felt that such a programme was not only unwanted by all the groups, and was not a substitute for religious teaching, but that it would hardly be suitable for children at the primary and junior secondary stages, given the nature of their needs and capacities.

Moreover, ethics, as such, is not substitute for religion and no subject for the primary school. Only by example and by parables can ethical values be brought home to children of tender age. Ethics, as a distinct study, might be approached in the sixth form, but it is better taken up by adults, who have experience of life's situations and can interpret them in formal ethical terms. 2

A similar line of reasoning was also taken in the areas of moral development and moral education, which the Commission considered along with social development as "'non-curricular' objects of education".³ These two fields of study were considered because an appreciation of them was helpful in teaching curricular subjects and in meeting the schools' responsibility for the moral and social

1. Ibid., para. 66.

2. Ibid., para. 68.

3. Ibid., para. 417.

development of their children. However, the Commission still felt that moral development and moral education were little understood and were no substitute for religious teaching.

Moral development in particular, is a subject of special concern for every teacher, though it is at present little understood as such....This must include the realisation, that it is not religious instruction, still less an abstract teaching of "ethics", which is the principal agent of moral growth, but the opportunity to face, and to make, moral choices. There seems to be little doubt that the over-protective atmosphere in some schools has often stunted growth of moral insight and has exposed their pupils to the dangers of moral disaster in later life. 1

The Commission was thus prepared to contemplate recommending either a separate social ethics or a separate moral education programme in the new educational system. It was convinced that meaningful religious teaching programmes would provide the ethical and moral needs of the children as was the case in traditional African communities. It set its face against proselytising, indoctrination and conversion in religious teaching, regarding them as unethical practices in the educational context.² It affirmed a belief in 'good' religious education.

On the one hand, we would consider any use of a public school for proselytising or propaganda purposes as inadmissible; on the other hand, however, every dedicated effort to bring about growth in knowledge and understanding, including the moral growth which religious instruction, if well given, can encourage, is, in our view, a welcome addition to any school syllabus. 3

In this way, the Commission sought to retain Kenya's traditional cultural values by giving religious teaching a prominent place in its new educational system.⁴ Traditional values were encouraged by the Commission,

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., para. 69.

3. Ibid., para. 71.

4. Sheffield, J. R., op.cit., p.88.

though newer, contemporary ones had also to be grasped.¹ This positive attitude towards religious teaching is in harmony with the traditional African culture, and by it the Commission demonstrated its tremendous faith in religious teaching as a means of instilling a strict moral code in children for the overall good of society. It was partly this faith that made it reluctant to recommend the incorporation of either a separate social ethics programme or a separate moral education programme into the system of national education.

In contrast, this study argues that CRE programmes do not succeed at the moral level because they are not, as those in ATE were, integrated, relevant, child-centred and on-going. CRE is alien to the pupils, and its approach is different from that of ATE. CRE programmes introduce pupils to the different signs of God's presence: God's revelation of Himself, man's response to God, and man's relationship to his fellow men and the rest of creation. A careful scrutiny of these programmes shows that they are confessional and knowledge-centred.

4. The 1968 Education Act and CRE

The 1968 Education Act ratified most of the recommendations of the Ominde Report² (see Appendix 9 for extracts from the Act, and the regulations made under it which affect religious education). Three clauses of the Act have a specific bearing on religious education. They concern the need for missions and sponsoring bodies to respect the religious tradition of a school; the confirmation of religion as of educational value, subject to ministerial inspection; and the responsibility of parents in deciding whether or not their children receive religious instruction.

1. Kenya, Ominde Report, op.cit., paras. 14-19.

2. Kenya, The Education Act, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1970) Cap.211.

Section 8 (1): Where a school was transferred by a church, or an organisation of churches, and it is the wish of the community served by the school that the religious traditions of the school should be respected, the former manager shall be appointed by the local authority to serve as the sponsor to the school. 1

Section 8 (2)(c): religious instruction shall be given at the school in conformity with a syllabus prepared or approved under regulations made under Section 19 (i.e. regulations as to the conduct of schools) after consultation with the sponsor. 2

Section 26 (1): If the parent of a pupil at a public school requests that the pupil be wholly or partly excused from attending religious worship and religious instruction, in the school, the pupil shall be excused such attendance until the request be withdrawn. 3

Section 26 (2): Where the parent of a pupil at a public school wishes the pupil to attend religious worship or religious instruction of a kind which is not provided in the school, the school shall provide such facilities as may be practicable for the pupil to receive religious instruction and attend religious worship of the kind desired by the parent. 4

Under Sections 7 (1)(2)(3) of the Act former managers of maintained primary schools which were not managed by local authorities were given six months to decide whether or not to transfer their schools to the local authorities or to continue the management of them unaided. If transferred, and at the wish of the community, the schools' religious traditions could continue. In this case the local authority was required to appoint the former manager as its sponsor.⁵ In the event of this occurring the sponsor is given the following rights under the Act:

1. Ibid., p.7.

2. Ibid., p.8.

3. Ibid., p.16.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., p.7.

Section 8 (3)(a): the Teachers' Service Commission, or any agent of the Teachers' Service Commission responsible for the assignment of teachers to schools on behalf of the Teachers' Service Commission, shall assign teachers to the school after consultation with and, so far as may be compatible with the maintenance of proper educational standards at the school and the economical use of public funds, with the agreement of the sponsors. 1

Section 8 (3)(b): the sponsor shall have the right to use the school buildings free of charge, when the buildings are not in use for school purposes, after giving reasonable notice of his intention to do so to the headmaster of the school. Provided that any additional expenses and the cost of making good any damage incurred during or in consequence of the sponsor using the buildings shall be defrayed by the sponsor. 2

Section 9(2): The members of a school committee shall be appointed by the local authority in the prescribed number and manner, and the members of the committee shall include persons to represent the local authority, the community served by the school and, where a sponsor to the school has been appointed under Section 8, the sponsor. 3

In addition to these specific clauses relating to religious teaching and the privileges inherent in the position of sponsorship, there is also subsidiary legislation which endows the sponsor with further rights in respect of both school committees and religious teaching. This Subsidiary Legislation specifies the sponsor's right to nominate three persons on the school committee.

Section 11 (2)(b): Three persons nominated by the sponsor to the school where a sponsor has been appointed under Section 8(1) of the Act. 4

Further, one of the functions of the school committee is to ensure that the religious traditions of a sponsored school are enhanced.

Section 10 (8)(1)(c): In respect of a sponsored school, to maintain reasonable religious traditions of the school. 5

1. Ibid., p.8. The Teachers' Service Commission was established by an Act of Parliament in 1967, "to provide for the establishment of a Teachers' Service Commission to provide for the registration of teachers, for regulating the teaching profession and for cancelling registration in cases of misconduct; to provide for the determination of remuneration of teachers; and for purposes connected therewith", See, Kenya, The Teachers' Service Commission Act, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1968) Cap: 212, p.3.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., pp.8-9.

4. Kenya, The Education (School Committees) Regulations (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1970) p.27.

5. Ibid., p.28.

In order to maintain acceptable educational standards, sponsors of schools are given two additional rights regarding both the religious instruction materials, and the teaching of religious education.

Section 19(5): the curriculum of a school, the syllabuses used in any school and the books or other teaching aids used in connection with those syllabuses shall be such as the Minister is willing to approve; but in a sponsored school syllabuses, books and other teaching aids used for religious education shall be those prepared or recommended by the sponsor and approved by the Minister. 1

Section 19 (6): where a sponsor has been appointed in respect of a school in accordance with Section (1) of the Act, the headmaster shall grant every reasonable request by the sponsor to satisfy himself that religious instruction is conducted in accordance with the syllabuses prepared or recommended by the Minister. 2

Sponsorship is a characteristic feature of primary schools. In schools previously administered by missions, which under the 1968 Education Act transferred to government management, the place of religious teaching is safeguarded by the provisions made for the former mission governors under the terms of the Boards of Governors.³ The former mission, along with others, has to be represented on the Board of Governors of a secondary school.⁴ Under the Subsidiary Legislation, the founder-mission is entrusted with the appointing of four members of the Board of Governors,⁵ thus ensuring that the religious traditions of its school are continued,⁶ and that the founder-church is expected to approve the appointment of the headmaster. At the same time, however, the founder-church may not be consulted in respect of posting assistant teachers

1. Kenya, The Education (Education Standards) Regulations, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1970) p.71.

2. Ibid.

3. Kenya, The Education (Boards of Governors) Order, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1970).

4. Kenya, Cap.211, Section 11(c), op.cit., p.9.

5. Kenya, Board of Governors, Section 10 (4)(c), op.cit., p.29.

6. Ibid., Section 10 (15), p.32.

to its school, has no free access to school buildings and has fewer rights in respect of religious education.¹

The Act also established the Kenya Institute of Education (KIE), with its purpose of co-ordinating the making of national syllabuses and developing the curriculum (See Appendix 10 for the KIE terms of reference for panels).

Section 23(1): There is hereby established the Kenya Institute of Education with responsibility for the co-ordination of institutions devoted to the training of teachers, the conduct of examinations to enable persons to become qualified teachers, the conduct and promotion of educational research, the preparation of educational materials and other matters connected with the training of teachers and the development of education and training. 2

In this way, the KIE represents the Ministers of Education in the fields of teacher education and the development of curriculum.

The KIE has an academic board of at least sixty different panels: seven course panels, fifty-two subject panels in addition to the primary religious education panel, one secondary religious panel which is in two sections - an Islamic section and a Christian section. There is also one basic research panel. In the case of CRE the syllabuses at all levels of schooling are the result of the missions' deliberations.

The religious education examination materials and syllabuses have, along with those of other subjects, to go through the process of approval by the examination council (See Appendix 11, outlining the procedure for seeking approval for materials and syllabuses for CRE). However, the textbooks to accompany the CRE syllabuses do not follow the laid down procedure. For example, this was evident in 1971 regarding the junior secondary religious education textbooks.³ In this particular case, a member of the panel, without

1. Kenya, Amendment to the Code of Regulations for Teaching, (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1970), Section 14.

2. Kenya, Cap.211, op.cit., p.15.

3. Kingston, N. R., Encounter With Christ, 1 (Nairobi: Evangel Publishing House, 1971).

----- Encounter With Christ, 2 (Nairobi: Evangel Publishing House, 1971).

the knowledge of the other members, went ahead and produced textbooks on the basis of the syllabus. As a result of this, the religious education panels now have to approve the textbooks, except where the Chief Inspector approves them by circular. The KIE demands that all panel members declare what textbooks they wish to publish. It is interesting to note that those conversant with the subject are not only on the mission panels, but are also members of the national religious education panels. In this way the missions' ideological views are assured a hearing in the most influential committees.

Religious education at the primary and secondary level is, therefore, the only subject assured a place in the school curriculum by the Act. At the primary level it occurs through sponsorship and at the secondary level through the Board of Governors. There are theoretical limitations at the secondary level with regard to the missions' participation in religious teaching, but in practice their representation on the Board of Governors has the same effect as sponsorship in primary schools. The missions have tended to prepare CRE syllabuses, books and teaching aids for primary and secondary schools, irrespective of the fact that the Act only allows this for sponsored primary schools and formerly church-managed secondary schools (See official documents on the state of the curriculum, syllabuses and books, Appendices 12, 12a, 12b, and 12c).

This is permitted on at least three grounds: that the missions have the necessary expertise in this subject; that they have the advantage of long experience in the preparation of materials in religious education; and that since the government wants national unity, and as the missions are preparing their materials ecumenically, it need not prepare its own materials for schools. Despite acquiescence in the situation, the government is evading the policy which it should legally be espousing.

As the facts leading to the memoranda to the Ministries of Basic and Higher Education show, the missions had some reservations about the sponsorship

clauses of the Act and those of the Board of Governors, in the light of the recommendations of the Gachathi Report. The missions were particularly concerned about sponsorship. As a result of this concern, in 1976, they undertook a special study to evaluate the situation. This study aimed to find out the root cause of the confusion surrounding the effectiveness of sponsorship in primary schools.¹

Primary sponsored schools, teachers of CRE, district and local sponsors' representatives and chairmen of school committees were interviewed using standardised questions. The study made a number of findings, but of particular relevance to the present study were the fact that there were problems concerning the legal right of sponsors to be consulted in the appointment of teachers to their schools and the uncertainty of the headmasters as to their role in sponsorship.

Partly on the basis of these findings, the missions recently delivered memoranda to the relevant ministers, in order that such problems should be clarified and the missions' position in education reasserted. Although there is, as yet, no move to accede to the missions' demands, the memoranda show that they are concerned to make the best use of the statutory position given to religious education should there be a review of the Act. The missions, since their study and the Gachathi Report, have tended to become increasingly serious in putting their sponsorship provision into effect, having suddenly realised that they have been losing opportunities in the Education service in providing Christian influence and pastoral instruction in schools. For this reason, the Gachathi Report seems to have been of particular concern to them.

1. Daystar Communications, An Evaluation of Sponsorship in Kenya Primary Schools, (Nairobi: August, 1976).

5. The Gachathi Report and CRE

The Gachathi Committee had broad terms of reference, but some are pertinent to this study. It was asked,

- 3.1 To redefine Kenya's educational objectives and to recommend policies to achieve these objectives within the financial constraint that public recurrent expenditure on education should not grow at a faster rate than the Government's recurrent budget, giving consideration to:-
 - 3.1.1 National unity.
 - 3.1.2. The economic, social and cultural aspirations of the people.
- 3.3. The Committee is requested in the course of its deliberations:-
 - 3.3.1. To solicit views from a broad spectrum of the public.
 - 3.3.2. To commission papers by experts on areas of its deliberations for which the Committee feels the present state of knowledge is inadequate for the formulation of recommendations.
 - 3.3.3. To review reports and studies by previous missions which have examined the Kenya education system and made recommendations (e.g. Ominde Report, etc.). 1

The Committee, accordingly, solicited views from a broad spectrum of experts through background papers and organisations, departments and individuals across the country through interviews and memoranda.² In order to inform members of the Committee, a five day seminar was held in February 1976 at Kericho. Delegates were briefed about the existing national education situation.³ The Committee worked through five task forces each with a specific job description, but all expected to bear in mind that they were to evaluate the existing system of education, define a new set of goals of education for the second decade of independence, and to formulate a specific programme of action to realise the new educational objectives.⁴ The five task forces, each with its own particular questionnaire, visited all the provinces, interviewing members of the public between April and June 1976.⁵

1. Kenya, Gachathi Report, op.cit., pp.193-194.

2. Ibid., pp.195-201.

3. Ibid., pp.202-204.

4. Ibid., pp.205-211.

5. Ibid., pp.212-215.

So far as the missions' role in education was concerned the Committee sought background papers from both the NCKK and the KCS.¹ It also obtained information from the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies at the University of Nairobi.² Various mission groups, together with other organisations, departments and individuals were interviewed or presented memoranda to the Committee.³ In addition there was also representation from the educational departments of NCKK and KCS.⁴ During the Kericho seminar, a paper was presented on the role of religious and other voluntary agencies in education.⁵ It was within the scope of the first task force to determine the public's view on whether or not religious teaching should continue to be a school subject and whether it should be left to religious bodies to teach in their own way.⁶ From its inception the Committee was intent on involving the religious bodies through finding out "their activities and involvements"⁷ in education.

Prior to the main body of its deliberations and recommendations, the Committee underlined the importance of national unity, based on the national philosophy of African Socialism, through the educational system "as one of the most important values that our society should continue to aspire to achieve".⁸ The Committee, therefore, sought to use the educational system to instil a sense

1. Ibid., p.195.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., pp.196-201.

4. Ibid., p.200.

5. Ibid., p.203.

6. Ibid., p.213.

7. Ibid., p.192.

8. Ibid., p.xiv.

of national unity within society, using the Kenyan philosophy of "African socialism", to "define the nation's values in social, cultural and economic terms".¹ In using the educational system to emphasise these national values, the Committee meant to arrest the movement towards alien cultural values.²

In view of the rapid development and urbanisation of Kenya, the Committee had a formidable task.

As a result of...tremendous social and economic orientation towards the modern urbanised sector of the economy, economic values have tended to dominate other socially and culturally vital values of society. In particular, there has been an obvious tendency to disregard the ethics of society that determine the long-term survival and enhancement of the quality of life of its people. It is of the utmost importance that the country should promote its social and cultural values based on its philosophy of African Socialism and its African traditions of political democracy and mutual responsibility. 3

From this, it would seem that, in addition to national unity, the Committee was determined to rejuvenate traditional cultural values, consistent with the nation's philosophy of African Socialism, by promoting and supporting them through the educational system.⁴ In order to ensure that their deliberations and recommendations reflected African traditional values, the Committee started off their Report by reviewing these values,⁵ and this review was seen as "an effort to provide a perspective for the technical aspects"⁶ of their educational evaluation in the course of the Report.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.xvii.

4. Ibid., p.xix.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid., p.xiv.

The Committee came to the conclusion that the existing machinery of education had not made the desired efforts to instill into its young generation the relevant values of the Kenyan society.¹ It was of the opinion that the existing educational machinery had idealised the "white-collar job values of the modern sector of the economy"² at the expense of values intrinsic to the Kenyan philosophy of African socialism. The Committee therefore felt that it was a matter of urgency to redress the balance, giving the desired values their rightful place in the educational system.

There is now urgent need for the education system to develop and elaborate on these ideals of society to guide and enhance the adaptability of the nation, especially the youth, to new and changing circumstances. 3

According to the Committee this merited educating the young generation in the society's traditional social ideals, by integrating within the school system the surviving traditional practices.⁴

The Committee felt that while communities throughout the country were keen to impart progressive traditional values to the young, their efforts were thwarted by the fact that schools were isolated from these values and hardly sought to integrate them.⁵ In the opinion of the Committee, redressing the balance called for more than the schools were capable of. What it demanded was a concerted effort by the Kenyan society to define and teach traditional African values.

1. Ibid., p.1.

2. Ibid., p.2.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

It would therefore appear that even parents and the general public, need to reorientate their values and attitudes towards the need to enable youth to acquire a more balanced educational development through a system of relevant academic knowledge, adaptive skills and attitudinal attributes in contrast to the present emphasis on only academic attributes and the white-collar mentality that these lead to....In view of this need the Committee would like to emphasise the need for parents, teachers and the establishment to revitalise and promote the importance and relevance of traditional social values if they are to expect the youth to adopt and use them. 1

The question that confronted the Committee was that of how the educational system was itself to incorporate the teaching of the acceptable societal values to the young,² (see Appendix 13 for extracts on acceptable societal values). To resolve this important question the Committee suggested a number of helpful approaches. Firstly, schools could seek to impart a sense of national unity, self-reliance and international consciousness. Secondly, they could try to inculcate a sense of co-operation and mutual social responsibility.³ Thirdly, they could integrate traditional practices with appropriate technology.⁴ Fourthly, they could integrate Kenyan cultural values into the school system, and counter alien values.⁵

The Committee's fifth suggestion, most important to this study, was "that the teaching of religious education should not be regarded as the limit of the schools contribution to ethical education".⁶ The issues involved in this approach can be traced from their fourth approach which centred on the

1. Ibid., pp.2-3.

2. Ibid., pp.3-5.

3. Ibid., p.5.

4. Ibid., pp.11-12.

5. Ibid., pp.9-10.

6. Ibid., p.9.

effects of missionary schooling. The missionary educated Africans came to despise their traditional values and adopted alien values. Missionary education was tied to conversion, and in due course disrupted traditional basic family and social life. With the onset of independence it had been hoped that religious education would help to inculcate a strict moral code for the Kenyan nation, as was the case in traditional African communities. The Committee noted religious education had been unable to meet this objective.¹

The reasons behind this inability in the opinion of the Committee are largely two-fold - the past tendency to reject Christianity as an instrument of colonial subjugation, and its subsequent failure "to recognise and teach the universality of the moral basis of religion within the African society",² and the confusion within schools which mistook Christian revelational theology for social ethics.³ It was apparent to the Committee that, while ATE managed to integrate the teaching of social ethics in an individual's total growth, Christian schooling, an enterprise restricted to the classroom, offered a religious education based on revelation which was not providing a strict moral code for the new dynamic Kenyan society.⁴

In the light of these misgivings about the inadequacies of religious education, the Committee suggested that the "teaching of ethics should...be one of the most valuable traditions to be incorporated into education".⁵ It held the view that such ethical education should concentrate on unveiling the social norms behind human behaviour, irrespective of one's belief stance, and

1. Ibid., pp.5-9.

2. Ibid., p.6.

3. Ibid., p.7.

4. Ibid., pp.6-7.

5. Ibid., p.6.

sought the separate teaching of basic social ethics from religion, so that "the teaching of religion and social ethics should not continue to be mixed up".¹

The Committee was doubtless convinced that the present socio-political atmosphere with respect to such social problems as corruption, nepotism, tribalism and idleness called for an urgent reappraisal of the social ethics of the Kenyan society, "based on the values of rural African society which form the core of the integrated value systems which have better survival potential than the urban sectors."² The educational system was, therefore, challenged by the Committee to find out how to re-establish the traditional social and cultural values within the educative process.

Determined that the social ethics programme that it was recommending would be meaningful, the Committee suggested the following:

The structure to be used for teaching social values should take into account two basic traditional approaches to the organisation of life. Firstly, there is the organisation of the present life both physically and socio-psychologically in such terms as youth socialisation and initiation, marriage, childbearing and education, sickness, death, food, drink, shelter, social life, community service and environmental adaptation, organisation of settlements and land use system, basic techniques of production and distribution of benefits, division of labour, rewards for tasks, rates governing production and distribution of benefits, symbolism and ritual. Secondly, there is the rationalised belief regarding what is beyond the actual physical and socio-psychological life in terms of ancestors, the past and future in general and in religion. 3

This social ethics programme would centre on the traditional values of communalism, family systems and mutual social responsibility. The Committee recommends that the social ethics programme should be instituted at the

1. Ibid., p.7.

2. Ibid., p.8.

3. Ibid.

secondary school level. This desire for a social ethics programme that is separate from the present confessional CRE programmes reveals the Committee's reservations about the latter's ability to provide a strict moral code for the nation. In view of the nation's changed circumstances and its increasing secularization, it does seem to demand a secular ethical educational programme. The issue is not whether religious education will not continue to be taught, as the missions fear, but that, since the nation urgently needs "a national ethical code based on the values of traditional African society",¹ which religious education has been unable to provide, a social ethics programme should be introduced.

6. Conclusion: CRE in Post-Colonial Kenya

It is apparent that the CRE programmes in the country continue to be influenced by the missionary ideology. This continuance of the missionary ideology in the CRE programmes would explain the reservations about these programmes in terms of their ability to provide a strict moral code for the nation's young consistent with the traditional African values of ATE - educating for good citizenship, enhancing character-growth in the young, encouraging acceptable moral standards in the young, preparing the young to take their places in today's Kenyan society, forging national unity, educating for change, and appreciating their African cultural heritage.²

This study argues that a meaningful solution to this dilemma is the separation of moral development and moral education from religious education. Such a moral education teaching programme would be based on the "teleological

1. Ibid., p.9.

2. Farrelly, T., "Religious Education in the Schools", Barrett, D. B., Mambo, G. K., et al, op.cit., pp.52-53.

approach which appeals to the rationality of the student, who, through this approach, is shown the purpose (author's stress) of the values he is taught, the reasons for giving allegiance to them and the consequences in terms of benefits, etc. of abiding by them",¹ rather than the deontological approach "which tends to emphasise duty for duty's sake (the morality of do's and dont's),"² and which therefore tends to "inhibit the development of autonomous sense in the moral sphere."³

1. Njoroge, R. J., Separation of Ethics and Religion in the Gachathi Report Staff Seminar Paper No.10, 19th February, 1980, Kenyatta University College, Nairobi. Unpublished, p.8.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

CHAPTER SIX

A RECONSIDERATION OF TRENDS IN CRE

1. Introduction : A Recapitulation

In discussing the value of ATE and in criticising CRE as a particular evangelical stance, this study has pointed to the desirability of separating Moral Education as a curricular subject from Religious Education. This conclusion is based on two factors. Firstly, it rests upon a high estimation of the methods and content of ATE which encouraged the personal and social development of members of each tribe. As a separate subject on the time-table Moral Education would be able to use many of the insights gained from ATE without any religious conflict between indigenous and western theology. Secondly, it arises from the persistence within the Christian Church of a missionary view of education which is ultimately indoctrinatory. This view has adapted itself to the changing political and educational forms in Kenya, but nevertheless remains basically averse to assisting young people to think critically and fairly about religions and values. The disquiet within education among teachers, parents and older pupils concerning religious education is to a large extent a reflection of these two factors.

2. CRE Syllabuses

The CRE syllabuses perpetuate, via the educational system, the ecclesiastical colonialism of Western Christian missionaries. Even the most progressive developments are tainted by the continuing influence of the missionary ideology upon the CRE curriculum development. There are several CRE syllabuses in existence (see Appendix 14). The ecumenically produced syllabus entitled "One in Christ", launched in 1980, is the most widely promoted (see Appendix 15).

They are aimed at the development of Christian faith which means that their aims are religious, although at times they refer to some of the more secular or neutral aims of religious education. The latter reflect some of the attempts being undertaken to streamline the CRE programmes to meet the needs of Kenyan youth although, as this study maintains, these are still fettered by the inherited missionary ideology.

Briefly, the current CRE programmes, stretching from Standard One to Form Six, show some degree of reform in content and design, particularly at the secondary school level. The reasons for this reform are clear. There is a need to meet the requirements of the country, to respond to the changes in curriculum theory and practice, especially the move from a content-centred to a learner-centred educational practice; to face the question of relevance of the curriculum.

This evaluation of the CRE syllabuses, will examine them at each of the four levels of schooling: primary; Forms 1 and 11; Forms 111 and IV, and Forms V and VI.

i) Primary School CRE

Taken as a whole, the primary level CRE syllabuses exemplify the view that the child is to be led to know Jesus Christ. (See Appendix 16). They are conditioned by the inherited historical missionary ideology, and virtually oblivious of the fact that Kenyan society is becoming increasingly secular. They are theologically conservative in outlook, and confessional in approach and practice. "The aim of Christian Religious Education is to bring the child to an awareness of the deeds of God, especially those done in Christ and so to make it possible for the child to deepen his faith in Christ".¹

1. Kenya, Joint CRE Syllabuses for Primary Schools, (Nairobi: Ministry of Education, Inspectorate Section, November, 1972) p.3. Unpublished.

As a result, their themes are chosen from the Bible, Church history, Christian ethics and theology. The aim is simply to teach and initiate the children into the Christian salvation history, and this it is done within an ecumenical context.

There are three major themes for each year of this syllabus:

1. God reveals himself to man.
 2. Man responds to God.
 3. Man develops relationships with God and People.
- These three themes express the belief of the churches that it is God who initiates faith by revealing himself to man; that man is then free to respond to God's self-revelation; and that if man so responds then the development of his faith will lead to a deeper relationship with God in Christ and with his fellow human beings. 1

These CRE syllabuses prescribe a corpus of salvation-history for young school children which is more appropriate to theological students.

It is clear that these syllabuses are overdue for changes, particularly in the direction of a more explicit and concrete content. Indeed, the abstract nature of the present themes of these syllabuses are a key criticism against them. Teachers tend to find the syllabuses' complicated salvation history-orientation confusing.² They object to being given a role which is more suited to preachers and evangelists than professional teachers.

Significant omissions from the syllabuses need highlighting, they are the absence of reference to children's immediate experiences and hardly any mention of ATR. These syllabuses present wholly Christian religious aims and assumptions to the virtual exclusion of ATR; yet not all children are Christians. Even with the present review of the nation's educational programmes, the

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1. KIE, Kenya Syllabus for Primary Schools: CRE Draft Syllabus, 1980, p.3.
Unpublished.
 2. KIE, IX. Religious Education, Part of the Primary Education Curriculum Project Team Work, February and March, 1979, p.4. Unpublished.

While there can be a respectable rejoinder as to the shortcomings of ATR in the 'eighties and the fact that 'O' level ATR is being taught mainly by expatriates, this is no excuse for overstretching the primary children's learning experiences by drawing on an ancient Jewish foundation for faith.

God reveals Himself to us through the patriarchs and the prophets. 1

It is God's plan through the New Covenant, sealed by the death and resurrection of Jesus, to give us new life in Christ. We are reborn in Him. 2

We respond to God's gift of faith by committing ourselves to live by the truths contained in the Apostles' Creed. 3

Such syllabuses make the primary level children's religious basis artificial and difficult, and put the position of moral education via CRE in jeopardy. This study suggests that the primary level CRE syllabuses need to be re-oriented towards ATR, since the concept and existence of God is an accepted African belief, and is within the children's immediate grasp. The children need to be introduced to God in the way He is understood by the majority of Kenyans, who are still traditionalists and unmistakably religious.

ii) Form 1 and 11 CRE

The Form 1 and 11 CRE syllabuses have also not escaped from the influence of the missionary tenets, in being used as an answer to the Lord's command. (See Appendix 17). Much the same reservations can, therefore, be made about them. Their confessional approach ensures that their content is abstract, artificial, divorced from the children's immediate surroundings and without reference to ATR. While it claims to "help the pupil to develop in himself that integrity of character which will enable him to make a greater contribution to the building of the nation by encouraging what is right and

1. Ibid., p.76.

2. Ibid., p.78.

3. Ibid.

standing against whatever is wrong and by showing concern for the society in which he lives",¹ it is essentially focussed on achieving its faith objectives. These are:

To give the basic understanding of vital elements in Christian religion, as centred on Christ and the Church.²
To give the basis from which the pupil may go on to be an informed and active member of the Christian Church.³

Apart from "Developing in Christ" and the "Non-examinable" syllabus (see Appendix 17) the other syllabuses offer little hope of contributing to the national goals of education, let alone helping the development of a strict moral code through instilling the nation's traditional values into young people, as religion in ATE did. In their present forms these syllabuses are likely, by insisting on solely Christian values, to hamper the children's proper moral development. They are intent on helping the child

- a) to realise his own value, freely given him by God,
- b) to gain insights from a study of Biblical experiences which will help him to see his responsibilities towards others and be helped to fulfil them now in relation to his present companions and teachers, and
- c) to become familiar with the texts, peoples, and historical framework of both the Old and New Testament.⁴
- d) to see that God revealed Himself to His people through a series of great Covenants; that these Covenants were a progressive revelation of His plan for the salvation of His people; to see how each Covenant was a preparation for the full revelation of Himself in His Son Jesus Christ.⁵

These CRE syllabuses need a radical revision along more open and experience-centred lines. However, this seems unlikely to materialise due to the present influence of the Christian Church in Kenya. Thus, it is clear

1. KIE, Kenya Junior Secondary Examination Christian Religious Education Syllabus, (1971) p.1. Unpublished.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p.3.

5. Ibid., p.5.

that the CRE syllabuses reflect a traditional and Biblical stance. They fail to take into account the national culture and traditions.

iii) Form 111 and 1V CRE

The Form 111 and 1V CRE syllabuses reflect some departure from the usual norm in CRE curriculum development in Kenya. (See Appendix 18). They have a broader content, but are founded on a Bible-centred approach. They present an ATR passage, a phrase from the creed, then an example or a relevant case from the contemporary life situation.

The sub-themes are developed in five dimensions for the student, in such a way that:

1. He may see himself in his present situation, influenced by the technology, ideas and value systems of the world.
2. He may understand himself as a product of his traditional African milieu, formed in African culture and values.
3. He may understand himself as a product of Christian history, influenced by various Christian traditions in Africa.
4. He may look at himself in his own situation in this changing world, seeking its meaning for himself in the light of God's revelation as mirrored forth in the Bible, of which the fullest expression is in Christ.
5. Having fully considered the experiences and circumstances of his life, he may give an enlightened response to God. 1

These syllabuses, therefore, still need radical reform in order to reflect Kenya's national culture and traditions. This Bible-centredness, prevents children from gaining insights into the nature of their society. It is not an adequate vehicle for the renewal of indigenous cultural values.

The content of these syllabuses is designed to promote the missionary ideology of the curriculum developers, even admitting that they reflect a mild departure from the established stance for Kenyan CRE. They are still confessional.

1. East African Examinations Council, Regulations and Syllabuses 1981, (Kampala: East African Examinations Council, n.d.) pp.14-15.

The aim of this two-year course (CRE Syllabus 223) is to enable the student to grow towards responsible Christian maturity, seeing more clearly the demands of his faith in his life, making his own the values he now considers worthwhile and bringing them to the world by relating his Christian faith to his life in the changing and developing society of which he is a member. 1

This is not to say that leading the students in examining their present situations in life, becoming aware of their experiences, reflecting on their experiences, assessing their values in the light of their respective circumstances, and acting accordingly, is an unsound educational approach. What is at issue is that the selected themes of Syllabus 223 are so singularly Christian value-oriented, that an educationally sound approach is largely distorted by the intrusion of confessionalism.

Similarly, Syllabus 224, although also attempting to address itself to the students' contemporary situations, is still centred on the Christian faith. This syllabus not only makes the paper on St. Luke's Gospel compulsory, but ensures that the paper on the Old Testament will be taken. The O.T. option is related to the introductory section to St. Luke's Gospel and offers teachers and students a time-saving device. This works against the inclusion of ATR.

Candidates must take Paper 1 and one of Papers 2,3,4 or 5.

Paper 1: St. Luke's Gospel and its relevance to Africa today.

Paper 2: The Old Testament: Selected Themes.

Paper 3: The Early Church, its Growth and Extension.

Paper 4: The Church in East Africa.

Paper 5: African Religious Heritage with Special reference to East Africa.

1. The course will consist of an introduction (Section A and B), and the main study, Section C.

2. The introduction will involve a brief study of:-

Section A: The Religious heritage of Africa.

Section B: The religious heritage of the Jewish people at the time of Christ.

3. Section C: the main study will have two aspects:

(i) St. Luke's Gospel and its relevance for the people at the time of Christ.

(ii) the relevance of Christ's teaching in this Gospel to the pupil in his contemporary environment. 2

1. Ibid., p.14.

2. Ibid., p.31.

It would make educational sense to make ATR compulsory and weaken the dominant confessional aims of this syllabus. To regard the inclusion of ATR in the syllabus in alarmist terms as a kind of syncretism, which its opponents do, is uninformed.

Although the Form 111 and 1V CRE syllabuses have tended to take account of the general post-independence curriculum trends prevailing in the country, it is apparent that their approach is directed towards a Christian commitment on the part of the children. The syllabus aims:

- (a) To study man's understanding of his relationship to God and to his fellowmen, in the Bible, in the history of the Christian Church and in African tradition.
- (b) To deepen the students' awareness of his relationship to God and to his fellowmen through Jesus Christ. 1

Such syllabuses are not responding adequately to the children's educational needs in contemporary Kenya. Although these syllabuses are a post-independence phenomenon, their relevance is tailored to meet the interests of the active church lobby in the country. Their aims may be plausible and, indeed, to a limited extent are useful. However, as the aim of the Form 111 and 1V CRE curriculum developers is to synthesise and evolve educationally sound religious education programmes, the design and content of their syllabuses will need careful scrutiny if it is to meet the children's changing needs. A separate compulsory ATR paper at this level is long overdue. The present situation in which it is an element in the CRE syllabuses is quite unsatisfactory.

iv) Form V and V1 CRE

Like the CRE syllabuses at the last two levels, those for Forms V and V1 reflect a mild improvement in the right direction in terms of aims, but still fall short in relevance and content. (See Appendix 19). In part they are progressive, drawing on the constructive developments of the Form 1 and 11

1. Ibid.

syllabuses "Developing in Christ" and the "Non-examinable", and those of Form 111 and 1V, syllabuses 223 and 224. It may well be that the nature of the 'A' level syllabuses, as in most British style educational systems, is to be attributed to the influence of the university entry requirements. This, coupled with the unique fact that its "A level Guide" was written by a group of seasoned 'A' level teachers could well explain this move towards what is educational wholesomeness.

If the proposed paper on ATR (Paper 245/5) covering ATR in the context of the religions of mankind; the nature of ATR; African world view; life and its perpetuation; the community in African religious thought; worship, and change in African community life, is fully launched, it will strengthen ATR. Its present occurrence as an element in 'A' level CRE papers is unsound.¹ If this materialises it will be a vital step forward in recognising the unique African approach to religion which permeates African cultural systems.² For the African view of God is different from that within Christianity. In Christianity God is at the centre and personal, while in ATR God is remote, needing mediators in the form of ancestors, and is understood in different ways. Such a study will show openly that ATR is not only different from Christianity, but also that there is no point in being apologetic about this difference. It may also pave the way for the introduction of a separate ATR at all levels of the nation's educational system. Such separate ATR would study doctrines and views different from the Christian ones. It would be seen as a separate, viable entity time-tabled on the basis of its educational worth. It would not be the tail end of a Christian syllabus.

1. KIE, Syllabus Review Report, 1980, p.61.

2. Smith, E. W., African Ideas of God: A Symposium, (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1950) pp.14-15.

However, apart from this proposed ATR paper, the 'A' level CRE syllabuses are still largely oriented towards strengthening the learners' commitment to, and personal encounter with Christ, in readiness for the Day of Judgement.

The concern with Christian orthodoxy in doctrine and morals seems to overrule the genuine concern with the students' responsible choosing of beliefs and values. The syllabuses seemed to have determined beforehand that the student turns out to be a Christian with exactly this and that belief, the implication being that otherwise our CRE course is a failure. The fact that the student makes a responsible choice is clearly regarded as subordinate to his choosing for religion and Christianity. That is the concern of the preacher but not of the educator. The educator's concern is that the student learns to choose freely from among relevant alternatives. 1

As given, the present four papers are still Christian-centred and perpetuate the influence of the missionary ideology in CRE.²

In consequence, as with the other CRE syllabuses, the 'A' level CRE syllabuses also need re-considering, particularly with regard to a strengthening of their African base. Such a change could help the young people's moral growth in a changing and pluralist society. In this respect, CRE syllabuses based purely on God's self-revelation in salvation history, on the fulfilment of the Old Testament in the New, on Christ as the centre of the universe and history, represent a forced grafting of Christian values onto ATR. They have a tendency to be protective and paternalistic, they use Christ as a defence mechanism against the real world. A choice of the four papers at 'A' level is offered, of which three need to be selected.

Four papers will be set as below. Candidates will offer any three papers, answering four questions from each.

1. The Old Testament.
2. The New Testament.
3. Christianity in the East African Environment.
4. Christian Approaches to Social and Ethical Issues. 3

1. KIE, Syllabus Review Report, 1980, p.42.
 2. Ibid., p.19.
 3. Appendix 19.

Selection requires consideration of the learners' CRE study background, the teacher's preferences and a tailoring to meet their general aims, in the hope that what is taught offers a sound picture of Christianity. It would seem at face value, that none of the four 'A' level papers can be omitted, because the base given by Paper 1 is needed in the study of Paper 2, and likewise the base offered in Paper 2 is needed in the study of Paper 3 and so on. The 'A' level CRE syllabuses, like the other CRE syllabuses, need to depart from this covert mechanism for retaining the status quo. It would, therefore, make educational sense if the 'A' level CRE syllabuses were re-shaped, with the contents agreed upon, and only one or two religious education papers set and examined.

3. Studies on CRE

No study exists which has undertaken an investigation of CRE as influenced by the western missionary ideology in Kenya's school system. Yet this area is crucial as well as controversial for it is the object of policy directives and statements on the school curricula and syllabuses. It is therefore necessary to analyse any works in this area especially those which call for social ethics and moral education, as separate subjects from religious teaching.

i) The Bell Team Report

In 1972 a report which was to be significant for CRE was written as a result of an invitation by the CCEA to four experts in religious education from Britain to visit Kenya and stimulate the teachers' and educationalists' thinking on the theory and practice of teaching religion in schools.¹ The

1. The four lecturers came from Colleges of Education: Miss D. Young, a specialist in Primary Education; Mr. R. Minney, whose main field was Adult Education; Mr. P. Bell (now CCEA's Curriculum Developer), his main responsibility was Secondary Education; Mr. I. Wragg (was unable to be there). The visit followed correspondence between Rev. R. F. Dain, and Mr. P. D. Bell. Their findings and recommendations are to be found in Bell, P. D., et al Reflections on a Visit to Kenya, 1972. Unpublished.

team visited schools, met educational administrators, and ran a series of conferences throughout the country. They reported that their tour revealed the following:

i) that while many teachers wanted to teach the subject they were in need of more training, both in methodology and in an understanding of the Christian faith.

ii) that there appeared to be a long-term and continuous task to provide in-service training in both methodology and theology to supplement the teachers' rich biblical knowledge and to encourage them to use new approaches.

iii) that for the subject to be an educational task it required more than factual knowledge. An understanding of theology and of the means of equipping the learners with a knowledge of the religious way of life must be its prime aims.

iv) that religious education ought to include a study of other major world religions in addition to Christianity.

v) that CRE should be re-appraised in order to help the children to cope with both the present and future. The subject was to be concerned within the social, personal and intellectual development of the learners.

vi) that the subjects' syllabi for primary schools had a number of shortcomings: its format tended to encourage the teachers to convey only the information provided; its recommended methods discouraged the teachers from developing their own individual approaches to meet their particular educational situations; and its content lacked a developmental psychological basis as provided by, for example, Piaget.

Besides school visits, meetings with educational administrators and running conferences, the team was also consulted on new approaches to religious education at a seminar arranged by the Council on Higher Studies in Religion of the University of Nairobi, held at Nairobi School, 24th-26th August. The seminar was chaired by Professor S. C. Neill who was also Chairman of the

University Council on Higher Studies in Religion.¹ The seminar's conclusions are interesting, for they affirmed the need for radical changes in CRE if there was to be any hope of helping Kenya's young people to cope maturely with the rapid changes in their lives. In order to do this it emphasised that:

- i) the subject must relate to the needs of the diverse religious communities existing in Kenya. It must be based on educational grounds that are critical, informed, adventurous, non-indoctrinatory, flexible and yet truthful.
- ii) the subject must include the study of ATR so that it was related to the cultural needs of the young people.

In order to satisfy these needs, the seminar recommended that the following resources be made available to support these developments: research into new primary approaches to religious education in the primary schools; research into the teaching and evaluation of new syllabuses; research into ATR, and guidance in projects undertaken by teachers, pupils, African artists and musicians. Since these recommendations some steps have indeed been taken to implement them. Some research has trickled through, which points to the importance of a closer co-operation between the church and state particularly in the area of resources. However, a missionary ideology still governs both the decisions and actions of the churches. Whenever educational gains are made, these are immediately lost by an ecclesiastical insistence on the now unacceptable two-fold alternative - either Christian confessional or pan-religious confessional religious education. The missions insist that the focus of religious education is God in the Incarnate Christ, and its goal is a relationship of faith. For the missions the children have eventually to

1. Council of Higher Studies in Religion, Report of Seminar on Religious Education in Revolution, held at Nairobi School, 24th-26th August, 1972. Unpublished. The topics discussed at the seminar were Prof. S. Neill, on Religious Education in Revolution, Dr. J. G. Donders on The Nature of Religious Education, M. P. D. Bell, on Religious Education as an Educational Subject, Dr. A. Shorter on African Traditional Religion and Religious Education, Fr. A. Pierce, on Theology and Educational Practice.

adopt a Christian religious stance rather than a secular one. They aim:

To confront the student in his life situation with the challenge of the living God as revealing Himself in the Biblical revelation, Christian history, African culture and contemporary Christian thought. 1

ii) The Crippen and Lantz Study

The Crippen and Lantz study was jointly sponsored by the CCEA and KCS in response to the recommendations of the Bell team.² It sought to help the missions' primary school CRE curriculum developers to prepare syllabuses and materials. The study elucidated the purpose of religious education in primary schools and suggested outcomes as a result of religious education. In an experiment a total of one hundred and fifty-eight subjects, consisting of seventy-six primary school teachers of CRE, fifty-three primary school parents and twenty-nine church leaders were asked the question, "What do you feel should be the main aim in teaching religious education in primary schools?"³

The subjects included both Catholics and Protestants and covered seven out of Kenya's eight provinces (the North Eastern Province was not covered, being predominantly Moslem). The missions' religious education advisers either interviewed the subjects or the latter wrote their responses. Subjects who could not speak English were interviewed in the vernacular and their responses were recorded and later translated into English. From the recordings of all the responses, aims were categorised under six headings: knowledge and awareness of God, becoming a Christian, moral development, knowledge of the Bible, spiritual development and miscellaneous.

1. KIE, Syllabus Review Report, 1980, p.19.

2. Crippen, Dr. W., and Lantz, Dr. L., Aims of Primary Religious Education, (Nairobi: CCEA and KCS, 1974). Unpublished.

3. Ibid., p.1.

The study revealed that the most frequently stated aims of primary religious education were in the category of 'knowledge and awareness of God'. This was first for teachers and second for church leaders. 'Becoming a Christian' was the second most frequently stated. It fell first among the church leaders, second among the parents and third among the teachers. The third highest aim was 'moral development'. It was second for teachers and third for both parents and church leaders. The majority of the subjects' choices, therefore, fall within the first three categories: knowledge and awareness of God, becoming a Christian and moral development. The study thus illustrated that there was a consensus of opinion among teachers, parents and church leaders. This was maintained within a Catholic and Protestant separation of data.¹

A joint missions' sponsored workshop based on the results of this study was subsequently held at Brackenhurst, near Nairobi.² Its purpose was to prepare the first draft of a religious education syllabus for primary schools. It drew up statements of the general objectives for the primary schools' CRE syllabus and integrated into syllabus-form objectives that were based on five themes - awareness and knowledge of God, response to God, relationship to self, relationship to others and relationship to the environment.

The variations of responses among the three groups, however, raises serious questions. Firstly, does the fact that the church leaders rated becoming a Christian first (38%) and the teachers rated it third (17%) imply that the latter see becoming a Christian as the responsibility of the missions? Secondly does the fact that the teachers rated moral development second (25%) and the parents rated it third (13%) imply that the parents see moral development

1. Ibid., p.3.

2. CCEA and KCS, Primary CRE Syllabus Workshop, held at Brackenhurst 21st-23rd March, 1975. Unpublished.

as arising automatically from the knowledge and awareness of God? Thirdly, while much of what counts as CRE is Bible knowledge, this was considered as the goal of primary CRE by only 11% of the subjects. Do the three groups, therefore, not see Bible knowledge as instrumental to the first three categories?

These are speculative questions, but they reflect a quest to redress the balance between the confessional religious and secular moral aims in the CRE programmes. The Brackenhurst Workshop would have done better to include more aims relevant to ATE and moral development rather than to perpetuate missionary religious aims.

iii) Muthoni's Study

Muthoni's study is the first of its kind in Kenya to try and show the impact of the application of the results of the Brackenhurst Workshop on CRE in primary schools.¹ It sought to determine whether the children would be motivated and become active participants in CRE lessons if an existentialist approach was employed which used African symbols, stories, proverbs, idioms, fables and daily events. Further, the study sought to investigate whether the teachers would understand their lessons better and would plan their lessons using the existentialist approach in the subject in the primary schools. The study hypothesised that the descriptive method which presented doctrine and scripture without appealing to cultural backgrounds and real life experiences condemns children into passive learners.²

It was pointed out that if missions used the existentialist approach in planning religious education programmes they would be true to the original Christian and African approaches. Muthoni maintains that both approaches are existentialist, up to the 9th and in the 19th centuries for European Christian

1. Muthoni, P., 'An Action Research Project to Assess the Impact of the Existential Approach in Christian Religious Education', Diploma in Adult Education Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 1979/81.

2. Ibid., p.1.

teaching and ATE, respectively. He asserts that after the 9th century the main European emphasis was on increasing the number of converts in the shortest available time, rather than on preparation through meaningful Christian teaching. The same trend was carried over by the missions to Africa. Like their Christian counterparts in Europe, the African converts became but spectators in the churches while the priests described and performed the rites of worship.¹

CRE has mainly been influenced by the descriptive-evangelistic approach, with the children as passive recipients and the teachers describing the Christian message rather than involving them more actively in an understanding. The study contends that this is a negation of the traditional existentialist approaches.

Our African ancestors, the people of the Old Testament and Jesus, were very much attuned to reading the signs of the times. They interpreted everyday events in relation to God working through them. The prophets and Jesus Christ used contemporary symbols, everyday events, parables, comparisons and idioms to convey God's message to the people. This was an attempt to make people understand the mysteries of God as well as recognise Him as actively involved in their lives. The apostles and the early Christian evangelisers followed the methods of Jesus. That is, the existential approach which made people understand and give a religious meaning to life. 2

In Muthoni's study twenty school teachers from three schools in Kenya's Central Province were used as subjects. It was felt helpful to undertake the study with teachers rather than with pupils because it is they who would implement the programme in schools. The subjects were from different denominations. They were conversant with and used the descriptive approach, and were, therefore, able to compare and contrast the descriptive and existentialist approaches. Their teaching experience of the subject ranged

1. Ibid., pp.2-4.

2. Ibid., p.2.

from two to thirty-four years. The research project was over a period of four weeks, with the action research itself amounting to eleven working hours. The action research course was to enable the subjects to undergo the experience of the existentialist approach for its possible future adoption.

The course content was ecumenical, with the doctrines being scriptural and based on the subjects' experiences. The study was designed to emphasise the four stages of existential learning: the life experience, the scripture, relating scripture to life and applying the knowledge to life.¹ The course content drew upon the subjects' felt interests and problems. Through preliminary discussions five issues were elicited: relationship in general, relationship of the husband to the wife, earning too little money to meet many needs, relationship of parents to children, and too many religions.² These issues were the basis of the demonstration to the subjects of the existentialist approach.

The study used a number of research instruments: personal experiences and observations prior to the research, face to face interviews, relevant documents, ad hoc meetings, action research course, questionnaires and observations during the research course.³ The data collected was tabulated in figures and tables before computing. The study showed not only that the existentialist approach was new on the Kenyan educational scene,⁴ but that its future use rested on overcoming its inherent problems: it is not very well understood and it is time-consuming. However not only were the teachers themselves taught by the descriptive approach, they were very favourably

1. Ibid., pp.9-11.

2. Ibid., pp.81-82.

3. Ibid., pp.52-64.

4. Ibid., pp.64-65.

disposed towards it.¹

The study recommended that longer courses should be arranged for teachers, religious education periods should be doubled, teacher-pupil relationships should be cordial, and that African symbols should be integrated into the subject materials.² These recommendations were based on the subjects' evaluation of the course content.³ Active participation in an existentialist approach had demonstrated that the learners were actively involved, and therefore were helped to think about the subject matter. The use of the existentialist approach in religious education would help the learners to think deeply, critically and creatively about their religious experiences, making such experiences sound and meaningful rather than hollow and empty as the descriptive approach currently does. However, it appears that at least two questions need resolving: are CRE curriculum developers prepared to sacrifice missionary values to use the new materials? Would re-trained teachers still use confessionally-oriented methods, despite their training in existentialist methodology?

iv) Dain's Pilot Project

Dain's project was the first of its kind in the country to try to introduce religious education programmes based on developmental psychology, as advocated by the Bell team.⁴ The project aimed to establish key concepts within religious education for each level of teaching and help teachers devise means of ensuring that the concepts were understood by children.

According to Dain establishing the key concepts within CRE was particularly important at the secondary level, for then the pupils were expected to develop

1. Ibid., pp.142-144.

2. Ibid., pp.127-128.

3. Ibid., pp.132-135.

4. Dain, R. F., Key Concepts in Religious Education, (Nairobi, 28th April, 1976). Unpublished.

their thinking at an abstract level.¹ His subjects were university and theological college teachers and students concerned with religious education at the secondary school stage. The subjects were asked to list twenty concepts which they thought should be developed through religious education.² Initially his intention was to collate results for only twenty of the respondents, but when numerous new concepts were added he decided to score the replies of thirty subjects.

Due to the selective nature of his sample his results are hardly surprising. The type of subjects selected were those who, when asked to list twenty religious rather than specifically Christian concepts, would inevitably give the latter. Consequently, there were inbuilt scoring errors in this project. Indeed in view of the Christian indoctrination that pervades the Kenyan society, coupled with the religious position of this researcher and the probable researcher-subjects' knowledge of each other, the narrow range of responses obtained is not surprising. While, therefore, the point of the project was to establish twenty key religious concepts for each secondary school stage, it only succeeded listing Christian religious concepts. The project failed to achieve its purpose, and was unable to respond to Bell's team's suggestion of trying to align religious education programmes to the findings of developmental psychology. What is crucial is rather at what stage, in what order, and by what means concepts can be developed for the new religious education programmes in Kenyan schools.

Conclusion

While there is a general realisation of the need to develop religious education according to educationally sound principles, this is hampered by the

1. Ibid., p.1.

2. Ibid.

missions' insistence on confessional aims for the subject. As the missions are largely responsible for the subjects' syllabuses and materials, it is apparent that any radical moves will have to be initiated by the missions or have their consent.

Nevertheless, religious education in Kenya is entrusted with the unique responsibility of being a socialising agent, of promoting moral and spiritual development, inculcating cultural values, and transmitting social ethics.¹ Thus it is a matter of general concern if it does not fulfil its role. What is at issue is how far can religious education in its present condition be relied upon to achieve what is expected of it by Kenya.

1. The National Secondary CRE Panel, Report of the School and Community, held on 3rd, 4th and 5th November, 1976. Chairman: Fr. S. N. Clements. Unpublished.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MORAL AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN CONTEMPORARY KENYA:

A PROPOSAL USING THE CONTRIBUTION OF PIAGET AND KOHLBERG

1. On Separating Moral Education from CRE

From the issues raised in this study, it is clear that there is an overriding need to separate moral education from CRE in Kenya, if young people are to be properly provided with an acceptable moral code, as in ATE. This study has argued that the case for the separation of moral education from CRE is not only tenable but is pressing, for CRE is not necessarily religious education in the full sense of the term. To strike a proper balance within the Kenyan educational system, moral education must be given its rightful place. Only where this occurs can young people appreciate their traditional past. The sense of common good, honesty, diligence, patience, and perseverance, becomes clearer in such a situation and what is worth living for and passing on are realized. The moral education advocated in this study would be the foundation on which the humanities in the curriculum would rest. Carried out properly, such moral education would ensure adaptability and flexibility on the part of young people to the prevalent social changes. On its completion the learner would recognise and respect other people, living with them co-operatively as fellow human beings regardless of status, occupation and regional differences, but mindful of each other's responsibilities.

Moral education would, however, need to be based on the wealth of theory and research currently available. The type of moral education sought for by this study would attempt to defossilize the past good in ^{Kenyan} ~~our~~ culture and ethics. A sample of the skills, attitudes to be considered and imparted would then be something along the lines of traditional modern values, such as respect, etiquette, diligence, honesty, self-control, temperance, avoidance of corruption

and cultural-conflict, sensitivity to generation gap, patience, rationality, fairness, relationships, abstinence from smoking, a consistent attitude to patriotism, moderation, consideration, helpfulness, self-help, tolerance, justice and humility.

The evaluation of CRE syllabuses in current use in Kenyan schools has countered the view that CRE can provide a strict moral code of behaviour for Kenya's youth. The CRE syllabuses are furthermore, not exhaustively and adequately equipped to meet the national aims of education. What is at issue is that the stress, in CRE, past and present, both at the level of moral behaviour and in motivation, has tended to be too salvation history-centred, hardly departing from the original and now outdated influence of the missionary ideology.

A number of considerations regarding CRE in Kenya should be recognized. These include, firstly, that CRE has rightly to deal with ethics, or more appropriately, Christian ethics. Secondly, religious education in Kenya has legally to be taught in the context of living faiths, rather than from the stance of an observer. To teach religious education from the stance of an observer in Kenya would require a change in the Constitution and the possibility of this happening is remote. Thirdly, CRE is provided as a service for willing parties as laid down under the Conscience Clause. Fourthly, Kenya as a democratic state would find it problematic to impose values. Rather, it can only attempt to show that its goals and practices are in agreement with the values of important segments of Kenya's population, including those of minorities. Thus a separate moral education programme would probably be consistent with the current desire to recapture the traditional values of life dictated by the African cultural heritage in ATR within ATE. Should this take place, the values and beliefs will not necessarily be those endorsed by a democratic state, since such a state can only insist on certain behaviour from all its citizens, regardless of their personal values and beliefs.

Not to separate moral education from CRE only continues to strengthen apprehensions about CRE: it is not marketable; it involves too much rote-learning; it creates a clash in beliefs, especially among the teachers who do not necessarily believe in Christian teaching, and yet are expected to be models of Christian living. Many teachers are thus not educationally committed to the subject.¹ It is, of course, easy to repudiate these misgivings about CRE by making the point that ninety-eight per cent of the nation's population are 'religious', and noting that among 'O' level examination candidates religious education is the second highest choice among the optional subjects.² (See Appendix 20). However, these apprehensions persist.

2. Models of Moral Education

Having argued for the separation of moral education from CRE, the question then arises as to which model of moral education to recommend, as there are a number available.

1) The Wilsonian Model

The interpersonal morality model promulgated by Wilson³ concentrates on the need for respecting other persons' interests in one's actions, whilst suggesting a group of moral components, "skills, abilities, etc., that the morally educated person will need."⁴ He lists these using monosyllabic terms borrowed from the Greek: PHIL, EMP, GIG (1), GIG (2), DIK, and KRAT.

Wilson defines those terms as: PHIL - the attitude of regarding others as equals as shown in the manner a person thinks and acts in respect to others; EMP - the ability to know one's feelings and interests in relation to those of

1. KIE, Syllabus Review Report, 1980, pp.35-56.

2. Ibid., p.37.

3. Wilson, J., Moral Thinking: A Guide for Students, (London: H.E.B., 1970).

4. Ibid., p.50.

others; GIG (1) - actual attainment of the relevant facts to the moral reality in terms, for example, of law, contracts, social expectations, the extent of the risks involved and human physiology; GIG (2) - the ability to actually act on a person's moral decision on an interpersonal basis; DIK - a mode of thought to act rationally and sincerely; KRAT - the motivation or behavioural trait necessary for proper moral behaviour on action.¹

However, there are difficulties with this model. It is purely theoretical and does not currently have an extensive use in classrooms. It has generated little research. At present it is difficult to know whether or not the moral components comprising a morally educated person can be attained, or whether they are simply a matter of intellectual discourse.

For the purposes of planning moral education, however, we need to know much more than a map of the kinds of achievements we are seeking in the end. Not only must we be more specific about the precise achievements, we must also have some thorough understanding of how these ends can be reached. 2

ii) The Startline-Lifeline Model

Widely known in the U.K. is McPhail's model, Startline (for middle years) and Lifeline (for secondary schools).³ In Lifeline McPhail conceives moral education as the use of daily social learning situations to help motivate children to be considerate to others.

It is an integral part of our thinking that, whereas virtue may be its own reward, when boys and girls adopt a considerate style of life, not only do others benefit but they themselves gain in a number of important ways. They are generally

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1. Wilson, J., "Introduction", Problems of Research in Moral Education, Proceedings of a conference sponsored by the Farmington Trust, 29th March - 1st April, 1968, held at Lincoln College, Oxford, (Oxford: Truepress, n.d.) pp.1-6. Also Wilson, J., Moral Thinking: A Guide for Students, pp.50-70.
 2. Hirst, P. H., Moral Education in a Secular Society, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1976) p.92.
 3. McPhail, P., et. al., Startline: Moral Education in the Middle Years, (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1978). Also McPhail, P., et.al., Lifeline: Moral Education in the Secondary School, (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1972).

treated better by other people; they enjoy life, are healthy and develop identity and personality which enables them to cope, even when their considerate behaviour does not earn considerate treatment in return. 1

Similarly, in Startline, McPhail views moral education as assisting children to acquire the abilities relevant to social harmony without any considerations of colour or religion. He also sees schools as having a significant place to play in influencing the moral standing of the learners, either consciously or unconsciously, and either constructively or destructively.

An important factor is what the school's atmosphere, standards and values bring to children's moral learning, for these will influence their future moral behaviour. This is crucial in showing consideration to others and for growth into responsible citizenship. As with Lifeline, Startline is also concerned with actual moral practice, for "whatever moral principles or procedures people advocate, and whatever stage of moral reasoning they may claim to, in the final analysis, to act morally everyone has to be concerned with (and sensitive to) real-life situations".²

There are, however, difficulties with this model. It does not have a consistent moral philosophy underlying its practical approaches. Although the situation-orientation aiming to promote children's moral growth is valuable, it is still only a teaching technique. It pays inadequate attention to the place of motivation in children's moral actions.

Consideration for others is always presented as being attractive, a source of pleasure for the person who cares. (Surely a strangely narcissistic conception of moral motivation!) But does it not often have to be held steady in the face of counter-inclinations? Also what about another group of virtues including consistency, impartiality and justice, which are closely connected with reason and hence with the notion of 'autonomy'? For the autonomous man is not just one whose views are 'his own' as distinct from second-hand; he is also

1. McPhail, P., et.al., Lifeline: Moral Education in the Secondary School, p.3.

2. McPhail, P., et.al., Startline: Moral Education in the Middle Years, p.3.

one who has to reflect and weigh up rules which often conflict. And in so doing are not consistency, impartiality and justice of central importance to him? 1

iii) The Values Clarification Model

The purpose of the values clarification model of moral education

"is to clarify one's values. No particular set of values are advocated. No individual or institution's values are held up for emulation. The intention is for the individual to get in touch with his own values, to bring them to the surface, and to reflect upon them". 2

Easily learned and readily available loosely related techniques which discourage mere information transfer to children and encourage dealing with moral issues openly and honestly, concentrate on enabling children to gain insight into the processes of arriving at individual personal values. This is an emphasis on weighting and balancing alternative actions in a conflicting situation and acting intelligently while bearing in mind numerous contextual and intervening forces.³

In practice values clarification employs a variety of ingenious teaching techniques which encourage students to state their value preferences. The teacher responds to these initial value choices with questions or statements intended to help the student further clarify his views to determine whether he genuinely holds the values he has expressed. 4

Like the Startline-Lifeline models, this model's technique-orientation negates the children's motives for moral action. It requires "basic principles, criteria, or standards by which we are to determine what we morally ought to do, what is morally right or wrong, and what our moral rights are".⁵

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1. Peters., R. S., 'Moral Education in the Secondary School', Journal of Moral Education, 3 (October, 1973) 1, pp.413-414.
 2. Purpel, D. and Ryan, K., "Introduction", Purpel, D. and Ryan, K. (Eds.) Moral Education: It Comes with the Territory, (Berkeley, California: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1976) p.73.
 3. Raths, L., et al, "Selection from Values and Teaching", Purpel, D. and Ryan K., (Eds.), op.cit., pp.75-115.
 4. Lockwood, A. L., "A Critical View of Values Clarification", Purpel, D. and Ryan, K., (Eds.), op.cit., p.153.
 5. Frankena, W. K., Ethics, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963) p.47.

iv) The Developmental Model

The developmental model is based on the findings of cognitive-developmental psychology which relates moral growth to stages of cognition. In this model, learners are to be presented with moral issues in order to be challenged to progress to a subsequent stage. This model employs an intervention strategy. Moral dilemmas are discussed by the learners to enhance their moral reasoning in making moral judgements. The teacher's task is that of facilitating the learner's natural impulse towards moral development in an environment supportive to the growth of moral thinking.¹ The major advocate of this model is Kohlberg.²

This study commends the developmental model of moral education as expounded by Kohlberg, as a near-solution to the moral education dilemma in the Kenyan educational scene. This model has a much greater experimental foundation than others, is already widely used in schools and offers more possibilities for education than the others. The theory out of which this model arises "has been well researched, confirmed in many studies and developed over a period of twenty years".³ There is, therefore, wide academic interest in the Kohlbergian theory of moral development and its potential for educational growth. The developmental model would give moral education in Kenya a much-needed, strong psychological basis.

3. Piaget and the Development of Moral Judgement

Kohlberg is indebted to Piaget who first established stages of moral thought in children. Piaget's theory of moral development is based on various

1. Purpel, D. and Ryan, K., "Introduction", Purpel, D. and Ryan, K., (Eds.), op.cit., pp.173-175.

2. Kohlberg, L., "The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Moral Education", Purpel, D. and Ryan, K., (Eds.), op.cit., pp.176-195.

3. Webster, D. H., Playing Hide and Seek with God: Some Theories in Contemporary Research in Religious Education, A Paper presented at Exeter University to the Christian Education Movement Easter Vacation Course, April 1981, (London: Christian Education Movement, 1981), p.5.

experiments conducted by him. His investigation into the development of moral judgement used children between four and twelve years of age. These children were from poor families and came from schools in Geneva and Neuchatel in Switzerland. The investigation was in the form of conversations, which have come to be known as 'Piagetian clinical interviews'. Piaget recorded the results of these conversations with the children. They refer to three areas of moral judgement. The first is concerned with children's understanding of rules, and to isolate this Piaget used the conventions associated with the games of marbles. The second is concerned with children's views of the moral rules of adults. Here he investigates children's ideas about lying and stealing. The third concerns children's views about punishment, responsibility and justice. This analyses peer relationships.¹

Four developmental stages in relation to rule practice emerged from the responses given by the children. Between the ages of four and twelve years of age, Piaget could identify four stages:

i) The first stage is basically centred on the activities in which the child could deploy his muscles in relation to the marbles. It is an individualised game of marbles, which takes place "at the dictation of his desires and motor habits".² In terms of age, this stage appears in the first five years of a child's life.

ii) The second stage can be identified with any age range between two and seven years. By this time the child has had access to an external body of rules governing the game of marbles. By way of imitation he puts the rules into practice, but despite this he still engages in an individualised game. Piaget refers to this as the 'egocentric' stage: "children of this stage, even when they are playing together, play each one 'on his own'...and without regard for any codification of rules."³

1. Piaget, J., The Moral Judgement of the Child, (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1932, 1977).

2. Ibid., p.23.

3. Ibid.

iii) The third stage, one of 'co-operation', can be identified with the ages of seven and ten years. Instead of everyone winning at once, now there are rather unclear 'collective rules' to be adhered to in the course of play.

The idea is to win, and children now "begin to concern themselves with the question of mutual control and unification of the rules"¹ of the game.

iv) The fourth stage, one of 'codification of rules', emerges at the age of eleven. At this stage the observance of both the procedural details of the game and the books of rules is paramount. Piaget notes that children at this stage were well informed about both the procedure and the rules of the game, and sought to follow these in minute detail.²

As with the practice of rules, Piaget distinguishes stages of development in relation to the consciousness of rules. Three such stages emerged through the responses given in conversations Piaget had with children.

i) The first stage runs up to the age of about five years of age. At this stage rules are seen as "interesting examples rather than as obligatory realities". The point is that rules "are received...unconsciously".⁴ The child is still controlled by the dictates of his muscles and hardly bothers about the concerns of the rest in playing the game.

ii) The second stage includes the egocentric and the first part of the co-operation stage. It could be identified with the age range of five to ten years. The child views rules as final because they are laid down by adults. Rules are 'holy', and have to be obeyed without question. No change need be made in the rules, because adults have formulated them. It is the child's duty to obey rules.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., p.24.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

iii) The third stage emerges at the age of about ten. Now the child does not see a rule as being "sacred and untouchable".¹ He rather looks at a rule "as a law due to mutual consent."² A rule is obeyed in the name of loyalty. It can even be changed in the interests of the child and the adult through mutual negotiation.

Piaget concludes that, "There would therefore seem to be two types of respect for rules corresponding to two types of social behaviour".³ Two distinct moralities are shown to be in existence, one of adult constraint and moral realism, another of co-operation and reciprocity. Both moralities are linked to the nature of the social relationship between the child and the adult. This is hardly surprising, for Piaget maintains that "child morality throws light on adult morality".⁴ The adult relates differently to the child, depending on the child's age. Consequently, the moralities are a reflection of the way the child interprets the adult's social relationship with him. The child's practice and consciousness of rules mirrors what the adult expects of him in terms of behaviour and attitudes.

To the question of lies between children themselves, the responses show that "lies between children, which are at first held to be legitimate, end by being proscribed from among the relations they hold with each other".⁵ It is essentially a question of co-operation.⁶ While younger children hold that lies between themselves are permitted, older ones "think that it is as bad or even worse to deceive one's comrades".⁷ For older children it is a matter of

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p.25.

4. Ibid., p.8.

5. Ibid., p.165.

6. Ibid., p.164.

7. Ibid., p.165.

maintaining a sense of togetherness. Cal, aged twelve, for example, replied that: "Sometimes you almost have to tell lies to a grown-up, but it's rotten to do it to another fellow".¹

For the evolution to autonomy, Piaget examines the emergence of the idea of justice from co-operation. The notion of justice, he concludes, needs for its growth "mutual respect and solidarity"² between the children themselves. Inevitably, he had to analyse the child's views concerning punishments.³ Piaget deals with the issue of the relationship "between distributive or equalitarian justice and retributive justice".⁴ It is his intention to dispel the easy assumption about the link between distributive justice and co-operation, rather than as evolving from the rejection of retributive justice on the part of the child. Equality comes to be preferred to retributive justice. Questions were asked about the conflict between the two justices, negligible mistakes and minor disciplinary action and excessive punishment. It was found that while younger children were in favour of retribution older children were in favour of distribution. In general the age limit for acceptance of distributive justice was nine years.

On the place of adult authority in the development of the child's sense of justice, Piaget found that as the child's age increased so the idea of defending "equality out of respect for an inner ideal"⁵ emerged. Mere obedience to adult authority seemed to give way to equalitarianism with the child's age. Four groups of answers were elicited: those who could not distinguish between justice and order from the adults; those who put obedience before justice;

1. Ibid., p.116.

2. Ibid., p.190.

3. Ibid., p.191.

4. Ibid., p.253.

5. Ibid., p.267.

those who maintain the supremacy of justice over obedience, and those who "think it better to be obliging and submit rather than argue and rebel".¹ The fourth group still felt that the adult order was unfair.

Piaget concludes that three developmental phases exist in the growth of the idea of justice in the child.

One period, lasting up to the age of 7-8, during which justice is subordinated to adult authority; a period contained approximately between 8-11, and which is that of progressive equalitarianism, and finally a period which sets in towards 11-12, and during which purely equalitarian justice is tempered by considerations of equality. ²

On the basis of the results of his experiments Piaget posits a moral education model which takes place in an open environment, and supports that education "based on the individual interests and free initiative which is advanced by the 'activity school', under all its forms".³ He is opposed to a coercive environment as a transmitter of moral values to the child, and advocates the development of a morally autonomous person, "through discussion, comparison, criticism and re-organization made possible by relationships of co-operation and reciprocity."⁴

Piaget outlines 'stages' in the development of the child and applies his stage theory to the growth of moral judgement in the child. Like other stage theory experts, he maintains that the development of moral reasoning requires progression through a series of successive stages. At each new stage the moral reasoning is more refined than in the last. The stages of a child's morality in the 'areas' he investigated vary.

1. Ibid., p.269.

2. Ibid., p.303.

3. Ibid., p.345.

4. Lydiat, M., 'The Development of Moral Judgement in Children: A Theoretical and Empirical Investigation', Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Sheffield, 1971, p.93.

There is no easy system of developmental stages, except for the important transition from a heteronomous to an autonomous morality, and three points regarding Piaget's theory need to be borne in mind:

- i) that for autonomous morality peer interaction is crucial.
- ii) that the child's interaction with his social environment is crucial.
- iii) that this theory is primarily a cognitive one.¹

Piaget has offered a description of intellectual growth, in terms of stages, which has a direct relationship to the developmental levels regarding rule practice and consciousness of rules. He suggests four sequential periods in the child's cognitive development: the sensory-motor period, the pre-operational period, the concrete operational period, and the formal-operational period. Lydiat points out that Maier isolates five broad periods in Piaget's developmental theory. Inhelder and Flavell see four; and Baldwin three. Lydiat adds that this arises from a difference in terminology rather than from a conflict of opinions. As he points out, in relation to Maier, the latter's outline is also covered in other authors' outlines.²

Of the eleven moral dimensions discussed by Piaget, later research has shown that six are clearly developmental. These include objective responsibility, immanent justice, expiation versus restitution, absolutism of value, wrong defined as punishment and fixity of rules.³ In these cases cognitive maturity is related to the child's morality. The other five have been shown to be non-developmental, although this conclusion has usually been inconsistent.

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1. Graham, D., Moral Learning and Development: Theory and Research (London: Batsford, 1972) pp.192 and 202.
 2. Lydiat, M., op.cit., p.31, is referring to the following sources:
Maier, H. W., Three Theories of Child Development, (New York: Harper, 1965).
Tanner, J. M. and Inhelder, B., (Eds.) Discussion in Child Development, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1956).
Flavell, J. H., The Developmental Psychology of Jean Piaget, (Princetown, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Co.Inc., 1963).
Baldwin, A. L., Theories of Child Development, (New York: Wiley, 1967).
 3. Lydiat, M., op.cit., pp.103-105.

In this group are duty defined as obedience to authority, reciprocity in rights, punishment by authority versus retaliation, individual and collective responsibility and favouritism in the distribution of rewards and punishments. These cases show the subject's attitude to the authority of the adult.¹ Lydiat is here referring to Kohlberg's distinction of Piaget's moral dimensions.²

Johnson, using a sample of three hundred and seven American children of school grades five, seven, nine and eleven sought to investigate the link between adult constraint, egocentricity, age, sex, intelligence and parental occupation on a child's moral reasoning.³ He used twenty Piaget-type situations on immanent justice, moral realism, retribution, expiation versus restitution, reciprocity, severe punishment and communicable responsibility. The data was discussed in terms of the subject's grade rather than his age. His findings showed a relationship between the morality of the subject and the parents' occupations. The latter he maintained might simply be related to the subject's intelligence. It could well have no bearing on the subject's moral judgement. Of particular significance was the place of parental attitudes. Parents who expressed extreme opinions appeared to retard their children's moral reasoning. This only slightly confirmed Piaget's hypothesis.

Harrower attempted to explore the place of socio-economic status, using British working-class and middle-class children, on children's moral growth.⁴ It was mainly a repetition and control of Piaget's investigation with Swiss children. The one hundred and twelve children used were between five and eleven

1. Ibid., p.344.

2. Kohlberg, L., "Moral Development and Identification", Stevenson, H. W., (Ed.), Child Psychology, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1963) pp.227-325.

3. Johnson, R. C., "A Study of Children's Moral Judgement", Child Development, 33 (March-December, 1962) pp.327-354.

4. Harrower, M. R., "Social Status and the Moral Development of the Child", British Journal of Educational Psychology, IV (1934) pp.75-95.

years of age. His aim was to assess the child's attitude to punishment and cheating. In the case of cheating a free type of question was used. Despite the limitations of this investigation he showed that earlier mature moral reasoning was associated with children from well-to-do homes and cultured parents. He took his findings to mean that Piaget's theory of moral judgement was more a feature of children from less privileged parentage, than well-to-do families.¹

Bull, using three hundred and sixty British boys and girls aged seven, nine, eleven, thirteen, fifteen and seventeen years, devised tests which would help to classify their answers into four stages of moral growth: anomy, heteronomy, socionomy and autonomy.² The girls used in the sample were known to have higher intelligence than the boys. His aim was to explore the place of age, sex, social class, intelligence, and religious affiliation in the mature moral reasoning of the child. His argument for the four stages was that Piaget's autonomous stage was vague. It would not explain some of the moral reasoning found in adolescents and some adults. He found that anomy, heteronomy and socionomy all tend to quickly give way to autonomous reasoning somewhere between the ages of nine and eleven years. Both intelligence and the child's social background, particularly middle-class, were linked with mature moral judgement. He maintains that Piaget's theory is limited, in that it cannot cope with advanced moral growth in adolescents and some adults.

Breznitz and Kugelmass used one thousand and fourteen Israeli children, between the ages of eleven and seventeen years, to try to devise an instrument to test the principle of intentionality in adolescents.³ Investigating the idea that "verbalization of the principle of intentionality must precede the

1. Ibid., p.84.

2. Bull, N. J., Moral Judgement From Childhood to Adolescence, (London: R.K.P., 1969).

3. Breznitz, S. and Kugelmass, S., "Intentionality in Moral Judgement: Development and Stages", Child Development, 38 (June, 1967) 2, pp.469-479.

development necessary for spontaneous recall and both must precede its most refined applications",¹ they confirmed their hypothesis at all the ages. It was noted that the principle of intentionality was accompanied by cognitive growth and progressed through four successive stages:

- i) the stage of preverbalized usage which is characterized by the subject's ability to use the principle of intentionality without being able to indicate the criteria he is using;
- ii) the stage of verbalization of the principle which is the point where the child can both apply the principle of intentionality and verbalize the criteria;
- iii) the stage of recall of the principle by the subject in which the subject does not require outside help to recollect the principle of intentionality;
- iv) the stage of refined application of the principle when the child can isolate the various facets of the principle of intentionality.²

Often, however, scholars evaluating Piaget's theory of moral judgement which is a stage, sequential, and hierarchical one tend to concentrate on the technical shortcomings of his work. The usual methodological charges levelled against Piaget's theory range from the study being insufficiently sampled, lacking in controls, or being haphazardly reported and presented. The methodological weaknesses in Piaget's study include a reliance on the responses given by his subjects. This is in addition to weaknesses within his sampling and clinical procedure.³ Scholars, however, tend to raise questions about Piaget's methodology rather than his theory. His procedure can hardly be quantified and analysed. Whether or not alternative methodologies would have served the purpose that was served by Piaget's clinical method would be of

1. Ibid., p.469.

2. Ibid., pp.476-477.

3. Lydiat, M., op.cit., p.71.

least significance for those who are critical of his methodology.¹

Piaget, however, wanted to know not only whether a child has a concept, but also how he has it: how the child thinks about the problem posed to him. In this much more than a simple 'yes-no' judgement is necessary.² On merit, therefore, Piaget's clinical method is vigorous enough to warrant less severe criticisms, even though it has its limitations. Significantly, he intended that the strength of his theory should be built on further research.³ This is not to say that he should be excused from employing unacceptable research methodology. These were definitely available to him in 1932, and in evaluating his study other scholars need to indicate to the reader Piaget's own professed limitations of his study. He did not intend to analyse children's moral behaviour at home and at school. He did not wish to study the child's emotional relationships although he touched on them in passing and elsewhere.⁴ Nor did he intend to study the child's moral judgement in other cultures. He simply sought to study the child's moral judgement. These points should be borne in mind by his critics.

Piaget's approach to moral judgement in the child does have the distinction of being capable of repetition, testing, re-testing, verification, rejection and modification. This as well as the originality of his study and the academic interest which it has generated has encouraged serious research about his theory. The defects of his study notwithstanding, his theory still has practical and theoretical relevance to an understanding of human moral development. Except

1. Larsen, G. Y., "Methodology in Developmental Psychology: Examination of Research on Piagetian Theory", Child Development, 48 (December 1977) 4, p.1160.

2. Ibid., p.1161.

3. Piaget, J., The Moral Judgement of the Child, pp.7-8.

4. Piaget, J., Six Psychological Studies, (New York: Random House, 1967) pp.15, 33-38, 54-60 and 64-70.

----- To Understand is to Invent and the Future of Education, (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1973) pp.109-126.

----- and Inhelder, B., The Psychology of the Child, (New York: Basic Books, 1969) pp.21-27, 114-129 and 149-151.

for sophisticated methods of investigating moral development, later research about morality has not sought to deny the seminal value of Piaget's theory of moral development.

Piaget sees morality as an aspect of knowledge. Moral development for him is understood in relation to a theory of intellectual growth. The child's moral judgement incorporates the cognitive element as well. Essentially he is a genetic epistemologist. His study was simply a continuation of his interest in children's intellectual development. This explains both the omissions in his approach and the emphasis on the cognitive element of the child's moral development. It may be that other scholars are expecting more than he can offer or wished to investigate. He set out to study the place of the cognitive element in the child's moral reasoning as opposed to that tradition of seeing it from the emotional and behavioural angles. Once he was convinced that he had done this he left others to corroborate his findings. This explains why he has only one study on human moral development.

As to criticisms that Piaget's theory fails to specify what is meant by unilateral and mutual respect, and ignores the influence upon the child of explicit and logical teaching of morality, these show a lack of understanding on the part of some of Piaget's critics.¹ Lewis, unlike the psychoanalytic theorists who see the moral growth of the child as arising from the adjustment, 'id', and the regulation, 'ego', of the child's inborn drives in meeting his own needs, states that until he develops a 'super ego' or conscience, (the social side of his conduct), the child's actions are largely self-centred. This is an emotional approach to the development of the child's morality. Through the process of 'identification' with either parent the child comes to emulate

1. Lewis, F. W., A Piagetian Critique of Kohlberg's 'Moral Development' and Simon's 'Values Clarification', Paper for Eighth Annual International Conference on Piagetian Theory and its Implications for Helping Professions, University of Southern California, February 3rd and 4th; 1978, p.5. The same criticisms are particularly evident in Wright, D., The Psychology of Moral Behaviour, (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1971) p.159.

his or her way of life. For the boy his culture is modelled on that of his father, and for the girl on that of her mother.¹

Lewis also differs from the leading theorists, who maintain that the moral values of the child are learnt. For him, it is a question of stimulus and response. The child's conscience is built on his experience of what happens to him when he acts properly or wrongly. Either he is rewarded or punished. Whether his action is intentional or accidental is not the point. Children can, therefore, be conditioned to behave properly or improperly. The generalized sum total of rewards and punishments comes to constitute a child's conscience. This is a morality of conformity, or, in Piagetian terms, one of constraint.²

Neither of the last two theories of moral development, nor that of Piaget, are necessarily sufficient in themselves. But while accepting this to be the case, the Piagetian one, on merit, seems more advanced or refined than the other two. In view of criticisms levelled against his theory, it is likely that these arise more from the fact that Piaget made more out of the children's responses than he would otherwise have done if it had not been for the influence of his work on human cognitive growth.

For Piaget, therefore, adult theoretical moral teaching of the child would not influence the child's practical moral action. It is restricted to the child's theoretical/moral reasoning. Even "its influence upon his theoretical morality can only be either to retard it, or to help it to catch up with his practical morality".³ Whether it will retard or enhance the child's practical moral action will depend on the adult's level of practical or theoretical morality. Just as the child identifies with, and so "accepts parental decree as absolute because he has no view of his own and knows no

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1. Anthony, J., "The System Makers: Piaget and Freud", British Journal of Medical Psychology, 30 (1957) pp.1-12.
Freud, S., An Outline of Psychoanalysis (New York: W.W.Norton & Co.Inc., 1949).
 2. Eysenck, H. J., Fact and Fiction in Psychology, (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1965)
 3. Wright, D., op. cit., p.160.

other conflicting authority"¹ the same thing might apply to adults. This would explain why, while Piaget assigns unilateral respect to adult constraint, he associates mutual respect with peer co-operation.

Piaget ascribes a high place to mutual respect, and this is reflected in the type of moral education that he proposes. His moral education encourages the child to 'decentre' ability, to shift the given cognitive perspective, and make mature moral judgements.² For him what enhances cognitive growth does the same for moral development. The child can then be helped to move from a stage of unilateral respect to that of mutual respect. Moral education has to be built on doing and real life. Piagetian critics do not seem to touch on the place of 'decentration' in relation to unilateral and mutual respect. This might be either because they have hardly researched on deccentration or probably because they have not grasped what Piaget means by his type of moral education, or both.³ The fact is, however, that his type of moral education is consonant with society today.⁴

Another point that must be taken into account, in assessing Piaget's theory through replication studies, is that other scholars have not dismantled his scheme of moral development, despite the fact that they are critical of his methodology. In the end it is on suggestions of what modifications need to be done on his theory, and on the preference of his approach to those of the psychoanalytic and learning theorists that discussion, or further investigations are centred. Even deliberate replication studies outside his age range of four to twelve years with adolescents of different cultures have

1. Ibid., p.161.

2. Vygotsky, L. S., Thought and Language, (Cambridge, Mass: MIT, 1962) p.3.
Stuart, R. B., "Deccentration in the Development of Children's Concepts of Moral and Causal Judgement", Journal of Genetic Psychology, 111, (September, 1967) p.60.

3. Graham, D., op.cit., p.226.

4. Bloom, L., "A Reappraisal of Piaget's Theory of Moral Judgement", Journal of Genetic Psychology, 95 (September, 1959) p.7.

supported his scheme.¹ Piaget is dealing with a difficult area and his patience and industriousness in trying to help educators to grasp the issues involved must not be under-estimated.

Having argued that some of the criticisms levelled against Piaget are unwarranted, it is not reasonable to dismiss the criticism related to his neglect of the place of social factors (for example, language) in his study of cognition or knowledge and in his theory of moral judgement. Could it not be that the acquisition of language or lack of it which might be related to intelligence would affect the type of answers that his subjects gave in his study?² He does have a theoretical position on this though research is lacking into its place in cognitive development.³ Is this simply a question of expediency? Is it a matter of his selection and interests? Or is it a question of sheer negligence? Obviously the place of language in intellectual development, and vice versa can hardly be ignored.⁴

Nevertheless, and notwithstanding that the Piagetian model is largely western-oriented, the approach is not entirely dissimilar to that of ATE, particularly where ATE works out its moral education programme in line with the child's stage of intellectual and social development. African culture and environment, might not be as sophisticated as its western counterpart, but that is not a final reason for promoting CRE in Kenya to the exclusion of a stage-orientation in ATE. In ATE story telling, listening, observation, imitation and trying were effective means of producing a reliable adult of

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1. Loughran, R., "A Pattern of Development in Moral Judgements Made by Adolescents Derived from Piaget's Scheme of its Development in Childhood", Educational Review, 19 (1967) pp.79-98.
 2. Boden, M. A., Piaget: An Outline and Critique of his Psychology, Biology and Philosophy, (Sussex; The Harvester Press Ltd.) 1979, pp.151-152.
 3. Piaget, J., The Moral Judgement of the Child, pp.186-187 and p.391.
 4. Bullock, A., A Language for Life, (London: HMSO, 1975) p.48.

good character.¹ While there is a possibility that this would materialise with a moral education based on Piaget's theory of moral development, this can, so far, hardly be said for moral education in Kenya in the context of CRE.

4. Piaget and Kohlberg: A Comparison

In attempting to establish a link between the Kohlbergian and the Piagetian theories of moral development, it is important to draw attention to the critics' views of the relationship of Piaget and Kohlberg. This is essential in the understanding of Kohlberg's thinking on moral development, moral education, and its potential relevance for Kenya's religious and moral educative condition. This section examines the common antecedents or influences upon which the Kohlbergian and Piagetian theory of moral development is built, lists therein points of agreement, dispute and evaluates the critics' views regarding the relationship of Piaget and Kohlberg.

Kohlberg's basis includes Piaget's study in relation to the latter's theory of moral development. "The major required readings for my graduate course...are Plato's Republic, Durkheim's Moral Education, Piaget's Moral Judgement of the Child and Dewey's Democracy and Education".² Further, while Kohlberg's theory of moral development historically originates within the theories of development expounded by Baldwin and Mead, its more recent conceptual foundations are to be found in the cognitive developmental theory of Piaget.³

1. Ishumi, A. J. M., Black Civilization Revisited: A Review of African Traditions and the Impact of Colonial Domination, (Oslo: U-landsseminarets, 1981) pp.23-25.

2. Kohlberg, L., Essays in Moral Development, (Cambridge, Mass: University of Harvard, 1978) p.1.

3. Kurtines, W., and Greif, E. G., "The Development of Moral Thought: Review and Evaluation of Kohlberg's Approach", Psychological Bulletin, 81 (August, 1974) 8, p.453.

Baldwin, J. M., Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development, (New York: MacMillan, 1906).

Mead, G. H., Mind, Self and Society, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934)

Similarly, Piaget's study is based on Durkheim's and Baldwin's developmental theories.¹ Kohlberg's model of development is more sophisticated than Piaget's though both are qualitatively different from those of their precursors.²

Kohlberg has attempted to refine and verify Piaget's theory of moral development from its heteronomy-autonomy model into a series of six stages, which are universal, invariant, hierarchical, age-related and sequential. Though Kohlberg has found differences in the moral growth of children in urban and rural areas, both their works are focused on the mechanisms or structures behind moral decision-making rather than on the content or form of the moral judgements.³ Kohlberg elaborates Piaget's notion of moral development, taking justice as a central principle in the development of the moral judgement of the child. However, in Kohlberg's scheme the principle of justice is widely defined, and can be conceptualized by notions other than justice.⁴

Nevertheless, their stages of moral reasoning are universal and have a cognitive developmental framework.⁵ Furthermore, both Piaget and Kohlberg have not, as yet, offered adequate explanations of the transition from one stage to the next in the moral development of the child.⁶ Both see a just school community as a vehicle towards a society built on the principles of justice, the difference between them being one of emphasis. Piaget stresses

1. Piaget, J., The Moral Judgement of the Child, pp.358 and 380.

2. Kurtines, W. and Greif, E. B., loc.cit., pp.353-354.

3. Wilson, R. W., "Some Comments on Moral Development", Journal of Moral Education, 5 (June, 1976) 3, pp.241-248. Also Bloom, A., 'Social Principledness and Social Humanism: A Cross-Cultural Investigation into Dimensions of Politico-Moral Reasoning'. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Harvard, 1974.

4. Weinreich, H., "Kohlberg and Piaget: Aspects of their Relationship in the Field of Moral Development", Journal of Moral Education, 4 (June, 1975) 3, pp.202-203.

5. Craig, R. P., 'Lawrence Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development in Philosophical Perspective and Implications for Education', Unpublished Ed.D. Dissertation, Wayne State University, 1973, p.29.

6. Weinreich, H., "The Structure of Moral Reason", Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 3 (1974) pp.135-137.

the social relationships of peers in the child's growth towards distributive justice while Kohlberg emphasises experience, role-taking and empathy in the child's moral growth towards a sense of justice.¹ However, Kohlberg, unlike Piaget, does not see heteronomous and autonomous moralities as the outcome of mere unilateral respect for adult authority and mutual respect between children: for him it is a matter of a complex and on-going activity whose climax is the attainment of stage six. At this stage the individual judges in terms of his own chosen ethical principles.²

Both the Piagetian and Kohlbergian theories of moral development work within the framework of cognitive developmental psychology. Its recurring problem relates to the basis of hierarchical theories of developmental psychology.³ The relationship between levels in hierarchical theories is an implicative one: higher levels presume the existence of lower ones and would not be helpful frameworks for research. The same criticism applies to the assertion that the order of stages is invariant, for this tends to close research on the order of stages.

It may well be unfair to claim that developmental theories are part folklore and part science, but it is not unfair to point out that a good many of the assumptions that have crept into modern developmental psychology are dubious. 4

The issues arising from the assumptions of hierarchical theories of development raise a question concerning the relationship of Kohlberg's sequence of moral

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1. Kuhmerker, L., "Growth Towards Principled Behaviour: Lawrence Kohlberg's Studies of Moral Development", Journal of Moral Education, 2 (June, 1973) 3, p.260.
 2. Carter, R. E., "What is Lawrence Kohlberg Doing?", Journal of Moral Education, 9 (January, 1980) 2, p.95. Also, Lydiat, M., op.cit., pp.162-170.
 3. Phillips, D. C. and Kelly, M. E., "Hierarchical Theories of Development in Education and Psychology", Harvard Educational Review, 45 (August, 1975) 3, pp.373-374.
 4. Ibid., p.374.

stages to Piaget's stage criteria.¹ There is a further difficulty with Kohlberg's model. Independent validation is difficult because scoring procedures and the scales used are not published or generally available and are frequently modified.² Interestingly, enough, Kohlberg like Piaget does not claim that his model is definitive.

5. Kohlberg and the Development of Moral Thinking

In relation to his stage-theory of moral thinking three claims are being made by Kohlberg: i) that the progression through the stages is invariant, unless a child is fixated at a certain stage; ii) that the stages are Piagetian in that they imply "structural wholes",³ and iii) that the sequence of stages is trans-cultural. Crucial to the third claim is the degree of stimulation available in a child's environment. To support these claims Kohlberg points to his cross-cultural studies. Kohlberg in a longitudinal study followed the development of moral thinking of a group of fifty boys from the age of ten to the age of twenty-five, asking them at each three-year interval how and why they would resolve a set of eleven moral dilemmas. He found that changes in their moral thinking are progressive through six stages, unless the children's moral development stops at any one of the stages. He records the existence of this progression through stages in children in Mexico, England, Taiwan, in illiterate villages and in the urban middle and lower classes.⁴ (See Appendix 21).

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1. Piaget, J., Biology and Knowledge: An Essay on the Relationship Between Organic Regulations and Cognitive Processes, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp.16-25.
Gibbs, J. C., "Kohlberg's Stages of Moral Judgement: A Constructive Critique", Harvard Educational Review, 47 (February, 1977) pp.43-50.
 2. Kurtines, W. and Greif, E. B., loc.cit., p.466.
 3. Sullivan, E. V., Kohlberg's Structuralism: A Critical Appraisal, (Toronto: The Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1977) p.6.
 4. Kohlberg, L., "The Moral Atmosphere of the School", Overly, N., (Ed.) The Unstudied Curriculum, Monograph of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Washington, D.C., 1970, p.115.

Kohlberg claims that his psychological explanation of the development of morality is applicable to moral education. His interactionist psychology has been used to provide a basis for systematic moral education which is non-indoctrinatory. The child's moral reasoning is stimulated through discussing moral dilemmas and through hearing or debating conflicting views arising from possible courses of action.¹ This is especially important in the case of adolescents, for adolescence is a critical time when young people idealize about their future right and wrong.

Kohlberg maintains that one of the practical outcomes of his theoretical position is the creation of "just communities".² He and his associates have analysed various social groupings in an attempt to identify the principles of collective moral growth and education within them. Studies undertaken in a kibbutz,³ a prison⁴ and a school⁵ have been particularly interesting and will be examined here. In the kibbutz study the growth of moral reasoning among certain groups of Israeli adolescent boys was tested. Subjects were twelve urban middle-class, ten lower-class, nine kibbutz-born and fourteen kibbutz-placed boys. The results of this study confirmed Kohlberg's theory among eastern adolescents. A link between time spent in the kibbutz and growth in adolescent moral judgement was established. This was due largely to high role-

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1. Mosher, R. L., "An Uncommon Cause", Mosher, R. L., (Ed.), Moral Education: A First Generation of Research and Development, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1980) p.4.
 2. Lewis, F. W., op.cit., p.35.
 3. Kohlberg, L., "Cognitive Development Theory and Practice of Collective Moral Education", Wolins, M. and Gottesman, M., (Eds.) Group Care: The Education Path of Youth Aliyah, (New York: Grodon and Breach, 1971) pp.342-371.
 4. ——— et al. "The Justice Structure of the Prison: A Theory and an Intervention", The Prison Journal, 11 (Autumn-Winter, 1972) 2, pp.3-14.
 5. Wasserman, E. R., "Implementing Kohlberg's 'Just Community' Concept in an Alternative High School", Social Education, 40 (April, 1976) pp.203-207.

taking opportunities afforded in the kibbutz.¹

The prison studies attempted to verify the findings of Kohlberg's researches which point to a progression through stages in the development of an individual's moral thinking through moral intervention in prison, through open dialogue, moral conflict and democratic interaction which are absent in prison justice.² These studies established that while open discussions encouraged upward movement of the prisoners' stage of moral reasoning the atmosphere in the prisons is predominantly at the preconventional level - a punishment, reward and exchange of favours-orientation - which can hardly enhance progression of the moral stages of reasoning even to the conventional level - a law and order orientation, (See Appendix 22). The inmates, therefore, operate in gangs in order to defend their interests against their peers and the prison authorities. Further, the hierarchic authority structure of the prison hardly caters for role and perspective taking among the prisoners. To achieve their rehabilitative goals prisons would have to restructure themselves in order to operate beyond the preconventional level.³

The school study was an attempt to realize a fair or just community in the educational field. Such schools afford conditions for children's moral growth by utilising discussions, organising community meetings, and creating an atmosphere in which children can express their views, listen to others' views and make group decisions. This study showed that encouraging participatory democratic structures in the school, rather than emphasising a prevalent teacher-dominated decision making system enhances children's moral development.⁴

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1. Kohlberg, L., "Cognitive Development Theory and Practice of Collective Moral Education", Wolins, M. and Gottesman, M., (Eds.), op.cit., p.350.
 2. ——— et.al. "The Justice Structure of the Prison: A Theory and an Intervention," loc.cit., pp.3-4.
 3. Ibid., pp.6-8.
 4. Wasserman, E. R., "Implementing Kohlberg's 'Just Community Concept' in an Alternative High School", loc.cit., pp.204-207.

A study was carried out among adolescents and adults from a variety of Kenyan cultural traditions in order to test whether Kohlberg's cognitive-moral developmental theory was culturally universal. It showed that the process or sequence of development did occur. It further showed that the cognitive processes involved in moral thinking corresponded to the demands of social life in various parts of the world.

To be specific the evidence suggests that stages 1 to 3 are definitely present among adults whose frame of reference is a traditional and isolated peasant village as well as among adults from more modern settings. In contrast, the cross-cultural research with adult subjects...indicates that reasoning that is characteristic of stages 4, 5 and 6 is limited to educated subjects whose frame of reference is a complex society such as a modern national state. 1

Kenya is increasingly being urbanized and moving fast from heterogeneous tribal societal values towards nationally shared values. In view of these findings the Kohlbergian moral-developmental approach to moral education, stressing the place of a meaningful moral environment for the development of moral judgement in children, if used in Kenyan schools, might help towards adapting the nation's state of moral thinking to its complex pluralistic realities.

These studies have gone some way in attempting to answer questions about the role that group membership plays in the relation between moral judgement and action. In particular such questions include the following: what takes place when individuals form groups in which they will together exercise their moral reasoning to arrive at decisions they have to execute? How is a group's form of moral thought - values, norms and objectives - constructed? How does a group's moral thought interact with individual structures of reasoning? How does group consciousness influence individual willingness to obey joint moral decisions not fully understood or endorsed by individuals within the group?

1. Edwards, C. P., "Social Complexity and Moral Development: A Kenyan Study", Ethos, 3 (1975) p.511.

6. A Critique of Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development

Questions continue to be raised about Kohlberg's theory of moral development which do cast some doubts upon his model of moral education. Problems about the sequence of the progression through the stages, about the process by which this development takes place, and about the cultural universality of the development of moral judgement arise. There are difficulties regarding his hierarchical sequence of stages; his explanation of the place of cognitive stimulation in determining upward movement through stages is unclear; and while he accounts for human welfare and justice as basic principles, he fails to do so in respect of a fundamental principle of consideration for others.¹ However, many criticisms regarding the sequence of stages are largely philosophically-based, rather than psychological. Kohlberg's claims on the other hand are psychologically based, and therefore need to be refuted on psychological grounds.²

In a large measure the problems emerging in the research literature on Kohlberg's claims are in the main speculative. They are misunderstandings, reflecting a common and mistaken attempt to confuse developmental theories with measurement instruments, for the question of the truth of his claims has not been seriously challenged.

Cognitive-developmental theories deal with fundamentally different phenomena. They are concerned with the structurally invariant sequential interactions of organism and environment that govern a sense of the logic or physical and social reality. They are not concerned with the assimilation of particular cultural information or conventional problem-solving strategies. 3

It should not be assumed that criticism should not be levelled at Kohlberg's theory, at the adequacy of his means of testing moral judgements

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1. Peters, R. S., "The Place of Kohlberg's Theory in Moral Education", Journal of Moral Education, 7 (May, 1978) 3, p.147.
 2. Locke, D., "Cognitive Stages or Developmental Phases? A Critique of Kohlberg's Stage-Structural Theory", Journal of Moral Education, 8 (May, 1979) 3, p.173.
 3. Broughton, J., "The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Morality: A Reply to Kurtines and Greif", Journal of Moral Education, 7 (January, 1978) 2, pp.89-90.

determining the shape of the moral structure said to lie beneath the responses of subjects; at the psychological descriptions of the moral structure and its transformations; at the nature of the manifestation of the developmental stages given by Kohlberg; at the adequacy of the account offered in respect of the genesis of the moral structure and its transformations; and at the implications drawn for education.¹ Kohlberg's model is the centre of a considerable body of research and it is probably too soon to be definitive about the positive results that have emerged from this research. The developments in his model have generally involved a progressive narrowing of the stage construct. Its value focus, orientation, ethical theory and ego-development have been separated from the purely structural or formal core of stages. The narrowing of the stage construct has tightened the system. It has prevented misclassification and defined more precisely the theoretical claims of universality, invariant sequence, hierarchical inclusion, progressive differentiation and integration. No conclusive empirical evidence that

1. The following sources examine criticisms of Kohlberg's theory:

Simpson, E. L., "Moral Development Research: A Case Study of Scientific Cultural Bias", Human Development, 17 (1974) pp.81-106.

Straughan, R. R., "Hypothetical Moral Dilemmas", Journal of Moral Education, 4 (June, 1975) 3, pp.183-189.

Peatling, J. H., "A Sense of Justice: Moral Judgement in Children, Adolescents and Adults", Character Potential, 8 (1976) pp.25-34.

Hamm, C. M., "The Content of Moral Education, or in Defense of the 'bag of virtues'", School Review, 85 (February, 1977) pp.218-228.

Kenniston, K., "Moral Development, Youth Activism and Modern Society", The Critic, 28 (1969) 1, pp.17-24.

Sichel, B. A., "The Relation Between Moral Judgement and Moral Behaviour in Kohlberg's Theory of Development of Moral Judgements", Educational Philosophy and Theory, 8 (April, 1976) 1, pp.55-67.

Hogan, R., "A Dimension of Moral Judgement", Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 35 (October, 1970) 2, pp.205-212.

Aron, I. E., "Moral Philosophy and Moral Education: A Critique of Kohlberg's Theory", School Review, 85 (February, 1977) pp.197-217.

necessarily refutes his model has been cited.¹

Kohlberg takes an interactionist standpoint with respect to stage transition, and this would explain the emphasis he assigns to role-taking and discussion among children at different stages of moral development. He maintains that there is empirical evidence to support his claim regarding the place of cognitive stimulation in stage transition. He maintains that subjects tend to prefer reasoning at their next moral stage rather than the one below their current one. He maintains that moral discussions, where subjects at various stages discuss hypothetical moral dilemmas under the direction of their teacher enable subjects at lower stages to progress to their next logical stages.² Cognitive stimulation is central to Kohlberg's understanding of moral education.³

It perhaps is not surprising that Kohlberg's theory has its weaknesses,⁴ but it is hoped that by highlighting them they will eventually be resolved after further clarification and empirical investigation. Whatever the issues, his study has stimulated considerable discussions which has had an important impact on moral psychology and education to date. The important thing is that despite recent criticisms of his theory it has filled a vacuum in the social sciences in dealing with the entire area of values.⁵ Kohlberg and his colleagues are now exploring the possibility of evolving a psychology that would have a bearing on moral action and change. Should this materialize, then

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1. Dykstra, C. R., 'Christian Education and the Moral Life: An Evaluation of and Alternative to Kohlberg', Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1978, pp.53-54.
 2. Kohlberg, L., "Indoctrination versus Relativity in Values Education", Zygone, 6 (December, 1971) pp.303-306.
 3. Peters, R. S., "The Place of Kohlberg's Theory in Moral Education", p.150.
 4. Atherton, T., 'A Critique of Lawrence Kohlberg's Theories of Moral Development and Moral Education', Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Boston, 1979, p.v.
 5. Sullivan, E. K., op.cit., p.1.

it would be a significant step forward, establishing or not establishing a link between an individual's moral reasoning and his moral behaviour within the Kohlbergian model. There have, however, been reservations about studies which have tended to support Kohlberg's model,¹ but, like Piaget before him, Kohlberg has managed to pave the way for a more constructive approach to moral psychology and education. This is no mean step, considering the level of interest in moral education since the publication of his theory, despite the strong view that moral education is meaningfully covered under the umbrella of religious education.

1. Shields, D., "Education for Moral Action", Religious Education, 75 (March-April, 1980) 2, p.137.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CRE: REFLECTION AND CONCLUSIONS

Whether or not moral education in Kenya is to continue within the context of CRE further requires an understanding of the relationship between morality and religion, and so moral and religious education. Two questions arise: does a relationship exist between morality and religion? Would the existence of such a relationship extend to moral and religious education? Both questions are controversial.

1. Morality and Religion

Confusion exists as to the relationship between morality and religion: "whether morality needs a religious sanction; and what difference, if any, religious belief makes to the scope, character, and content of morality".¹ There is a tendency to presume that the answer to this question is either obvious or irrelevant. It is a controversial question. CRE curriculum developers appear to take it for granted that the answer is obviously in the affirmative, which partly accounts for the present malaise in the subject. No longer is there only a religious framework in which to ask and answer the metaphysical questions: "Who am I? Whence did I come? Whither shall I go? Is there a meaning to my life other than any meaning I choose to give it? What power governs my fate?"²

Morality is not only based on Christianity; it is rooted in the whole social nature of man.³ Morality has to do with human behaviour. Human behaviour is either good or bad. When good it is consistent with human

1. Mitchell, B., Morality: Religious and Secular: The Dilemma of the Traditional Conscience, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980) p.1.

2. MacIntyre, A., Secularization and Moral Change, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967) p.30.

3. Mitchell, B., op.cit., pp.98-99.

survival and the amelioration of life for all. Human morality is not inborn; it is shaped by our interaction with our environment. It can be learnt and taught irrespective of a religious base. It can be taught within the context of an introduction to the good human life, a set-up of customary good behaviour, as was the case in ATE. Teaching good human life entails enabling the child to become an active participant in the good human life. The teaching should help the child to make correct decisions in the field of human behaviour, and to this end religion is not a necessary pre-condition however much the religious basis of morality might be stretched. Indeed, linking morality to religion appears to undermine morality. If one links morality to religion, as in CRE, then should the child reject religion it is likely that with it also would go the religious based morality. Hence, the strength of the case for separating moral education from CRE. This, however, can only materialize if partisan interests gave way.¹

Religion - in this case Christianity - calls upon God, and His Will for its authority. This raises questions about self-authenticating authority or innate authority, and about authoritarianism - authority which appeals to nothing but itself, its own will or disclosure. This is despotic authority, which baffles for there is no cause, no explanation except remaining in power. However, while the determination to remain in power can change, it requires no indication of such change. The authoritarian person is right because the person says so. This raises further questions about authoritative authority which demands reasonable and substantive grounds for its justification such as experience, wisdom or use of legitimate power. Religious authority is thus far from authoritative and in this respect creates problems for the relationship between religion and morality which has implications for education

1. Atkinson, R. F., Conduct: An Introduction to Moral Philosophy, (London: MacMillan, 1969) p.107.

in the light of the ever-changing trends in Kenyan society. "Educationalists cannot make up their minds what they ought to be doing".¹ Tying morality to religion, as is often the case, creates problems; giving morality a religious sanction does not help the situation either.

2. Moral and Religious Education

In view of the controversy regarding the relationship between morality and religion it follows that the controversy about the link between moral and religious education arises from that of morality and religion. Either moral and religious education are to be inseparable areas of the curriculum or they are to be separate and distinct areas of study of the curriculum. This either-and-or situation is indicative of how controversial and inconclusive the issue of the relationship between moral and religious education is. This study maintains that in order to protect the child from adopting an authoritarian morality under the umbrella of CRE, moral education must be timetabled in its own right, on educational grounds. This would mean doing moral education without necessarily appealing to religious codes or values, even though moral education would similarly deal with beliefs, attitudes and issues of right and wrong. The point is that beliefs, attitudes and right and wrong are not necessarily the same thing morally as they are religiously. Moral and religious education each has its own respective concepts, methodologies and procedures which are otherwise confused when moral education is taught as part of religious education. It means that the theory and practice of moral and religious education are not necessarily the same things.

Take, for example, Kohlberg's stage six individual. It does not follow that such a person could be simultaneously considered to be a religiously educated

1. Mitchell, B., op.cit., p.142.

individual.¹ An individual might have his moral vision informed by rich symbolic systems - i.e. religion, guiding one's view of life and actions - but that would not be the same thing as saying that the person is at the same time at stage six, for the religious, the personal and the moral are separate in the real sense. Religious issues are individual personal issues, separable from issues of persons in relation. Religious questions are related to the problem of integrity, separable from moral integrity, and to issues of integration and integrity in an individual's meaning of life and death.²

This becomes an either-or-situation. Either moral education would become a vehicle for religious education or moral education would have no bearing on religious education. The latter is untenable for moral education is concerned with everything that goes on in the school, and the point of timetabling it is to streamline and consolidate it. As to moral education being a vehicle for religious education this position is somewhat tenable on rational psychological and philosophical grounds. Kohlberg asserts,

...that faith is grounded on moral reason because moral reason 'requires' faith rather than that moral reason is grounded on faith....Universal moral principles cannot be derived from faith because not all men's faith is, or can be, the same. 3

It is not that CRE might not be capable of playing a part in moral development, but rather that religious education's primary purpose is not to develop moral character but to develop religious beliefs and sentiments. This requires the teaching of both the moral and theological aspects of these religious beliefs and sentiments, because all religions stress a religious code. Religious education helps a child to make its religious-moral beliefs and

1. Fowler, J., "Stage Six and the Kingdom of God", Religious Education, 75 (May-June, 1980) 3, pp.231-248.

2. Sullivan, E. V., op.cit., p.35.

3. Kohlberg, L., "Education, Moral Development and Faith", Journal of Moral Education, 4 (1974) 1, p.14.

sentiments an integrated unit, not formulate its basic moral codes outside a religious basis.¹ This position does not, however, mean that the controversy as to the relationship between moral and religious education is finally settled. Which codes, moral or religious, would govern an individual's life might depend on how the individual resolves such questions as, why be moral? Why be religious? Why be both moral and religious? What is the purpose of living? Nevertheless, whatever answer an individual will arrive at will depend on the influences brought to bear by the family, school and society as a whole.

The question is whether CRE should continue to be a stepping stone to moral education, on the grounds that religion is more equal than morality, so that moral education cannot be separated from religious education, although the latter's influence on the child's moral growth may either be negligible or simply a matter of inference or tradition. The result of this position has been to dwarf the theory and practice of both subjects, with religious education being in disrepute on a result count. The two subjects have, therefore, separately to be given an opportunity to develop their respective methods and techniques in the interest of the young people. The purposes, the contents and the methodologies of moral and religious education ought to be distinguished from one another.

This study has argued that moral education should be separated from CRE, and that the cognitive developmental model of moral education should be incorporated within it in Kenya, this being close to ATE in important respects. This model has a good theoretical basis, which is continually being developed. This approach gives CRE curriculum developers and teachers of moral education plenty of material to work with. Nevertheless, this should not simply be a matter of transplanting the results of research done elsewhere. It will mean doing research on moral development and moral education in Kenya.

1. Kohlberg, L., "Moral and Religious Education and the Public Schools: A Developmental View", Sizer, T., (Ed.), Religion and Public Education, (Boston: Houghton - Mifflin, 1967), p.181.

3. Conclusions

In this assessment of the evolution and operation of the Western Missionary Ideology in Kenya the argument reaches these conclusions:

- i) CRE does not enhance good citizenship, character development and acceptable moral standards. CRE does not prepare young people to take their places in Kenyan society.
- ii) The contribution of CRE can be seen in terms of faith development, conversion to Christianity and providing a vehicle for indoctrination to western moral values.
- iii) The children's own African up-bringing is an important contributing factor to good citizenship, character building and the development of acceptable moral standards. It prepares them to take their place in Kenyan society.
- iv) A recognition of the value of ATE would contribute to a more acceptable religious education for Kenya.
- v) Moral education should be separated from CRE in the school curriculum.
- vi) Moral education in Kenya should be based on the model derived from the developmental foundations offered by Piaget and Kohlberg.

APPENDIX 1

MISSION SCHOOLS UP TO 1910

Name of School	Year of found- ation	Mission
1. CMS, Rabai	1847	CMS
2. United Methodist, Ribe	1862	United Methodist
3. CMS, Freretown	1875	CMS
4. Mudrassa Burhania (MSA)	1877	(Asian)
5. Roman Catholic, Bura	1892	RCM (Holy Ghost)
6. United Methodist, Mazeras	1894	United Methodists
7. Kangundo School	1896	Africa Inland Mission
8. Buxton School, Mombasa	1897	CMS
9. Church of Scotland Mission, 1898 Kikuyu		Church of Scotland Mission
10. CMS, Kabete	1900	CMS
11. St. Austin's, Nairobi	1900	RCM (Holy Ghost)
12. Gospel Mission, Gendia	1901	Gospel Mission
13. All Saints, Kiambu	1902	RCM (Holy Ghost)
14. Roman Catholic, Nyeri	1903	RCM (Consolata)
15. Africa Inland M., Kijabe	1903	Africa Inland Mission
16. Africa Inland Mission, Machakos	1903	Africa Inland Mission
17. CMS Dabida	1904	CMS
18. CMS Waithega	1904	CMS
19. Roman Catholic, Kibuye	1904	RCM (Mill Hill)
20. Roman Catholic, Mumias	1905	RCM (Mill Hill)
21. Roman Catholic, Limuru	1904	RCM (Consolata)
22. Lumbwa Industrial Mission	1905	Seventh Day Adventists
23. Church of God, Bunyore	1905	Church of God
24. Lirhanda Mission	1905	Friends Africa Mission
25. CMS Maseno	1906	CMS
26. Roman Catholic, Mangu	1906	RCM (Holy Ghost)
27. St. Teresa's Convent, Nairobi	1906	RCM (Holy Ghost)
28. Roman Catholic, Kakamega	1906	RCM (Mill Hill)
29. Gospel Mission, Kambui	1906	Gospel Mission
30. Roman Catholic, Mugoiri	1907	RCM (Mill Hill)

31.	St.John's, Riruta	1909	RCM (Holy Ghost)
32.	Church of Scotland, Tumutumu	1909	Church of Scotland Mission
33.	Seventh Day Adventist, Gendia	1909	Seventh Day Adventist
34.	CMS, Embu	1910	CMS
35.	Roman Catholic, Fort Hall	1910	RCM (Consolata)

Source: Osogo, J.H.B., loc.cit. pp.116-117.

APPENDIX 2

CONSTITUTION
of
Conference of Missionary Societies
in Great Britain and Ireland

- (1) The Conference shall be called "The Conference of Missionary Societies in Great Britain and Ireland".
- (2) The Conference is an association of Missionary Societies for the more effective furtherance of the propagation of the Gospel overseas. It provides means for consultation among the Societies; for co-operation and joint action in such ways as may be deemed advisable and for the maintenance of contact with similar bodies in other countries.
- (3) Societies and Boards which administer funds and send out missionaries for the propagation of the Gospel amongst people not professing the Christian religion and for the support of the younger churches shall be eligible for membership.
- (4) Auxiliaries of Missionary Societies merely raising funds for transmission to the headquarters of the Societies shall not have separate representation.
- (5) The membership of the Annual Meeting of the Conference shall be in accordance with Standing Orders.
- (6) The Annual Meeting shall appoint a Standing Committee of 42 persons (together with the Secretaries and Treasurer of the Conference and the British Secretary of the International Missionary Council) which shall be responsible between the annual meetings of the Conference for the conduct of the general business of the Conference (including finance), and shall act as its executive authority. The Chairmen of the Far East, India, Africa, West Indies and Home Base Committees shall be members ex officio. One member of the Committee shall be representative of the Executive of the British Council of Churches and shall be nominated by its Executive Committee and appointed by the Conference. One-third of the members of Standing Committee shall retire each year, but shall be eligible for re-election except as stated below. Six members of the Committee shall be representatives of the youth work of the Societies, two such members retiring each year.
- (7) The Standing Committee shall ordinarily meet four times each year, but an emergency meeting may be summoned by the Chairman and Secretaries. The quorum at meetings of Standing Committee shall be 10 not including the Officers.
- (8) The contributions of the Societies to the Conference funds shall be decided by the Conference from time to time in accordance with the Standing Orders relating thereto. The contributions of the Specially Admitted Societies shall be similarly fixed.
- (9) The annual meeting of the Conference shall have power on the recommendation of Standing Committee, and in accordance with Standing Orders, to admit to membership of the Conference, Societies that are not entitled to membership under the above rules.

(10) The annual meeting shall, on the recommendation of Standing Committee, make such Standing Orders as may be necessary.

(11) The Officers of the Conference shall be the Chairman of Standing Committee, the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Annual Meeting, the Hon. Treasurer and Secretaries, these being appointed by the Conference on the recommendation of the Standing Committee.

(12) The Conference shall appoint annually on the recommendation of Nominations Committee such area or functional committees as are required. They shall have executive power in matters relating to their own areas or spheres of work. All matters of general policy, however, shall be referred to the Standing Committee and no public pronouncements on such matters shall be made by Committees of the Conference without the approval of the Standing Committee or such body as may be appointed by the Committee for this purpose. The Chairmen of Area and Functional Committees shall be appointed by the Standing Committee on the recommendation of the Nominations Committee after consultation with the Committee concerned. One-third of the members of the area and functional Committees shall retire annually but shall be eligible for re-election except as hereinafter stated.

(13) The Chairmen of Standing Committee and of all Area and functional Committees shall be appointed for a consecutive period of not more than three years

(14) Members who have served for two terms (six years) on a Committee may not be re-elected to that Committee until an interval of one year has elapsed; but the Nominations Committee has power at its discretion to recommend special exceptions.

(15) The Accounts of the Conference shall be made up annually to the 31st December and presented to the Annual Meeting after audit by a firm of Chartered Accountants.

(16) Changes in the Constitution shall be made by the Annual Conference on the recommendation of Standing Committee, to whom the changes proposed must be submitted not less than three months previous to the Annual Conference.

STANDING ORDERS

(1) The representation of Societies at the Annual Meeting shall be on the basis of the Societies' annual income calculated as described in Standing Order (2) as follows:

£5,000	1 representative
£25,000	2 representatives

and one additional representative for every additional £25,000.

(2) The contributions from Societies referred to in Standing Order (1) shall be calculated on the yearly average of the income received at home (as shown in the last three published accounts) for the propagation of the Gospel amongst people not professing the Christian religion and for the support of the younger Churches. In order to estimate revenue in advance, the three years' average is applicable to Societies' contributions two years ahead. (NOTE - Income received at home is understood to include all contributions received at or

accounted for to headquarters, whether from the British Isles or elsewhere, and also all legacies, dividends and net rents, brought into the income of the year. Income raised in countries where there is a Christian Council related and contributing to the International Missionary Council is, however, to be excluded.)

(3) The following Societies and Organizations not entitled to representation under Standing Order (1) shall be allowed to send one representative each:

Boys' Brigade
British Syrian Mission
Colonial Missionary Society
Community of the Resurrection
Community of St. Mary the Virgin, Wantage.
Dublin United Missionary Council
Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society
Missionary Council of the National Assembly of the
Church of England
National Laymen's Missionary Movement
Nurses Christian Movement
Presbyterian Church in Ireland Jewish Mission
Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
Society of the Sacred Mission
Society of St. John the Evangelist
Student Christian Movement (allowed two representatives,
one man, one woman)
United Society for Christian Literature
United Council for Missionary Education
World Dominion Movement
World's Evangelical Alliance
World's Sunday School Association
Young Women's Christian Association

The Standing Committee shall revise the above list every three years. Such Societies shall make an annual contribution to be fixed by the Conference from time to time.

(4) The Standing Committee shall have power to invite other persons whose presence they judge to be desirable to attend the Conference or any meeting thereof, as full members or visitors. The number of full members so invited shall not exceed 15.

(5) The Secretaryship of all Conference Committees shall be primarily the responsibility of the Conference Secretaries but secretarial help for particular Committees from those with special knowledge, either officers in Edinburgh House or others, may be arranged by the Conference Secretaries with the approval of the Standing Committee.

Source: Report for the Year 1945-1946 (London: Edinburgh House) pp.71-74.

APPENDIX 3

EDUCATION: A STATEMENT BY THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN KENYA

PREAMBLE: Education is the process of a child's mental, physical and spiritual development to the full stature of manhood which prepares him to take his place as an individual and as a member of society in this world and in the world to come. It begins the moment the child is born and includes both the informal - though vitally important - instruction in the home and the formal teaching of school or college and continues throughout life.

RIGHTS OF PARENTS: We believe that the primary responsibility for the education of children lies with their parents within the framework of the family. Parents have the obligation to educate their children to the best of their ability and thus prepare them for life. Wilful neglect in this matter is a crime against nature and society. Nowadays it is recognised that the family cannot normally make the extensive provision necessary for the education of its children. God has established both Church and State for the spiritual and temporal well-being of mankind and to these parents must turn for aid in their children's education. While seeking such assistance the parents do not thereby escape their own responsibilities and rights. They have a duty to ensure that the education given is in accordance with their convictions and that teachers acting in place of them are fit persons for the task (for it is the teacher that makes the school and it is his training and his religion that makes the teacher). It follows that parents must be accorded the right to choose the school their children will attend.

THE CHURCH: The Church has a divine mandate to teach all men and has inalienable rights in the education of her children. She is concerned not only with faith and morals but also with the whole of man's life since all human actions have an inevitable bearing on God's purpose for man. By its nature and mission the Church is committed to education as the search for truth and the process by which man comes to maturity and responsible participation in society.

THE STATE: The church recognises the State under God has responsibility to ensure that adequate facilities are provided for the education of all its children and its young people and indeed all its citizens.

Governments have responsibility to help to set and maintain standards at all levels to provide necessary professional supervision and to ensure that provision is made for moral and religious instruction in all schools.

BASIC RIGHT TO FULL EDUCATION: In education the Church has a common concern with men of any religion and with the State itself. While retaining our responsibility to ensure that our members have full opportunity for a truly Christian education, we seek to co-operate with and give all possible assistance to the State to ensure that every child irrespective of race or religion, receives a good and full education. This basic human right to education we believe must be fulfilled in the development of body, mind and spirit which implies more than formal religious instruction. The atmosphere and environment in which the child grows up the example of his parents and teachers, influence of his fellow pupils, the standards of discipline and the motives for them are even more important. The welfare of the State itself depends not only on the economic and material progress but on

the development of citizens with skill, knowledge and integrity of character. Schools provided by the State should not deny to any child the opportunity for education in a religious environment given by teachers in tune with the convictions of his parents. Opportunities for religious instruction and worship should be offered and we urge that care be taken to avoid in any subject the use of text-books which might conflict with religious susceptibilities.

CONTINUING Now that the task of building a nation is being undertaken by a
SERVICE OF Government of the people themselves, the Churches as voluntary
THE CHURCH: associations of citizens wish to make their maximum contribution.
We would work for mutual understanding and unity within a national system of public schools respecting the rights of non-Christian parents. As the State takes over more and more responsibility for the administration of schools the position of the Church in educational matters must be safeguarded to ensure that she can carry out her divine commission and give service of the highest quality. When the people so wish the resources of the Churches should be used for school management. The Churches convinced of the vital importance of the teacher, would wish to continue to make a significant contribution through recruitment training and continuing encouragement of teachers of high professional standards and personal integrity. For this it is necessary to continue our work in teaching training in institutions wherein this total approach to the education of the whole person can be experienced by the students and expressed in the training given. Bearing in mind our long accumulated experience in education in Kenya we want to be able to place at the service of the state the further service of our teaching staff and to have our members participation on education committees concerned with planning, policy and professional research. We would reserve our rights to establish private schools for our own children and for such others may wish to attend them.

CONCLUSION: In Kenya today an educational system closely adapted to the changed circumstances and needs of the country must be worked out; such a system would take into account the best traditions of the people. With all this the Church is in complete sympathy and pledges the fullest co-operation. Her concern is that the full religious development of her children be assured. The Church is convinced that educational systems without religion can bring only disaster whereas a system with religious foundations will be the greatest assurance of the well-being of the country.

Signed:

OBADIAH KARIUKI
Bishop of Fort Hall

JOHN JOSEPH McCARTHY
Archbishop of Nairobi

Chairman of the Christian
Churches Educational
Association.

Chairman of the Kenya
Episcopal Conference.

Nairobi, November, 1963.

APPENDIX 4

EXTRACTS FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF KENYA

- PROTECTION OF 78. (1) FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE
- (1) Except with his own consent, no person shall be hindered in the enjoyment of his freedom of conscience, and for the purpose of this section the said freedom includes freedom of thought and of religion, freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others, and both in public and in private to manifest and propagate his religion or belief in worship, teaching, practice and observance.
- (2) Every religious community shall be entitled, at its own expense, to establish and maintain places of education and to manage any place of education it wholly maintains; and no such community shall be prevented from providing religious instruction for persons of that community in the course of any education provided at any place of education which it wholly maintains or in the course of any education which it otherwise provides.
- (3) Except with his own consent (or, if he is a minor the consent of his guardian), no person attending any place of education shall be required to receive religious instruction or to take part in or attend any religious ceremony or observance if that instruction, ceremony or observance relates to a religion other than his own.
- (4) No person shall be compelled to take an oath which is contrary to his religion or belief or to take any oath in a manner which is contrary to his religion or belief.
- (5) Nothing contained in or done under the authority of any Law shall be held to be inconsistent with or in contravention of this section to the extent that the law in question makes provision which is reasonably required-
- (a) in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health or
 - (b) for the purpose of protecting the right and freedoms of other persons, including the right to observe and practice any religion without the unsolicited intervention of members of other religion,
- and except as far as that provision or, as the case may be the thing done under the authority thereof is shown not to be reasonably justifiable in a democratic society.
- (6) Reference in this section to a religion shall be construed as including references to a religious denomination, and cognate expressions shall be construed.

APPENDIX 5

CHRISTIAN CHURCHES' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

1. What is C.C.E.A.?

(a) A Bridge between:-

- (i) Member Churches (Protestant) and the Ministry of Education
- (ii) Member Institutions and the Ministry of Education

(b) The link is made in such activities with:

- (i) Teachers' Service Commission, for staffing affairs.
- (ii) The K.I.E.¹ for Syllabus and materials approval.
- (iii) The Inspectorate for Syllabus implementation and maintenance of Standards.

(c) As an Association of Churches and Institutions it depends on:

- (i) its Member Churches' support.
- (ii) its Member Institutions' subscriptions.
- (iii) its foreign friends and agencies for support of specified programmes.

2. How does C.C.E.A. Function?

(a) By managing its affairs through a council consisting of:

- | | | |
|--|---|----------------------------|
| (i) 10 Member Churches | } | 5 of each elected annually |
| (ii) 10 Member Institutions | | |
| (iii) The Officials: | | |
| A Chairman | | |
| The Secretary-General | | |
| A Treasurer and | | |
| The General Secretary of the N.C.C.K. ² | | |

(c) By daily executing its affairs in an Office with five members of staff namely:

- (i) Secretary-General
- (ii) The Curriculum Development Programme, Director/Secretary
- (iii) Two Secretaries
- (iv) One office Messenger.

(d) By constantly disseminating information and service to its member Churches and Institutions through:

- (i) letters and circulars
- (ii) bulletins and meetings in relation to education and development.

(e) By operating a Teachers' Lending Library for the purpose of:

- (i) making books available to member teachers
- (ii) promoting personal, spiritual and professional growth of member teachers.
- (iii) providing book lists and information to new members through contact with R.E.A.'s. 3

1. The Kenya Institute of Education.
 2. National Christian Council of Kenya.
 3. Religious Education Advisers.

- (f) By administering the Lois Bulley Bursary Scheme to:
 - (i) help needy girls in their education at any C.C.E.A. member institution-secondary schools in the country.
 - (ii) help needy girls who may be members of a member Church but in non-C.C.E.A. member institution on special merit.
 - (iii) carry out the stipulated wishes of the donor - Lois Bulley.

- (g) By co-ordinating the development of Curriculum materials for the teaching of C.R.E.¹ in all schools in the Republic through:
 - (i) the Department of Curriculum Development which operates through Committees and Panels.
 - (ii) The Joint Churches' Panels with the K.C.S. and S.D.A.²
 - (iii) the Ministry of Education's action arms of K.I.E. and the Inspectorate.
 - (iv) the field-officers of member Churches called R.E.A.'s

- (h) By acting in liaison with the Religious Education Advisers who are employed by many member churches and who seek to:
 - (i) improve the teaching of C.R.E. in schools.
 - (ii) make C.R.E. meaningful and effective by keeping constant contact with the teachers and pupils.
 - (iii) promote a strong Christian influence in the daily morning assembly programmes in schools.

3. How Do the C.C.E.A. and R.E.A.'s go about their task?

- (a) By Organizing and conducting in-service Courses for teachers to:
 - (i) introduce new Syllabuses and materials.
 - (ii) engage in an on-going process of implementation, to be done jointly.
 - (iii) consult with local authority (D.E.O's)³ and especially the Teachers' Advisory Centre,

- (b) By continually seeking ways to work with other R.E.A.'s of the area and even with their counterparts of the K.C.S.⁴ and R.E.Directors.

- (c) By attending and fully participating at the C.C.E.A. sponsored Annual Conference where the R.E.A.'s:
 - (i) come together to share ideas.
 - (ii) discuss their work.
 - (iii) Express their concerns and expectations.

- (d) By constantly preparing themselves in:
 - (i) reading and interpreting current events
 - (ii) taking part in courses designed to equip them in their field work.

1. Christian Religious Education
2. Seventh Day Adventist
3. District Education Officers
4. Kenya Catholic Secretariat

4. Why does the C.C.E.A. Exist at all?

- | | | |
|--------------------|---|---|
| (a) To Co-ordinate |) | with the Ministry of Education, other
religious groups and other organisations |
| (b) To Consult | } | |
| (c) To Co-operate | } | |

On behalf of its member churches and institutions regarding sponsorship, curriculum materials and recruitment of teachers.

Source: CCEA, Nairobi, 1980.

APPENDIX 6

MEMORANDUM TO THE HONORABLE MINISTER FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Preamble

We, the Church Sponsors of the Christian Churches' Educational Association and the Kenya Episcopal Conference would like to offer our most sincere thanks to you, for having accorded us this opportunity to meet with you.

For many years, the Christian Churches in Kenya, have been actively engaged in the field of education. Before Kenya's Independence in 1963, the respective Churches set up and ran many schools in both urban and rural areas. Indeed they were the direct managers of these schools, thus employing and supervising teachers, admitting children, etc. These were called Mission Schools.

After Independence it was found that that kind of arrangement was probably not the best. And so the Government and the Churches, after careful deliberation, in the spirit of mutual understanding and respect, introduced and agreed upon a new "Education Act", and in accordance with this Act, the Churches would remain as Sponsors of their already existing schools, and when a new school is opened, the Church which had built it would be the Sponsor. In cases of dispute the parents of the school would decide.

So to date, we the Christian Churches are de facto sponsors of our schools, although the Ministry exercises all other administrative powers.

The Education Act has been in existence for 12 years and has been the acceptable basis for a fruitful partnership between the government and the churches. Perhaps it is now time to do some evaluation and to suggest ways to improve its practical implementation.

We are particularly concerned with the teaching of Christian Religious Education in schools. Parents are complaining to us that Religious Education is not being taught well and that is why the moral standards are dropping here and there. Parents are also complaining to us of the quality of the teachers confronting their children in the classroom. We feel therefore that the selection and preparation of teachers is of paramount importance. And therefore request that due emphasis be laid on the personal integrity of the student teachers. The danger is that we may end up by having a Godless people, who will show no respect to anyone. The Churches would pledge complete support to any measures introduced towards improving the quality of life in schools.

The Churches pledge complete support to you and to the Government. We will happily work towards the strengthening of our partnership in the field of education.

1.0 PARTNERSHIP: GENERAL POLICY

Sponsorship

- 1.1 - The Education Act provides that the Churches are the Sponsors of Schools which they were managing before the Act and new schools they have set up since; or of schools whose parents have decided to have a church as sponsor.
- 1.2 - The Regulations that implement the Education Act also provide that the Sponsor has the right to visit schools, to satisfy himself that Religious Education is taught in accordance with the wishes of the parents, and also that the traditions of the church are continued (where applicable).
- 1.3 - The Act also provides that the Head Teacher of a Sponsored School shall be appointed in consultation with the Sponsor.
- 1.4 - We propose that the role, rights and status of the Sponsor be recognised and implemented, not only at Ministerial level but also by provincial, district and divisional officers, who at times seem to ignore the Act completely.
- 1.5 - Supply of Religious Education Teachers
The number of teachers qualified to teach examinable Religious Education needs to be increased.
- 1.6 - The Churches will undertake to encourage their young members to consider this as a career for a Christian vocation.
- 1.7 - We ask the Minister:
(i) To provide a career structure for R.E. specialists with equal opportunity for promotion with other subject teachers to the highest posts;
(ii) to emphasise the importance of this subject for nation-building by circular and public announcement;
(iii) to improve the allocation of qualified teachers to schools where their qualification(s) in Religious Education will be used.
- 1.8 - The M.Ed. (P.T.E.) qualification by Kenyatta University College does not include the study of Religious Education although all Teacher Training Colleges must teach it. Could the Minister please request Kenyatta University College to make provision for Religious Education in the M.Ed. (P.T.E.) degree?

Non-Examinable Religious Education

- 1.9 - In keeping with the provisions of the Education Act (1968) we request that non-examinable Religious Education be given to all students in Forms 1 - 6.
- 1.10 - Some implications of introducing non-examinable Religious Education into the curriculum would be:

- (i) All student teachers would require to study a course at college to equip them for this task;
- (ii) In-service courses for trained teachers would be required in a joint effort by both the Churches and the Ministry;
- (iii) The Churches, in conjunction with the Ministry, would produce both a syllabus and a teachers' Guide;
- (iv) Most teachers would be involved in teaching such a course, since the number of specialists is too limited, and will remain so for some years.

Education Secretaries and Religious Education Advisers

- 1.11 - The Churches have appointed Education Secretaries and Religious Education Advisers who represent the Sponsor in matters of Education.
- 1.12 - We propose to you that these Education Secretaries and Religious Education Advisers be respected and recognised both by Government Officers and by Boards of Governors.

Communication

- 1.13 - To strengthen our partnership, we feel that lines of communication between the Ministry and the Sponsors be improved.
- 1.14 - We propose that a definite machinery to facilitate the said communication be now established, and that both partners respect the machinery and use it.
- 1.15 - Some time back, the previous Minister for Education, the Hon. T. Toweett, established a Consultation Committee between the Ministry and the Sponsors. Mr. Leting was the Chairman of this Committee. Due to the changes which took place last year this Committee has not met for a long time now.
- 1.16 - We propose that this Committee be revitalised and that the conclusions and decisions reached be taken seriously by both parties. We feel that this Committee will go a long way towards the strengthening of our partnership.

Gachathi Report

- 1.17 - The Kenya Episcopal Conference and C.C.E.A. both issued statements containing their reactions to the Gachathi Report. We attach copies of them.
- 1.18 - We would appreciate clarification of your intentions regarding the implementation of the various recommendations of this Report.

2.0 SPONSORSHIP AND BOARDS OF GOVERNORS

- 2.1 The relationship between the Church Sponsors and Boards of Governors is a vital area in partnership. It is a vital area particularly for sponsored secondary schools receiving Government aid. These are schools which owe their existence to co-operation between a Church Sponsor, the local community, parents, and the Ministry of Education. If the Church Sponsors are to continue to play an effective role in this partnership, they must be given the ways and means to do so. We are very willing to strengthen our co-operation with the Ministry of Education and the local community through these Boards.
- 2.2 The Education Act 1968 has very little to say about Boards of Governors and subsequent regulations have been interpreted and applied differently in different places. We wish to refer to several problems which have arisen in practice.
- 2.3 In some places the Church Sponsor is not effectively involved, or is even ignored, in the appointment of the Chairman of the Board.
- 2.4 There are cases where the procedure for the appointment of members of the Boards of Governors is unsatisfactory.
- 2.5 In some cases non-members of the Boards are invited to meetings and exert undue influence on decisions.
- 2.6 Problems have also arisen in the exercise of their functions by Boards of Governors, as follows:-
- (1) It is not clear who is the manager of an assisted Harambee school with a Board of Governors.
 - (2) Sometimes schools have been removed from the control of a sponsor through deregistration without notice and handed over to another sponsor. Moreover, it is not clear if a sponsor can apply to deregister a sponsored school.
 - (3) It has happened that a Harambee School has been transferred to a Board of Governors without due consultation with the sponsor.
 - (4) The procedure for handing over Mission land to a Board of Governors is not clear. We recommend that adequate compensation should be paid to a Mission where land belonging to the Mission is taken over by a Board of Governors. The same holds true for buildings or other property.
- 2.7 In view of the foregoing problems, we feel that if partnership between Church Sponsors and the Government is to be effective, changes need to be made in the regulations concerning the relationships of Boards of Governors to Church Sponsors, specifically in matters concerning -
- (1) the selection and appointment of the Chairmen of Boards of Governors, who should be nominated by the sponsor and appointed by the Minister;
 - (2) the selection and appointment of the members of Boards of Governors;

- (3) the management of assisted Harambee Schools;
- (4) the deregistration and transfer of sponsored secondary schools;
- (5) the transfer of Church land and property to Boards of Governors and compensation for such land and property handed over to Boards of Governors.

2.8 To this end we would propose the appointment of a senior official of the Ministry, responsible to the Minister, to be primarily concerned with all matters pertaining to the role, rights and status of sponsors, and that a similar responsible officer be appointed to each Province.

3.0 SPONSORSHIP AND THE STAFFING OF SCHOOLS

- 3.1 We feel that, if the Church Sponsors are to exercise their role effectively in partnership with the Government, the staffing of sponsored schools is an important area in which the sponsors should be actively involved.
- 3.2 There is some dissatisfaction with the present practices of the Teachers' Service Commission in relation to Church Sponsors. The practices referred to concern the appointment and transfer of Head Teachers and teaching staff in sponsored secondary schools. We feel that staffing is particularly important for the tradition of the school and particularly for the teaching of Religious Education.
- 3.3 It has been found that frequently the Teachers' Service Commission has just not consulted the sponsors about the appointment of Head Teachers and teaching staff in sponsored secondary schools. It has happened that other bodies such as KNUT were consulted but not the sponsors.
- 3.4 Teachers qualifying in Religious Education at Kenyatta University College are sometimes not posted to schools where their expertise is required.
- 3.5 There have sometimes been problems concerning the secondment and transfer of Church personnel in sponsored secondary schools.
- 3.6 We propose, therefore, that adequate procedures and structures need to be established for the effective consultation of Church Sponsor by the T.S.C. in the appointment, transfer, and secondment of Head Teachers and teaching staff in sponsored secondary schools.
- 3.7 To this end we request that a Senior Officer in T.S.C. (Higher Education) should be appointed by the Minister to deal with staffing and other matters related to the sponsors. We suggest that the Church Sponsors nominate to the Minister experienced personnel, one of whom would be appointed to this post.

4.0 SPONSORS AND ADMINISTRATION AT PROVINCIAL LEVEL

- 4.1 Most of the problems at this level arise through lack of consultation between provincial officers and sponsors, e.g. interference in the intake of students to private schools; directives to increase the number of streams without consultation.

- 4.2 We propose, therefore, (vide Section 2) that a senior official be designated by the Minister, in co-operation with the Provincial Education Officer, to liaise directly with the sponsors in each province.
- 4.3 Further, we request that all circulars relevant to the work of sponsors be sent to them by this officer.
- 4.4 To promote the smooth working of such a system the Churches undertake to co-ordinate their work as sponsors, through full-time Education Secretaries, with the requisite qualification and we request the Minister to consider supporting them financially.

5.0 SPONSORS AND ADMINISTRATION: SCHOOL LEVEL

At the school level, there are problems related to non-examinable R.E., examinable R.E., and the quality of life in the school.

- 5.1 Where a Christian teacher is not available to teach Religious Education, allowance should be made for a qualified Christian from outside the school staff to teach the subject.
- 5.2 Provision should be made for a prayer service for all students at least once per week at the start of a school day.
- 5.3 All students should be free to attend denominational worship, either within or without the school premises, on the Lord's Day.
- 5.4 Training of counsellors (dealing with personal and spiritual problems of students) should be initiated by the Ministry, in co-operation with the Churches, with a view to providing such a counsellor to each secondary school.
- 5.5 Every secondary school should have a chaplain.
- 5.6 Non-examinable R.E. should be available to all students in the school.
- 5.7 Where there is a viable group of students wishing to take examinable R.E. it should be provided.

Christian Churches' Educational
Association

Kenya Episcopal Conference

October, 1980

APPENDIX 7

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCHES' EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION
P.O.Box 54701, Nairobi

A MEMORANDUM PREPARED FOR SUBMISSION TO THE MINISTRY OF BASIC EDUCATION FOR
CONSIDERATION AT A MEETING TO BE HELD BETWEEN THE MINISTRY AND SPONSORS OF
PRIMARY SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS' COLLEGES

1. PREAMBLE

The member Churches of the Christian Churches' Educational Association (CCEA) were, before and after the attainment of Kenya's independence, managers of schools and Teachers' Colleges throughout this country. In 1968 they accepted to transfer, in accordance with Section 7 of the Education Act, the management of well over 2,600 primary schools to 30 different local authorities throughout the Republic. The Member Churches were thereafter, in accordance with Section 8 of the same Act, appointed sponsors of the schools previously managed by them. The Member Churches of C.C.E.A. which sponsor schools in this are:-

(1) The Church of the Province of Kenya's Bishops:

- (a) The Most Reverend Manasses Kuria,
Archbishop of the Province,
P.O.Box 40502, Nairobi.
- (b) The Rt.Rev.Dr.H.Okullu,
Bishop of the Diocese of Maseno South,
P.O.Box 114, Kisumu.
- (c) The Rt.Rev.James I.Mundia,
Bishop of the Diocese of Maseno North,
P.O.Box 416, Kakamega.
- (d) The Rt.Rev.Dedan K.Mbiu,
Bishop of the Diocese of Nakuru,
P.O.Box 56, Nakuru.
- (e) The Rt.Rev. Sospeter Magua,
Bishop of the Diocese of Mount Kenya South,
P.O.Box 212, Murang'a.
- (f) The Rt.Rev.David M.Gitari,
Bishop of the Diocese of Mount Kenya East,
P.O.Box 189, Embu.
- (g) The Rt.Rev.C.Nzano,
Bishop of the Diocese of Mombasa,
P.O.Box 80072, Mombasa.

(2) Methodist Church in Kenya:

Bishop Johana Mbogori,
P.O.Box 47633, Nairobi.

(3) Africa Inland Church

Bishop Ezekiel Birech,
P.O.Box 45019, Nairobi.

- (4) Presbyterian Church of East Africa
 - (b) The Rt.Rev.John G.Gatu
Moderator,
P.O.Box 48268, Nairobi.
 - (b) The Rev.Bernard Muindi,
General Secretary,
P.O.Box 48268, Nairobi.
- (5) The East Africa Yearly Meeting of Friends (EAYM)
Mr. Thomas G.Lung'aho,
General Secretary,
P.O.Box 35, Tiriki.
- (6) The Pentecostal Assemblies of God
 - (a) The Rev.Shem Irangi,
General Superintendent,
P.O.Box 671, Kisumu.
 - (b) The Rev.Mark E.Kidula,
General Secretary,
P.O.Box 671, Kisumu.
- (7) The Lutheran Church of Kenya
The Rev.John M.Kururia,
Chairman,
P.O.Box 874, Kisii
- (8) The Africa Gospel Church
The Rev.Jonah Cheseng'eny,
Moderator,
P.O.Box 458, Kericho
- (9) The Reformed Church of East Africa
The Rev.J.M.Muttai,
Secreary,
P.O.Box 2252, Eldoret
- (10) The Salvation Army
Commissioner J.Ngugi,
Territorial Commander,
P.O.Box 40575, Nairobi
- (11) National Independent Church of Africa
Bishop Willie Nyagah,
P.O.Box 182, Embu
- (12) African Christian Church and Schools
Mr.James Ngugi,
Dignatory,
P.O.Box 204, Maragua
- (13) African Brotherhood Church
Bishop N.K.Ngala
P.O.Box 32, Machakos

2. SPONSORSHIP RESPONSIBILITIES AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR SERVICE IN EDUCATION

These Churches were appointed sponsors of schools with the following responsibilities and opportunities for service to education:-

A. Preparation of Religious Education Materials

The Education Act states that syllabuses, books and teaching aids used for teaching religious education in schools shall be those prepared and recommended by the sponsors and approved by the Minister for Education.

Note: The C.C.E.A. Member Churches are preparing and publishing these materials jointly with the Kenya Catholic Secretariat (K.C.S.) for use in primary schools, high schools and Teachers Colleges. One of the main problems encountered throughout the country by the Members of the Association in preparing the materials is lack of adequate funds to enable them to secure the services of enough qualified staff to help them prepare these much needed materials.

We suggest that the Ministry of Basic Education consider and make annual grants to the Association for the employment of an additional qualified staff to help prepare and publish Religious Education materials for use in our Schools and Colleges.

B. Visits and Advice to Teachers of Religious Education

The Act says that the sponsors should have the right to enter schools to satisfy themselves that religious education is taught well and the teachers use the materials prepared and produced by the sponsors. These visits are made, on behalf of the Churches, by a team of Religious Education Advisers and Education Secretaries appointed and supported by them. They work happily with many of the Ministry's Field Officers.

Note: Many Churches have not appointed such workers due to lack of funds to support them. In areas where the Churches have appointed Education Secretaries or Religious Education Advisers, some of the Ministry's Field Officials treat them as intruders.

The C.C.E.A. suggests -

- (i) That the Ministry of Basic Education consider making annual grants to support at least one Education Secretary per Province to be the link between the Churches and the Ministry.
- (ii) That these Church workers in Education be recognised and accorded the respect and treatment due to them as they visit schools and give advice to pupils, students and teachers in matters concerning the teaching of Religious Education and moral values.

C. Use of School Facilities

The Act accords the Churches as sponsors of schools the right to use school facilities - buildings and others - free of charge when such facilities are not in use for school purposes, and after giving reasonable notice of their intention to do so.

Note: In some schools, the Heads are reluctant to allow the sponsors to exercise this right.

The C.C.E.A. requests the Ministry to advise School Heads to allow the sponsors to use such facilities as provided under the Act without undue pressure.

D. Posting of Teachers to Sponsored Schools

A provision is made under the Act for consultation with Sponsors on the assignment of teachers to sponsored schools. Although the Teachers Service Commission at the Headquarters is willing to co-operate with the Sponsors in this respect, many District Education Officers are not prepared to comply with this.

Note: The Members of the Association are concerned about the religious traditions of sponsored schools and do not wish to see them endangered by unsuitable assignments.

The Association suggests that the Sponsors or their representatives be consulted as much as possible before Head Teachers and Religious Education teachers are appointed and posted to sponsored schools.

E. Sponsors' Representation on Education Committees

(a) Staffing Sub-Committees

When the Management of primary schools was transferred to the local authorities, the then Ministry of Education wrote and sent our circulars directing such authorities to establish Postings Sub-Committees in every district.

Note: (i) The Association regrets to say that such committees do not exist any more. The assigning of teachers to schools is therefore done by the D.E.O.s alone without involving or consulting the sponsors.

(ii) The C.C.E.A. suggests that the Ministry re-establish District Staffing Committees to help advise the D.E.O.s on staffing matters particularly the assignment of new teachers to schools, appointment of Head Teachers, transfer of teachers, recruitment of untrained teachers and recommendation of candidates for Teacher Training.

(b) Primary School Committees

When the Primary School Committees' Regulations were established in 1968, the Legal Notice No. 104/1968, provided for three persons out of 9 to be nominated by the Sponsor to the School Committee of each sponsored school. When the Primary School Committees' Constitution was revised and the membership of the Committee increased, the number of the sponsors' representatives remained 3.

Note: We suggest that -

(i) The number of the sponsors' representatives on such committees be increased proportionately.

(ii) The Chairmen of sponsored Primary School Committees be nominated and appointed by the Churches sponsoring such schools.

(c) Establishment of New Primary Schools

It is requested that the initiative shown by the C.C.E.A. Member Churches in establishing new primary schools in the areas where such are needed be encouraged. Where such new schools are initiated and established by a church, the church concerned be appointed sponsor to the school in accordance with the Education Act so that the opportunities for service through sponsorship may also be extended to new schools.

3. PRIMARY SCHOOL CHAPELS

Some Member Churches of the Association are willing to put up chapels on Primary School compounds but the D.E.B.s offer no encouragement for such efforts. These chapels can be used by the schools from Monday - Saturday and by the local community on Sundays.

Note: The C.C.E.A. requests the Ministry to encourage the Sponsors if they wish to put up such chapels on Primary School compounds and to set aside small portions of school land for such purposes.

4. SECONDARY SCHOOLS ON PRIMARY SCHOOL GROUNDS

There is now scarcity of land for establishing new Secondary Schools. Some communities are now asking for the 12 acres of Primary School lands to be sub-divided into two halves so that 6 acres can be used for secondary school buildings.

Note: Could the Ministry make it easier so that the communities that have 12 or more acres for their Primary School may sub-divide the same for Secondary School purposes.

5. SCHOOL BUILDING FUNDS

In some places construction of Primary Schools is now at a standstill since the Presidential Directive that children should not be sent away from school if their parents have not paid school building funds. Some parents assume wrongly that the Government will build classrooms and have neglected their responsibilities. In some areas where the Harambee spirit is low there will be little development in the construction of school buildings. The Ministry should help by clarifying the Presidential Directive and give guidance on what should be done in areas where the communities seem to have neglected their responsibilities.

CONCLUSION

Finally, we would like to re-affirm here again, as we have done before, that it is still the wish of all the Members of the Christian Churches' Educational Association to continue to be of service to the Nation, the Religious Education teachers, and of service in pastoral care to all teachers who may seek and require it. Their concern in this matter has been, and still is, to seek better ways and means in which they can co-operate with the two Ministries of Education in setting and maintaining appreciable moral and academic standards in our schools and colleges.

(Richard O. Ondeng')
Secretary-General,
C.C.E.A.

APPENDIX 8

EXTRACTS FROM THE OMINDE REPORT 1964

Religion and National Unity

57. We turn now to consider the influence of religion on national unity. One possible misunderstanding must be disposed of at the outset. In Kenya, there is no question of the worship of the state taking the place of the worship of God, or of nationalism supplanting religion. The Constitution of Kenya very clearly establishes freedom of conscience and worship as being among the fundamental rights of Kenya citizenship. As we see it, therefore, the problem we have to consider is one that accepts the existence of different religions and denominations in Kenya as a given fact in the life of the nation.
58. We have been impressed not only by the extent of inter-denominational co-operation in the Protestant sections of the community that has arisen under the auspices of the Christian Churches' Educational Association, but also by the clear evidences of a spirit of partnership between Catholics and Protestants. Of the relations with Islam and the Hindu sects less can be said with certainty.
61. The assistance of the appropriate church can appropriately be drawn in to help with the religious content of school life, in particular, with religious instruction. We use the word 'church' here in a broad sense, to cover the principal organisation of any faith.
62. It is, we think, important to say that this religious surveillance, which we may term the work of sponsorship, should be the responsibility of an approved central organisation of the religious body concerned, and not of its local organ. The members of a local church or mosque will be brought in, with others, to serve on a school committee, which will advise the local authority in the general running of the school; but the responsibility for sponsorship, which is a more specialised aspect of the school involving, among other things, a share in the selection of suitable staff, is a separate and responsible function and should be discharged by the headquarters of the church. We envisage, for instance, that sponsorship will be provided on behalf of the Protestant Churches by the Christian Churches' Educational Association and on behalf of the Catholic Church by the several Roman dioceses. We strongly recommend the formation of a comparable Muslim body, based on Mombasa, to exercise the rights and duties of sponsorship in schools in the Muslim communities.
63. We come, now, to the difficult case of schools in mixed areas. We think that it should rest with the local authority to decide after due enquiry, whether, and if so in what manner, sponsorship should be provided. We already have good reason to believe that, where the mixture is Catholic and Protestant, the two branches of the Christian Church would be willing to co-operate to provide a joint sponsorship, in this way endeavouring to meet the respective religious needs of the two sections of children in the school. We hope that every

endeavour will be made to adapt the same principle, in suitable cases, to a joint Christian-Muslim sponsorship, though we grant that this will call for a special effort of honest co-operation on both sides to dispel any suspicions of proselytisation. Where no kind of sponsorship seems possible, the local authority may be obliged to meet the reasonable wishes of the parents by commissioning different teachers, who volunteer for the purpose, to give religious instruction to the groups of children involved. We advise, for reasons that will shortly become clear, against the practice, followed in some countries, of discharging the obligation to give religious instruction by allowing a right of entry to persons from outside the school who possess no qualifications as teachers. Finally, we insist on the legitimacy of the rights of those parents, to whom we have already referred, who do not wish their children to receive religious instruction. Where there are such children, schools must make alternative provision to enable them to receive a proper education during periods in which the other children are undergoing religious instruction.

64. The educational efficiency of the school must always be recognised as the primary concern. Finally, provision must be made to take account of possible changes in the religious outlook of the community served by a school. The existence, or absence, of sponsorship must not be regarded as an immutable factor in the life of the school, but as something that can be removed, or installed, where there is undeniable proof that such a change accords with the wishes of the parents.
67. Whatever may, or may not, prove possible in the secondary school, we welcome the broadening of the base represented by the proposed 'agreed syllabus' for the primary school which, we understand, is being sponsored by the Christian Churches' Educational Association, thus lifting religious instruction out of the cramping confines of purely sectarian teaching. Although, as far as we know, it has never yet been attempted in any country, we hope that some thought might even be given to the eventual evolution of a single Christian syllabus, sponsored jointly by Catholic and Protestant Churches.
69. We come, now, to the content and nature of religious instruction. Basically, it must be treated as an academic subject on educational lines. To make this clear, we feel that we must draw a distinction between the educational mission of church or mosque and the purpose of a school. A church (using this term to include all religious organisations) is primarily entrusted with the pastoral care of its members, the extension of membership to others and the instruction of those seeking membership. Accordingly, the educational mission is linked with conversion, an increase of faith and the exposition of doctrine. A school, on the other hand, is dedicated to growth - growth of mind, body and spirit. Salvation, in the specific religious sense, is not its purpose or concern.
71. We would consider any use of a public school for preselytising or propaganda purposes as inadmissible; on the other hand, however, every dedicated effort to bring about growth in knowledge and understanding, including the moral growth which religious instruction, if well given, can encourage, is, in our view, a welcome addition to any school syllabus.
72. It will be seen, therefore, that we do not see fit to recommend for Kenya the extreme secular solutions adopted in some other countries and that we wish to dissociate religious teaching in schools from the particular objectives of any church, and to apply to it the best that can be found in the way of modern educational principles and practice.

75. The general problem of lifting the standards of primary education is a problem affecting the Muslim areas as much as any other. It deserves the special and continuing interest and concern of the Ministry of Education and we suggest that, for this purpose, an inspector of schools should be appointed as an adviser, who is conversant not only with Kenya education, but with the nature of Islam in general, and of Islamic education in particular, as it is manifested among the various Muslim communities in Kenya. We consider that an understanding attitude towards the very distinct cultural patterns of these communities is essential to national unity in Kenya.
81. We have already hinted that it would be useful if a representative body of leading Muslims could be constituted and could exercise the role of 'sponsor' in schools serving Muslim populations.
82. One of the tasks that such a body could undertake is to set in motion the preparation of an agreed syllabus of Muslim religious instruction for primary schools.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

- | | Paragraph |
|--|-----------|
| 12. A purely secular system of schools, at the present time, would be unacceptable and impracticable in Kenya. | 59 |
| 13. Where parents in general desire that a school should be under a particular religious influence, this wish should be respected. This religious 'sponsorship' by a church should be exercised by a responsible central organisation of the church. We recommend the formation of a Muslim body for such a purpose, comparable to existing Christian bodies. | 60-62 |
| 14. It should be the duty of the local authority to decide whether and how sponsorship should be provided for a primary school. Mixed sponsorship should be encouraged where practicable. Where sponsorship is inappropriate, the local authority should meet reasonable demands for religious instruction through the regular staff of the school and not by according rights of entry to unqualified persons. Rights of parents not wishing religious instruction for their children must be scrupulously respected. | 63 |
| 15. Introductory study of various religious systems should be considered in due course at the secondary stage. | 66 |
| 16. We welcome the proposed 'agreed syllabus' of religious instruction for Protestant schools and suggest eventual consideration of a single Christian syllabus. We do not consider a single syllabus of 'ethics' practicable. | 67-68 |
| 17. Religious instruction should be handled as an academic subject on educational lines, dissociated from the sectarian objectives of any church. | 69-72 |
| 18. The new united training college in the Coast Region should specialise, among other things, in the educational problems of Muslim communities. | 80 |
| 19. We hope, that a body of leading Muslims could be found to 'sponsor' schools in Muslim areas and work with the new training college in promoting the preparation of an 'agreed syllabus' of Muslim religious instruction. | 81-82 |
| 20. The intervention of madrassas in secular education should be controlled under the terms of section 56 of the Education Act, with a view to their eventual exclusion from participation in secular education. | |

APPENDIX 9

EXTRACTS FROM THE EDUCATION ACT 1968

Part III - Management of Schools

- (7) (1) The Manager of every primary school maintained but not managed by a local authority before the commencement of this Act shall within six months of such commencement choose either -
- (a) to transfer the management of the school to that local authority, which shall thereafter manage and maintain the school (hereinafter called a transferred school) or
 - (b) to continue to maintain the school as an unaided school.
- (8) (1) Where a transferred school was managed by a church or organization of churches, and it is the wish of the community served by the school that the religious traditions of the school should be respected, the former manager shall be appointed by the local authority to serve as the sponsor to the school.
- (3) Where the former manager of a transferred school has been appointed by the local authority to serve as the sponsor to the school -
- (a) the Teachers' Service Commission, or any agent of Teachers' Service Commission responsible for the assignment of teachers to schools on behalf of the Teachers' Service Commission, shall assign teachers to the school after consultation with, and so far as may be compatible with the maintenance of proper educational standards at the school and the economical use of public funds, with the agreement of the sponsor;
 - (b) the sponsor shall have the right to use the school buildings free of charge, when the buildings are not in use for school purpose, after giving reasonable notice of his intention to do so to the Headmaster of the school:

Provided that any additional expenses and the cost of making good any damage incurred during or in consequence of the sponsor using the buildings shall be defrayed by the sponsor; and
 - (c) religious instruction shall be given at the school in conformity with a syllabus prepared or approved under regulations made under Section 19 of this Act after consultation with the sponsor.
- (4) In determining what are the wishes of the community served by a school, the local authority or the Ministry shall give due weight to the wishes of the parents of the children at the school.

Part V - Inspection and Control of Schools.

- (19) The Minister may make regulations with respect to the conduct and management of schools and such regulations may -
- (b) provide for the preparation or approval of curriculae, syllabus, books and other educational materials.

Part VIII - Miscellaneous

26. (1) If the parent of a pupil at a public school requests that the pupil be wholly or partly excused from attending religious worship, or religious worship and religious instruction in the school, the pupils shall be excused such attendance until the request is withdrawn.
- (2) Where the parent of a pupil at a public school wishes the pupil to attend religious worship or religious instruction of a kind which is not provided in the school, the school shall provide such facilities as may be practicable for the pupil to receive religious instruction and religious worship of the kind desired by the parent.

REGULATIONS MADE UNDER THE EDUCATION ACT 1968

Education (School Committees) Regulations 1968

2. (I) Every school committee established by local authority for a primary school under Section 9 (I) of the Act shall consist of the following members appointed by the local authority -
- (a) three persons appointed by the local authority who need not be councillors of the local authority;
 - (b) three persons nominated by the parents served by the school; and
 - (c) three persons nominated by the sponsor to the school where a sponsor has been appointed under Section 8 (I) of the Act, or where a school has no sponsor, three persons appointed by the local authority from among persons dedicated and experienced in the field of Education.
- (1) (I) The function of the Committee shall be -
- (a) in respect of a sponsored school to maintain the religious traditions of the school;

THE EDUCATION (EDUCATION STANDARDS) REGULATIONS 1968

Curriculum, Syllabuses and Books

5. The curriculum of a school, the syllabuses used in any school and the books or other teaching aids used in connection with such syllabuses, shall be such as the Minister is willing to approve; but in a sponsored school syllabuses books and other teaching aids used for religious education shall be those prepared or recommended by the sponsor and approved by the Minister.

AMENDMENT TO THE CODE OF REGULATIONS FOR TEACHING - Section 14

The appointment of a principal of a sponsored school or of a school under a Board of Governors shall be made by the Teachers' Service Commission in consultation with and as far as possible with the agreement of the sponsor or the Board of Governors as the case may be.

APPENDIX 10

KENYA INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

Terms of Reference of Panels April 1977

Introduction

Functions of the Kenya Institute of Education

Following a recent re-organization, the Kenya Institute of Education has become basically a curriculum development and research organization with the following specific functions:-

1. Conducting and preparing syllabuses for pre-school education, primary school education, secondary school education, non-university teacher education, special education and post-school technical and business education.
2. Conducting research and preparing teaching and evaluation materials to support these syllabuses including the preparation of books, teachers' guides, mass media programmes and similar materials.
3. Conducting service courses and workshops for the teachers who are involved in experiments and trials on the new syllabuses and teaching materials.
4. Organizing seminars on new syllabuses and teaching materials for inspectors of schools and college staff.
5. Organizing orientation programmes for those administrative officers who have to be kept informed of the developments that are taking place in the school and college curricula.
6. Staff involvement in the various educational activities organized from time to time by the Ministry of Education.

Academic Board

The Council of the Institute of Education has an Academic Board in which it vests its academic and professional functions. Director of Education is the Chairman of the Academic Board and the Director of the Institute is its Secretary.

COURSE PANELS

There is a Course Panel for each level or area of Education. However, these panels interact as much as possible so as to bring about most co-ordination in education. This interaction is facilitated by appointing some members on several panels. These panels deal with teacher education matters for the various areas with which they are concerned e.g. primary teacher education, secondary teacher education etc.

TERMS OF REFERENCE OF THE COURSE PANELS

Functions

The main function of the course panels is to examine broad educational areas or phases as whole units. This is an important task as to look at the content of different subjects or curriculum areas.

The specific functions of a course panel are:-

- (a) To keep under constant review the existing curriculum of a relevant phase of education or training and make recommendations to the Academic Board.
- (b) To co-ordinate and guide the activities of the subject panels in the area of its jurisdiction.
- (c) To co-operate where applicable with other institutions and agencies engaged in the training of industrial and commercial manpower outside the Ministry of Education.
- (d) In the case of Technical Education panel to advise on industrial training as requested through its subject panels and to assist in the strengthening of areas of co-ordination and articulation between institutions and agencies dealing with the training of craftsmen, advanced craftsmen and technicians at all levels in Kenya.

Membership

All members of Course Panels are appointed by the Council of the Institute. Recommendations may be made to the Council through the Director of the Institute.

The membership of the Course Panels includes people drawn from all the subject panels in the given course area. To ensure that there is a minimum duplication of efforts and a maximum utilization of available personnel, some members are appointed to serve on more than one course panel, this helps the course panels to act in a complimentary manner.

Full time members of the Kenya Institute of Education staff and the staff of the Inspectorate are ex officio members and may attend any panel meeting except that they have no voting right.

Co-opted Members

The Course Panels may from time to time co-opt members to assist them in the discharge of their responsibilities. Such members have no voting right.

Observers

Persons wishing to attend a course panel meeting as observers may apply to the Chairman of the panel in writing and obtain permission before doing so.

Size of Panel and Duration of Appointment

The number of members of a Course Panel excluding ex officio members will be between 20 and 35. The members will normally be appointed to serve for a term of 3 years and the appointment may be given for a further 3 years. This restriction to two terms is made in order that room may be given for the infusion of new blood. All interests and professional areas are considered when making these appointments.

Chairman of Panels

The Chief Inspector of Schools is the Chairman of all Course Panels, a Vice-Chairman is appointed for each course panel to assist him.

Secretary of Panels

The Director of the Kenya Institute of Education is Secretary to all Course Panels. The Secretary is responsible for the implementation of panel decisions.

Frequency of Meetings

A Course Panel meets at least 3 times a year.

Absenteeism

If a member of a Course Panel is absent from three successive meetings, the panel advises the Council through the Director of the Institute regarding the question of his continued membership.

Resignation

Members may resign their appointment by tendering their resignation through the Director of the Institute who recommends to the Council the appointment of a replacement from the same interest area.

Quorum

Each Panel will decide on the number of members who would constitute a quorum, this would normally be at least half the number of regular members.

Decisions

All Panel decisions are carried out either unanimously or by a majority vote of those who are present and voting at the meeting.

SUBJECT PANELS

Each subject or curriculum area has a subject panel. In most cases, there are separate subject panels for primary and secondary levels, or secondary and post secondary levels. In other cases, however, there is only one panel for both the primary and secondary levels or the secondary and post-secondary levels. Each of these subject panels deals with the related teacher education, research and evaluation matters.

These panels also interact as much as possible to bring about co-ordination in education. The common membership device is again used here to facilitate interaction and co-ordination. Several panels especially in Technical Education have common membership for the same reason. The work of these subject panels is co-ordinated by the Course Panel.

FUNCTIONS

The functions of a subject panel are:-

- (a) To initiate and guide appropriate Kenya Institute of Education curriculum development projects in the relevant subject.
- (b) To keep under constant review the existing syllabuses in a subject of curriculum area and make necessary recommendations to the Academic Board.

- (c) To keep under constant review all examinations conducted in the country in the relevant subject or curriculum area and make recommendations to the Academic Board.
- (d) To review and recommend books for use in schools and teachers colleges in the relevant subject or curriculum area.
- (e) In the case of a technical education subject panel to advise on industrial training and to assist in the strengthening of areas of co-operation and articulation between institutions and agencies dealing with the training of craftsmen, advanced craftsmen and technicians at all levels in Kenya.
- (f) To appoint Kenya representatives on the East African Examinations Council International Panel. These representatives are not more than six in number and include the Chairman and the Secretary of the subject panel, the Inspector of schools responsible for the subject (if he is not already the Chairman), a school or college or polytechnic teacher, a university teacher and a representative of industry or commerce in the case of a Technical Education Panel.

APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS

The members of the subject panels are appointed by the council of the Institute. Membership is drawn from persons who are versed in the subject area for which they are appointed. Recommendations may be made to the Council through the Director of the Institute.

Full time members of the Kenya Institute of Education staff and the staff of the Inspectorate are ex official members and may attend any panel meeting except that they have no voting rights when attending in that capacity.

Co-Opted Members

The subject panels may co-opt people to help them discharge their responsibilities but such members have no voting right.

Observers

Persons wishing to attend a subject panel meeting as observers may apply to the Chairman of the panel in writing and obtain permission before doing so.

Size of Panels

The subject panels have a membership of not less than ten and not more than twenty people. This restriction is made in order that the panels may be kept to a manageable size. If there is a need to have less than twenty members, the Director of the Institute should be consulted.

Duration of Appointment

The members are appointed to serve on the panels for a period of 3 years. This restriction to two terms is made in order that room may be given for infusion of new blood. All interests and professional areas are considered when making these appointments.

Publishing

Members of a subject panel may write books, articles etc., Privately for publication, but they must declare the fact in writing to the panel.

Chairmanship of Panels

The Chairman of subject panel is the Inspector of Schools in charge of the subject and where not applicable is appointed by the Council from the panel members.

Secretary of Panels

The Director of the Institute or his appointee is the Secretary with full voting rights.

Frequency of Meetings

The frequency of meetings of the subject panels is left to the discretion of the individual panels. The subject panels, however, should meet at least three times a year. It is, however, envisaged that when a project is being formulated or syllabuses are being revised, there will be need for more frequent meetings.

Absenteeism

If a member of a Subject Panel is absent from three successive meetings, the panel advises the Council through the Director of the Institute regarding the question of his continued membership.

Resignation

A panel member may at any time by notice in writing addressed to the Council through the Director resign his office and if a member becomes, in the opinion of the Council, unfit or unqualified to continue in office, or incapable of performing his duties, the Council may revoke the appointment of the member and communicate such revocation to him in writing. The Director of the Institute then recommends the appointment of a replacement from the same interest area.

Quorum

Each panel will decide on the number of members who would constitute a quorum, this would normally be at least half the number of regular members.

Decisions

All panel decisions are carried out either unanimously or by a majority vote of those who are present and voting at the meeting.

BASIC RESEARCH PANEL

The Institute has a Basic Research Panel whose specific functions are:-

- (a) To keep under constant review the needs of basic research in education and make recommendations to the Academic Board.

- (b) To initiate and guide appropriate Kenya Institute of Education basic research projects.

Terms of reference of the basic research panel

Terms of reference of a basic research panel are similar to those of the subject panel.

PROCEDURE FOR APPROVAL OF SYLLABUSES

All the syllabuses for use in Kenya schools and teachers colleges are formally approved by the Director of Education.

For the syllabuses which are not examined by the East African Examination Council, the subject panels, with the approval of the relevant course panels and the Academic Board submit their proposals to the Director of Education.

For the syllabuses which are examined by the East African Examination Council, the subject panels, in preparing the new syllabuses liaise with their counterparts in the partner states of the East African Community and with the East African Examinations Council. This is done with a view to having as far as possible, only joint syllabuses finally presented by the partner states to the East African Examinations Council Examination.

When a draft syllabus has been agreed on by a National Panel, then it is forwarded by the Panel to the Director of Education through the relevant Course Panel for his formal approval. It is then submitted by the Director of Education to the East African Examinations Council for examination.

A KENYA INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION - LIST OF PANELS 1975/6

Course Panels:

1. Pre-school Education Panel
2. Primary Education Panel
3. Secondary Education Panel
4. Teacher Education Panel
5. Special Education Panel
6. Business Education Panel
7. Technical Education Panel

B Subject Panels:

Pre-School Education Subject Panel

There is one specialist pre-school education panel.

II Primary Education Subject Panels

1. Lower Primary Panel
2. Primary Science Panel
3. Primary Home Science Panel

4. Primary History Panel
5. Primary Mathematics Panel
6. Primary English Panel
7. Primary Religious Education Panel
8. Primary Kiswahili Panel
9. Primary Arts/Crafts Panel
10. Primary Physical Education Panel
11. Primary Geography Panel
12. Primary Social Studies Panel
13. Primary Mother Tongue Panel
14. Primary Environmental Education Panel (identical to the Secondary Environmental Education Panel)
15. Primary Music Panel
16. Primary Agriculture Panel (identical to the secondary Agriculture Panel)

NOTE:

The Lower Primary Panel considers matters related to the Lower Primary Course (Std. 1-3) as a whole. Individual subject panels do not exist in this curriculum area. The Primary Panel deals with Stds. 4-7.

III Secondary Education Subject Panels

1. Secondary English Panel
2. Secondary Biology Panel
3. Secondary Mathematics Panel
4. Secondary Physics Panel
5. Secondary Chemistry Panel
6. Secondary Agriculture Panel
7. Secondary French Panel
8. Secondary Geography Panel
9. Secondary Home Science Panel
10. Secondary History Panel
11. Secondary Economics Panel
12. Secondary Religious Education Panel (Christian & Islamic)
13. Secondary Kiswahili Panel
14. Secondary Music Panel
15. Secondary Environmental Education Panel (identical to the Primary Environmental Education Panel)
16. Secondary Arts/Crafts Panel
17. Secondary Human Biology Panel
18. Secondary Social Studies Panel (for Technical Schools)

IV PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION SUBJECT PANELS

1. Physical Education Panel.

V Teacher Education Subject Panels

1. Professional Studies Panel (Primary Teacher Education)
2. Professional Studies Panel (Secondary Teacher Education)

N.B.

All the other subject panels also work on teacher education in their respective fields.

VI Special Education Subject Panels

1. Panel for the Education of the Blind
2. Panel for the Education of the Mentally Handicapped
3. Panel for the Education of the Deaf
4. Panel for the Education of the Physically Handicapped
5. Vocational, Trades and Technical Training Panel

VII Business Education Subject Panels

1. Secondary Business Educational Panel
2. Post-School Business Education Panel

VIII Technical/Industrial Education Subject Panels

1. Technical Education Panel
2. Mechanical Engineering Panel
3. Telecommunications Engineering Panel
4. Electrical Engineering Panel
5. Automobile, Agricultural & Prime Movers Engineering Panel
6. Civil Engineering and Building Panel
7. Industrial Education Panel for both Secondary and Primary Schools Panel.

C BASIC RESEARCH PANEL

There is only one Basic Research Panel.

APPENDIX 11

A WORKING RELATIONSHIP IN CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

The Procedure for Seeking Approval for Subject Syllabuses

In all subjects, a new syllabus requires to go through the following steps:

1. The national subject Panel.
2. The National "Course" Panel (relating to the level of education, e.g. Primary, Secondary, Teacher Education, etc.)
3. The Academic Board of which the Chairman is the Director of Education who will be advised by the Chief Inspector of Schools and the Director of the K.I.E.

In Christian R.E. there is a factor which does not relate to any other subject. All C.R.E. syllabuses have to be approved jointly by the Protestant and Catholic Churches. The instrument of joint formal approval is the Joint Church Panel, to which the recommendations of the K.E.C. and the C.C.E.A. Council will be forwarded and from which recommendations will go to the national R.E. Panels, through the K.C.S. and the C.C.E.A. General Secretaries.

A minimum of six months must be allowed for any C.R.E. syllabus to go through all the machinery. If there is a delay in the Course Panel meeting, a longer period will be required to allow the four stages to be accomplished:

Joint Church Panel — National CRE Panel — Course Panel — Academic Panel

The Procedure for Approval of Joint Materials for C.R.E.

Only two stages are required as books and materials do not need to go to the Course Panel and Academic Board.

Books and materials are first approved by the Joint Church Panel and then passed to the Subject Panel. Readers should be appointed who are members of both Panels, as well as additional readers who represent the individual Church Panels/Committees. Readers should be competent to assess the professional and theological aspects of books and materials. Reading and assessment should be done as efficiently as possible to avoid loss of time:

- (a) The Church Panels name readers, who are given the MS and asked to comment as concisely as possible by a given date. Approval or requests for changes are communicated to the Panel Secretary, who informs the joint authors of the comments of the readers. The authors are not bound to change the MS but will be guided by the comments of the readers in making any necessary changes, bearing in mind the ecumenical nature of jointly written books, and the need for high professional standards.
- (b) As the readers act on behalf of the Panel, it is not necessary for MS to be read by all Panel members. The comments of the readers will be taken by the Panel as on their behalf, and will be reported back to the Panel when it meets again, and to the Inspector by the Secretary.
- (c) When the readers and authors are satisfied that a satisfactory text has been arrived at, the MS is then presented to the National CRE Panel by the Inspector. If readers of the Church Panel are also members of the National Panel, their report should be given to the national Panel and should be sufficiently comprehensive for the national Panel to obtain an adequate picture of the value of the book. If the Panel wishes further discussion

of the MS to take place, before it is passed for printing, readers may form a sub-committee for further evaluation, which would then be reported back to the next meeting of the full Panel, for final approval.

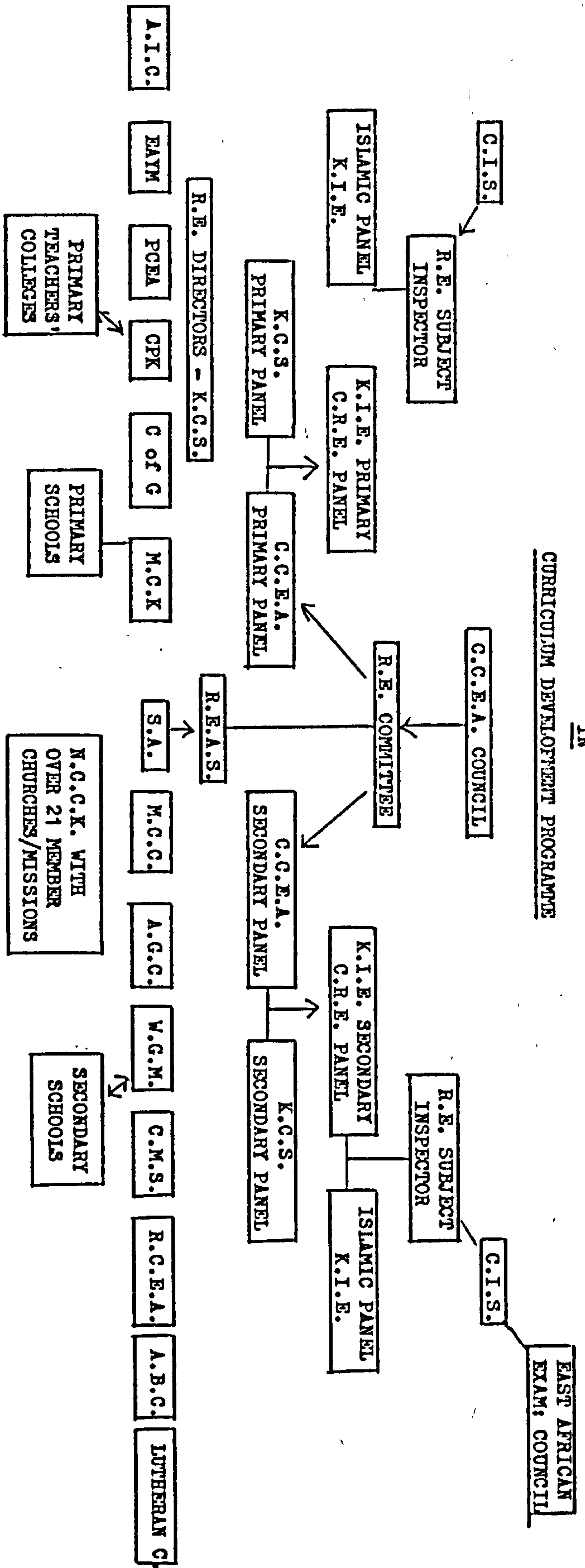
In the case of Primary books, the Inspector is required to report approval of a book by the Panel directly to the Chief Inspector of Schools, who is Chairman of the K.S.E. Review Committee which approves books made available to the K.S.E.S. for distribution to Primary Schools.

Publishing of C.R.E. books is a matter for the Church panels to agree on.

A WORKING RELATIONSHIP

IN

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

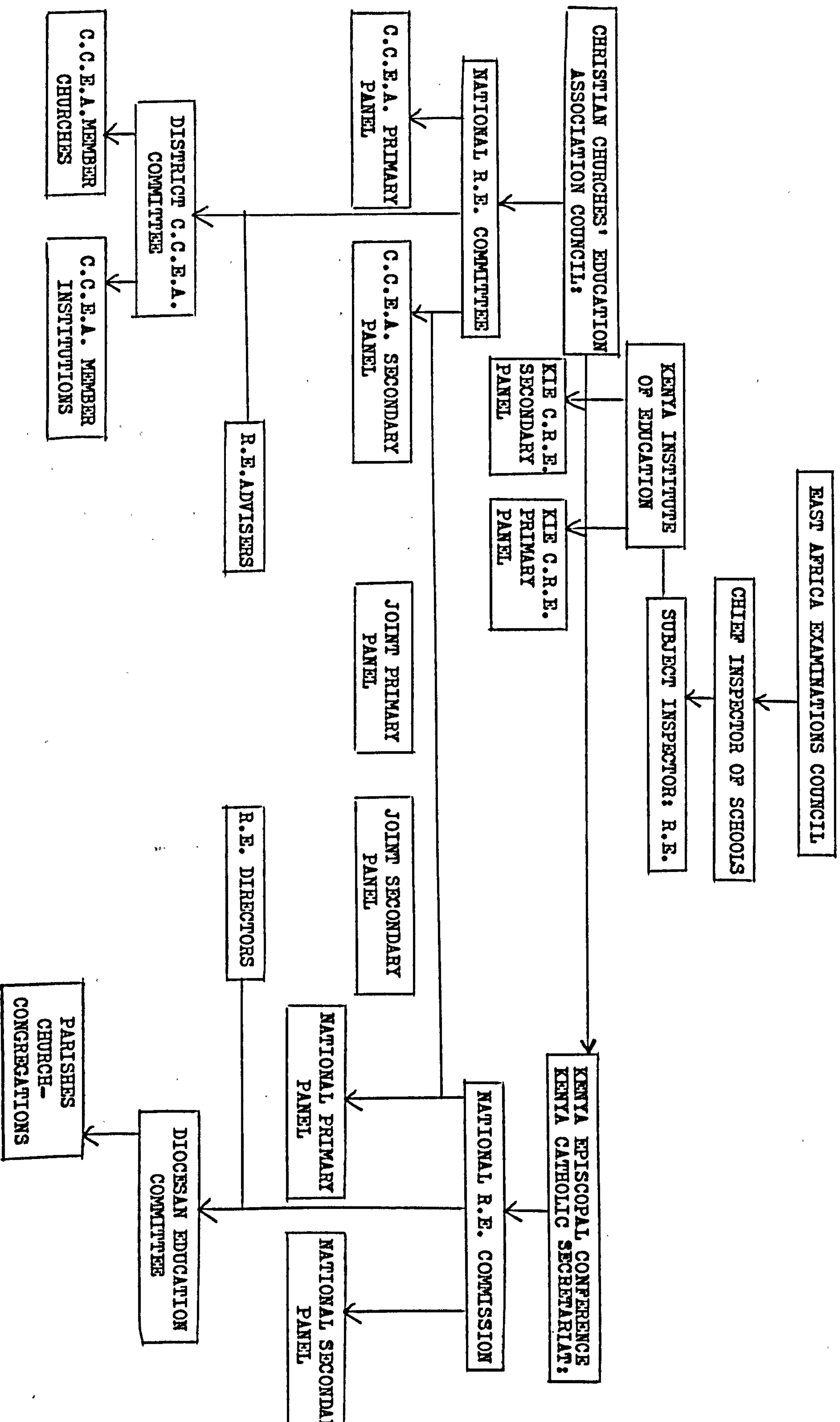


ABBREVIATIONS

- | | | | | | | | | |
|--------|---|-------------------------------|----------|---|---|----------|---|------------------------------------|
| C.R.E. | = | Christian Religious Education | K.I.E. | = | Kenya Institute of Education | R.E.A.s | = | Religious Education Advisers |
| C.I.S. | = | Chief Inspector of Schools | C.C.E.A. | = | Christian Churches' Educational Association | C. of G. | = | Church of God |
| M.C.K. | = | Methodist Church in Kenya | R.C.E.A. | = | Reformed Church of East Africa | A.B.C. | = | African Brotherhood Church |
| M.C.C. | = | Mennonite Central Committee | S.A. | = | Salvation Army | A.G.C. | = | African Gospel Church |
| W.G.M. | = | World Gospel Mission | C.P.K. | = | Church of the Province of Kenya | P.C.E.A. | = | Presbyterian Church of East Africa |
| C.M.S. | = | Church Missionary Society | E.A.Y.M. | = | East Africa Yearly Meeting of Friends | | | |
| K.C.S. | = | Kenya Catholic Secretariat | | | | | | |

N.B. 15 Protestant Churches/Missions make up the C.C.E.A. 14 Dioceses make up the Kenya Episcopal Conference - K.C.S. is its action arm.
 Over 100 Institutions (Secondary and Primary Schools) support the C.C.E.A.
 N.C.C.K. and a few Primary Teachers' Colleges support it too.

Prepared by: David K. Kirui



APPENDIX 12

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION,
INSPECTORATE,
P.O.BOX 30426,
NAIROBI.

INS/B/4/1/73.

28th January, 1975.

CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

A Talk given by Rev.T.M.Farrelly, Inspector of Schools in Charge of Religious Education at Provincial Meetings of Ministry of Education field officers and educational personnel of Sponsoring Churches, February 1974.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen.

PURPOSE OF THE MEETING:

1. As you know from the notice of the meeting, and the Agenda, this meeting is concerned with the implementation of the syllabuses for Christian Religious Education in Primary Schools with particular reference to the new syllabuses for Pastoral Instruction. The purpose of the meeting is to brief field officers of the Ministry of Education and educational personnel from the sponsoring churches on these matters.
2. During the past three years there have been several new developments in the field of Primary Christian Religious Education. Some of these developments have already been communicated to you in circulars from the Chief Inspector of Schools, others you will hear about today. The Sponsoring Churches have kept very closely in contact with the Ministry of Education while these changes were going on. Sometimes there were set-backs and delays. This is only to be expected in any work of such complexity involving so many people.
3. It seems, however, that our "teething troubles" are now over and the way ahead is clear. This does not mean that we shall have no more problems, but it is unlikely that these problems will be in the area of policy. They are more likely to be practical problems. Both the Chief Inspector of Schools and the General Secretaries of the sponsoring churches therefore feel that the time has come to explain these developments more fully to you, the personnel in the field and to give you guidance on the implementation of the syllabuses and materials available to date. It will be your responsibility in your turn to pass on this information and guidance to the Headmasters and teachers in the primary schools and to the students in Primary Teachers Colleges.
4. It was felt, moreover, that in addition to communicating with you as usual by means of circulars, we should also come and tell you about these matters in meetings at provincial level. For this reason it was decided that a briefing team with members from both the Ministry of Education and Religious Education departments of the sponsoring churches should travel to each province for the meetings. It is a large team of eight people in keeping with the importance of the matters to be discussed. We are ready to help you in any way we can.
5. The work will be divided among the members of the team as follows (as per Agenda).

Continued...

SOURCES

6. My own particular responsibility is to give you an outline of the policy of the Ministry of Education on Christian Religious Education in Primary Schools. The sources for this policy are the following. They are given in chronological order:

- (1) The Ominde Report 1964
- (2) The Ministry of Education Primary School Syllabus, 1967.
- (3) The Education Act, 1968.
- (4) The Education Regulations 1968.
- (5) Circular No. GEN/68/19 from the Permanent Secretary.
- (6) Circular No. INS/72/81 from the Chief Inspector of Schools.
- (7) Circular No. INS/74/54 from the Chief Inspector of Schools.

7. The most important of all these sources is, of course, the Education Act of 1968. Our whole educational system depends on this. The circulars and regulations which I have mentioned are all based on the Act. The Act itself was based on the recommendations of the Ominde Report. This, as you know, is the report of the Kenya Education Commission set up immediately after independence. The Ominde Report is therefore important for helping us to understand and interpret the Education Act.

8. In this talk I shall follow the outline of Circular No.INS/72/81, firstly because it contains in a brief form the policy points to which I wish to refer and secondly because it will be convenient for you when you come to explain this circular to the headmasters and teachers.

APPROACH

9. Circular Letter No.INS/72/81 deals with religious education syllabuses in primary schools. This reminds us of one of the most important recommendations of the Ominde Report, namely, that religious education "should be handled as an academic subject on educational lines" (No.69). This means that it should be approached in a professional manner with properly approved syllabuses, textbooks, schemes of work and other materials. The Education Act followed this up by directing that religious education must be taught in conformity with a syllabus approved by the Minister of Education (Act, Section 8/3/c).

10. Even before the Education Act, the Churches were asked to prepare syllabuses which could be approved for the whole country. Two syllabuses were submitted by the Churches and were published in 1967 in the Ministry of Education Primary School Syllabus which is still in use. These were Syllabus A - for Protestant Schools" and Syllabus B - for Catholic Schools". These are referred to in paragraph 1 of Circular No.INS/73/81.

11. The Introduction to the subject Religious Education in the Ministry of Education Primary Syllabus 1967 expresses a desire for a unified syllabus. It says, "It is hoped that discussions between Protestants and Roman Catholics on the content of a unified syllabus for Religious Education will take place in the near future" (Page 1). In fact cooperation between the Protestant and Catholic Churches in education had begun in 1963, just before independence, when they issued a joint statement on education. However, they were preoccupied

first of all with new syllabuses and materials for secondary schools. It was not until 1971 that the Churches began to think about a new syllabus for primary schools. I shall come back to this again. Let us continue the story from 1967.

THE EDUCATION ACT 1968

The next important event in the development of policy was the passing of the Education Act in 1968. The section of the Act which deals directly with Religious Education is Section 26. The first clause in this section is what is usually called the "withdrawal clause". It recognises the right of parents to withdraw a pupil from religious education:

"If the parent of a pupil at a public school requests that the pupil be wholly or partly excused from attendance at religious worship or religious instruction, in the school, the pupil shall be excused attendance until the request is withdrawn" (Section 26/1).

13. The next clause in this section deals with the case of a request for religious education of a type which is not provided in the school. In this case the Act says:

"the school shall provide such facilities as may be practicable for the pupil to receive religious instruction and attend religious worship of the kind desired by the parent" (Section 26/2).

14. Three are those points of policy in this Section 26 to which I would like to draw your attention.

- (a) Who provides religious education in the school? The answer is, the school, which means, the Ministry of Education. In Kenya, therefore, the Government provides religious education in the schools as a normal school subject.
- (b) Who decides what kind of religious education a pupil is to receive or if he is to be withdrawn altogether? The answer is, the parent, not the pupil or the headmaster or the Church. However the parent must make his request to the headmaster if he wishes to withdraw the pupil.
- (c) Who is religious education intended to serve? The answer is, the pupils and the parents i.e. the wananchi, not the Churches. Some teachers have the idea that religious education is a service to the Churches. Strangely enough the Churches are not even mentioned in this section.

15. I should like to stress the last point particularly. Education is a social service provided by the Government. Religious education, like any other kind of education is a service to help wananchi. All of us who are involved in education are public servants, whether we are employed by the Public Services Commission, or by the Teachers Service Commission or by the Churches. Although teachers are often called "schoolmasters", they are, in fact, servants.

SPONSORSHIP

16. What then is the work of the Churches in religious education? This is answered in Section 8 of the Act which is referred to in paragraph 3 of Circular No.72/81. Before the Education Act certain Churches were managers of schools, but under the Act they became sponsors of schools. Sponsorship means responsibility, in this case for religious education.

17. The following is the text of Section 8.

"Where a transferred school was managed by a church, or an organisation of churches, and if it is the wish of the community served by the school that the religious traditions of the school should be respected, the former manager shall be appointed by the local authority to serve as the sponsor of the school" (Section 8).

18. Here again we see the stress on service, since the section speaks of the community being served by the school. Where a church is appointed as sponsor, it also serves the community, i.e. wananchi. Who decides if the former church manager is to be appointed a sponsor? The answer is, the local community. What is the responsibility of the sponsor? The Act says, "the religious traditions of the school". Therefore the sponsor is concerned with religious matters. What this means is made clearer by other sections of the Act and by the Regulations.

19. It is not my intention to go into all the details of sponsorship. Since in this meeting we are concerned with curriculum, I shall touch on those aspects of sponsorship which concern curriculum. Sponsors have both rights and responsibilities under the Act. Briefly, their rights are concerned with:

- (a) consultation with regard to staffing (Section 8.3.a)
- (b) the use of school buildings free of charge (Section 8.3.b)
- (c) representation on school committees and boards of governors. Sections 9 and 10.

20. The responsibilities of sponsors mentioned in the Act and Regulations include the following:

- (a) preparation or recommendation of syllabuses, books and other teaching aids. Act, section 8.c. and Regulation 5.

Such syllabuses and materials must be approved by the Minister of Education (Section 8.c. and Reg.5)

- (b) surveillance (supervision and advice) Reg.6.

"Where a sponsor has been appointed in respect of a school in accordance with Section 8 (1) of the Act, the Headmaster shall grant every reasonable request by the sponsor to satisfy himself that religious instruction is conducted in accordance with the syllabuses prepared or recommended by the sponsor and approved by the Minister."

Reg.6

Continued....

21. Responsibility for preparing syllabuses and materials is a very heavy one and is perhaps the most serious responsibility of sponsors at the present time. We have now almost three million pupils in primary schools alone. To ensure that these pupils and their teachers have up to date syllabuses, books and teaching aids is a formidable task for the Churches. Since religious education is a normal subject in the curriculum, it must measure up to the standards required of all subjects. The development of new syllabuses and materials, together with the necessary research involves a large expenditure of finance and manpower on the part of the sponsoring churches. This is the responsibility with which they have been entrusted under the Education Act.

22. What is called "surveillance" in the Ominde Report, i.e. the supervisory and advisory functions are also important aspects of the sponsor's responsibilities. These functions are normally carried out by Education Secretaries and Religious Education Advisors (or Directors) employed by the Churches. In carrying out these functions they should work closely with Government Education Officers Primary School Inspectors and Headmasters.

23. The Primary School Inspectorate is a new service which was not in existence at the time when the Education Act was passed. Primary School Inspectors are responsible on the side of the Ministry for inspection of religious education just as for the other subjects. Much is to be gained on both sides by close co-operation between them and religious education advisers.

PASTORAL INSTRUCTION

24. The last document mentioned in paragraph 3 of Circular Letter No.INS/72/81 is General Circular No.GEN/68/19 dated 10th June 1968 from the Permanent Secretary to all Provincial Education Officers, District and Municipal Education Officers. This refers to the "Pastoral aspects" of religious education.

"Since some syllabuses will include teaching closely connected with the pastoral aspects of religion, the sponsors should also be granted such requests to satisfy themselves that the teaching is in accordance with such pastoral aspects in the syllabus provided".
Cir.N o.Gen/68/19.

25. This brings us to the question of pastoral instruction, which is one of the main concerns of this meeting. It is also closely connected with the question of a joint syllabus which I have mentioned above. First of all I should like to correct a wrong idea of pastoral instruction. This is the idea that it is the same as "sectarian" instruction. The Ominde Report rightly warns that religious education should be dissociated from the sectarian objectives of any church" (No.17).

26. A dictionary which I consulted explains "sectarian" as "belonging to a small party, narrow-minded". This is certainly not the kind of instruction we mean by pastoral instruction. The word "pastoral" comes from the word "pastor" which is the Latin word for "shepherd". A Christian minister in charge of a parish is often called a "pastor" because he cares for his people as a shepherd cares for his sheep. Pastoral instruction is therefore the kind which shows concern for helping a pupil to be a better member of his church.

27. When the Churches began to consider how to develop a joint Christian syllabus, the problem was how to allow for diversity or variety among the Christian Churches. The solution arrived at was to allow for variety by having special syllabuses for the pastoral aspects of religion. The Joint Syllabus, on the other hand, would include those elements of the Christian faith which are

common to all the Churches. This solution allows Catholic and Protestant pupils to receive instruction according to the traditions of their own churches, while at the same time studying their common Christian heritage.

28. It is natural and good for pupils to love what is their own, whether it is their family, their country or their church. There is no policy on the part of the Ministry of Education to impose uniformity on everybody. There is no particular virtue in uniformity. God has made us all different. Sometimes, it is true, difference leads to divisions, but not always. It is only when people begin to despise others because they are different that trouble starts. It is important, therefore, to teach pupils to respect the beliefs of others and to try to understand their points of view.

THE INTERIM JOINT SYLLABUS

29. The syllabus is intended by the churches to fill the need for a common Christian syllabus until the completely new syllabus and new material which are being planned can be developed. For this reason it is called "interim". It is not a completely new syllabus, but rather a combination of the old Syllabus A and Syllabus B. No new textbooks are needed for it, because it can be used with existing textbooks. A cross-reference index is available to show how this can be done. This will be explained by the next speaker.

30. The Joint Syllabus was approved by the Chief Inspector of Schools in 1972 and Circulated for those who wished to use it. It was accompanied by Circular No.INS/72/81 which I have referred to many times already. Sponsors were asked at the same time to inform District Education Officers whether they wished to use it or to retain the old syllabus A or Syllabus B. Most of the Protestant sponsors decided to retain Syllabus A. The Catholic sponsors decided to use the Joint Syllabus and requested that Syllabus B should be withdrawn completely. At the same time the Chief Inspector of Schools approved the Catholic Pastoral Programme and circulated it to all District Education Officers for use with Catholic pupils. It was difficult to implement it, however, because there was no corresponding pastoral programme on the Protestant side. In July 1974 the Chief Inspector of Schools issued a further Circular (No.INS/74/54) to clarify the situation arising from these developments so that field officers would know which syllabus any school should be using.

31. So far as the main syllabuses are concerned, therefore, every school should be using either Syllabus A or the Joint Syllabus. Syllabus B should no longer be used in any school.

THE PRESENT SITUATION

32. During the past year the Christian Churches Educational Association has prepared a Pastoral Programme for Protestant pupils together with notes for the first part of the programme. We have the programme and notes before us today. This programme has been discussed and recommended by the Kenya Institute of Education Primary Panel. It will be used experimentally for a year in selected primary schools after which it will be printed on its final form and circulated to all schools. The syllabus and notes for this programme will be presented to you by a representative of the Christian Churches' Educational Association.

33. I have also been informed verbally that the Christian Churches Educational Association has now recommended the use of the Joint Syllabus to their member churches. However, field officers and headmasters should wait until this is

confirmed before taking any action on it.

34. We come now to the important matter of the implementation of the Pastoral Programme. The Chief Inspector of Schools has agreed to a proposal on implementation made jointly by the Christian Churches Educational Association and the Kenya Catholic Secretariat. What has been decided is as follows:-

"That the Primary Christian Religious Education syllabuses being followed in the schools should be used for five periods in Standards one and two and for three periods from Standards three to seven and that the Programmes of Pastoral Instruction be taught during cultural activities time within the school week".

35. What has been decided, therefore, is that the main Religious Education course will be taught during the normal class periods but that Pastoral instruction will be given in the afternoon during the time set aside for cultural activities or what are sometimes called "extra-curricular" activities. Pastoral instruction should be given on at least one afternoon per week. The time should be arranged by the headmaster in consultation with the District Education Officer and with the Church sponsors. You will be given further details concerning implementation by another speaker, Mr. N.J. Anyonge Inspector in Charge of Primary and teacher Education.

36. I wish to emphasise that pastoral instruction is part of the school curriculum. This is why it must follow a syllabus prepared by the Churches and approved by the Chief Inspector of Schools. It should be taught professionally and normally by a teacher on the school staff. Teachers should be asked to teach it on a voluntary basis. Only by way of exception should it be taught by somebody from outside the school. Another point to be noted is that pastoral instruction of this kind is different from pastoral care and from worship. Thus, for example, in a sponsored school if a pastor uses the school buildings outside school hours for worship, this is not counted as pastoral instruction.

37. The last point with regard to the present situation is that the Churches are now actively engaged in the preparation of the completely new joint syllabus and materials to which I have referred already. Sr. Aine from the Kenya Institute of Education will speak to you about this project. It is a project which has been welcomed by the Director of Education and to which he has pledged the whole-hearted support of the Ministry of Education as those of you who attended the Limuru Workshop know.

CONCLUSION

38. To conclude, I hope that what I have said has helped you to understand better the developments which have taken place in Primary Christian Religious Education in the past few years and the policies which guided those developments on the part of the Ministry of Education. These policies have been inspired by a spirit of service to the wananchi of this country and their children.

39. The basic policy has been that Religious Education should be taught as an academic subject on educational lines. The Ministry of Education pursues this policy in co-operation with the Churches recognising both the rights and responsibilities of the sponsoring Churches. It welcomes particularly the initiatives of the Churches in preparing new syllabuses and materials as well as the supporting services of Education Secretaries and Religious Education Advisors or Directors. The Ministry of Education on its side supports religious education

financially both for staffing and materials and encourages high standards through the Inspectorate Administration and Kenya Institute of Education. I think we can look forward with confidence to the future and I hope that when you go back to your districts you will continue to carry out these policies faithfully.

T. Farrelly
for: Chief Inspector of Schools

29th January, 1975.

TF/WK

APPENDIX 12A

Ministry of Education,
Inspectorate,
P.O.Box 30426,
NAIROBI.

INS/B/4/1/Vol.II/123

25th April, 1975.

To: All provincial Education Officers,
with sufficient copies for distribution
to all District Education Officers,
Municipal Education Officers and
Primary School Inspectors.

All Principals of Primary Teachers Colleges.

CIRCULAR LETTER NO. INS/75 - 33.

PRIMARY CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

1. Please refer to Circular Letter No.INS/74-54 of 18th July, 1974 on CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS. Paragraph 5 referred to plans for the implementation of syllabuses for Pastoral Instruction in Primary Schools. These plans were communicated verbally to all field officers at meetings at Provincial Centres in January and February 1975. The purpose of this Circular is to confirm those plans.

SYLLABUSES

2. The Joint Syllabus approved by the Chief Inspector of Schools (Ref. Circular Letter No.INS/72 - 81 dated 29th November, 1972) has now been accepted by the sponsoring Churches represented by the Kenya Catholic Secretariat and the Christian Churches Educational Association and should be used as the main syllabus for all Christian pupils in Primary Schools. The existing textbooks will continue to be used until further notice.

3. Two syllabuses for Pastoral Instruction have been approved by the Chief Inspector of Schools, The Programme of Pastoral Instruction for Catholic Pupils and The Christian Churches' Educational Association Programme of Pastoral Instruction. The Catholic programme covers standards two to seven. The C.C.E.A. programme covers Standard Seven.

ALLOCATION OF TIME

4. The main syllabus for Christian Religious Education should be taught for 5 (five) periods per week in Standards 1 and 2 and for 3 periods per week in Standards 3 to 7, as at present, during normal class time.

5. The syllabus for Pastoral Instruction should be taught for one period per week during cultural activities time within the school day. Pupils not attending a Pastoral Instruction class should continue to follow the cultural activities programme of the school for that day.

STAFFING

6. Since Pastoral Instruction is part of the school curriculum for Religious Education and follows approved syllabuses, it should be taught professionally and normally by teachers on the school staff. Only by way of exception should it be taught by somebody from outside the school, with the permission of the District Education Officer.

MATERIALS

7. The Joint Syllabus and syllabuses for Pastoral Instruction have been published by the Jomo Kenyatta Foundation. Notes for the Pastoral Programme have also been published by the Churches. Both syllabuses and notes will be distributed by the Kenya Schools Equipment Scheme. Arrangements are being made to have them distributed to District Centres in time for the meetings mentioned below.

IMPLEMENTATION

8. The procedure for implementation has already been explained and discussed at Provincial Meetings. Please refer also to Circular Letter No.INS/B/4/1/Vol. II/119 dated 22nd April, 1975. It will be carried out in three stages:

- (a) Seminars for Headmasters at District Level
- (b) In-Service Courses for teachers
- (c) Implementation in the schools.

9. Headmasters should be instructed to arrange that Catholic Pupils follow the Catholic Programme of Pastoral Instruction and Protestant pupils follow the C.C.E.A. Programme of Pastoral Instruction. Other pupils should follow the normal school programme for cultural activities. The same applies to Protestant pupils in classes for which there is no syllabus for Pastoral Instruction to date. Headmasters should also be instructed to ensure that interested teachers are appointed to teach the Pastoral Programmes. Field Officers are asked to emphasise that the structure outlined in this Circular for Christian Religious Education is intended to ensure peace and harmony between pupils of different Christian communities together with respect for diversity. The co-operation of all in making the structure work is therefore important for the good of the children.

T. Farrelly,
for: Chief Inspector of Schools

C.C. The Inspector in Charge of Primary and Teacher Education.

The Director,
Kenya Institute of Education
and Heads of Departments.

The Secretary General,
the Kenya Catholic Secretariat.

The Secretary General,
Christian Churches' Educational Association.

APPENDIX 12B

KENYA EPISCOPAL CONFERENCE, APRIL 1977

I am very grateful for this opportunity to speak to you about C.R.E. in the schools and colleges at this present time. There will be three parts to my address, i) a brief survey of the relationship between Church and government with reference to religious teaching in the state schools and colleges, ii) a brief explanation of the work of the national Inspector for religious education, and iii) a survey, in some detail, of problems and opportunities in the whole area of religious education in the state system of education. As the time available for my address is limited, I have put together a packet of materials for each Diocese, in which are included all the Christian religious education syllabuses currently in use at all levels in schools and teachers colleges, an address which I gave to the Synod of the Church of the Province of Kenya in November, 1977, extracts from the Constitution and Education Act of Kenya which relate to religion, a report which is being presented to Provincial meetings on C.R.E. in Primary schools, Minutes of one of these meetings (held in Nyeri for Central Province) and some statistics for 1977. All these materials, and others, have been supplied to the Kenya Catholic Secretariat, but this seemed a good opportunity to present these materials to each Diocese as a source of information for any area which may require particular attention.

The Relationship Between Church and Government with Reference to Religion Teaching in the State Schools

We all know that in 1968, the Education Act of Kenya brought many changes into the state educational system. For the Churches, the first major impact of the Education Act was in the transfer of approximately 4,000 primary schools, formerly managed by the Churches, to the local authority, with all teachers under one state employer, the T.S.C. However, the Churches still retained rights and responsibilities in such schools, as sponsors. With this first major change for the Churches, came another - the acceptance of an ecumenical approach in religion teaching in state maintained schools. The need for an ecumenical approach arose from three factors connected with the decision of the government to keep religion teaching as a subject in the curriculum of the state schools; i) the freedom of conscience guaranteed under the Constitution, ii) the provision made in the Education Act for parents to request that religious teaching be provided for their children according to their beliefs, and iii) the provision made in the Education Act for parents to withdraw their children from religious teaching which is not in accordance with their beliefs. Even in schools which continue to be financed and managed by a religious organisation or Church, the rights of parents have to be recognised, although it is legitimate to ask why parents who do not accept the religious tradition of a private school financed and managed by a Church, send their children there, if they do not want their children to be influenced by it. Few state systems of education in the world retain religion teaching as a subject in the school curriculum, and it has to be recognised that a very unusual situation exists in Kenya. In 1964, the Ominde report, which prepared the way for the Education Act, said, "We do not see fit to recommend for Kenya the extreme secular solution adopted in some other countries". It was recommended that arrangements should be made to secure the continuing participation of the Church in the religious life of the school. Religion is a very powerful influence in the life of this country, and this fact was recognised by the inclusion of religious teaching in the curriculum of the state schools.

But the decision to retain religious teaching where there is a very complex Church situation, such as exists in Kenya, requires a high degree of practical ecumenism and tolerance between different Churches. As you know, the largest Church in Kenya is the Catholic Church, but in the list of the Constituent Members of the National Christian Council of Kenya, twenty different Churches are listed representing a very wide spectrum of Protestantism as well as six African Independent Churches, and outside the N.C.C.K. there are many other Christian Churches or groups whose influence cannot be ignored. Attempts to produce common syllabuses for Christian religious education in such a complex situation require not only very practical ecumenism and hard intellectual effort, but the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Under the Education Act, the religious authorities have the serious responsibility to provide the syllabuses and supporting books and other teaching materials for C.R.E. in the state schools and colleges. With 3 million children in the Primary schools, a $\frac{1}{4}$ million students in the secondary schools and 7,000 students in the Primary Teachers' Colleges, it is no light undertaking to accept this responsibility.

The following practical results of a decade of ecumenical cooperation in religious education are encouraging:

- i) The setting up of the Joint Church Secondary Panel from which have come the present KJSE, EACE and EAACE syllabuses for C.R.E. in the secondary schools, with a number of jointly produced textbooks. This Panel continues to be a very important tool for the production of syllabuses, books and teaching materials for the secondary schools and there is much work ahead of it.
- ii) The later development of the Joint Church Primary Panel, concerned with C.R.E. syllabuses and materials for the Primary schools, and more recently, the Teachers' Colleges.

The relationship of these two Church Panels to the National Ministry of Education Panels for C.R.E. is very important. The initial responsibility for the production of syllabuses, books and teaching materials lies with the Church Panels, not the Ministry of Education Panels. In all other subjects of the curriculum, the Ministry of Education Panels are directly responsible for the development of syllabuses and materials. In the case of C.R.E., syllabuses and materials are passed to the Ministry of Education Panels for approval, from the Church Panels. This procedure has worked satisfactorily over the past decade. It allows for a reasonable degree of inter-Church consultation and discussion before syllabuses and books are passed to the Ministry of Education for approval.

- iii) The appointment of a Ministry of Education Inspector for religious education, to be one of the national subject Inspectors who have responsibility for the implementation of agreed policies relating to their subjects at all levels in schools and colleges.

- iv) The appointment of a C.R.E. curriculum developer to work in the K.I.E. to assist with co-ordination between the Church Panels and the National Panels and to assist projects in hand connected with agreed syllabuses.

It is agreed that these two appointments should be made as a result of consultation between the Church Secretariats and the Ministry of Education, to ensure that those appointed would be able to work within the framework of agreed policies and with a spirit of practical ecumenism.

The Work of the National Inspector for R.E.

The first-Inspector appointed was Fr. Farrelly. His main task, from 1971-75, was the establishment of the subject at all levels and the introduction of the new syllabuses which were being produced. In the 2½ years since I have been Inspector, my main task has been the implementation of the agreed syllabuses and the stabilising of the teaching of the subject, at all levels; primary, secondary and teacher education, through in-service courses for teachers and tutors and through meetings and co-operation with the field officers of the Ministry of Education. Another important area of involvement for a subject Inspector is in public examinations. During 1977, two working months of my time were taken up by examination work of various kinds. Assessment of teachers' college students, promotion of teachers, and inspection of how R.E. teaching is actually being carried out in schools and colleges, are other areas of responsibility. But the R.E. Inspector has one responsibility which is not carried by any other subject Inspector, and that is to be a channel of communication between the Ministry of Education and the Churches and religious authorities. I can assure you that I keep the K.C.S. and the C.C.E.A. fully informed on all issues relating to agreed C.R.E. policies, so that through the two Secretariats the Churches may be informed of what is happening in the whole field of C.R.E. This kind of liaison is essential if the sensitive balance between Church and Ministry of Education with regard to C.R.E. in the schools is to be maintained.

Problems and Opportunities in C.R.E. Relating to the Churches

I would now like to identify some areas where there are problems but also opportunities for greater Church participation. It will be necessary to go into some detail to clarify certain specific issues and I ask for your patience here. I will deal with the issues under three headings:

1. The implications of the responsibility of the Churches for the production of syllabuses, books and teaching materials.
2. The limitations of agreed syllabuses, particularly examination syllabuses, and the implications of this for the Church.
3. The implications of and the opportunities provided by sponsorship.

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1. The Responsibility of the Churches for the Production of Syllabuses, Books and Teaching Materials

In the area of secondary school syllabuses and books, the members of the Joint Church secondary Panel have been able to produce six jointly produced textbooks to support Syllabus 224 and to assist with the work which went into the books for Syllabus 223 of the E.A.C.E. Each of the books for Syllabus 224 had one author who was both a Catholic priest and a qualified teacher, who worked with a Protestant teacher who had both educational and theological qualifications. The result was a series of books written for the East African situation and particularly the Kenya ecumenical situation. There is still much more writing of this nature needed, both for secondary schools and for the Teachers' Colleges. More suitable writers need to be identified and encouraged by the Churches. The field of educational writing for C.R.E. is one which there are opportunities for the Churches to make a much greater contribution, and I wish to bring this to your attention.

In the area of Primary C.R.E. there are some serious problems. The present Joint Primary C.R.E. syllabus is made up of material taken from the previous Protestant Syllabus A and the Catholic Syllabus B. There is a common joint syllabus for teaching in the time-tabled lessons and there are the programmes of Pastoral Instruction to be taught outside the time-tabled lessons in the after-school period given to extra-curricular activities, but still intended to be taught by the same teachers who teach the time-tabled syllabus. There are at present three programmes of Pastoral instruction, prepared by the Catholic Church, the C.C.E.A. and the Seventh Day Adventist Church, but any Church may present its particular programme and the number could increase. The Pastoral instruction programmes relate to doctrine which cannot be given in the joint time-tabled lessons without offence or dispute. If we agree that in the classroom of the state school only that which is commonly held without dispute can be taught, then it is obvious that in the complex Church situation which exists in Kenya, certain specific doctrines and practices of different Churches will have to be omitted from the joint lessons. In an attempt to overcome this problem, the idea of the programmes of pastoral instruction relating to specific Church doctrines and practices and to be taught outside the time-tabled lessons, was accepted. This idea has run into serious difficulties, which are set out in the Minutes of the meeting for field officers from Central Province, held at Nyeri and I would be grateful if those difficulties could be noted. Perhaps it needs to be clarified that there are some serious problems for the Protestant and Independent Churches with regard to the programmes of Pastoral Instruction. Although the C.C.E.A. has produced two books to assist with pastoral instruction for non-Catholic pupils, these two books do not contain all that a child would be expected to know for acceptance into the membership of any of the individual Churches who are Constituent Members of the N.C.C.K. If I have read the contents of the Catholic books, entitled "My Christian Community", correctly, these books would appear to be straightforward Catholic catechetical teaching intended to prepare a child for membership of the Catholic Church. They appear to have a clear catechetical aim. This is not the case with the C.C.E.A. books. Any child whose parents wished him to be baptised or confirmed into, for example, the Anglican, Presbyterian or Methodist Churches, would need to attend Church preparation classes to learn exactly what it meant to become a member of those churches. The C.C.E.A. books indicate certain general Protestant emphases such as the need for daily Bible reading and the need for personal commitment to Jesus Christ and they also contain much simple moral teaching, including warnings against smoking, stealing and sexual misconduct, but they can hardly be described as catechetical in approach.

The question needs to be asked again, - "What is the actual purpose of the programmes of pastoral instruction?" If it is, legitimately, to prepare children to enter the membership of the Church, then it must be questioned whether the arrangements which have been agreed to are satisfactory. Should not the Church take direct responsibility?

I also wish to refer to the problems found in attempting to use the textbooks written originally for Syllabuses A and B. There are two Protestant series and one Catholic series. The joint syllabus requires a selective use of the textbooks which teachers find confusing and difficult. In the case of the Catholic series, "Children of God", only the books for pupils in Standards 1 to 4 are being supplied to the Kenya School Equipment Scheme, not the books for teachers. I am informed that the reason that teachers' books are not being supplied in this series is that they reflect an approach which is not in line with the present ecumenical outlook. 120,000 of the pupils' books have been reprinted and teachers will have to use the pupils' books which do not give any guidance at all

about teaching methods and approaches. It will also be impossible to expect the pupils to read these same books selectively; being children, they will read everything, and not understand why some parts should be left out. I have detailed particular problems of the Catholic series, but other problems are found with the two Protestant series.

To summarise, the present use of the textbooks originally written for the separate syllabuses, with the present joint syllabus, is not satisfactory. It is too much a case of putting new wine into old bottles. The whole situation would be greatly improved if a revised or new syllabus could be agreed upon by the Churches, to be supported by one jointly written series of books, to replace the existing books. The production of a new series of books would be a major task and it is strongly recommended that the Churches set up a joint curriculum development team to work full time on new materials. The idea that was adopted when the whole idea of a joint syllabus was new, of working through large ecumenical "workshops", was of value at that stage but it is not recommended that it is continued for this new stage now envisaged. If two full-time Catholic and two full-time Protestant teachers could be set aside for this work, perhaps for two years, the whole programme of book-writing for the Primary classes could be completed. The Churches also need to consider whether a joint publishing venture can be undertaken. With 100,000 teachers and 3 million pupils requiring books, the publication side of accepting responsibility for C.R.E. materials in the schools needs serious consideration.

2. I now wish to comment on the limitations of agreed syllabuses particularly in the secondary schools and teachers' colleges, where examination syllabuses are followed. Examinations in R.E. are legitimate tests of intellectual comprehension, but are not tests of faith or Christian living. If the religious understanding gained through the mind in the classroom is to be reinforced with experience of the living reality of the Church, there must be more than academic teaching in a school or college. In secondary schools and teachers' colleges, there are great opportunities for the development of what is often called the campus ministry or school and college chaplaincy work. If there are members of staff to whom students can turn for spiritual and moral guidance and by whom they can be prepared for membership of the Church, what is learned academically in the classroom can become the foundation for experience of the Christian life. Such staff may be ordained, or religious, or lay persons. If they are trained teachers, there will be no problem about their employment by the T.S.C.

3. My final comment is on the opportunities provided by sponsorship. If sponsorship, as set out in the Education Act, is taken seriously, there are many opportunities for the Churches to exert a Christian influence for the good of the community. Representation on the committees of sponsored Primary schools, on the Boards of Governors of secondary schools and teachers' colleges, the right to use school buildings after school hours, the right to request consultation over staffing, provide the Churches with opportunities for Christian service. It has been said to me that in 1968 the Churches opted out of the education system and left it to the government to carry the whole burden of education for the nation. If there is any truth in this comment, it shows an unhappy failure on the part of the Churches to realise the opportunities open for Christian service to the nation through the provisions of the Education Act. It is my experience that the field officers of the Ministry of Education are generally very appreciative of the help given by Church sponsors to the schools and community. If the Church sponsors care to make themselves known to the local education officers and take their responsibilities as sponsors seriously, this is appreciated and respected. I would like to mention particularly that the work of religious

education Directors and Advisers in running courses for Primary teachers and in helping them at local level, is widely appreciated by the local education officers. The part taken by Church sponsors in developing harambee schools is also very much appreciated. If sponsorship is taken seriously and put into effect, there are great opportunities for Christian service to the nation in raising standards and providing Christian influence and pastoral care in Kenya's schools.

Thank you for your attention and patience.

Eileen Welch B.D.

Inspector for Religious Education
Ministry of Education, Nairobi

5.4.78.

APPENDIX 12C

CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE PRIMARY SCHOOLS

Behind the present C.R.E. Primary syllabus, there is a long history which I do not intend to repeat in detail as it is known to many attending this meeting. However, the constitutional and professional status of the subject must be understood by all those who are concerned with the implementation of the approved policy for C.R.E. and I am therefore listing the various documents on which this policy is based or in which it is set out. From these documents the development of the present position can be understood, and policy for the present and future can be mapped out.

1. The Ominde Report, 1964, recommended in Section 30 that there should be "arrangements to secure the continuing participation of the Church in the religious life of the school." Section 72 said, "We do not see fit to recommend for Kenya the extreme secular solution adopted in some other countries". These recommendations were adopted in the 1968 Education Act.
2. The Education Act, 1968, legalised the teaching of Religious Education in the state school system.
3. The Constitution of Kenya, with particular reference to Section 78, on Protection of Freedom of conscience, ensured respect for different religious beliefs and outlooks (except those "shown not to be reasonably justifiable in a democratic society").

Relevant clauses from the Constitution and the Education Act have been extracted and distributed to you, on a separate sheet.

4. The Ministry of Education Primary School Syllabus, 1967 contained the Protestant Syllabus A and the Catholic Syllabus B which preceded the present joint syllabus which is composed of materials selected from the two separate syllabuses.
5. The Education Regulations, 1968, contained relevant clauses, on Curriculum Syllabuses and Books.
6. A Memorandum on R.E. in the Curriculum, addressed to the Curriculum Development Mission, 1971, (INS/B/4/2/Vol.11/47 dated 26th August, 1971) written by Fr.T.Farrelly, went into the situation in detail.
7. The following circulars from the Chief Inspector of Schools were addressed to all District Education Officers:

INS/72/81 dated 29th November, 1972.
INS/74/54 dated 18th July, 1974
INS/75/33 dated 25th April, 1975
INS/B/4/1/73 dated 28th January, 1975
INS/C/1/1/Vol.11/243 dated 29th April, 1977

8. The present C.R.E. syllabus, printed in 1977 by the J.K.F. and now available from the K.S.E.S.

The present syllabus

As you will know, the present Syllabus, approved in principle by the Chief Inspector of Schools in 1972 (INS/72/81) and described as the Interim Joint

Syllabus in circular INS/B/4/1/73 of January 1975, takes what is common to the Syllabuses A and B (1967) and puts these common elements of belief and religious teaching into a programme to be taught in the time-tabled C.R.E. lessons, 5 weekly in Standards 1 and 2, and 3 weekly in Standards 3 to 7. In addition to these time-tabled lessons, there are also the programmes of pastoral instruction, to be taught in one period weekly outside the time-tabled lessons, in the additional period included in the normal working hours of a teacher for extra-curricular activities. These programmes relate to specific Church teaching.

The present Syllabus establishes the important principle of ecumenical co-operation amongst the Churches in the field of Primary C.R.E. This principle was established at secondary level in 1970 with the introduction of the first joint C.R.E. syllabus (the K.J.S.E.), followed by the joint E.A.C.E. syllabuses in 1973. The present syllabus accepts that all children receiving Christian teaching can be taught a common basis to their faith together in the classroom, during the time-tabled lessons.

This present syllabus will eventually be superseded by an entirely new joint syllabus, with supporting new books. It will take 7 years to introduce the new syllabus into the schools, from the time it is introduced for the first time into Standard 1. For a seven year period, the present syllabus and the new syllabus will be found together until the new syllabus completely replaces the present one. There will be only one series of books for the new syllabus, written jointly by Protestant and Catholic co-authors.

The Constitutional Position and Educational Status of C.R.E.

The Education Act legalises the teaching of R.E. in schools, in Part 111, paragraph 8/3c and 4, and Part V111, paragraph 26/2, and indicates what kind of religious education should be given:

"Religious instruction shall be given at the school in conformity with a syllabus prepared or approved under Regulations made under Section 19 of this Act, after consultation with the sponsor".

"In determining what are the wishes of the community served by the school, the local authority or Minister shall give due weight to the wishes of the parents of the children at the school".

"Where the parent of a pupil at a public school wishes the pupil to attend religious worship or religious instruction of a kind which is not provided in the school, the school shall provide such facilities as may be practicable for the pupil to receive religious instruction and religious worship of the kind desired by the parent".

R.E. is therefore an accepted part of the Primary school curriculum and is not an optional subject. This means that all children whose parents wish them to be given basic Christian teaching, according to the agreed syllabus, should be taught the subject as a normal part of their Primary education. Any parent who does not wish his child to be given this agreed basic Christian teaching has the right to withdraw his child from the lessons, under Part V111, paragraph 26/1, of the Act, which guards the constitutional protection of freedom of conscience. I am not going to refer to Islamic R.E. in this report which deals with Christian R.E. but it should be understood that Muslim children and children

from any other religious communities, such as those of the Sikhs, Hindus and Jains, are not expected to attend C.R.E. lessons, under the right of withdrawal clause.

Availability of Present Syllabus and Textbooks

From this year, a printed syllabus ordered through the KSES, is available. In it is the joint time-tabled Syllabus, the cross-reference index indicated how the three different series of books may be used, and the programmes of Pastoral Instruction. The S.E.O. i/c of the KSES is distributing two copies of the printed syllabus to each school in the country this year, and more copies may be ordered in successive years, so that it is more readily available to the teachers. Until each teacher can obtain a copy, the Headteacher should see that each teacher copies what is necessary for each class from the printed syllabus.

The following textbooks are available:

Watoto wa Mungu Series, Pupil's Books only for Standards 1 to 4, in English and Kiswahili.
Teacher's books only for Standards 5 to 7
- Std. 5 "Response in Christ"
- Std. 6 "God's Power in Christ"
- Std. 7 "Wholeness in Christ"

The whole series is now printed by the Jomo Kenyatta Foundation.

Lesson Notes for Christian Teaching - Teacher's Books only, available for all Standards from 1 to 7.

Books 1 to 4 are printed by Evangel Press, and Books 5 to 7 by JKF.

Children of Africa and the Bible Series - Pupil's and Teacher's books available for all Standards from 1 to 7.

The School Bible now recommended is "The Good News Bible" (15/-), which provides an easier translation in English than the R.S.V.

For the Programmes of Pastoral Instruction, the following books are available:

"My Christian Community" - Catholic programme (Standards 3 to 7)
"God, Myself and Others" - C.C.E.A. (Protestant) programme { " " }
"When God chose People" - S.D.A. Programme { " " }

A school may choose whichever series of books is preferred for the time-tabled lessons but teachers need to be warned that they should not follow books from beginning to end without referring to the cross-reference index as the syllabus follows themes and the books need to be used selectively.

Programme of Pastoral Instruction. These should normally be taught by teachers in the school who are willing to do this, but under Part VIII, paragraph 26, section 2, of the Education Act, it is in order for the Headteacher to ask the D.E.O. for approval to ask the local Church communities to provide capable persons to assist with the Programmes.

In-Servicing of Teachers to Assist them with the C.R.E. Syllabus

All Districts have been asked, by circulars sent from Inspectorate H.Q. to organise in-servicing of teachers during 1978. It is strongly recommended that field Officers seek assistance from Church R.E. Advisers in the area and that courses are organised locally to reduce costs and to avoid undue interruptions in school time. Class teachers and Headteachers need the present syllabus to be clearly explained to them, from Standard to Standard. Headteachers also need help with the ordering of R.E. books on the KSES Order form. In-servicing will need to be carried on as a regular exercise from year to year, particularly when the new Syllabus which is now being prepared, is introduced year by year over a 7 year period. It is possible that 1980 may be the year of its introduction into Standard 1.

E. Welch
for Chief Inspector of Schools. May 1978.

APPENDIX 13

EXTRACTS FROM THE GACHATHI REPORT (1976)

IN RESPECT OF THE SEPARATION OF ETHICS FROM RELIGION

1.2 Goals and Programmes of Action

1.2.1 National Unity

"In any society, especially during a political crisis or emergency, people tend to understand the need of uniting against their common enemy. But in the years which follow basic victory and prosperity, it is not always easy for the important force of national unity to seem so real and important. Let me mention here, that our Republic continues to be faced with various types of challenges, both national and international, which require our unity and finding solutions". (PRESIDENT KENYATTA, 1976)

This quotation was part of the address given to the nation by President Kenyatta on the occasion of the 1976 Kenyatta Day (20th October). The address was devoted entirely to the theme of national unity, with particular reference to the way in which national unity has helped Kenyans to deal effectively with a number of national and international challenges. The President emphasised that the single most important attribute to the nation's past and future stability and progress is national unity.

Since Independence the concept of national unity has taken a firm foundation, in the designs and emotions of the people in their efforts to enhance the quality of life for all people in the country. Hard work and the close co-operation between the Government and the people had resulted in greater accomplishments in one decade since Independence than all the decades of colonial rule had accomplished.

The President cautioned that in spite of the progress made in the first decade of independence, the country was still faced with national and international challenges whose solutions required the continued building up of national unity.

National unity has continued to be of importance in facing social and economic challenges. These challenges have arisen as a result of relatively rapid increases in global human populations, emergence of new political and trading patterns and the destructive impact of world price inflation. In these circumstances lack of national unity would result in wastage of the nation's limited resources that are essential for survival and improvement of the quality of life.

National unity which is supported by co-ordinated planning by the Government is an essential feature of the proper use of the nation's natural resources such as the forests, soil, rivers and the entire environment. The enforcement of environmental protection and conservation laws cannot succeed without the united support of the principles of conservation by the people of Kenya.

At the international level, it is recognised that no nation can escape the impacts of the social and economic problems of the world. These require the cultivation of international trust and unity. It must however be recognised that the country cannot rely on external generosity and sympathy to solve her

problems. National unity and self-reliance must continue to be the real foundations for solving these problems. They must also be the foundations for recognizing the respecting the sovereignty of other countries in a spirit of co-operation.

All these national attributes need to be developed through relevant education that imparts a sense of national and international consciousness. Future generations must be enabled to initiate, plan and develop appropriate social and economic activities for the continued enhancement of the quality of life in the country and the unity of the people. They must be able to remove social and regional inequalities in order to facilitate everybody's contribution towards national unity. The following recommendations serve to reiterate these observations.

Recommendation 1

To continue promoting national unity.

Recommendation 2

To remove social and regional inequalities.

Recommendation 3

To create an international consciousness.

Recommendation 4

To make general education give increasing emphasis to adaptability.

Recommendation 5

To make formal education institutions, including primary schools, give increasing emphasis on problem solving teaching methods that have a bearing on the real life situation of the Kenyan environment.

1.2.2 Mutual Social Responsibility

The tradition of mutual social responsibility is an extension of the African family spirit to the nation as a whole. It implies a mutual responsibility by society and its members to do their very best for each other on the understanding that society cannot prosper without the full co-operation of its members who would in turn share in that prosperity.

The tradition has been manifested most actively through the numerous self-help projects that have contributed greatly to the development of the country. The success with which this tradition is continued into the future will depend on the extent to which it is taught to, and adopted, by the youth. It is in this process that the education system is expected to play a basic role as indicated in the following recommendations.

Recommendation 6

To promote the full development of the talents and personalities of individuals within the context of mutual social responsibility.

Recommendation 7

To develop those being educated into useful citizens capable of, and motivated towards, contributing to the improvement of the nation as a whole as well as that of their own welfare.

Recommendation 8

To instil in the students positive attitudes towards co-operative effort and mutual social responsibility by encouraging the project approach to

primary teaching.

Organize projects on a group basis.

Draw topics from any area of the curriculum.

Assess all projects and give the same mark to all participants.

Include the marks in secondary school selection.

1.2.3 Social Values and Ethics

"Another fundamental force in African traditional life was religion which provided a strict moral code for the community. This will be a prominent feature of African Socialism." (REPUBLIC OF KENYA, 1965)

The moral or ethical organization of human life in African society aims at making provision for the best possible harmony between the people and their environment in order to ensure human survival and a good quality of life for the whole of the community. The moral code underlying these provisions is developed in customs, commands, social constraints and many other positive aspects of cultural development. It is the conscious provision for survival and enhancement of the quality of life for the whole community that underlies the communal organization of African society. Life activities are programmed within this organized system of social ethics which is traditionally taught to every youth as an integral part of their growth process as they socially assume their roles in the community. Furthermore, the ethics of society are traditionally taught and upheld by its more senior members and leaders. The teaching of ethics should, therefore, be one of the most valuable traditions to be incorporated into education.

Traditional education is basically a life-long process because it is based on the continuous need for survival and enhancement of the quality of life for all members of the community. This implies that education is for all people of all ages and both sexes who thereby commit their lives to follow a comprehensive but wide-ranging set of social and ethical principles and guide-lines without which human life would result in social disorganization and chaos.

The responsibility for the teaching of ethics of society has generally been left to be undertaken within the teaching of religion because of the traditional role of religion to provide a strict moral code for the community. There are however, a number of reasons why the formalised teaching of religions cannot continue effectively to teach the ethics of society for the day-to-day needs of all its members.

For example, Christianity was itself brought into the country by western religious teachers during the colonial rule, a time when there was also strong resentment by Africans against colonial domination. Western religion, therefore, tended to be rejected from a social and political point of view because it was seen as a pacifying tool of the colonial master. For example, religious and ethical teaching of Christianity did not use the strongly religious and ethical beliefs of African society as a foundation. It tended to declare the latter as sinful, primitive, heathen and totally irrelevant in a society which the missionary was aiming at civilizing. Herein then was one of the most fundamental failures of many foreign religious teachers who thereby failed to recognise and teach the universality of the moral basis of religion within the African society. Similar observations can be made in practically all other imported religions. The question now is whether the failure to use African social systems of values

is being perpetuated by African educational leadership in an independent nation.

Religion has continued to be taught in schools since Independence. The previously parochialised segregation between sect-oriented schools has, however, been largely abolished. In the meantime it has become increasingly clear that the teaching of ethics of the day-to-day activities has continued to be confused with what is strictly the teaching of religion. Religious teaching concentrates heavily on such matters as relationships of man with the divine, brotherhood of man, values of justice and general moral expectations in terms of good and evil. The teaching of ethics should however go into the details of the social norms underlying all aspects of human behaviour irrespective of whether one is religious, atheistic, agnostic or adheres to any other belief. Ethics for example teaches the moral importance of sound financial control in personal and incorporated business regardless of whether or not the persons involved are religious. It also teaches the moral implications of modern developments in the scientific and technological fields and how to use the power thus acquired for the good of humanity in general.

It is, therefore, evident that the teaching of religion and social ethics should not continue to be mixed up. It may, however, continue to be true that the teachers of religion are among the most competent and credible to teach social ethics. But social ethics cuts across the whole of society where every member, including every teacher, must do everything to adhere to what is essentially a basic code for survival. A business that has no in-built financial control cannot survive in the long run. Financial control is a human activity based on the knowledge, skills and moral education of the individuals involved. Without any kind of moral belief and education the individuals concerned will be just as happy to use their knowledge and skills to manipulate the financial figures for purposes other than the most socially desirable ones. In this way their lack of ethical foundations will constitute a basis for social disintegration and, in the long run, degeneration of the quality of life of society and eventual social death.

Every member of society is thus obliged to live and demonstrate this kind of socially-coded system of ethics. Through the formal and non-formal systems of education, the ethics of society must be passed on to the youth as part of their process of socialization.

In view of the varying degrees of adherence to religions by members of society, religion cannot be used as the only basis for the teaching of social ethics. It would, therefore, appear that there is need to institute specifically the teaching of basic social ethics.

The Committee came to the conclusion that for this to be achieved there is a critical need for a redefinition of the social ethics of the country. In the view of the Committee this need is made urgent by the continually ineffective public condemnation of social problems such as corruption, nepotism, tribalism and idleness due to lack of the necessary supporting moral and civic education. Ethical training should emphasise parameters of national integration, principles of communal life such as reciprocity, mutual self-reliance, co-operation and Harambee. It should also emphasise the principle of equity as a critical concept in education and social development.

It is the considered view of the Committee that the redefinition of the social ethics of the country has to be based on the values of the rural African society which forms the core of integrated value systems which have better survival potential than the urban sectors. The core of the African social and cultural

values is based on the community and the interrelationships which are in turn based on the family systems. This is the basis of the socio-political philosophy of mutual social responsibility.

The structure to be used for teaching social values should take into account two basic traditional approaches to the organisation of life. Firstly, there is the organisation of the present life both physically and socio-psychologically in such terms as youth socialisation and initiation, marriage, childbearing and education, sickness, death, food, drink, shelter, social life, community service and environmental adaptation, organisation of settlements and land use system, basic techniques of production and distribution of benefits, division of labour, rewards for tasks, rules governing production and distribution of benefits, human relations, family, kinships and political systems, values and beliefs, symbolism and ritual. Secondly, there is the rationalised belief regarding what is beyond the actual physical and socio-psychological life in terms of ancestors, the past and future in general and of religion.

It is these kinds of systems of social ethics that have been the basic determinants of the quality of life and of survival of society to where it is today. But the whole social environment has been changing in recent decades since the invasion by other systems of teaching of religion and ethics.

The modern sectors form the periphery of the African society. In Kenya, however, there has been a tendency to pull everything away from the core towards the periphery, including the orientation of religion, education, science and technology as well as the economy in general.

The Committee would like to emphasise the need to find ways and means to re-establish the proper perspective of these features in the community core of African social organisation. As far as the role of the education system is concerned in this process, the Committee makes the following recommendations.

Recommendation 9

To institute the teaching of religion and social ethics in the education system as a basis for the continued survival and enhancement of the quality of life of society.

Recommendation 10

To focus education on the basic needs and income-earnings opportunities for the rural areas and to foster changes of social values, aspirations and motivations.

Recommendation 11

To make secondary education contribute to the formulation and propagation of a national ethical code based on the values of traditional African society, bearing in mind that the teaching of religious education should not be regarded as the limit of the schools contribution to ethical education.

Recommendation 12

To provide for ethical education and training and for such social matters as family life education, issues of the environment, and national and international understanding.

1.2.4 Cultural Values

Every society has a culture, although the degree to which it is reinforced, stabilized and nurtured varies from society to society. It constitutes social organisation, technology, learned behaviour, values, languages, beliefs and religion. It also represents inherited traditions, folk-lore, myths and interpretations of man's destiny. It forms the basis for social collective identity and personality, social consciousness and definition of self. It forms a spring-board for patriotic behaviour and loyalty, confidence, self-reliance and self-direction.

All culture is transmitted from generation to generation through learning, copying and conservation. This is carried out firstly in the family where parents teach children such things as basic behaviour, language, values, rules of human relations and basic skills of adaptability. It is also transmitted through community groups such as age mates, social groups and elders where the youth learn rules of human relations, norms regulating achievement and social ethics. This learning is then extended to the wider society in terms of adaptability to situations, application of skills and citizenship. The institutionalised and formalised school system must be planned and developed as an integral part of these social processes.

The coming of western religion created among the Africans the so-called "Asomi" who aped western ways and looked down upon any indigenous cultural practices. The bulk of the population became the non-asomi. They were seen as a diffuse collectivity of illiterates who could be ridiculed into a dehumanizing awareness of their low status in life. This process of alienation became successful through the exaltation of the supremacy of western religion, technology, and social values and downgrading completely the usefulness of any African traditions and practices. Africans were being reduced to being apologetic about being African through a process of conversion to the belief that they had to give up their social values to adopt those of the western people. The African children learned to be ashamed of their parents and home backgrounds with the associated loss of authority and credibility of their parents. In the long run this has produced weakened family systems, white-collar mentality and narrowly bases materialistic education leading to individualistic tendencies. As a result, the fundamentally valuable ethics of African society have in many cases been abandoned under the influence of foreigners whose alternatives have often been accepted blindly. The question now is whether the adopted systems of cultural values have the same basic value in terms of social survival and quality of life in the rapidly changing world of tomorrow in the environment of a developing country like Kenya. There is increasing evidence that they do not.

The Committee has come to the conclusion that the education system which has in many cases been instrumental as an agent of social alienation must therefore be made to make the necessary social corrections by teaching a national culture and basic family and social life education. The aim of such a step will be to ensure national unity, survival and an enhanced quality of life in an increasingly internationally inter-dependent pattern of human life. The following recommendations attempt to suggest how this should be achieved.

Recommendation 13

To promote traditional practices that are conducive to national unity.

Recommendation 14

To direct the traditional development of the country so as to serve as an effective expression of the values and ways of life of the people of Kenya by adopting the various ethnically based traditional practices as part of national culture.

Recommendation 15

To promote traditional practices that have educational and occupational values.

Recommendation 16

To integrate traditional practices with modern scientific and technological developments.

Recommendation 17

To codify and use the traditional practices which can serve as sources of basic knowledge.

Recommendation 18

To identify and catalogue traditional methodology and theories and to integrate such traditional education with the modern educational practices for life-long continuing education.

1.2.5 Economic Values (Attitudes to Work and Incentives)

It has become increasingly evident that the influence of foreign economic values may be playing an important role in determining the continued underdevelopment of countries such as Kenya. The demands created by the elite and school-leavers tend to force the country to sustain heavy import bills, heavy pressure on foreign exchange, increasing push for production of cash crops for export sometimes at the expense of essential foodstuffs for internal consumption, and a continuing weakening of the bargaining strength of the country's foreign exchange. White-collar jobs whose origins go back to colonial days when schools were used to train clerks, interpreters, and junior civil servants no longer reflect what is possible or desirable in the circumstances of today. They have led to job selectivity, overcrowding in certain employment sectors and shortages in others, and open and worsening state of unemployment. The continued tendency for shifting towards the modern sector is closely associated with increased importation of capital intensive technology.

The Committee is satisfied that there is need to re-adjust the economy towards meeting basic internal needs of the core of African society based on increased development and use of appropriate and labour-intensive technologies. This can only be achieved if the values, aspirations, motivations, beliefs and choices of the core of society are taken into consideration in national development processes.

This would also entail the use of traditional practices as sources of basic knowledge, where these are of particular use, and integrating them with modern science and technology and those international relations which are compatible with the efforts to meet basic internal needs of society.

It should be understood that money as an end in itself does not constitute a socially effective survival value. Yet educational development has tended to respond to the basic career and income aspirations of youth and their parents with consequent migration of youth and school-leavers to urban areas thereby creating grave social problems. The current incomes policy of the country is geared towards allocating and rewarding jobs on the basis of formal education attainment. One of the basic requirements is, therefore, for the education system to impart new economic values and goals for young people and their parents, including positive values for rural careers and local technological production. In the view of the Committee this must be accompanied by basic reforms of incomes structure aimed at de-emphasising the direct relationship between formal education

and high rewards. This can be achieved by such methods as changes in the incomes policy, wage regulations, re-classification of careers and imposition of wage ceilings.

From the point of view of the social, cultural and economic values of the nation, the Committee suggests that the education and training systems be modified to become agents of continuous life long socialization of the youth, the adults and the community in general and should embody the ideals of Harambee and mutual social responsibility. This is summarized in the following recommendations.

Recommendation 19

To bring about a sense of dignity towards social service and productive labour through appropriately programmed activities of basic education.

Recommendation 20

To enable and motivate Kenyans to utilize the available resources, with particular attention being given to subjects which emphasise the national value of such fundamental activities as agriculture.

Recommendation 21

To expose youth to productive labour and to eradicate negative attitudes towards work, especially manual work.

Recommendation 22

To make the education system seek to alter attitudes towards careers in agriculture and to reinforce changes in aspirations by income redistribution which encourages self-reliance, creativity, use of local resources, initiative and appropriate technology.

Recommendation 23

To make formal education induce the most appropriate and positive attitudes towards productive labour, with special reference to self-employment.

Recommendation 24

To restructure the pattern of incentives and rewards in favour of the poorer sections of the community, with particular reference to the rural farming and non-farming activities, through an incomes policy covering wages, salaries, rents, interest rates and profits.

Recommendation 25

To give greater rewards and incentives to crafts, farming, productive manual work and creativity.

Recommendation 26

To change the society's system of occupational rewards, particularly as between urban, modern sector occupations and rural development activities, in order to facilitate effective curriculum change.

Recommendation 27

To review the fee and incentive structure of all education and training programmes with a view to restructuring incentives to encourage entry and, in the case of women, re-entry to vocational training and careers.

Recommendation 28

To study the prevailing financing structure and incentive system related to all types of training.

APPENDIX 14

LIST OF CRE SYLLABUSES, WITH THE AUTHORISATION DATES

The following is a list of CRE Syllabuses, indicating date when authorized for use in schools:-

Primary School Level

1967 "Ministry of Education Primary Schools Syllabus"

Religious Education Syllabus A - for Protestant Schools

Religious Education Syllabus B - for Catholic Schools

- Children of God. Books 1-1V

- Watoto Wa Mungo. Books 1-1V

- Lesson Notes for Christian Teaching Stds. 5-7

1972 "Joint Christian Religious Education Syllabus for Primary Schools"
(i.e. the Joint Interim Syllabus)

- using the same books as the above Syllabuses A and B.

- with a cross referencing index for the textbooks

- On the Way in Christ, Std.1

- To the Father in Christ, Std.2

- God's Love in Christ, Std.3

- Growth in Christ, Std.4

- Response in Christ, Std.5

- God's Power in Christ, Std.6

- Wholeness in Christ, Std.7

1979 "Christian Religious Education Joint Churches Syllabus"

Secondary School Level

Forms 1 and 11

1969 "The Kenya Junior Secondary Education (KJSE) Religious Education Syllabus"

- Encounter with Christ, Books I and II

1972 "Developing in Christ Syllabus"

- Christ and My Humanity, Teachers Book Form I.

- Christian Life in Community, Teachers Book Form II

- My Personal Freedom, Form I, Term I

- My Work and Relationships, Form I, Term 11

- My Power to Live, Form I, Term 111

- My Responsibility in Community, Form II, Term 1

- My Search for Values, Form 11, Term 11

- My Response to Values, Form II, Term 111

1977 "Non-Examinable CRE Syllabus for Form I and II

- using same books as "Developing in Christ Syllabus"

- has a cross referencing for teachers.

Forms 111 and 1V

1973 "O Level CRE Syllabus 223"

- Christian Living Today, Books 1 and 11

- Teacher's Guide to Christian Living Today

"O Level CRE Syllabus 224"

- Luke's Gospel for Africa Today, (Paper 1)
- God Speaks to Man, (Paper 2)
- The Early Church and Africa, (Paper 3)
- A Serving People, (Paper 4)
- The African Religious Heritage, (Paper 5)
- Teacher's Guide to Syllabus 224

Forms V and VI

1975 "A Level CRE Syllabus 245"

- CRE A Level Guide
- Old Testament, (Paper 1)
- New Testament, (Paper 2)
- Christianity in East Africa, (Paper 3)
- Modern Christian Living, (Paper 4)

APPENDIX 15

ONE IN CHRIST SERIES

DRAFT TIMETABLE FOR CRE CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT 1980-1987

Class	Materials	1980	1981	82	83	84	85	86	87
Std. 1-7	Syllabus '80			Syll '80					
Std. 1	Teacher's Bk. 1		T1						
Std. 2	Teacher's Bk.2			T 2					
Std. 3	Teacher's Bk. 3				T3				
Std. 1-3	Visual Aids				VA				
Std. 4	Pupil's Bk. 4					P4			
	Teacher's Bk. 4					T4			
Std. 5	Pupil's Bk. 5						P5		
	Teacher's Bk. 5						T5		
Std. 6	Pupil's Bk. 6							P6	
	Teacher's Bk. 6							T6	
Std. 7	Pupil's Bk. 7								P7
	Teacher's Bk. 7								T7
Junior Sec.	Syllabus					Syll.			
Junior Sec.	Book 1							Bk.1	
Junior Sec.	Book 2								Bk.2

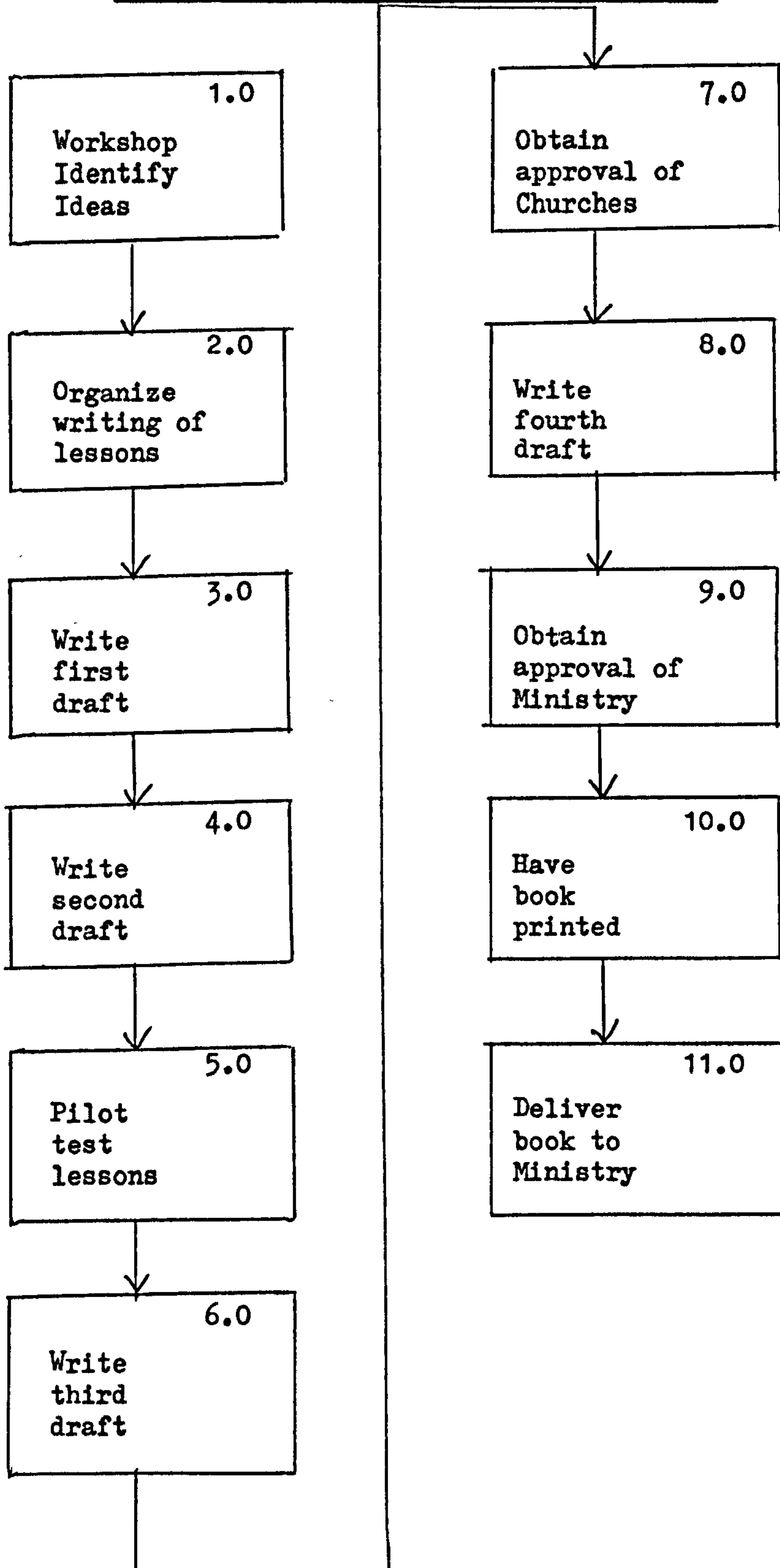
Note: T = Teacher's Book. P = Pupil's Book. The upper limit is the year of implementation.

Thomas M. Farrelly

Source: K.C.S. 16/2/81.

Appendix 15 Continued

DEVELOPMENT OF TEXTBOOK: ONE IN CHRIST



APPENDIX 16

PRIMARY SCHOOL LEVEL CRE SYLLABUSES

From the Ministry of
Education, Inspectorate
Section, Nairobi, 1972.

Joint CRE Syllabus for Primary Schools

P R E F A C E

In the 1967 edition of the Ministry of Education Primary School Syllabus, the hope was expressed that discussions between the Protestant and Catholic Churches on the content of a unified syllabus would soon take place. The Education Act 1968 guaranteed "religious instruction and religious worship of the kind desired by the parent." Moreover, the Regulations implementing the Act entrusted the development of syllabuses for religious education to the church sponsors, subject to the approval of the Minister for Education.

The problem was, how to provide a unified syllabus while safeguarding the right to diversity recognised by the Act. The solution adopted by the churches has been to distinguish what is common to all the Christian churches from what is specific to a particular church or group of churches.

This has made it possible for the common content to become the basis of a unified or "joint" syllabus and for the specific content to become the basis of "pastoral" syllabuses. The word "pastoral", already used in the Ominde Report, is employed here to denote content mainly concerned with the life and worship of the various Christian churches. One such syllabus has been prepared for Catholic pupils and is appended to the Joint Syllabus.

The Joint Syllabus presented here is not new. Since the preparation of a completely new syllabus will take a considerable length of time, the churches have decided in the meantime to offer this interim joint syllabus for those schools which wish to use it. The Joint Syllabus is a combination of the 1967 Syllabuses A and B. It is designed to be used with the existing textbooks.

The content is arranged in three cycles. Each cycle follows the story of salvation centred on Christ, with its meaning for Christian living today adapted to the age-level of the pupils. The three cycles are, Standards 1 and 2; 3 and 4; 5 and 6. The Standard 7 course is devoted to Christian living today.

T. Farrelly,
for Chief Inspector of Schools

Introduction

This joint syllabus, produced by Catholics and Protestants, is the result of careful and deliberate planning. It was written with a view towards unity. The teaching of what is common to all will in no way eliminate what is specific to each. The task of translating these wide and general topics into more concrete and specific aims will be handled by individual schemes.

The aim of Christian Religious Education is to bring the child to an awareness of the deeds of God, especially those done in Christ, and so to make it possible for the child to deepen his faith in Christ. This faith must be seen to be lived in a community so that the child is led to see that life means good relationships with others. The child must be given an awareness of God, and of his own dignity and be brought to realize that concern for, and the service of, others is essential to the development of the individual, and of peace and progress in the local community and in the nation.

S T A N D A R D I

THEME

God is our Loving Father

TERM I

- (i) God is our Father - He loves us, we love Him.
- (ii) We speak to God our Father - Prayer.
- (iii) God sent His Son to be our Leader, Teacher and Friend.
- (iv) The Easter Story.

TERM II

- (i) Becoming Children of God.
- (ii) Children of God try to please Him.
- (iii) God's family prays together.
- (iv) Friends of God. (Reference to the Old Testament).

TERM III

- (i) God who is all powerful created all things.
- (ii) Man brought evil and unhappiness into the world through sin.
- (iii) God's guidance for man.
- (iv) The Christmas Story.

S T A N D A R D I I

THEME

God the Father Prepares His Children to Know

His Son Jesus

TERM I

- (i) God sends His Son to visit us on earth - birth of Christ.
- (ii) Christ invites us to join God's Family.

TERM II

- (i) The Story of Easter.
- (ii) The Risen Christ and His Disciples.
- (iii) Christ returns to His Father and prepares a plan for us.
 - (a) The Ascension.
 - (b) Christ's Command to spread the Kingdom.
 - (c) The waiting of the Disciples for the coming of the Spirit.
 - (d) The coming of the Spirit.
 - (e) The gifts of the Spirit.

TERM III

Application of the message of the Risen Christ in the life of the child in the church and in the nation.

S T A N D A R D III

THEME

God the Father's Loving Guidance of His People

TERM I

- (i) God speaks to us in His Holy Book - the Bible.
- (ii) God, through His Chosen People, establishes the family of God's children.
- (iii) God takes His people to Egypt to save them from famine - the story of Joseph.
- (iv) God chooses a Leader for His People. He instructs them and cares for them.
- (v) The Resurrection.

TERM II

- (i) King David makes Jerusalem the Holy City - the Psalms.
- (ii) King Solomon builds the Temple - Worship - prayers.
- (iii) Many of God's People become sinners, God sends His messengers, the Prophets, to call them back to Him - their refusal is punished with exile.
- (iv) In exile, God's People think again of His goodness, recall again the story of creation, and how evil entered the world through sin - Repentance.

TERM III

- (i) When His People return to His service, God rewards them - return to Jerusalem.
- (ii) God's People look forward to the Messiah.
- (iii) The Messiah comes and establishes His Kingdom.

S T A N D A R D IV

THEME

Christ Shows us the Way to the Father

TERM I

- (i) Immediate preparation for the coming of the Messiah - St. John the Baptist proclaims Christ.
- (ii) Jesus proclaims the Kingdom of God.
- (iii) Christ the true Son of God - shown by His miracles.
- (iv) Christ is rejected by the leaders of God's chosen people.
- (v) In obedience to His Father's will Christ accepts suffering and death.
- (vi) The Father raises Christ from the dead.

TERM II

- (i) Christ establishes His Kingdom through the Holy Spirit.
- (ii) God's new chosen people, the Christians, are confirmed in their faith in Christ.
- (iii) Christians today are confirmed in their faith through the power of the Holy Spirit.

TERM III

- (i) Christian life.
- (ii) Fulfilment of the Kingdom in Christ's second coming.
- (iii) Christmas - celebration of Christ's coming.

S T A N D A R D V

THEME

God's Call, Man's Response; God Prepares His People for the Coming of His Son

TERM I

- (i) The Bible - God's message to the world.
- (ii) Courage and faith are gained through proper responses to God.
- (iii) God prepares His people to serve.

TERM II

- (i) God speaks and His people respond.
- (ii) Obedience to the call of God and action required.
- (iii) Great leaders called by God.

TERM III

- (i) God punishes and rewards His People.
- (ii) God is just and fulfils His promises.
- (iii) God fulfils His promise - the birth of Jesus.

S T A N D A R D VI

THEME

The Unfolding of God's Plan in Christ

TERM I

God's plan of redemption - Christ the Saviour.

- (a) The power of Jesus saves people from the slavery of sin.
- (b) New life in Christ.
- (c) Salvation through Jesus' death and the power of His Spirit.

TERM II

God's plan of redemption - the Holy Spirit in the Church.

- (a) Work of the Holy Spirit as recorded in The Acts of The Apostles.
- (b) Work of the Holy Spirit as the Christian Faith spread through the Roman Empire.

TERM III

Church History - the Christian Church from Biblical times to the coming of Christianity to East Africa.

- (a) Early Centres of the Church.
- (b) Missionary movements.
- (c) World-wide expansion of the Church.

S T A N D A R D VII

THEME

Christian living - our Responsibility for Service
in the World Today

TERM I

The Christian Life

- (a) Fostered and protected by the Christian family.
- (b) Strengthened by prayer
- (c) Assisted by members of the Church
- (d) Completed by final union with the Redemptive Act of Christ - Christian death.

TERM II

Christian responsibility in the Church and in Society

- (a) The Christian and the family.
- (b) The Christian and the nation.
- (c) The Christian and work
- (d) The Christian and other religions.

TERM III

Christian Witness in the World Today

- (a) Great Christian leaders of today.
- (b) Movements towards Christian unity.
- (c) Christ our model - general revision of our relationship with God based on:-
 - (i) Christian beliefs
 - (ii) Christian worship
 - (iii) Christian conduct.

PUPILS' BOOKS

Watoto wa Mungu

OR

Children of Africa and the Bible

TEACHERS' BOOKS

Watoto wa Mungu

OR

Lesson Notes for Christian Teaching

OR

Children of Africa and the Bible

APPENDIX 16 Continued

Extracts from Kenya Syllabus for Primary Schools: CRE

(Draft Syllabus 1980, by K.I.E.)

Guiding Themes of the Syllabus

There are three major themes for each year of this syllabus:

1. God reveals himself to man
2. Man responds to God
3. Man develops relationship with God and People.

These three themes express the belief of the churches that it is God who initiates faith by revealing himself to man; that man is then free to respond to God's self-revelation; and that if man so responds then the development of his faith will lead to a deeper relationship with God in Christ and with his fellow human beings.

Each of these major themes is explored in its various aspects, called UNITS. In Standards I and II there are many such aspects, dealt with very briefly. From Standards III - VII there are nine units in each year:

TERM I

Creation
Bible
Easter

TERM II

The Church
The Teaching of Jesus
Pentecost

TERM III

Neighbours
Discipleship
Christmas

In this fashion a spiral curriculum is built up, enabling pupils to study basic elements of Christian teaching at greater depth, or from a different standpoint, in succeeding years.

It is also to be noted that each Standard has a particular emphasis, which, though not apparent in every Unit, does affect the choice of topic to be studied.

SUMMARY OF THE SYLLABUS

STANDARD I

TERM I

GOD REVEALS HIMSELF THROUGH THE CHILD'S EXPERIENCE OF:

- Myself
- Others (my family, teachers and friends)
- Creation
- My home and my church
- The Holy Bible
- Jesus the son of God

TERM II

CHILD RESPONDS TO GOD IN FAITH AND LOVE THROUGH HUMAN EXPERIENCE IN:

- Thankfulness
- Prayer
- Obedience
- Work
- Jesus the Son of God

TERM III

CHILD DEVELOPS RELATIONSHIPS WITH PEOPLE AND GOD BASED ON:

- Acceptance and trust
- Friendship
- God's love for us

SUMMARY OF THE SYLLABUS

STANDARD II

TERM I

GOD REVEALS HIMSELF THROUGH THE CHILD'S EXPERIENCE OF:

- Home Community
- School Community
- Church
- Creation
- The Bible
- Jesus

TERM II

CHILD RESPONDS TO GOD IN FAITH AND LOVE THROUGH HUMAN EXPERIENCE IN:

- Thankfulness
- Worship and prayer
- Trust and obedience
- Helpfulness
- Knowing Jesus

TERM THREE

CHILD DEVELOPS RELATIONSHIP WITH PEOPLE AND GOD BASED ON:

- Acceptance and trust
- Honesty and Fairness
- Concern and sharing (care)
- Jesus' love and care for people

SUMMARY OF THE SYLLABUS

STANDARD III

TERM I

GOD REVEALS HIMSELF THROUGH THE LEARNER'S EXPERIENCE OF:

- His Community
- The cultural environment
- Men and events of the Old Testament
- The death and resurrection of his son

TERM II

THE LEARNER RESPONDS TO GOD THROUGH HUMAN EXPERIENCE IN:

- The worshipping community
- Learning the teaching of Jesus on responsibility and service
- Being part of a Spirit-filled people

TERM III

THE LEARNER DEVELOPS RELATIONSHIP WITH PEOPLE AND GOD BASED ON:

- Tolerance and forgiveness
- Fair dealing
- Joy

SUMMARY OF THE SYLLABUS

STANDARD IV

TERM I

GOD REVEALS HIMSELF THROUGH THE LEARNER'S EXPERIENCE OF:

- Jesus and Creation
- Jesus our Leader
- Jesus our Saviour

TERM 2

THE LEARNER RESPONDS TO GOD THROUGH HUMAN EXPERIENCE IN:

- Following Jesus as leader
- Choosing to belong
- Christian communities in Kenya

TERM 3

THE LEARNER DEVELOPS RELATIONSHIPS WITH PEOPLE AND GOD BASED ON:

- Co-operating with others in community efforts and giving free service when needed.
- Being at peace
- The peace which the Prince of Peace brings

SUMMARY OF THE SYLLABUS

STANDARD V

TERM I

GOD REVEALS HIMSELF THROUGH THE LEARNER'S EXPERIENCE OF:

- Becoming a person
- The Greatest Commandment
- Being offered new life in Christ

TERM II

THE LEARNER RESPONDS TO GOD THROUGH HUMAN EXPERIENCE IN:

- Expressing his faith
- Living as a witness to faith (within his community)
- The Holy Spirit

TERM III

THE LEARNER DEVELOPS RELATIONSHIPS WITH PEOPLE AND GOD BASED ON:

- Coping with conflict
- Good Relationships
- Jesus, the Light of the World.

SUMMARY OF THE SYLLABUS

STANDARD VI

TERM I

GOD REVEALS THROUGH THE LEARNER'S EXPERIENCE OF:

- Caring for the environment
- New Life in the New Community
- The Breaking of Bread

TERM II

THE LEARNER RESPONDS TO GOD THROUGH HUMAN EXPERIENCE IN:

- Christians caring for the environment
- Christians caring for the underprivileged
- Being led by the Holy Spirit

TERM III

THE LEARNER DEVELOPS RELATIONSHIPS WITH PEOPLE AND GOD BASED ON:

- Living and Working together
- The dignity of Work
- Jesus, the Hope of the Nations

SUMMARY OF THE SYLLABUS

STANDARD VII

TERM I

GOD REVEALS HIMSELF THROUGH THE LEARNER'S EXPERIENCE OF:

- Man's increasing knowledge of creation
- The Sermon on the Mount
- Eternal Life

TERM II

THE LEARNER RESPONDS TO GOD THROUGH HUMAN EXPERIENCE IN:

- Faith and Work
- Christians in Action

TERM III

THE LEARNER DEVELOPS RELATIONSHIP WITH PEOPLE AND GOD BASED ON:

- Friendship, love and marriage
- Civic Responsibility
- God's purpose for everyone born in this world

APPENDIX 16 Continued

Extracts from Secondary
CRE Panel: Syllabus
Review Report (1980), by
K.I.E.

KENYA SYLLABUS FOR PRIMARY SCHOOL CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Summary of Contents = Std. 1-V11

(From the Draft syllabus by J.N.A. MUGAMBI)

STD. I

1. God has given me hands, feet, senses to help me to survive, enjoy life and learn to know Him.
2. God has given me others whom he also loves to help me survive, enjoy life and learn to know Him.
3. God shows his goodness, power and concern for us by providing what we need to survive and enjoy life.
4. God wants us to learn to know him and worship him together.
5. God guides and teaches us in a special way through the Holy Bible so that we can learn to know, love and worship him.
6. God has given us his Son Jesus who teaches us about God, makes it possible for us to become the children of God, and shows us how to live as God's friends.
7. We show our appreciation to God for His many gifts by the different ways we live and act.
8. God has shown us ways in which we may talk to him, express thanks, praise, concern, problems and requests. He hears all our prayers.
9. God wants us to live together in harmony by obeying his laws and living according to his ways.
10. God has given us gifts of mind and body which we should use to serve him and others.
11. Jesus Christ teaches us how to respond to God and others in LOVE.
12. God made us. He loves us and accepts us. We should love, accept and trust ourselves and others.
13. Myself and all I have is given by God, not only to enjoy but to share personally with others.
14. God wants us to make friends and develop good relationships with others. This helps us to understand and experience his love for us.
15. God loved the world so much that He gave his only Son. (John. 3: 16).

STD II

16. God has given us neighbours whom we help and who help us.
17. Through the school God brings us together to learn, to grow, and to develop as persons willing to serve God and others.
18. God has given us the Church (Christian community, congregation) to guide us in knowing, loving and serving him.
19. God shows His goodness, power and concern for us by proving the wonderful variety in our immediate environment.
20. God speaks to us through the Bible to reveal His love for me and to guide my life.
21. Jesus our friend teaches us and helps us to care for others.
22. I show my appreciation to God for home, school, church and neighbourhood by participating in a positive way in the life of this community.
23. God has given us ways of communicating with Him by word and action to express reverence, thanks, praise, concern, problems and requests alone, and with others and by listening to him for help in our lives.
24. Through my home, school, church and neighbours God has revealed to me his love and care; He is concerned about me, I can rely on him and trust Him to guide me.
25. I readily use my gifts of mind, body and heart in working and serving others.
26. Jesus teaches us by word and example how to respond to God and others in love.
27. God made us, He accepts me and others and this helps me to accept others.
28. God wants us to live in peace and harmony. He and other people expect us to speak and act truthfully and fairly.
29. Before God, all of us are needy. He wants us to care about others and share what we have, especially with the less fortunate.
30. God loves us and cares for us by sending His son. The Son loved us and was willing to come.

STD. III

31. The concern and responsibility shown to us in our home, local and national community reflects God's care for us.
32. The variety of God's creation is also to be seen in our traditional worship, customs and language.
33. God reveals Himself to us through the patriarchs and the prophets.

34. God's love revealed itself through the death and resurrection of Jesus by overcoming all evil.
35. God has called us into community. We respond by expressing in worship our adoration, praise, thanksgiving, reconciliation and needs.
36. Jesus calls us to be responsible by using all our gifts of body, mind and heart and spirit in the service of God and our neighbours.
37. We respond to God's calling to be part of a spirit-filled community by being active in all aspects of Christian living and in spreading the good news.
38. God forgives us; we must also forgive others. Since we are all children of God we must cultivate tolerance for each other's differences.
39. God is good to all people. We must try to be fair and friendly to others.
40. Jesus brings joy to us. So we should share this joy with others especially with those who are sad.

STD. IV

41. God reveals Himself through the nature miracles of Jesus and through His continuing upholding of us in this world.
42. As Jesus freely accepted the authority of His Father and obeyed Him, so, too, He challenges us to accept His authority and to recognise that it is shared by others.
43. Jesus' life is an example of service and we respond by trying to imitate Him in our lives.
44. The learner responds in freedom to the choices offered him by Jesus for his day-to-day living.
45. Christians respond in faith, worship and prayer according to the traditions of the Christian community to which they belong.
46. God has shown us through Jesus how to accept, trust and co-operate with others and serve Him with understanding and loyalty.
47. God gives us peace, He wants us to enjoy it and share it with others.
48. God gives us the power to live peacefully through Jesus, the Prince of Peace, and so we hope to live harmoniously in spite of the difficulties we meet.

STD. V

49. God reveals His loving creative power in the physical, emotional, mental and spiritual of the learner into a new life in Christ.
50. God reveals to us that loving Him involves loving other people. Not to love other people means we do not truly know or love God.

51. It is God's plan through the New Covenant, sealed by the death and resurrection of Jesus, to give us new life in Christ. We are reborn in Him.
52. We respond to God's gift of faith by committing ourselves to live by the truths contained in the Apostles' Creed.
53. We respond to this revelation by witnessing to our faith, in the community, at school, at home, in the village, camp, estate or 'mtaa'.
54. Through the gifts and fruits of the Holy Spirit we are able to witness to our Christian faith.
55. God provides a way of coping with conflict through trusting Him and respecting ourselves and others.
56. God wants us to develop good relationships by being true to God, self and others.
57. Jesus came to show us how to live in harmony with one another.

STD. VI

58. As God is Lord of creation and cares for it, so He gave us dominion over the earth that we should care for it.
59. God shares His life with us and we respond by sharing with others.
60. Before dying, Jesus gives His Body which will be broken, and His Blood, which will be shed, as a sign of God's love for mankind.
61. We respond to God's command to subdue and replenish the earth by using it responsibly.
62. We respond to Jesus' teaching on helping others less privileged by loving them and giving them opportunities for work.
63. We respond to the demands of faith by seeking the guidance of the Spirit of Jesus, Who is given to us.
64. Despite differences of religion, ethnic origin, sex or nationality, we must endeavour to live and work together as members of God's family.
65. God wants us to express ourselves through work both for our good and the good of our family and community. We should, therefore, work hard ourselves and respect all types of work.
66. God sent His son to show mankind the way to eternal life. Therefore, as Christians, we must follow this way and show it to others.

STD. VII

67. Scientific research discovers and explains in ever more detail the intricate complexity and vastness of God's creation.
68. The Nature of God revealed in the values Jesus teaches which are in contrast to those commonly held by man.

69. God invites us to enjoy eternal life now through faith and to be happy with Him forever after death.
70. We respond to God's call to subdue the earth by working diligently and honestly for individual and social development.
71. We respond to God's gift of the Holy Spirit by leading active Christian lives.
72. God wants us to develop lifelong friendship with our future partners and so we should develop healthy relationships now with other people of the opposite sex.
73. God wants us to contribute towards the development of the human community and so we must play our part in society with responsibility and creativity.
74. God created each person for a unique and specific purpose and we should therefore be confident that we can find meaning and purpose in life in all situations.

APPENDIX 17

FORMS I AND II CRE SYLLABUSES

K.J.S.E. Christian Religious Education Syllabus

INTRODUCTION : THE PLACE OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE CURRICULUM

Education was recognised in the African culture as a preparation of the child through instruction and religious rites for adult responsibility and life in the family, clan and tribe. In a parallel manner today, the school assumes a part of the responsibility (together with the family and the church) of instruction and socialisation, i.e. preparing the pupil and gradually leading him into the larger society of the nation. The integral part of religion in traditional education should be retained and fostered in modern education.

It is recognised that religious education in its totality encompasses much more than what is normally taught in the classroom. Religious education is the preparation for the total complex of relationships involving the pupil, God, and his fellow-men. Processes involved in this are:

- i. Appropriation of a body of knowledge
- ii. Formation of character and
- iii. Involvement in living one's religion.

While religious education in the school is concerned primarily with the appropriation of a body of knowledge, it should lead to formation of character and involvement in living one's religion. Knowledge on its own can be dangerous and destructive unless matched with simultaneous building of character in mind and spirit. Religious education gives the developing mind a direction, meaning and purpose in life - thus integrating all the branches of knowledge and all the facets of man's life.

Christian religious education teaches the relationship of the pupil to God and his fellow men through Jesus Christ. Salvation in Christ is seen as the fulfilment of the nature of man.

Meaningful religious education is always related to life. In both the attitude of the teacher and in the teaching of the body of knowledge, respect must be paid to the contemporary environment of the pupil and to his culture and religious heritage.

Therefore, the objectives of this course are:

- 1) To give the basic understanding of vital elements in the Christian religion, as centred on Christ and the Church.
- 2) To help the pupil to develop in himself that integrity of character which will enable him to make a greater contribution to the building of the nation by encouraging what is right and standing against whatever is wrong and by showing concern for the society in which he lives.
- 3) To give the basis from which the pupil may go on to be an informed and active member of the Christian Church.

SYLLABUS

FORM I - THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NEW COVENANT IN CHRIST

- Unit 1 Men whom God met. The pupil participates in the reality of the experience of selected biblical persons. A person in each period of biblical history is seen against the background of his land and culture and the natural concerns of his time.
- Unit 2 Old Testament History : God meets His people in Covenant
God's presence in the world and the revelation of His plan for the salvation of His people progressively made through covenants, looking forward to Christ. The way in which each covenant provided a pattern for the life and worship of the people (commandments, sacrifices, religious festivals, temple and priesthood).
- Unit 3 The New Covenant in Jesus : God meets People in Christ
The coming to earth of the Son of God, its significance and purpose. The benefits of what He accomplished.

FORM II - THE CHURCH : THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

- Unit 1 The People of the New Covenant
Selected studies from the Acts and Epistles of the Christian community of the New Testament, its life and worship and its relation to the world of its day. The studies should focus on seeing the impact of salvation wrought in Christ and applied by the Holy Spirit as being the factor which determined the life of the New Testament Church.
- Unit 2 The Faith of the People of God
The Apostles' Creed as a statement of the truths of Christianity and the hope of the people of God, studied in the light of various scriptural statements concerning each point.
- Unit 3 Contemporary East African Churches
Their life and worship. Brief references to historical origins in East Africa.
- Unit 4 Living as the People of God Today
The understanding of Christian values and their application to the lives and problems of the pupil - Love, Truth, Mercy, Justice, Service, Non-discrimination, Witnessing, Faith - Bible studies and historical illustrations. Relevant ways in which East African Christians are applying these Christian values.

FORM 1 Unit 1 MEN WHOM GOD MET

OBJECTIVE: To serve as the pupils' introduction to his new school and to the course which follows, by helping him:

- a) to realise his own value, freely given to him by God
- b) to gain insights from a study of Biblical experiences which will help him to see his responsibilities towards others and be helped to fulfill them now in relation to his present companions and teachers, and
- c) to become familiar with the texts, peoples, and historica, framework of both the Old and New Testaments.

A. The value of the person, as seen in God's plan of creation

The period of beginnings
God made all things
Man is the greatest of God's creations
God gave man a special gift - a share in His life
Gen. 1:1 - 27; Gen. 2:18

B. Personal response and accomplishment through God, as seen in Abraham's call

The period of Patriarchs
Each person must respond to God in faith
Abraham's response to the call of God.
Gen. 12:1 - 4; Hebrews 11:8 - 16

C. The person responding to God becomes involved in the group, as seen in the task given to Moses

The period from Egyptian bondage to the settlement of Canaan
Correct values bring a person into involvement with others
Moses continues to work for his people despite their ingratitude.
Exodus 2:11 - 15; Acts 7:22; Acts 7:30 - 36

D. The equal value of people other than our own, as seen in God's plan for Ruth and Moabite

The period of the Judges
The meaning of "All men are equal in God's eyes"
The story of Ruth's choice
Ruth 1:1 - 18; 1:22

E. Obedience to God's commandments is the basis of upright leadership, as seen in the reign of David

The period of the rise of the nation
What is real leadership?
David's obedience to God's commands
2 Sam. 7:18 - 29; 2 Sam. 12:7 - 9, 13

F. The importance of faithfulness to God in the Midst of collapsing values, as seen in the stand taken by Elijah (Elias)

The period of the decline of the nation
The ferment of social change
The response of Elijah to corrupting pagan religious influences
1 Kings 18:17 - 21, 36 - 39

- G. The impact of a godly person in building the nation, as seen in Nehemiah
The period of domination by foreign rulers
What is nation-building?
The efforts of Nehemiah in renewing both Jerusalem and the life of the Jews.
Nehemiah 2:3 - 5, 11 - 18.
- H. The meaning and value of freedom which struggles against great difficulties, as seen in the revolt of Judas Maccabeus. (Optional)
The period of the Maccabean revolt and Roman rule up to the time of Christ.
Freedom's benefits and limits
Judas Maccabeus' efforts to free the Jews from Roman rule
1 Maccabeus 2:15 - 22; 3:1 - 9; 8:22 - 32
- I. Confrontation and Commitment to Christ, which then leads to the service of others, as seen in the disciples
The period of Christ's earthly ministry
Jesus teaches the person who believes in Jesus must be prepared to take up his cross and follow Him, and that he who wishes to be like Jesus must be prepared to be a servant to all.
Mark 8:27 - 38; John 13:12 - 18
- J. The power of the indwelling Christ frees the person from the defeat of sin in order to fulfill his call of making Christ known in the world, as seen in the apostle Paul
The period of the preaching of the apostles
When Paul was converted, his whole life was changed from blindly fighting against God and persecuting God's people
Paul's own interpretation of his experience, as given in Romans 7:24 - 8:2
Acts 9:1 - 22; Romans 7: 24-8:2
- K. Review of the periods of Biblical history within the framework of the literary structure of the Bible, so that the pupil can learn to handle the book
A chart of Biblical periods
The books of the Bible and their groupings:
 Old Testament - law, history, poetry, prophecy
 New Testament - gospels, history, epistles, prophecy
Bible Chart

FORM 1: UNIT 2 OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY : GOD MEETS HIS PEOPLE IN COVENANT

OBJECTIVE: To lead the pupils to see that God revealed Himself to His people through a series of great Covenants; that these Covenants were a progressive revelation of His Plan for the salvation of His people; to see how each Covenant was a preparation for the full revelation of Himself in His Son Jesus Christ.

Teachers' Note: Covenant with God is not a one-sided affair. The people enter into it freely. Through faith, trust and obedience, the people can share fully the blessings which God has promised them. Disobedience and sin shut out these blessings. God will never fail His promise. He continually forgives and strives to restore His sinful people so that they can receive His blessings.

A. BREAK WITH ADAM BECAUSE OF SIN

1. Oral sharing of various traditional accounts which show how sin came into the world.
2. Concept of God as righteous and man as sinful
John 3: 19-21; Rom. 3: 10-18; Gen. Is. 1: 1-14
3. The results of disobedience and rebellion
 - a) Unhappiness
 - b) Disaster - In the world at large Lk. 15: 11-24; Gen.3

B. COVENANT WITH ABRAHAM PROMISING A PEOPLE OF GOD

1. General discussion about the meaning of "Covenant".
Types of covenant e.g. blood-brotherhood, marriage, peace, etc.
2. The Covenant with Abraham the trusting friend of God. Gen.12: 1-9
3. The fulfilment of the Covenant with Abraham, the believing friend of God.
Gen. 15: 1-18; Gen.21: 1-7
4. Abraham, the obedient friend of God. Gen.12: 1-9
5. The Chosen Father of Nations and the meaning of this Covenant
Gen. 17: 1-21

C. COVENANT WITH MOSES ESTABLISHING THE PEOPLE OF GOD, PROVIDING COMMANDMENTS AND WORSHIP

1. The Call of Moses Ex. 23: 1-17
2. God at work through Moses in Egypt. Ex. 4: 1-11
3. God redeemed His People from bondage. Ex. 12: 29-36
4. The Covenant at Sinai Ex. 19: 1-25; 24: 1-11
5. (a) God gave His people the commandments Ex. 20: 1-17
(b) The meaning of the Commandments for us today.
6. The Pattern for meeting God in worship as provided in the Covenant.
 - (a) The Tabernacle and Temple Ex. 25: 1-9 and Ex. 25: 10-40
 - (b) The Altar for Sacrifice Ex. 27: 1-8
 - (c) The Priests Ex. 28: 1-5
 - (d) The Sacrifices and offerings Ex. 28: 38-46; Lev. 1: 1-5
and 5: 17-19
 - (e) Religious Festivals Lev. 23: 1-38

D. COVENANT WITH DAVID, PROMISING THE MESSIAH

1. God chose David 1 Sam. 16: 1-13
2. David appears as a hero 1 Sam. 17
3. David takes over the Kingdom 2 Sam. 5: 1-3
4. God's promise to David;
 - (a) The Covenant 2 Sam 7: 8-16
 - (b) This Covenant promised the Messiah who shall reign forever
Acts 2: 22-36; Rev. 5: 5-14
 - (c) The Messiah from the household of David
Is. 11: 1-5; Matt. 22: 41-46; Lk. 1: 68-73

E. THE PEOPLE DISOBEYED THE COVENANTS: PROPHETS WERE SENT

- 1. Amos calls the disobedient people to seek the Lord. Am. 5: 4-7
- 2. Micah calls for sincere worship among the people. Mic. 6: 6-8
- 3. Hosea reminds the people of God, of the God of Love. Ho. 14
- 4. Isaiah tells of the Messiah. Is. 9: 6-10
- 5. Jeremiah calls for trust in the Lord. Jer. 17: 5-13

FORM 1: UNIT 3. THE NEW COVENANT IN JESUS : GOD MEETS HIS PEOPLE IN CHRIST

OBJECTIVE: To lead the pupils to see how God's encounter with mankind culminated in the coming of Jesus Christ and the great Covenant established through Him.

TEACHER'S NOTE: This unit should show the significance of New Testament events to the persons involved in the events and to the pupil in his present-day situation. It is not meant to be a detailed study of Biblical history, or a life of Christ. The intent is to bring the pupil to see something of the nature of Christ and His work and also how He can encounter the Living Christ himself in this present day. The Gospel of John has been chosen because it records many personal encounters of Christ with various people and the conversations Jesus had with these people. The pupil is expected to have a knowledge of the Biblical event and an understanding of the message it presents.

A. CHRIST THE FULFILMENT OF THE PROMISE

The ways in which Christ fulfills the promises made in the Old Testament. Gen. 3: 15; Rom. 5: 12-21; 2 Sam. 7: 1-17; Jos. 7: 41-42; Is. 9: 6-7; Lk. 1: 33; Ez. 34

B. BASIC THEMES

The following basic themes or ideas are to be followed: (God meeting man in Christ; how these men saw Christ and thus God).

- (a) The person of Christ and His relationship with the Father.
- (b) Christ's teaching and work, the source of Christian life.
- (c) Salvation is given to man through the making of the New Covenant in Christ, who was the fulfilment of the Law.

1. How some men saw Christ:

- (a) John the Evangelist Jn. 1: 1-18
- (b) John the Baptist Jn. 1: 19-34
- (c) The First Disciples Jn. 1: 35-51

2. How Christ revealed Himself to other individuals through His teaching and works. How these people saw God working in Christ, the source of Christian life.

- (a) Jesus at a wedding Jn. 2: 1-11
- (b) Jesus meets Nicodemus Jn. 3: 1-21
- (c) Jesus meets the woman of Samaria Jn. 4: 1-42
- (d) Jesus heals the nobleman's son. Jn. 4: 46-52
- (e) Jesus heals the man at the Sheep Gate Jn. 5: 1-18
- (f) Jesus feeds the five thousand. Jn. 6: 1-40
- (g) Jesus heals the man born blind Jn. 9: 1-40
- (h) Jesus raises Lazarus Jn. 11: 1-45

3. How Christ prepared men for salvation through the New Covenant and how this salvation was accomplished.

- (a) Jesus institutes the symbol of the New Covenant. Mk. 14: 12-25
- (b) Jesus prepares His disciples Jn. 14: 15-31;
16: 1-15
- (c) Jesus makes the New Covenant through His death on the Cross. Heb. 9: 13-15
- (d) How Christ appears to people who meet Him at the Cross
Jn. 19: 1-38; Mk. 15: 1-40; Lk. 23: 32-43
- (e) The Disciples meet the Risen Christ; Jn. 20: 1-31

C. CHRIST LIVES ON TODAY IN HIS PEOPLE Mt. 28:20

- (a) Jesus comes to His Disciples with the promise to come again Jn. 21: 1-23
- (b) Jesus promises to come again, the Second Coming. He will take men to Himself. Jn. 14: 1-14; Mk. 13: 24-37
- (c) Jesus promises the Sending of the Spirit who will teach all things and be a guide to the truth. Jn. 14: 25-26; 16: 13-15; 20:22.

FORM II : UNIT I. THE PEOPLE OF THE NEW COVENANT

OBJECTIVE: That the pupils see the early Christian community as the continuation and fulfilment of God's plan to create a people for Himself. To learn how the new Christian community developed and lived in the world of its time. To show how Christians today continue to express the life of the Christian community which is the Church.

A. Pentecost; Christ and the Holy Spirit

- | | <u>SOURCE MATERIAL</u> |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. The prelude to Pentecost | Jn. 14, 25-26; 15, 26; 16, 7-8
Jn. 20, 20-23. Acts 1,4-11. |
| 2. Pentecost | Acts 2, 1-24 |
| 3. The new community comes into being | Acts 2, 37-47; 1 Cor.12, 4-13
1 Peter 2,9. |

B. The Holy Spirit Permeates the Worship and Witness of the Christian Community

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. The new spiritual unity shown | Acts 2,41-47; 4,32-35;
1 Cor. 16,2 |
| 2. Baptism and Breaking of Bread (Eucharist) | Lk. 3,1-3 & 15-16;
Mt. 28, 19-20; Eph.4,4-6;
Gal. 3,27-28; Rom. 6, 3-6;
Mk. 14, 22-25; 1 Cor.11,23-29. |
| 3. Prayer; individual and corporate | Mt. 6, 5-13; Mk. 1, 35-36;
Mt. 26, 36-39; Jn. 17, 20-21;
Acts. 12, 1-17; Eph. 6, 10-18;
1 Tim. 2, 1-4. |
| 4. The Christian Character | Rom. 12, 4-21; Gal. 5, 16-24;
Mt. 25, 31-46; Acts 11, 27-30;
1 Cor. 16, 1-4. |

C. The Apostolic Message

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. Witness | Acts 1, 8; Heb. 12,1-2;
Acts 4, 1-13; Acts 5, 32 & 41 |
| 2. The first African Christian | Acts 8, 36-40. |
| 3. Opposition | Acts 4, 1-4 & 18-22;
Acts 7, 51-60; 8, 1-4. |

SOURCE MATERIALS

- 4. The chief opposer becomes a great Apostle Acts 9, 1-30.
- 5. The first Roman Christian; the race barrier falls Acts 10, 1-11 & 18-33.
- 6. The new faith spreads to areas beyond Palestine Acts 11, 19-26; 13, 1-12
Acts 14, 1-18.
- 7. The new faith reaches pagan Europe Acts 15, 36-40; 16, 6-40.
- 8. Providing for the future; new duties and responsibilities Jn. 21, 15-19; Acts 1, 12-14;
Acts 1, 15-17 & 21-26;
Acts 6, 1-6; 13, 1-3; 14, 21-23;
Acts 18, 24 & 26; Rom. 16, 1-5;
1 Tim. 3, 1-10.

(The source material must not be regarded as set passages; it is chosen with a view to indicating the 'depth' of study required. The teacher is at liberty to choose from the material).

FORM II: UNIT 2 : THE FAITH OF THE PEOPLE OF GOD

OBJECTIVE: To lead the pupil to see what the early Church proclaimed as the Good news of what God has done for us, which was the basis of their personal confidence in God. To give an understanding of this faith and hope in the light of various scriptural statements.

THE APOSTLES CREED

I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth; And in Jesus Christ, his only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, he descended into hell; the third day he rose again from the dead, He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

I believe in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Catholic Church; the Communion of Saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting.

A WHY AND HOW THE CREED

- 1. The need for 'credal statements'.
- 2. The Apostolic Teaching begins to crystallise into a formal statement - Jude 3 & 2 Tim. 1,14; 1 Cor. 3, 12 & 1 Jn. 2, 22 & 1 Cor. 15, 3-6; 1 Cor. 8,6; 2 Cor. 13,14; - Baptismal needs and the need to refute false teaching results in the Apostles' Creed being produced at Nicea in 325 AD.

B THE DIVISIONS OF THE CREED

- 1. Belief in God
 - (a) God the Creator of all men and all things - Genl.1; Job 33,4; 38,4; Neh.9,6; Jer. 1,5; Acts 17, 24-32.
 - (b) God the Father Almighty, Father of all who believe in Christ; personal relationship of a child of God to his Maker, Jesus uses this term for himself - Lk. 10,21; and states the way to become a child of the Father - Jn. 1, 12; 3,3; 1 Jn. 3, 1-2; 5,1; Mt.18,2-3.

2. Belief in Jesus Christ

- a) Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord. Statement at Transfiguration - Lk. 9, 35; Jesus acknowledges Himself as Son - Mt. 16, 15-16; Jn. 17, 1 - and as Lord - Jn. 13, 13. His disciples acknowledge Him too - Jn. 20, 28; Acts 2, 36; 2 Pet. 1,16.
- b) Conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary. Christ the fulfilment of the prophecies of God dwelling 'with us' - Emmanuel - Is. 7,14. Christ's divine/human nature comes from His divine conception and human birth (i.e. the human birth of the Son of God) - Mt. 1, 18-25; Lk. 1, 26-35. (Ref. to second Adam 1 Cor. 15, 22,45).
- c) Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried (descended into hell). Christ's death, a well-established historical event (Roman historian Tacitus; Josephus, Antiquities 18,3). Evidence good enough for a court of law - Mt. 27 and other Gospels (Descended into 'Hades - the place of the departed spirits - 1 Pet. 3, 19; Eph. 4,9).
- d) The third day he rose again from the dead. ("...and on the third day he was raised" Lk. 9,22). Irrefutable historical evidence - empty tomb despite temple guard, grave clothes left, no body, for forty days Christ was seen living, eating, teaching - five hundred saw Him at once, etc. Mtd. 27, 64-66; Lk. 24; Jn. 20; 1 Cor. 15,6.
- e) He ascended into heaven and sitteth on the right hand of God, the Father Almighty. Jn. 20, 17; Acts 1, 9-12; Lk. 24, 50-52; Heb. 1,1-8; Acts 2,30-33 (Psalm 110,1) Jesus' return to the Father and exaltation at the end of his earthly ministry now leads to His role of intercessor for us - Heb. 7, 25.
- f) From thence He shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. ('Quick' means "living") Our Lord will come again - Lk. 21, 25-28. Judgement - Eccles. 12, 13-14. Our Lord's authority to judge - Jn. 5, 27; Mt. 25, 31-46; Rev. 20, 11-15.

3. Belief in the Holy Spirit

- a) The Holy Spirit. Christ's promise of the Spirit to dwell in us - Jn. 14; 16-17. Paul - 1 Cor. 6: 17-20. Promise fulfilled with the 'power' of wind and the 'purifying' of fire at Pentecost - Acts 2. Other activities of the Spirit - Jn. 16: 7-13. Fruits of the Spirit - Gal 5: 22-23.
- b) The Holy Catholic Church. ("Catholic" means "universal") Acts 20: 28, 13:2. Church built on the foundation of Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the corner stone - Mt.16: 18; 1 Pet 2: 4-10. The world-wide Church is the Body of Christ and the Bride of Christ - 1 Cor. 12: 27. Christ prays that it may be 'one' - Jn. 17: 20-21
- c) The Communion of Saints. 1 Cor 10: 16-17. Unity in the Body of Christ. Unity of the Spirit - Eph 4:3. God is a God of the living, not of the dead - Mk 12: 26-27. God's servants never pass beyond His care - Jn 14: 1-2. Christians are united with the great company of saints and they hope one day to join them. Heb. 12:1
- d) The forgiveness of sins. Christ's victory on the cross defeated both sin and death. 1 Cor 15: 53-58. Christ has power to forgive sins: Mk. 2: 5-11. Our need: Rom. 3: 23-25; Rom. 5: 6-8; 1 Pet. 2: 24. Discuss the God-Man Barrier. Christ's purpose referred to; foretold Is.55: 4-6; Jn 1: 29; Lk. 5: 32; 9:22; 1 Cor. 15:3. Forgiveness through shedding of lamb's blood: Heb.9. A thanksgiving psalm for

forgiveness: Ps. 103: 1-14.

- e) The Resurrection of the body and the Life Everlasting. Christians share the promise made to the penitent thief - Lk 23:43. Paul speaks of our future hope - Rom. 8: 18-25, and of the resurrection of the body - I Cor 15. This is God's supreme purpose of salvation through Christ: Jn. 3: 16; 5: 24; 6: 40; I Jn. 5: 11-13.

FORM 2 UNIT 3 : CONTEMPORARY EAST AFRICAN CHURCHES

OBJECTIVE: To deepen the pupil's understanding of the faiths of his fellow-countrymen who are members of different churches, and to widen his horizons. Thus he will have a fuller knowledge and respect for the practices of other churches, thereby widening his knowledge of church life and worship. The pupil should come to a fuller understanding of the nature of worship and the meaning of the life and worship of his own church.

It is not intended that this unit should be used for instruction in the forms of worship practised by the pupil's own church. Teachers may schedule a separate class for such instruction.

There will be a brief consideration of how these churches began in Kenya but there will not be a time for a study of the development of Church History in Europe.

Contemporary East African Churches

- (a) Their life and worship
- (b) Brief reference to historical origins.

A A LOOK AT DIFFERENT CHURCH GROUPS

1. The churches represented in the area known to the pupils.
2. Other major churches in Kenya. The study must include consideration of one African Independent Church, one major Protestant Church and the Roman Catholic Church. Where possible one period should be given to each church considering such topics as: form of worship; organisation; activities; geographical distribution; historical origins in Kenya; etc. It is very important in looking at other churches that pupils should seek to gain a sympathetic understanding of them. Pupils should be helped never to treat lightly what another person treats seriously. (Matt. 7.12 could be quoted).

MATERIAL. A manual will be available containing information on the major churches in Kenya. It would be neither desirable nor necessary however, for a pupil to learn about all these churches because there are too many of them. The examination will not require that the whole manual be learnt, but it will have sufficient flexibility and alternatives for a pupil who has studied in the way indicated here to be able to answer the questions.

B THE MEANING OF WORSHIP AND ITS EXPRESSION IN THE VARIOUS CHURCHES

1. The significance of symbolic acts such as the Eucharist or Communion Service as practised in various churches: a comparison.
2. The basic elements in worship: listening to the Word of God; remembering the deeds of God especially those done in Christ; praise and thanksgiving; prayer both for ourselves and others.

3. Discussion of those parts of a worship service which sometimes seem to lack meaning, and how this can be avoided.
4. The fact that all Christian worship is meaningful only if it brings the consciousness of Christ being present with us.
5. Ways in which truly African expressions of worship are being developed.

The teacher may wish to make reference to suitable Bible passages on various aspects of worship.

Ps. 96; Matt. 18: 19,20; John 15. 1-12; Acts 2.42-47; I Cor. 11.23-29.

FORM 2 UNIT 4 : LIVING AS THE PEOPLE OF GOD TODAY

OBJECTIVE: That the pupil may gain an understanding of Christian values according to the teachings of the Bible, that he may appreciate the benefits of these values, and that he may gain insight in how to apply these standards in the problems of his own life.

TEACHING NOTE: Primary attention in this unit should be given to Bible study of the meaning of the values listed in the Syllabus. Some of the following suggested problem situations should be selected for class discussion in relation to the studies of the unit:

- respecting your parents and being yourself
- getting a long with others
- proper attitudes toward sex
- responsibilities to the blind, crippled, and diseased
- selfishness or service? (including pride vs. manual labour)
- racialism and tribalism
- cheating and dishonesty

A. TRUTH

1. Identify the meaning of true and truth. Key verse : Ephesians 4:25.
2. Discuss how God is truth
 - a. Fulfilled prophecies: Genesis 18: 10; 21: 1-7; Micah 5:2; Math. 2: 2-5
 - b. God's word in true, right, correct - Luke 21: 33; Psalm 19: 7-9; 119: 160.
 - c. Jesus is truth - in agreement with reality - John 14:6
 - d. God is the true God - Deuteronomy 4: 39; John 17:3; Jeremiah 10: 10-12.
 - e. God never lies - Titus 2:1.
3. Satan is the source of lies - John 8:44; Genesis 3. Contrast Genesis 2: 16, 17 wutg 3:1; 3:3 and 3:5.
4. Man and truth
 - a. Why is it hard for people to be truthful? (They want something for themselves) Acts 5: 1-11; Genesis 27: 5-30 37: 31-33; 37: 7-19.
 - b. Why is truth important for satisfactory daily living? How do you feel toward someone who has lied to you? Does lying really help another person or only make yourself comfortable? Why is cheating in school considered wrong?

B. JUSTICE

1. Identify the meaning of justice. Key verse : Isaiah 1:17

2. God acts according to justice.
 - a. Sin must be condemned - II Samuel 12: 7-10
 - b. God provided a way to deal with sin and give us salvation in justice - I Peter 2:24; Isaiah 53: 5,6; Romans 3:21-26; 5.9-10.
3. God wants his people to be just
 - a. Isaiah 1: 10-26; 2: 13-15; 5: 18-23; 56: 1; 59:4, 14,15; Jer. 5: 1-2, 9: 4-9.
 - b. Amos - The prophet who spoke against social injustices. Selected studies from Amos: God's Judgement - II kings 18: 9-12; II Chronicles 36: 14-17; God's Promises - Amos 9:14.
4. How can a young person show justice: in class, in the market, in sports, as a citizen?

C. FAITH

1. Identify faith. Key verse: Hebrews 11: 1,6.
2. Discuss Hebrews 11: 8-18. See also Genesis 12: 1-7; 15; 1-6; 21; 1-7. Compare Genesis 22: 1-19 with Hebrews 11: 17-20.
3. Bible examples of faith.
 - a. Faith for salvation: Acts 9: 1-22; 16: 25-34.
 - b. Faith in obeying God's commands: Compare Hebrews 11:7 with Genesis 6:5-7:5; Compare Hebrews 11:30 with Joshua 6: 1-20.
 - c. Faith in dangerous times: Compare Hebrews 11:29 with Exodus 14: 1-30; Acts 27; Compare Hebrews 11: 23-26 with Ex. 2:10-15
4. Does anyone today manifest that same kind of faith? What can we have faith in today?

D. WITNESSING

1. Identify witnessing. Key verse: II Corinthians 4:13
2. Can we witness if we don't really have faith? II Corinthians 4: 13-15; I Corinthians 15: 3,4.
3. Why witness: Acts 1:8; John 3:18; Acts 4:12; Rom. 10:1; II Corinthians 5:14; Romans 1:16; Matthew 19:20.

E. LOVE

1. Love has many deep meanings besides the physical one. Identify love. Key verse John 13:34
2. What kind of love did Jesus have for His disciples? John 13:34
Philippians 2:2-8; Romans 5: 6-8; John 10: 10-15; 15: 12-13;
I John 3: 16-17; Luke 23: 32-43.
Love is being concerned for the good of another person so that you are willing to sacrifice yourself and your desires for his benefit.
3. When our relationship to God is right, when we are happy in His love and when we love Him, then we can show love to others, our family, our friends and our neighbours - I John 4: 19; Luke 10: 27; God enables me to love others.
4. Showing love to our family and friends. By helping, by not demanding more than we need, by appreciating our home. What keeps us from wanting to show love to our parents? Selfishness is the opposite of love.
5. Showing love in our relationships with the opposite sex.
 - a. Often people mistake love for something that is not really love.
 - b. In showing love we must respect the other person.
 - c. How can we express our love? Expressing love in a sensual way is only for people who are married, who can provide a home for any children which are born.

When a person acts in lust because of a desire to get something for himself he often harms the other person and brings guilt and shame on himself. - Thessalonians 4: 1-8.

Discuss why pre-marital sex is destructive to happiness now and to future marriage. Ways a person who shows Christian love should act. Rom. 12: 9-21.

6. Showing Christian love to those nearby - Luke 10:27 - 37.

F. MERCY

1. Identify mercy. Key verse: Titus 3:5.
2. God's mercy - Psalm 103: 1-14.
3. A man who showed mercy - David and Mephibosheth: II Samuel 9
4. Mercy is shown by one who has power; mercy is freely given because of love. Is giving mercy a sign of weakness? What is the purpose of God showing mercy? Peter II 3: 9; Romans 2:4.
5. God commands us to be merciful - Luke 6: 36; Matthew 5:7;. How can we show mercy? Genesis 50: 15-21; Ephesians 4:32; Matthew 18: 23-25

G. SERVICE

1. Identify service. Key verse: Mark 10:45
2. Why Jesus was called a servant
3. Jesus wants His disciples to serve others - John 13: 1-17.
4. Serving is the true way of leadership - Mark 9: 33-37; 10: 42-45
5. As Christians we have an obligation to serve God and to do His will. I Corinthians 6: 19, 20. Romans 6: 22; see vs 17-23
6. Our service is a worship and an offering to God. Deuteronomy 10-12. Colossians 3:17, 23, 24; Matthew 25: 35-40

FURTHER EXPLANATORY NOTES

1. The preceding explanatory notes on each Unit of the Syllabus are designed as an indication of the knowledge required for examination purpose.
2. The Syllabus has been prepared with a time-table in mind allowing for three periods of Religious Education each week.
3. The Syllabus will be examined in the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination. It is intended to provide a broad background both for the two year School Certificate syllabus and for the preparation of Religious education teachers in Teacher Training Colleges. It is expected that private extramural students as well as schools will make use of the Syllabus.
4. This Syllabus should make Religious Education relevant to the lives of the pupils. It should not be taught abstractly, but should rather draw out the pupils, beginning with their own concerns. Hence much use should be made of discussion and activity methods.
5. The units of study are not intended to be equated with terms of the year.
6. Every pupil should have his own copy of the Bible for use as a textbook. This should be available from the beginning of the first unit, to facilitate teaching that does not depend entirely upon oral communication and that enables the pupil to participate satisfactorily in the studies.

7. The teacher has the freedom to cover the material listed in the Syllabus in whatever way he feels to be appropriate, so long as he prepares the pupil for the examination covering the syllabus and knowledge required. He is free to handle the subject in the way that will enable him best to accomplish his purposes with pupils in teaching the subject.
8. It is expected that the Secretariat of the various Christian groups will make available schemes of work amplifying the Syllabus for classroom use.

APPENDIX 17 Continued

DEVELOPING IN CHRIST

(in preparation for EACE Syllabus 223 - Christian Living Today)

1. COURSE ONE (YEAR ONE) : CHRIST AND MY HUMANITY
- PART 1 (TERM 1) Christ and My Personal Freedom
PART 2 (TERM 2) Christ and My Work and Relationship
PART 3 (TERM 3) Christ and My Power to Live

COURSE TWO (YEAR TWO) : CHRISTIAN LIFE IN COMMUNITY

- PART 1 (TERM 1) My Responsibility in Community
PART 2 (TERM 2) My Search for Values
PART 3 (TERM 3) My Response to Values

TEXT: The Bible: The Study is Thematic. Specific texts are mentioned in
in the Teachers' Notes but teachers are not limited to these.

2. UNITY ANALYSIS: COURSE ONE (YEAR ONE)

CHRIST & HUMANITY:

PART I:

- Unit 1: Man develops in life as a human person through his desires
Unit 2: In Jesus Christ God has given man the means to fulfill all of
his human desires
Unit 3: How we find Jesus Christ today
Unit 4: In our human freedom we are invited by Jesus to choose the vision
of life which he offers us, and the power to live according to
that vision.

PART II:

- Unit 1: A person discovers his talents through his work with others.
Unit 2: We are called to use our talents with and for others
Unit 3: Through guided learning experiences all people discover and develop
their role in society.
Unit 4: It is through his efforts to create fellowship that man builds
the Kingdom of God.
Unit 5: How fellowship is created in concrete situations

PART III

- Unit 1: The meaning of Christian hope
Unit 2: Like Christ, the Christian is called to accept his life, including
suffering and death.
Unit 3: Man is fulfilled through the resurrection of Jesus and now lives
in the Spirit of the risen Lord.
Unit 4: Prayer means saying 'yes' to God through our living and our
explicit prayer

UNIT ANALYSIS: COURSE II (YEAR II)

CHRISTIAN LIFE IN COMMUNITY

Part 1: My Responsibility in Community

- Unit 1: People want to be free from everything that prevents them from
becoming fully human.

- Unit 2: A Man's increasing freedom from whatever limits his human development should make him more free for development as a person.
- Unit 3: Persons develop within Community
- Unit 4: The Christian determines his behaviour as a response in faith to God's invitation to a personal relationship
- Unit 5: The Christian shows through his life within community his decision to accept his relationship with God

PART II: My Search for Values

- Unit 1: Respect for authority. Unit. 2: Respect for life.
- Unit 3: Respect for personal relationships. 1 Respect for Human relationships

PART III: My Response to Values

- Unit 1: Respect for truth. Unit 2 Respect for justice.
- Unit 3: Sin, guilt, forgiveness and reconciliation

TEACHER'S BACKGROUND ESSAYS CONTAINED IN DEVELOPING IN CHRIST:

COURSE ONE

(YEAR ONE)

COURSE ONE, PART ONE: Christ and My Personal Freedom

Stage

1. The methodology of this series
2. Our human desires
3. Human life
4. Human personal development
5. Traditional ideas of God and Christian ideas on the Trinity
6. A better life through learning
7. God's continuing revelation
8. The oral and written transmission of the Gospel
9. The mesianic prophecies fulfilled in Jesus the suffering servant
10. The resurrection
11. The Christian understanding of Pentecost
12. Formation of the New Testament
13. What it means to be a Christian today
14. Freedom
15. Providence, chance, fatalism, group freedom
16. The Kingdom of God
17. Baptism
18. Temptation
19. Comparison of the baptism and temptation from the view-point of choice
20. The glory of God is man full alive

COURSE ONE, PART TWO: Christ and My Work and Relationships

Stage

1. Why the 'Life Approach' (Continuation of 'Methodology' explanation)
2. Some aspects of the theology of work
3. The uniqueness of personalities
4. The parable of the talents
5. The co-operation in African society
6. Trust
7. Jesus' teaching on love of neighbour
8. Traditional education in African society
9. Influences in personality development
10. The disciples' learning experience with Jesus
11. The role of the secondary school in society
12. Fellowship: a sign of the Kingdom of God
13. Jesus' teaching on fellowship
14. The Gospel miracle stories
15. The practice of fellowship
16. Obstacles to fellowship
17. Openness
18. Understanding
19. Courage
20. Fellowship in Christ

COURSE ONE, PART THREE: Christ and My Power to Live

Stage

1. Human hope
2. The expression of Men's hopes
3. Jesus' hope
4. Christian hope
5. A Christian attitude toward disappointment and suffering
6. People living in society face reality together

7. Jesus' response to his limitations and disappointments
8. The groups that were hostile to Jesus
9. Death
10. The eucharistic covenant
11. The call to self-fulfilment
12. Theology of the resurrection
13. The Gospel accounts of the resurrection
14. The Gospel accounts of the ascension and Pentecost
15. Theology of the Holy Spirit
16. What is religion?
17. Theology of secularity
18. Jesus' prayer
19. Synthesis on prayer
20. Summary for Course One: Christ and my humanity.

TEACHER'S BACKGROUND ESSAYS CONTAINED IN CHRIST : COURSE TWO

(YEAR TWO)

COURSE TWO, PART ONE: My Responsibility in Community

Stage

1. Introductory notes for the teacher
2. The psychology of the Form 2 student and the adolescent in general
3. The movement toward independence in today's world
4. God's call of man to freedom
5. The meaning of freedom
6. The individual in community
7. God's call to man to achieve his personal freedom
8. The process of socialization
9. The God's call of man to humanisation through socialisation (to become man in community)
10. Individual determinant of behaviour
12. Levels of behaviour
13. Conscience and its formation
14. Attitudes and values as guides for conscience
15. The attitudes of Jesus
16. The Christian level of behaviour
17. The threshold (or liminal) community
18. The Church as liminal community
19. Christian leadership
20. The Christian in community

COURSE TWO, PART TWO: My Search for values

Stage

1. Authority
 2. Authority in traditional African Society
 3. Authority in Scripture
 4. Authority and obedience for the Christian
 5. Leadership
 6. Appreciating human life
 7. Life: the supreme African and Christian value
 8. The themes of life in the Bible
 9. Life and the sacraments
 10. Abuses of the gift of life
 11. The importance of friendship during adolescence
 12. Appreciation of friendship in African tradition and the Old Testament
 13. Friendship in the Gospels
 14. Synthesis of Unit 3 on friendship
 15. Human secularity and the importance of sex education
 16. Human secularity and the importance of sex education (continued)
 17. A person's attitude towards secularity influence his behaviour
 18. Man and woman in Scripture
- Appendix : Notes for sex education

COURSE TWO, PART THREE: My Response to Values

Stage

1. Communication between persons
 2. How man learns
 3. The Biblical teaching on truth
 4. God reveals himself to man today
 5. Difficulties in living truthfully
 6. The need for justice in human development
 7. Modern man's search for justice
 8. The Biblical teaching on justice
 9. Justice and love
 10. Obstacles to justice
 11. Conscience
 12. Conversion
 13. What is sin?
 14. Traditional African and Christian views on sin
 15. Developments in the theology of sin and salvation
 16. The Biblical view of sin
 17. A Christian view of guilt
 18. Sorrow, forgiveness and reintegration
 19. Traditional African views of reconciliation
 20. Excerpt from 'On the Development of People'
- Appendix: On the sacrament of penance

APPENDIX 17 Continued

(NON-EXAMINABLE) SYLLABUS FOR USE IN FORMS I AND 2

FOR KENYA SECONDARY SCHOOLS NOT TAKING THE K.J.S.E.

General Aims

1. To help students to understand themselves as growing persons developing to maturity, continuing the process of religious education of the primary years.
2. To enable students to see themselves as members of various communities: school, home, village, nation, etc., and to help them to become more familiar with the Christian community around them with which they may be associated as well as to learn to respect other religious communities.
3. To help students to see how the Bible is a guide to life by presenting basic Christian teaching as found in the Bible.
4. To lead students to reflect on actual needs and problems of their daily lives from a Christian point of view, and to develop skills to help them cope with life in future.
5. To help students to see that religion is meaningful in their lives by playing a guiding and unifying role.
6. To help students to develop a personal relationship with God based on faith, hope and love.

Methodology

The values to be studied will be looked at from the following points of view:-

- (a) Personal experience
- (b) Universal experience, including African tradition
- (c) The Bible, Old and New Testaments
- (d) Application: meaning and relevance for our present-day lives.

FIRST YEAR

TERM I

Aim

To help the student to:-

- (a) adjust to his life in the school community
- (b) understand and value better himself, his family, his fellow students, his teachers and members of the local community
- (c) discuss what it means to be a Christian and a responsible member of a Christian community
- (d) continue to develop a personal relationship with God and express it through daily choices.

Topics

1. The new school situation
2. Community heritage: names and concepts of God
3. Prayer and worship
4. Structure of the Bible

5. The good life: faith in God as a source of life (Acts 17: 24-31; John 1:1-14)
6. The Christian community we know
7. The Christian community in the New Testament; the meaning of "gospel"
(Acts 2: 43-47; 10: 34-44; 1 Cor. 15: 3-4)
8. Jesus growing up (Luke 1: 2: 41-52; Matthew 2)
9. Baptism - the Christian initiation
 - (a) Choices, decisions (Joshua 24: 14-15)
 - (b) Baptism of Jesus; Christian baptism (Matthew 3: 13-17)

TERM 2

Aim

To help the student to:-

- (a) become aware of his potential as a developing person: gifts, skills, temperament, abilities, relationships
- (b) work with others
- (c) develop relationships of trust and respect for fellow students, teachers and family
- (d) enter into fellowship with others
- (e) learn Christ's way of relating to people as found in the Gospels
- (f) develop faith and trust in Christ and his power as seen in his teaching and works.

Topics

1. Choosing friends (Proverbs 18:24; Luke 6: 12-17; John 5: 15-17)
2. Working with friends (Phil. 2: 1-11)
3. Competition: jealousy, co-operation and trust (Colossians 3: 12-17)
1 Cor. 1: 10-13)
4. Difficulties experienced in relating to others
5. Discovering and developing our gifts in relationship with others
(Eph. 4: 29-32; Gal. 6:2; 1 Cor. 13)
6. Myself in relationship with others: (2 Timothy 2:1; Mark 10:45; James 4)
 - (a) being open to them
 - (b) having courage to accept them
 - (c) understanding them
 - (d) serving them.

FIRST YEAR

TERM 3

Aim

To help the student to face, accept and deal with life as it is, at school, at home and in the community by:-

- (a) reflecting on experiences of pain, misunderstandings, failure, financial difficulties, misfortune and death
- (b) reflecting on experience of hope, fulfilment, achievement
- (c) reflecting on how Jesus Christ dealt with these experiences
- (d) sharing in the power of Christ's resurrection active in our lives today in all our experiences.

Topics

1. My experience of failure, disappointment, pain and misunderstanding
(Philippians 4: 4-20)
2. Jesus' experience of rejection by others and religious leaders (Mark 3)

3. Accepting life as it is including suffering and death (James 1; 1 Peter 1: 6-8; 2: 21-25)
4. Jesus the servant (Mark 8: 31-38; 10: 45; Luke 9: 22-26; Matthew 16: 21-24)
5. Jesus' entry into Jerusalem and Last Supper. The meaning of the Eucharist (Holy Communion) Mark 11: 1-10; 14: 12:25)
6. Jesus' agony, betrayal, arrest, passion and death (Mark 14, 15)
7. Jesus' resurrection, the source of Christian hope (Luke 24)
8. Human experience of hope by achieving creativity in spite of life's difficulties. Power to live in hope and love (1 Peter 1:3; Colossians 1: 27)
9. Jesus' ascension and Pentecost: Jesus and Lord (John 13: 13; Acts 1,2)

SECOND YEAR

TERM I

Aim

To help the student to develop his understanding of the meaning of Christian witness by -

- (a) making further adjustment to his school situation
- (b) understanding changes
- (c) appreciation of human and Christian values in relating to others
- (d) integrating values of the African religious heritage into his daily life as a Christian

Topics:

1. Changes in school situation on entering Form 2
2. Accepting the changes in ourselves and others (Col. 3:17)
 - respecting Form 1
 - respecting authority (Romans 13: 1-10; Peter 5:5)
 - understanding and accepting ourselves (1 Timothy 4: 12)
3. My understanding of freedom in the first term in Form 2:
 - I am changing (1 Timothy 4:12)
 - restlessness and independence at home and at school (Colossians 3:20; Ephesians 6: 1-3)
4. Freedom - in my expanded community
 - tradition and family
5. Freedom - friends, teachers, local community
6. Freedom - Christian community: responsibility to God
 - responsibility to others (John 8:32, 36; 1 Cor. 9:19; Gal.5:1, 13-15)
7. Values - traditional and social
 - what my family considers important
 - what society considers important
8. Values - personal, influences by tradition, family and society
 - what I consider important
9. Values - Christian values in relation to tradition, family and society - (Luke 10: 27-28; 12:7; Matt. 6:33; 7: 12; John 13: 34-35)

SECOND YEAR

TERM 2

Aim

To help the student to grow in understanding, respect and appreciation of the Christian communities in Kenya by:-

- (a) understanding the organization of his own church and community
- (b) becoming familiar with the learning to appreciate other Christian communities
- (c) becoming familiar with how Christian communities are serving the local communities in practice
- (d) valuing the freedom of choice in belonging to different Church communities
- (e) developing a better understanding of his role as a member of a Christian community.

Topics

1. What happens in church; worship, Holy Communion
2. What happens in church; service to the local community (Cor. 12: 4-31; John 17; Ephesians 4: 1-16)
3. The church in the wider community, outreach, inter-church co-operation, the N.C.C.K. and the K.E.C.
4. Identity: why belong to a church, Freedom of choice
5. Early Christian community - fellowship, Eucharist (Holy Communion) witness and influence (Acts 2, 3, 4, 5, 6).
6. Participation in the Christian community - creed, worship; (John 6: 63-68; Romans 6)

SECOND YEAR

TERM 3

Aim

To help the student to continue facing life, accepting it and dealing with it as a Christian by-

- (a) discussing Christian values: freedom, authority, sin, justice, truth Christian attitudes to life, sexuality, friendships and other values relevant to the present to the present situation
- (b) developing a desire to turn to the Bible as a guide for his daily living
- (c) encouraging him to rely on the power of the Holy Spirit in his Christian witness to the society.

Topics

1. Christian attitude to authority, obedience, loyalty - (1 Samuel 15: 22, Acts 5:1; Matthew 10: 32-33; Heb. 13:17; Titus 3:1; Eph. 6: 1-3; Rom. 13:1)
2. Christian attitude to justice, trust, relationships, equality, human rights (Matthew 5:7; Galatians 3: 27-28)
3. Christian attitude to truth and honesty (Romans 12:7; John 1: 1-14; Philipians 4:8; Heb. 1: 1-2; Romans 10: 13-15)
4. Christian attitude to friendship, sexuality, respect - (1 Cor. 13: 4-8; Philipians 4:8; 1 Tim. 5:22; John 8: 1-11; Titus 1:16)
5. Christian attitude to the value of life:-
 - Conservation, ecology
 - protecting human life
 - destroying human life
 (John 1: 1-14; Genesis 1: 1-31; 2: 15; Exodus 20)
6. Breaking relationships by neglecting Christian values: sin guilt, (James 4: 17; 1 John 3:4)
7. Forgiveness, repentance, reconciliation, restored relationships (1 John 4: 9-10; Luke 15)

APPENDIX 18

FORMS III AND IV

CRE SYLLABUSES

Extracts from East
African Examinations
Council, Kampala.

223, 224 CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
(May not be taken with Subject 225)

GENERAL AIM:

This syllabus of Christian Religious Education aims at educating the student in an awareness of his life in relation to God's revelation in Jesus Christ, in the changing and developing society of which he is a member.

Candidates must take either Subject 223 or Subject 224 each of which is based on the assumption that a course of study of not less than two years is allocated to the subject.

223 CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
(May not be taken with Subjects 224 or 225)

SPECIAL AIM:

The aim of this two-year course is to enable the student to grow towards responsible Christian maturity, seeing more clearly the demands of his faith in his life, making his own the values he now considers worthwhile and bringing them to the world by relating his Christian faith to his life in the changing and the developing society of which he is a member.

This Subject consists of one 2½ hours paper on the five themes of the Syllabus.

INTRODUCTION:

The approach which underlies this syllabus calls for a learning situation in which the student, together with the teacher, studies and confronts a theme, critically evaluating, judging and discovering the implications for his own life. There are five major themes:-

THE MAJOR THEMES:

- I Man in a Changing Society
- II Order and Freedom in Society
- III Life
- IV Man and Woman
- V Man's Response to God through Faith and Love

The major themes are divided into sub-themes. In treating a major theme the teacher need not follow the order of the sub-themes as presented in the syllabus. The particular situation of the class may suggest which order he is to follow. The main concern is to cover the approved major themes through their sub-themes.

The sub-themes are developed in five dimensions for the student, in such a way that:

1. He may see himself in his present situation, influenced by the technology, ideas and value systems of the rest of the world. (Present situation)
2. He may understand himself as a product of his traditional African milieu, formed in African culture and values, (African Tradition).
3. He may understand himself as a product of Christian history, influenced by various Christian traditions in Africa. (Church History with Emphasis on Africa).
4. He may look at himself in his own situation in this changing world, seeking its meaning for himself in the light of God's revelation as mirrored forth in the Bible, of which the fullest expression is in Christ. (Bible)
5. Having fully considered the experiences and circumstances of his life, he may give an enlightened response to God (Synthesis)

Major Theme 1: Man in a Changing Society

Sub-theme 1: Living in a Changing Society

A. (i) Present situation

Change is a fact of life, Examples of change: going to school; changes in knowledge and technology; urbanization; rural development; social, political and economic changes; religious changes. Reactions to change.

(ii) African tradition

Change was a factor in the past but was not as far-reaching or rapid as today.

(iii) Church history with emphasis on Africa

The Gospel requires change. Christianity has brought changes to Africa. African Christians: e.g. Apolo Kivebulaya and Adrian Atiman. Changes in evangelism and worship.

B. Bible*

Old Testament: Change is part of our lives as persons moving to fulfilment (Genesis 1 and 2). In the significant events of their lives, the Israelites recognise God at work helping them to live in a more human way towards God and each other. Exodus 20: 1-17: the Decalogue, expressing the spirit of the covenant, guides their efforts to live in good relationships with God and each other. JOSHUA 24: 1-28: amid changing circumstances, the covenant with God is the foundation and inspiration of the Israelite community. AMOS 5: 7-15; 21-27; 6: 1-7: the prophets continually urge their people to be faithful to the basic covenant values.

New Testament: Matthew 11: 2-6: Jesus preaches the Kingdom (God's power at work effecting change in men's hearts). Matthew 13: 1-9, 13-14, 24-33, 44-51: the Kingdom is described in parables. LUKE 10: 25-37: men are called to respond with love that is universal; MATTHEW 25: 31-46; a love that is active in loving service of others; JOHN 13: 34-35: a love that is complete. EPHESIANS 2: 11-22: in Christ all men are reconciled with God and with each other. I CORINTHIANS 12: 12-26: sharing the life of the Risen Lord and strengthened by the Spirit, Christians are called to be agents of change and continuity in the wider community.

* N.B. The Bible "Block Texts in CAPITALS" are for more detailed study. Other texts given can help to clarify or link the block texts.

C. Synthesis

The African has a need for a 'place to feel at home'. Christianity can provide both meaningful continuity and meaningful discontinuity between traditional African values and a developing world. It looks not only to economic, social or political development, but to the full humanisation of man based on Christian love. Churches have the obligation to make provision both in towns and rural areas to facilitate this integration.

Sub-theme 2: Working in a Changing Society

A. (i) Present situation

Working is part of living: interdependence in community-building. New patterns of work: salaried employment. Young people are anxious about the future: factors influencing the choice of career. Selfish aims in work disrupts community.

(ii) African tradition

Every one was a worker. Incentives to work.

(iii) Church History with Emphasis on Africa

Work in the early centuries of Christianity in Africa. A look at the Middle Ages and the Industrial Age as a background and link for the Churches and work in modern Africa. Developments since independence.

B. Bible

Old Testament: GENESIS 1: 26-31: through work man shares in God's creative activity. EXODUS 1: 8-14; 5: 7-19: The Israelites experience oppression in work under Pharaoh. EXODUS 20: 8-11: the sabbath rest recalls their deliverance from oppression and helps them to have a proper outlook on work. DEUTERONOMY 24: 5-22: laws are formulated to protect the worker. JEREMIAH 22: 13-17: the prophets expose the exploitation of the poor by the rich. EZRA CHAPTER 3: Old Testament ideals in work are co-operation and interdependence, dependence on God, technology at the service of human needs, and respect for the individual worker.

New Testament: Jesus teaches the values which should be evident in our work. MATTHEW 25: 14-30: each person is called to develop the talents entrusted to him Matthew 25: 31-46 through work we can express our love for God and our neighbour. MARK 6: 30-34: we are invited to share in the work of establishing the Kingdom. ROMANS 8: 18-25: in difficulties we are encouraged by knowing that we are helping to transform ourselves and all creation as we move towards the fulfilment of God's kingdom.

C. Synthesis

Man needs to find meaning and joy in employment. Society needs to be creative in providing opportunities for school-leavers to find employment in their home villages. We must develop a sense of service and a desire to improve the world, in the manner of Christ, according to the gifts we have received (Romans 12: 3-8).

Sub-theme 3: Leisure in a Changing Society

A. (i) Present situation

New forms of leisure and new choices. Personal development and integration of work and leisure. Commercialisation of leisure activities. New rhythm of leisure: new problems.

(ii) African tradition

Social and recreative uses of leisure. Development of personal talents. Traditional forms of leisure. People meet each other just to be together.

(iii) Church History with emphasis on Africa

Attitudes of Christians in the past about enjoying oneself and spending one's leisure time. Influences of missionaries in Africa: positive and negative. Need to balance work and leisure.

B. Bible

Old Testament: DEUTERONOMY 5: 12-15: the sabbath is a day for remembering God, thanking and praising him for his goodness. It is time to rest from work and to strengthen fellowship. PSALM 23: in the struggle and tensions of life, true peace is experienced through trust in God.

New Testament: MARK 2: 23-28: Jesus clarifies the true purpose of the sabbath: to enable men to grow in freedom and fellowship as sons of God and brothers of each other. MATTHEW 6: 25-34: he called men to develop a strong trust in God, their loving Father. JOHN 6: 25-27: true worship is the celebration of our lives and strengthens us in our efforts to live in fellowship. REVELATION 21: 1-4: amid the sorrows and sufferings of life, we look forward to the peace and joy which will be ours in the Kingdom of the Father.

C. Synthesis

To be truly human, man's life must be made up of both work and leisure. Growth to maturity in Christ demands opportunities for reflection. It is important to develop a healthy attitude towards leisure, involving creative activities. Enjoyment in community ways needs to be experienced. The world is the Lord's and all that is therein.

Major Theme II: Order and Freedom in Society

Sub-theme I: Justice in Society

A. (i) Present situation

Personal and universal experience of injustice. Society helps to order human relationships. Injustice also exists within social systems. There is often difficulty in deciding how to act justly. Education can help provide an informed vision of what is needed for human development. Necessity of opposing injustice.

(ii) African tradition

Order and harmony to be maintained in the community. Purpose of a society influences ideas about justice. Some injustices existed (e.g. witchcraft accusations). Reconciliation, not punishment, was the purpose of judicial processes.

(iii) Church History with emphasis on Africa

In two major areas of injustice, slavery and oppression of minorities, we can trace the development of human conscience. While some Christians have worked to overcome these evils, others have condoned them.

B. Bible

Old Testament: God calls men to live in good relationships with Him and with each other. EXODUS 23: 1-8: the covenant law helps safe-guard relationships in the Israelite community. EXODUS 22: 21-27: experiencing God's merciful love, the Israelites are led to realise that they should love and respect others

especially the under-privileged. 2 SAMUEL 12: 1-15: failures in relationships are frequent. ISAIAH 11: 1-12: the prophets denounce the tendency to substitute obedience to laws and religious observances for brotherly concern. ISAIAH 58: 1-12 the prophets foretell that the Messiah will enable men to live in harmony. New Testament: MARK 2: 1-12: Jesus heals relationships. LUKE 18: 9-14: he condemns the legalistic attitudes of the religious leaders. MATTHEW 5: 17-48: he invites people to go beyond the law, loving their fellow men with the kind of love the Father has for them. Men's actions should spring from an inner love and respect for others.

C. Synthesis

The Christian's task is to fulfil the demands of justice in a changing society. It is a Christian duty to stand for justice and denounce injustice.

Sub-theme 2: Service in Society

A. (i) Present tradition

Pupils' experiences of authority: leaders, parents, teachers, doctors, etc. Authority's task is to make men free. Changing patterns of authority in modern Africa. Leadership has to be learned: co-ordination of efforts for the common good.

(ii) African tradition

Authority has served the ideals by which the society lives. Authority in the family. Leaders have exercised political, social, and religious leadership.

(iii) Church History with emphasis on Africa

Service in the early church in Africa. The Middle Ages (monasteries; reform, St. Francis of Assisi) as a background and link for the modern day. The Church in modern Africa: servants or rulers? Examples of men of service. African Church leaders.

B. Bible

Old Testament: EXODUS 3: 16-20: ISAIAH 44: 6-8: The Israelites recognise God's authority as supreme. PSALM 136: they experience his authority at work in creation and in the saving actions which he does for his people. EXODUS 32: 11-20: man shares God's authority in developing the world and in helping people to grow to maturity through fellowship. EZEKIEL 34: 1-11: men abuse their authority to enhance their own power and wealth. God promises a leader who will truly serve his people and lead them to full humanity.

New Testament: JOHN 10: 10-16: Jesus is the good Shepherd foretold by Ezekiel. MARK 10: 32-45: he teaches his disciples the true purpose of authority. JOHN 13: 1-15: he gives himself fully to the service of men. The Christian community should be animated by this same spirit of service (Ephesians 4: 11-13).

C. Synthesis

All power and authority comes from God who is the creator. He shares his authority with man who exercises it in spirit of living service.

Sub-theme 3: Loyalty to Society

A. (i) Present situation

Pupil's experience of loyalty. Man cannot live humanly without making commitments and acting upon them. Conflicting loyalties in a pluralistic society. Choices show where loyalties lie. Constant need to evaluate society's structures. Need for prophetic voices to ensure that loyalty is related to justice and authority.

(ii) African Tradition

Loyalty creates a security that comes from trusting and being trusted. Group loyalty. Personal loyalty. Disloyalty.

(iii) Church History with emphasis on Africa

The problem of "dual citizenship" for a Christian. Christian loyalties in the early centuries of the Church. Questions of Christian loyalty in more recent times.

B. Bible

Old Testament: EXODUS 24: 1-11: God established a unique covenant with his people. 1 KINGS 21: 1-24: in spite of their infidelity, he remains faithful to his promises. JEREMIAH 7: 1-11; MICAH 6: 6-8: the prophets help their people to understand the true meaning of commitment to God.

New Testament: JEREMIAH 31: 31-34: the new and everlasting covenant foretold by Jeremiah is established by Jesus: JOHN 15: 1-17. In his life and teaching Jesus expresses his Loyalty to the Father and to men (John 8: 28-29). He encourages his disciples to follow him (Mark 1: 16-20). MATTHEW 22: 15-22: Christian loyalty demands that we evaluate the demands of love in changing situations.

C. Synthesis

Members of society must be loyal to one another and responsible for one another on the basis of Jesus' teaching about loving God and one's neighbour. Every individual is a member of numerous groups: family, tribe, clan, school, nation, church - all of which have claims on his loyalty.

Major Theme 111: Life

Sub-theme 1: Happiness

A. (i) Present situation

Life is seen as a struggle to attain happiness. A person's ideas of happiness vary according to age, experience, and possibilities. In today's pluralistic societies people do not always seem to agree on what can bring happiness. For the young, happiness sometimes seems to centre on the material or physical level of human needs, yet they also desire good relationships, approval, trust and peace. Their ideas need broadening to include all levels of human development. Happiness is a result rather than a goal.

(ii) African tradition

There were commonly accepted values in traditional society; therefore, the ideas of what would bring happiness were rather clear-cut (e.g. possessions, good relationships with ancestral spirits and the deity, friendships, fidelity to traditions, sharing, and social influence).

(iii) Church History with emphasis on Africa

The Good News of Jesus Christ gives meaning to life. False ideas of Christianity have deprived people of happiness. Witness of joy even in suffering. Wrong ideas of renunciation as a way to happiness.

B. Bible

Old Testament: Life is a mixture of joy and sorrow (Ecclesiastes 3: 1-22). Happiness is linked with companionship, having children, experiencing freedom, union with one's fellowmen and enjoying the fruits of one's labour (various Old Testaments texts). God is acknowledged as the source of all these gifts. Sadness and suffering are also part of life, e.g. slavery, poverty, pain, and death (Old Testament texts). God has created man for happiness (Genesis 1 and 2).

Separated from God and his fellow men, man experiences sadness and suffering (Genesis 3). PSALM 37: God leads the Israelites to discover the way to happiness. JEREMIAH 2: 1-13: the prophets help their people to see where they are going astray. JEREMIAH 30: 10-22: the prophets foretell that God himself will come and save them from their sinfulness, the cause of unhappiness.

New Testament: Jesus, Son of God made man, is the Good News of salvation. MATTHEW 5: 1-10: he reveals the fundamental attitudes (the Beatitudes) to God and life which result in happiness. LUKE 19: 1-10: those who accept his radical message, experience joy. JOHN 16: 16-22: in his resurrection, Jesus guarantees that happiness is a true and lasting reality for men. PHILIPPIANS 4: 4-7: our common effort to overcome selfishness and live in the spirit of the Beatitudes is a source of joy. We look forward to complete happiness in the Kingdom of the Father (Revelation 21: 1-4).

C. Synthesis

Man craves for beatitude, which is a result of living by one's human values, and cannot be made one's goal. 1 Corinthians 13: love is the key to happiness. It places ambition, good jobs, security and other source of happiness in their proper place.

Sub-theme 2: Unending Life

A. (i) Present situation

The desire for happiness and life is frustrated by failure, suffering and death. Young people generally do not think about death, except in particular instances such as the death of a relative. Pupils wonder about traditional obligations concerning the "living-dead". They may question the existence of an after-life due to a misunderstanding of science and its categories. Long-term goals determine short-term goals; people are "future-directed". Ideas and questions about death, judgement, heaven and hell.

(ii) African tradition

The family includes ancestors: continuity of life line. Efforts are made to remember the dead. The quality of the next life depends on this one. After death man joins God and the ancestors in a life which gives more power and has more advantages than the present life. Tribal myths attempt to explain how men lost unending life and happiness.

(iii) Church History with emphasis on Africa

The Resurrection of Christ and the gift of new life through His Spirit begin not in the after-life but NOW. In Christian teaching about unending life, has the threat of hell been stressed more than the call to Christian life and love?

B. Bible

Old Testament: Old Testament ideas on life after death are very limited. ISAIAH 38: 9-20: life, the greatest gift man has, is threatened by death. PSALM 16; PSALM 73: 21-26: the experience of God's faithful and loving presence in the difficulties of life gradually leads to a belief in God's fidelity in and through death. DANIEL 12: 1-3: by the first century B.C., after some Israelites chose death rather than offend God, hope in life after death is affirmed more clearly.

New Testament: LUKE 7: 11-17; MARK 5: 21-24; 35-43: Jesus shows by miracles that death is not the end of life. JOHN 11: 25-26; 1 CORINTHIANS 15: 1-28; 51-58: by his own death and resurrection, Christ won the victory over death for men. Eternal life begins here and now (John 3: 11-16; John 5: 19-24).

LUKE 14: 12-14; 10: 25-28: by living in openness to God and our neighbour, we experience eternal life. The Eucharist, source and sign of eternal life (John 6: 53-56). REVELATION 22: 1-5: the way man lives now prepares him for the fulness of life that awaits him.

C. Synthesis

The present takes on its true meaning only in the light of the future. Christian understanding of death, judgement, heaven and hell. The hope of attaining eternal life is based on the gift of God himself in Christ, but on his part effort is necessary to live this hope.

Sub-theme 3: Success

A. (i) Present situation

Each society has its own ideas of success and failure, and passes them on to the young. The goals that individuals or groups choose depend on their vision and priorities. Success and failure can have varying effects on people. Each individual is a unique personality with his own particular circumstances; therefore success cannot mean the same thing for any two people.

(ii) African tradition

Fulfilling one's social personality has been seen as more important than material achievement. When material success was achieved, generosity and hospitality were expected. One should not be prosperous at the expense of one's neighbours. Unexplained success can lead to accusations of witchcraft or magic, thus limiting personal initiative. Some traditional stories show the connection between success and innocence, humility and the power of the weak.

(iii) Church History with emphasis on Africa

The history of the Church has often been presented as a success story (e.g. numbers converted, achievement, importance of leaders). Is this right? Christians have witnessed to the belief that faith can transform failure.

B. Bible

Old Testament: The goal of man's life is to achieve union and harmony with God, his fellow men and creation (Genesis 1 and 2). DEUTERONOMY 6: 1-9: the law offers guidance to the Israelites in their efforts to achieve a harmonious life-style. PSALM 1: the idea that following the law guarantees success is challenged by the experience of faithful men failing and suffering while wicked men prosper (Job 1: 1-3 and 21: 7-15).

New Testament: MATTHEW 4: 1-11; 18-21 Jesus overturns traditional and popular ideas of success. MATTHEW 19: 16-22: challenges the Old Testament ideal. LUKE 9: 23-26: invites his followers to complete self-giving for others. PHILIPPIANS 2: 1-11: the death-resurrection of Christ's life is the pattern for his followers. JOHN 12: 24-26; ROMANS 12: 1-21: whole-hearted self-giving in the service of others, with complete trust in God's fidelity, is the Christian criterion for successful living.

C. Synthesis

Christian love will cause men to view their success in relation to the well-being of others. The gifted and the better equipped will seek to change the conditions in which men live; seeing human development as an aspect of Christ's kingdom. Success as understood by Christians can be summarised in the command to love God and one's fellow man (the rich young man, Mark 10: 17-31). Christians are to be enlightened by faith in Christ, the man for others, who challenges popular ideas of success.

Major Theme IV: Man and Woman

Sub-theme 1: Family Life

A. (i) Present situation

The family is the basic human community, where people can be loved and accepted. Changing patterns of family life. Tension between parents older relatives and the experiences and views of the young. Tension between nuclear and extended families. Ideals of collective responsibility and co-operation. Tensions between one's responsibility to society and loyalty to extended family (e.g. nepotism, demands made on the educated).

(ii) African tradition

The extended family: co-responsibility, education of children for community living, a developing process of growing together and sharing. A large family with many children was a sign of blessing and wealth. Tension because both husband and wife have strong loyalties to their original families. Polygamy has been an accepted practice for various reasons. Childless marriage has usually not been acceptable.

(iii) Church History with emphasis on Africa

Changing patterns of family life. Christian ideal of mutual love and respect set out in the New Testament. Early centuries in Africa: existing patterns were accepted by Christians but also challenged by the Christian ideal. Marriage and family life in the Middle Ages: legalistic attitudes. Reformation and after: emphasis on Christian family life. Attitudes of Christian missionaries to traditional African customs (e.g. polygamy). Changes effected by education. New patterns emerging. The search for the Christian ideal is expressed in different ways within cultures.

B. Bible

Old Testament: The family is the basic unit of society (Genesis 12: 1-5). Children are a sign of God's blessing (Genesis 15: 2; Psalm 128: 3). Sterility is considered a curse (1 Samuel 1: 8; Genesis 30: 1-8). Family solidarity is a sacred obligation (Exodus 20: 12; Deuteronomy 5: 6). The family is the centre of education (Proverbs 22: 15; 23: 13-14; 29: 15, 17). Involvement in development of national resources (1 Kings chapters 5 and 7; 2 Chronicles 26: 9-10). GENESIS 2: 21-24: stability of family; ideal of monogamy. MALACHI 2: 13-16: divorce, at first permitted (Deuteronomy 24: 1) is later condemned. Polygamy was practised by some of the kings (1 Kings 11) but virtually disappeared after the exile.

New Testament: MARK 10: 1-12: Ideal of monogamy, asserted in Genesis, is reaffirmed by Jesus; mutual love and respect is the basis of family relationships. MARK 3: 31-35: God's love for us and our love for him underly all relationships in the new covenant, including the marriage relationship. LUKE 2: 46-50 and LUKE 9: 57-62: the family must be outward looking to wider human community. Christians should be nation-conscious (Romans 13: 1-7, 1 Peter 2: 13-17). EPHESIANS 6: 1-4; COLOSSIANS 3: 18-21; 1 PETER 3: 1-8: relationships within the family must be loving and not tyrannical. Christian attitudes of love, acceptance and forgiveness within the family help the members to respond with love and tolerance to others beyond the family circle (Colossians 3: 12-15).

C. Synthesis

The Christian ideal of marriage emphasizes the primary obligation of love and responsibility of husband and wife to each other and to their children. The Christian family should be seen in relation to the Christian community, to society, and to the wider community of all men.

Sub-theme 2: Sex Differences and the Person

A. (i) Present situation

Today's societies stress the value of the person, regardless of sex, at least in principle if not in practice. Boys and girls are seeking for their identity: what does it mean to grow up into manhood and womanhood? Cultural viewpoints influence attitudes of men towards women and women towards men. New possibilities lead to changing roles, with dangers of confusion and discrimination.

(ii) African tradition

The tasks of men have been clearly differentiated from those of women. Men have generally enjoyed greater freedom and mobility than women. Women generally have not played an overt part in politics or public life; a woman's life has been oriented to motherhood. In matrilineal societies the status of women has been enhanced.

(iii) Church History with emphasis on Africa

The Christian ideal of respect for the person, whether male or female, has been stressed. Women have had important roles in the work of the Church. Discrimination has existed in various areas of life in the Christian churches.

B. Bible

Old Testament: The situation in Israelite society: distinction of roles and inequality of men and women (Genesis 30: 1-2; Exodus 20: 17; Proverbs 6: 20-26). GENESIS 3: 8-19: created to be companions and co-responsible men and women accuse each other, women become enslaved by men. The biblical author sees this situation as the result of sin. GENESIS 1: 26-31; GENESIS 2: 18-25: Men and women are different but equal, created in God's image and likeness, entrusted with the mastery of the universe, meant to be companions. Signs of hope: emphasis on the individual (Exodus 20: 1-17), laws intended to safeguard the weak and poor (Exodus 22: 20-27). Some Israelite women are symbols of the active part which all women are entitled to take in society (Deborah, Jael, the woman of Tekoa, Esther). 1 SAMUEL 2: 1-8: Hannah's expression of hope echoes the hope of all Israelite women.

New Testament: JOHN 13: 34-35: Jesus proclaims the dignity of each person and the basic law of love which should govern all relationships. He is open to all kinds of people whatever their race (John 4: 1-9), social status (Mark 1: 40-45), profession (Matthew 9: 9-13), moral life (Luke 7: 36-39), sex (Luke 10: 38-42; John 11: 1-5), or age (Mark 10: 13-16). All men and women are children of God, loved by him (John 3: 16), any form of discrimination is a denial of the family ties that hold them together (Matthew 5: 43-48). GALATIANS 3: 27-28; there are no longer distinctions but unity does not mean uniformity (1 Corinthians 12: 12-30). The law of mutual love and respect is the basis of relationships (Galatians 5: 13-15; Philipians 2: 3-5).

C. Synthesis

The Christian ideal is the equality of man and woman as persons although each sex has its own unique tasks. Each person is to be valued for himself or herself rather than for the role he or she fulfils.

Sub-theme 3: Courtship and Marriage

A. (i) Present situation

There is at present greater opportunity for contact and more freedom of mixing between boys and girls, which can result in a growing mutual understanding and respect. There is more freedom in the choice of marriage partners. Some

links with the clan are weakening. Various views of marriage. Marriage is seen as a framework for developing relationships of love and understanding.

(ii) African tradition

Marriage discussions and the choice of marriage partners are the concern of the whole family group. Bride wealth (bride price) is very common but is not present everywhere. Pre-marriage instruction was given by one's family and immediate community.

(iii) Church History with emphasis on Africa

Monogamy has been promoted as the ideal, as a requirement. Emphasis on choice of marriage partner. Marriage seen as a continually developing relationship of love.

B. Bible

Old Testament: Marriage is willed by God and is a way of sharing in God's creative activity (Genesis 2: 18-24). The day-to-day reality of division and strife between man and wife (Genesis 3) shows need for laws to help married persons treat each other with love and respect (Exodus 22: 16-17). God makes known the possibilities for the marriage relationship and the attitudes that the partners need to cultivate towards each other (Hosea Chapter 2) marriage is revealed as a covenant between the partners for mutual growth and development. The relationship can grow only if it is based on integrity, tenderness, justice love and faithfulness.

New Testament: Jesus refers to the joy of the marriage relationship (Mark 2: 19; John 3: 29). His healing power extends to the marriage relationship (John 4: 16-19; John 8: 1-11). He recalls the ideal of monogamy which was expressed in Genesis 2: 24, but was later ignored (Mark 10: 1-12). He taught that all relationships need to be open-ended (Matthew 19: 11-12), and individuals must follow the way that they are called to follow, possibly even not to marry. Paul expresses the Christian ideal of marriage as a covenant of love in which each partner is totally given to the other in genuine love (EPHESIANS 5: 21-33; 1 CORINTHIANS 7: 1-5). The foundation of Christian marriage is the new life in Christ which the partners share (Romans 6: 1-11).

C. Synthesis

Marriage is a growing relationship of mutual commitment to be explored and developed all life long. Husbands and wives united in Christ are helped to grow in love. Each partner is a minister of saving grace to the other, precisely by being committed to the other in love.

Major Theme V: Man's Response to God through Faith and Love

Sub-theme 1: Man's quest for God

A. (i) Present situation

The student is aware of his own and other men's uncertainty in the quest for God. Education and even Christian teaching have contributed to doubts and questions about traditional views of God without offering adequate understanding. Men seek meaning beyond themselves (for reality, for God).

(ii) African tradition

Relief in God and the spirit world expresses a sense of order in the universe. People have acquired the religious beliefs of the society in which they were born and educated. Religion has pervaded the whole of life.

(iii) Church History with emphasis on Africa

World religions other than Christianity which have had a major influence in Africa: have the attitudes of the churches towards them changed? Man's search for meaning and some reactions of the churches to such efforts in the past and today.

B. Bible

Old Testament: A history of one people who experienced God's revelation in a particular way and were moved to a response; no suggestion that only the Israelites knew God. Genesis 1-11 describes the situation of mankind in general; created by God for union with him, unable to respond fully to God or to their fellow men because of sin, but included in God's plan of salvation. PSALM 19: 1-4: God reveals himself to all men through creation. The Israelites recognise God revealing himself through events in their own history (e.g. the Exodus) and calling for a personal response from them (Exodus 24: 1-8). The prophets help to interpret events and lead their people to a proper response to God. Hope of God's salvation tended to become exclusive but the prophets tried to widen the people's understanding (stories of Ruth and Jonah). Isaiah insists on the universality of salvation (Isaiah 45: 18 and 23, 49: 1, 12-13, 55: 5).

New Testament: HEBREWS 1: 1-2: Climax of Old Testament revelation. Jesus affirms that he has come for all men (Luke 3: 6, 6: 35, 10: 14), that non-Jews would be more open to accept his message (Luke 11: 29-32, 13: 22-30). The Good News was not a reformed Judaism but new and unexpected (the Kingdom of God). Jesus himself is the centre of mankind gathered together in unity (John 11: 45-54). ROMANS 1: 18-32; ACTS 17: 22-23: attitude of the early Christians; recognition that the gentiles perceived God in some way. Peter: a new understanding of God's revelation (Acts, Chapter 10). Paul: EPHESIANS 3: 1-13: the mystery once hidden is now revealed.

C. Synthesis

There should be an appreciation of God's revelation in Africa traditional religions. There is one mediator, Jesus Christ. The otherness of God and his closeness, when held in balance, give a proper sense of the sacred.

Sub-theme 2: Man's Evasion of God

A. (i) Present situation

Secular education encourages analysis and questioning, even of faith, in search of demonstrable truth. Difficulty to appreciate religious, aesthetic or poetic truth. Aspirations tend towards power and wealth, with education as key to them. Unchristian attitudes may influence politics, business and economics. Man tends to reduce God to what he can understand and accept, as well as to reject the limited views of God which he has learned. There is a danger that, for what they consider religious reasons, people can close themselves to God's ongoing revelation. Ritual can become meaningless ritualism.

(ii) African tradition

Belief in magic. A fatalistic attitude reduces responsibility for "religious" reasons. A tendency to abandon organised religion can be a result of abuses of religion: ritualism, rituals of power, competition between religious groups leading to confusions, manipulation by theocratic governments. Any wilful break in relationships is seen as an offence against God and the spirits. There is uncertainty and confusion concerning one's obligation to submit to traditional tribal ritual and hesitancy about the propriety of a Christian's participation in it.

(iii) Church History with emphasis on Africa

Tendency to commit oneself to something other than God or as well as God ("idolatry"). Experiences in the early Church: Judaism, factionalism (1 Corinthians 1). Middle Ages and Reformation. Modern Africa: particular practices, devotions, catchwords. Christian commitment sometimes expressed in "refraining from" (e.g. fasting, not smoking). Tendency towards secularism appears to date from the Renaissance onwards. Various reasons why some people have opposed or abandoned Christianity or other forms of organized religions.

B. Bible

Old Testament: The Israelites had a tendency to presume that God would act in a certain way to protect them. Isaiah 40: 21-26: denounced the temptation to think the Babylonian gods stronger than Yahweh. Shuffling off responsibility: seeing the covenant as a pledge that God will never fail them (2 Samuel 7: 1-16; Isaiah 5: 1-7; Jeremiah 31: 31-34), tendency to hope that by fulfilling rituals they will get what they want (1 Samuel 4: 1-11; Isaiah 1: 10-15; Jeremiah 7: 1-15; Isaiah 58: 1-12). Even among the prophets there is a tendency to think of the restoration in terms of the re-establishment of David's kingdom (Jeremiah 30: 18).

Another tendency: to see men as self-sufficient (Genesis 3). EZEKIEL 28: 1-5: the King of Tyre thinks he has no need of God. The prophet Jeremiah reproaches King Jehoakim for practically denying his relationship with God (Jeremiah 22: 13-17). PSALM 53: self-worship and self-centredness lead men to deny God a real place in their lives.

New Testament: Jesus exposed both these tendencies. He condemned the exclusivism of the religious leaders who thought of Judaism as being for the Jews only, who thought that because they worshipped in the temple and followed the law scrupulously, they were truly serving God (Matthew 24: 1-2; Mark 2: 27; Mark 2: 18-20; Mark 7: 1-13; Mark 7: 24-30). LUKE 12: 13-21; 16: 19-31: He exposed likewise the false attitudes of men who refused to believe in anything beyond the material or who lived for themselves only. Jesus showed complete openness to God. MATTHEW 4: 1-11: He chose the way of self-giving for others rather than the way of power, wealth or presumption on God. His miracles were worked, not to impress, but to elicit a faith-response (Matthew 11: 2-6). He taught an attitude of trust in the Father (Matthew 7: 7-11) and the readiness to put one's faith into practice in loving concern for others (Matthew 7: 21, Matthew 25: 31-46). Paul: our lives are in God's hands and God works through us for his own purposes (Ephesians 2: 8-10; Philippians 2: 13). Each person is called to commit himself with all his gifts to the task entrusted to him (Matthew 25: 14-30).

C. Synthesis

Man is called to an attitude of trust and openness towards God and the world, acting responsibly within his circumstances.

Sub-theme 3: Christian involvement in the World

A. (i) Present situation

The young are increasingly in need of, and are searching for, ways of relating faith to daily life within the community. The question of the lives of people whose religious convictions lead them to dissociate themselves from "worldly" activities, such as politics or business. There is effective Christian witness to God's saving presence in the world.

(ii) African tradition

Integration of Christianity and culture. As Christianity is reflected on by people of one culture with people of another culture, the richness of the mystery of Christ is more deeply penetrated.

(iii) Church History with Emphasis on Africa

Religion demands commitment. Early Church after Pentecost: transformation. Early African Christians: commitment to God and to each other; commitment to transformation of the world. Renewal, revival and reformation in the Church. Christian commitment to God and to the transformation of the world should be summed up in the community worship, specifically in the Eucharist.

B. Bible

Old Testament: ISAIAH 44: 9-20: God (Yahweh) is acknowledged as the only Creator and Lord. He is experienced as active in the lives of his people (Exodus 19: 1-9). The faith-response to Yahweh is expressed in the daily living out of the covenant. PSALM 100: faith is expressed in worship, remembering God's saving acts with gratitude and adoration. The prophets help to educate their people to a faith-response to contemporary events (Isaiah 39: 1-8). Psalm 139: God is near to each individual, knows each one intimately and yet is transcendent.

New Testament: Jesus is Emmanuel (God with us), revealing God as Father; He makes the Father's will the goal of His life (Matthew 4: 1-11), reading His will in the circumstances that face Him (Mark 1: 32-39), risking the opposition of the religious leaders (Mark 3: 1-6), realising that they want to arrest Him (Mark 14: 1-2) and accepting inevitable death (Mark 15: 1-15). On the cross He appears truly as Son, responding with trust in a hopeless situation (Mark 15: 34; 15: 39). The Resurrection is God's seal on His fidelity. HEBREWS 11: 1-16, 32-40, 12: 1-2: for those who follow Him commitment means constant openness to God and to one's fellow men (Matthew 25: 31-46). 1 CORINTHIANS 10: 16-17; ACTS 2: 46: the Eucharist expresses Christian involvement in the world and God's action in men's lives: a call to fellowship. Luke 11: 1-13; Matthew 6: 5-6: personal prayer and reflection help us to be aware of God's presence in people and events and to respond with love (John 3: 8).

C. Synthesis

Commitment to God includes: being open to people, events and circumstances; discovering through personal prayer and reflection how to respond to the Father; and expressing shared faith commitment and response in worship.

224 CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

(May not be taken with Subject 223 or 225)

SPECIAL AIM:

- (a) To study man's understanding of his relationship to God and to his fellowmen, in the Bible, in the history of the Christian Church and in African Tradition.
- (b) To deepen the student's awareness of his relationship to God and to his fellowmen through Jesus Christ.

Candidates must take Paper 1 and one of Papers 2, 3 4 or 5.

Paper 1: St. Luke's Gospel and its relevance for Africa today (2 hours)

Paper 2: The Old Testament: Selected Themes (1½ hours)

Paper 3: The Early Church, its Growth and Extension (1½ hours)

Paper 4: The Church in East Africa (1½ hours)

Paper 5: African Religious Heritage with Special reference to East Africa (1½ hours)

Paper 1: St. Luke's Gospel and its Relevance for Africa Today

Introduction

1. The course will consist of an introduction (Section A and B), and the main study. Section C.
2. The introduction will involve a brief study of:-
Section A : The religious heritage of Africa.
Section B : The religious heritage of the Jewish people at the time of Christ.
3. Section C : The main study will have two aspects:
(i) St. Luke's Gospel and its relevance for the people at the time of Christ.
(ii) The relevance of Christ's teaching in this Gospel to the Pupil in his contemporary environment.
4. It is envisaged that one third of the time to go to the introductions (Section A and B), and two-thirds of the time to the main study (Section C).
5. The examination will be of TWO hours duration. Candidates are required to answer FOUR questions in all. No context question will be set.

SYLLABUS

Section A:

The Religious Heritage of Africa

This section aims to give the students an appreciation of those elements of his religious background which are common to most African traditional religions.

1. WHOLENESS OF LIFE: All aspects of human life and all its activities are related to the deity (a Divine Being). The need to be at one with the deity in every phase of life.
2. MAN IN COMMUNITY: Kinship to both the living and the dead. Patterns of behaviour.
3. THE UNFOLDING PATTERNS OF LIFE: Birth, childhood, transition to adulthood, adulthood and marriage, old age, death and the state of those who have died. The rituals and traditions associated with these stages.
4. AFTER DEATH, THE WORLD OF SPIRITS: Involvement of the spirits in everyday life.
5. THE SUPREME BEING. Creator of the world and of all men.
6. SYSTEM OF SACRIFICE, OFFERINGS AND PRAYER
7. SPECIAL PEOPLE, SUCH AS PROPHETS, PRIESTS, HEALERS.

Section B:

The Religious Heritage of the Jewish People at the Time of Christ

The main aim of this section is to give an understanding of attitudes and thinking generally current among the Jewish people at the time of Christ, to be developed in five themes.

1. THE LAND OF PROMISE.
2. THE PEOPLE. Covenant relationship with God.
3. THE TEMPLE. God's presence among his people.
4. THE LAW. A way of life expressing the covenant relationship.
5. THE MESSIAH. Expectations of the Jewish people.

Section C:

The Life and Teaching of Christ as Recorded in St. Luke's Gospel

The Gospel is to be studied in its entirety as an account of the life and teaching of Christ; attention being given to the significance of the events and teachings it records, not only for the people at Christ's time, but also for the pupil in his contemporary environment.

- (i) The significance of the Gospel for the people at the time of Christ should be studied in close relation to Section B of the introduction "The Religious Heritage of the Jewish People at the Time of Christ".
- (ii) The significance of the Gospel for the pupil in his contemporary environment should be studied in close relation to Section A of the introduction. "The Religious Heritage of Africa".

Paper 2: The Old Testament: Selected Themes

Introduction:

1. In this syllabus, the Old Testament is regarded as the account of God's approach to man with the promise of a blessing. God spoke to men and acted through men and events with purpose of revealing Himself to the human race and of bringing them into fellowship with Himself.
2. The particular people from whom the universal saviour would come were prepared through many centuries for the coming of Jesus Christ (Hebrews 1: 1-3). The Old Testament lays the foundation for the New Testament.
3. Four key persons, ABRAHAM, MOSES, DAVID AND JEREMIAH, with their religious understanding and influence, are to be studied. Throughout the long period between Abraham and Jeremiah sin and disobedience threatened and attempted to destroy the growth of the love and unity which God desired for His people. Each of the great men chosen reflects this struggle in various ways.
4. The duration of the examination will be one and a half hours.

SYLLABUS

1. ABRAHAM: GOD'S CALL

God approached men by choosing Abraham and his descendants to be a people to whom He would reveal Himself, so that through them blessing would come to all mankind.

Passage for study:

Genesis	11 : 26-32	15 : 1-21	21 : 1-7
	12 : 1-9	17 : 1-27	22 : 1-19

II. MOSES: THE COVENANT PEOPLE

Centuries later, Abraham's descendants through Israel (Jacob) entered into a covenant with God at Mount Sinai. They were taught by Moses to live and act as God's covenant people.

Passage for study:

Exodus	1 : 1-22	12 : 21-39	24 : 1-8
	2 : 1-25	14 : 1-30	32 : 1-35
	3 : 1-22	20 : 1-24	34 : 1-16
			40 : 1-15
Deuteronomy	30 : 15-20	34 : 1-12	
Joshua	1 : 1-9	3 : 1-17	24 : 1-29

III. DAVID: KINGSHIP UNDER GOD: MESSIAH

The people of Israel became a nation. It was through the family of King David that blessing was expected to come.

Passages for study:

I Samuel	1 : 1-28	16 : 1-23
	3 : 1-21	17 : 1-54
	8 : 1-22	
II Samuel	5 : 1-9	7 : 1-29
		6 : 1-5
I Kings	2 : 1-4	

IV. JEREMIAH: A NEW COVENANT

1. The prophetic ministry from David to Jeremiah
Meaning and responsibilities of the covenant. The promise of blessing through the line of David.

Passages for study:

I Kings	5 : 1-18	11 : 1-13	18 : 1-46
	8 : 1-11	12 : 1-33	19 : 1-21
	17 : 1-24	21 : 1-24	
II Kings	17 : 1-18		
Micah	1 : 1-7	3 : 1-12	5 : 2-4
	2 : 1-2	4 : 1-7	6 : 6-16
	7 : 18-20		

2. Jeremiah's Ministry

Message of impending disaster. Promise of a new covenant written in the hearts of men. New insights concerning the People of God. The Covenant. The Temple. The righteous King.

Passages for study:

Jeremiah	1 : 1-10	21 : 1-10	31 : 31-34
	5 : 1-5	23 : 1-6	32 : 37-41
	7 : 1-15		36 : 1-32
	11 : 1-13	29 : 1-14	39 : 1-18

Paper 3: The Early Church: Its Growth and Extension

Introduction:

1. This course should present the essential features and message of the Church as founded by Christ and His Apostles.
2. It views the Church in its fundamental aspect as Christ living on, speaking the good news and extending His life to other peoples.
3. Though the Church began at a particular time and in a particular place, nevertheless it is being perpetually reborn as it meets new people and new cultures. Such a meeting is taking place in East Africa today.
4. In teaching this course, the teacher may wish to begin with contemporary problems and then relate them to similar situations in the New Testament
5. The syllabus is intended to develop and the examination questions will test:
 - (a) the student's understanding of the events in their own context;
 - (b) the student's ability to establish the link between early Christianity and present day Christianity;
 - (c) the student's effort to evaluate his traditions in the light of Christianity;
 - (d) the student's ability to relate contemporary problems to the study of the early Church.
6. It is envisaged that two-thirds of the teaching time will be given to Section A and one-third to Section B. The examination will reflect this proportion. The duration of the examination will be one and a half hours.

SYLLABUS

Section A:

The Church Continuing and Extending Christ's Redemptive Work in the Apostolic Age

I THE GOSPEL TO THE JEWS

1. Pentecost: Acts 2: 1-13; 2: 36-41.
2. Witnessing to the Jews: Acts 3: 1-10; 4: 1-31.
3. Opposition and dispersal of Christian community: Acts 5: 12-42; 6: 1-15; 7: 51-60; 8: 1-2.

II CARRYING THE GOSPEL BEYOND THE JEWISH NATION

1. Message to dispersed Jews: Acts 2: 9-11; 6: 9.
2. Persecution leads to spreading of the message; Acts 8: 1-8; 2: 18-21.
3. Message to the Gentiles: Acts 8: 26-40; 11: 22-26; 10: 1-48; 13: 1-3.
4. Jewish law and Gentile Christians: Acts 11: 1-18; 15: 1-35; Gal.2: 15-21.

III THE GOSPEL AND ASPECTS OF GENTILE RELIGION

1. Magic. Elymas. Acts 13: 4-12. Simon, the Magician: Acts 8: 9-13.
2. Vested interests. Spirit of divination: Acts 16: 16-23.
Demetrius: Acts 19: 21-41. Gallio: Acts 18: 12-17.
3. Idolatry. Acts 4: 8-18; 28: 1-6; 15: 29; 17: 16-34; I Cor. 10: 14-33.

IV WAY OF LIFE OF THE EARLY CHRISTIANS

1. Prayer and worship.
Acts 2: 42-47; 12: 12-17; 20: 7-12; I Cor. 10: 16; 11: 17-34;
14: 26-33; Luke 22: 19. Heb. 10: 14. Gen. 14: 18. Psalms 110: 4.
2. Common Life.
Acts 2: 44-45; 5: 1-11; 4: 32-37; 11: 27-30.
3. Unity of spirit in the Early Church.
I Cor. 12: 1-31; Acts 14: 20-22; 20: 28-31; Titus 1: 5.
4. Non-discrimination
Acts 10: 28; Gal.3: 28; James 2: 1-9.
5. Position of Women
Acts 6: 1-6; 16: 13-15; 21: 9; Eph. 5: 25-33; Matt. 19: 6;
Mark. 10: 9. Gen. 2: 23-24.
6. Faith of the Early Christians
Acts 2: 37-41; 13: 13-52; 8: 14-17; Mark 16: 16; John 20:
21-23; James 5: 16; 5: 14-16; Mark 6: 12-13.

V OUTSTANDING CHARACTERS OF THE EARLY CHURCH

1. Life of Peter
2. Life of Paul

Section B:

Further Extension of the Church up to A.D. 451

1. Persecution. Defence of Christianity. Tertullian.
2. Struggle with philosophers. Alexandrian catechetical school. Clement Origen.
3. Monasticism. Struggle for holiness. Pachomius. Anthony.
4. Definition of the faith. Athanasius.
5. Spread of the faith. Libya. Nubia. Ehtiopia.
6. Augustine.
The geographical extension of the Church up to A.D. 451.

Paper 4: The Church in East Africa

Introduction:

1. This course should present the essential features and message of the Church as founded by Christ and His Apostles with special reference to its expansion and activity in East Africa.
2. It views the Church in its continued existence as fulfilling God's purpose throughout the world and in East Africa today.
3. This course therefore aims at:
 - (a) presenting to the student an understanding of the present state of the Church in East Africa, making him aware of the historical circumstances from which this structure has arisen.
 - (b) introducing him to the range of service of the Church in the life of the nation, and
 - (c) helping the student to appreciate the contribution of the Church in East Africa to the universal Church.
4. The syllabus is intended to develop and the examination question will test:
 - (a) the student's understanding of events in their own context.
 - (b) the student's ability to establish the link between Christianity in East Africa in the past and in the present.
 - (c) the student's effort to evaluate his traditions in the light of Christianity.
 - (d) the student's appreciation of missionary involvement in social enterprises as an expression of the Christian message.
5. The duration of the examination will be one and a half hours.

SYLLABUS

I Background

1. The missionary obligation of the Christian faith.
2. A brief outline of the origins of the divisions in the Church.
3. Nineteenth century movements in Europe leading to renewal of missionary outreach.

II BIRTH AND SPREAD OF THE CHURCH IN EAST AFRICA

1. First missionaries in East Africa.
2. Approaches to mission work. Pioneer work with (coastal areas). Evangelisation of the rural areas.
3. Attitudes to mission work. Integration of life and faith (Livingstone). Pietistic attitudes.
4. A centrally organised society assists the spread of Christianity (Uganda).

III SPREAD OF THE CHURCH IN EAST AFRICA

1. Missionary societies, e.g. C.M.S.; U.M.C.A., The Holy Ghost Society. The White Fathers, C.S.M., L.M.S., Lutheran Societies, etc.
2. A serving Church. Medicine. Christian villages. Technical training. Agriculture. Education: Bible schools, mission-government co-operation, education of women.
3. The Church and political development. The educational background. Missionaries' support for African aspirations.
4. The local mission. Church. School. Hospital.
5. Early attempts at Unity.

IV SEEKING AN AFRICAN IMAGE

1. Africanisation of Church leadership.
2. Revival movements.
3. Independent Churches, e.g. African Israel Church Nineveh.
4. Pentecostal and worship movements. "Speaking in tongues".
5. African traditions. Experiments in Christian initiation ceremonies. Circumcision controversy. Indigenisation of Church music. Forms of prayers. Vernacular. Appreciation of African values as a basis for the Christian message and as an enrichment of Christian tradition.
6. Movements to a wider Christian Community.
7. The Church in independent Africa.
Religious Education, Church and state. Freedom of worship.

V SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNICATIONS

1. Rural. Village polytechnics. Agricultural training Ujamaa villages. Christian social service.
2. Urban. Community centres. Projects.
3. Mass media. Press. Radio. Television

Paper 5: The African Religious Heritage with Special Reference to East Africa.

Introduction:

This paper presents the African Religious Heritage within the whole culture and traditions in such a way as to create respect in the African students for their own culture and background. It therefore considers culture and background as a whole. The aim is to present the African traditional world view as it is and to let Christianity and other religions meet it on its own terms. It also presents authentic (indigenous) African traditional religions as containing revelation of God to the African people.

The syllabus is intended to develop and the examination questions will test:

- (a) the student's understanding of the African world view and of his background generally.
- (b) the student's ability to relate elements of his African traditional religious view to those of his Christian view.
- (c) the student's ability to evaluate what he is seeing and experiencing daily in the light of African traditional religions and of Christianity.
- (d) the student's knowledge of those elements which are common to traditional religions in East Africa with the main variations and detailed study of one tradition.

SYLLABUS

1. AIMS AND SOURCES OF THE STUDY. Importance of the study. Approaches and attitudes. Written sources. Unwritten sources; tales, customs, art, etc.
2. AFRICAN CREATION MYTHS. Creation and purpose of universe and man. Man's relationship to God, nature, community and other individuals.
3. AFRICAN CHILDHOOD. Pregnancy, birth, names and naming, child-rearing. Meaning and importance of human life. Religious education: The "why" tales. General education: the "how" tales, apprenticeship, playmates.
4. INITIATION. Meaning of community. Friendship. Personal responsibilities in community. Tests of courage. Circumcision.

5. COURTSHIP. MARRIAGE AND FAMILY LIFE. COMMUNAL COURTSHIP.
The various wedding ceremonies. Bride price, bride wealth. Husband and wife. In-laws. Procreation - motherhood, fatherhood and duties. Divorce and separation. Polygamy. Behaviour within the household.
6. WORK AND LEISURE. Division of labour, art-in-life, crafts and sports. Economics and human beings.
7. THE COMMUNITY. Family, clan and tribe. Leadership roles. Political System and social welfare (justice). Religious personages, e.g. prophets, diviners.
8. DEATH AND THE HEREAFTER. Causes of diseases, accidents and death (mystery of evil). Burial ceremonies. Destiny of the soul.
9. SPIRITS AND ANCESTORS. The dead, their nature and function. Men and spiritual powers. Nature and supernature. Magic and witchcraft.
10. DEITY. Nature of the deity. The works of the deity. Moral attributes of the deity. Worship: sacrifices and prayers.

APPENDIX 19

Extracts from East
African Examination
Council, Kampala.

FORMS V AND VI

CRE SYLLABUSES

EAST AFRICAN EXAMINATIONS COUNCIL

P.O. BOX 7066, KAMPALA, UGANDA

E.A.A.C.E.

CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

PRINCIPAL SUBJECT

Four papers will be set as below. Candidates will offer any three papers, answering four questions from each.

1. The Old Testament (2½ hours)
2. The New Testament (2½ hours)
3. Christianity in the East African Environment (2½ hours)
4. Christian Approaches to Social and Ethical issues (2½ hours)

The Revised Standard Version will be used for quotations included in question papers. There is, however, no wish or intention to dictate to schools what version should be used in teaching the syllabus. Schools are at liberty to choose whichever they prefer. Examiners have been instructed not to set questions in which the answer depends on a rendering peculiar to the Revised Standard Version.

SUBSIDIARY SUBJECTS:

Any one of the principal subject papers may be offered as a subsidiary subject:

THE SYLLABUS

GENERAL AIMS:

1. To deepen the student's understanding of the religious dimension of life as contained in the biblical revelation, Christian history, African culture and contemporary Christian thought.
2. To enable the student to develop insights into religious values and to relate these values to life as a basis for judgements and choices in a changing and developing African society.
3. To give the student a deeper understanding of the basis of the Christian faith and its relevance to life today.
4. To lay an adequate academic foundation for those who wish to pursue the study of religion at a specialist level.

P A P E R I

THE OLD TESTAMENT:

1. The specific aim of this course is to enable the student to gain insights into the unfolding of God's self-revelation to the people of Israel in particular, as recorded in the Old Testament, as part of the basis of Christian living today.
2. Candidates will be expected to show understanding of:
 - the development of Israel's life and thought, the Old Testament
 - the relationship of the Old Testament to the New, i.e. continuity and discontinuity and the fulfilment of the Old in the New.
3. Knowledge will be expected of the following themes:
 - the historical setting of the Prophets of Israel
 - the prophetic contribution and challenge to Israel's religious life and thought
 - God's promise and the chosen people
 - Covenant and law
 - kingship
 - the messianic hope
 - the holy city and temple
 - sacrifice
 - God's righteousness and love
 - the remnant
 - judgement and suffering.
4. Reference should be made to the following selected passages from the law, the Historical and Prophetic Books, the Psalms and the book of Job.

The Law Books

Genesis	1 to 3 11, 27 to 12.9	15, 17.
Exodus	3, 11, 12	19.1 to 25.22
Leviticus	9, 11 14.1 - 9	17.10 - 14
Deuteronomy	6 to 8 10.12 - 22	11, 26.1 - 10 28.1 - 46, 30.15 - 20

The Historical Books

1 Samuel	1, 2.22 - 35 3, 8, 9	10.1 - 26 13, 15, 16
2 Samuel	5.1 - 11, 6.1 - 15 7, 11	12.1 - 25
1 Kings	1.1 - 40, 2.1 - 4 5, 8, 11, 12	17.1 to 22.40
2 Kings	2.1 - 14, 9 15.23 - 31	16 to 25

The Prophetic Books

Amos	Chapters 1 to 9	
Hosea	1.1 to 6.6	11, 14
Isaiah	1, 2, 5 to 9 20, 29, 30, 40	42.1 - 9, 43, 44, 52, 53, 55
Jeremiah	1 to 5 7, 11, 12 16, 18.1 - 12 19 to 21	23.1 - 40, 24 26, 28, 30 to 32 33, 35, 36, 39
Ezekiel	1 to 5, 18	33, 34, 36, 37
The Psalms	2, 20, 22, 47, 137	

P A P E R 2

THE NEW TESTAMENT

1. The specific aim of this course is to enable the student to gain insights into the unfolding of God's self-revelation to mankind as recorded in the New Testament as the basis of Christian belief and living today.

1. Candidates will be expected to show understanding of:

- (a) the period of oral transmission of the faith,
- (b) the transition from oral tradition to written documents,
- (c) the development and recognition within the Christian community of the written documents which we have before us in the New Testament.
- (d) the aims and purposes of the writers of the various books.

2. (a) Knowledge will be expected of the content and of the development of the main ideas as exemplified by the selected books, with particular reference to the following topics:

The early proclamation,
The interpretation of the mission and teaching of Jesus according to the synoptic tradition,
The Pauline and Johannean interpretations,
The life of the young church in the apostolic age.

(b) Selected books:-

The Gospel According to Mark
The Gospel According to John
The First Letter of Paul to the Corinthians.
The Letter to the Galatians
The First Letter of Peter
The Letter of James

P A P E R 3

CHRISTIANITY IN THE EAST AFRICAN ENVIRONMENT

The specific aim of this course is to enable the student to understand modern Christianity in East Africa both against the background of its own historical development and against the background of the traditional African cultures to which it comes.

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE AFRICAN RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE AROUND 1844:

RELIGION IN COMMUNITY:

Birth, initiation, education, marriage, family, community, politics, worship, death.

II. THE COMING OF CHRISTIANITY: IMPACT AND INTERACTION

1. (1844 - 1884)

- the arrival of the first missionaries
- their growing interest
- slave-trade and missionaries
- communities of freed slaves
- penetration into Uganda from the East and from the North
- the religious confusion at the court of the Kabaka
- first African Christian witness.

2. ESTABLISHMENT (1884-1918)

- the importance of the Berlin Conference
- the re-deployment of missionary organisations
- growing accessibility of the African interior
- the new influx of missionary organisations
- the first establishment of Church Communities
- ecumenical contacts (1910 Edinburgh, 1913 Kikuyu)
- the impact of the colonial administration on missionary work.

3. INTERACTION AND CONSOLIDATION (1918-1945)

- disruption of local community
- themes of conflict and inter-action:
initiation, marriage, family, community, worship, education relations
of church and state.

4. ACHIEVING INDEPENDENCE (1945-1963)

- organised anti-colonialism
- Christian reactions in the struggle for independence
- accelerated church independency
- church and school
- the changing missionary role.

III CHRISTIANITY IN THE CONTEMPORARY RELIGIOUS ENVIRONMENT

1. Interaction of Christianity and other Religions

African tradition religions
Islam
Oriental Faiths
Syncretistic groups

2. Present Christian Situation

Diversity within Christianity e.g. Catholic, Orthodox, Anglican, Protestants
and Independent churches, Revivalism and other movements.
Growth of membership Indigenisation
The ecumenical movement The religion and politics

P A P E R 4

CHRISTIAN APPROACHES TO SOCIAL AND ETHICAL ISSUES

The specific aim of this course is to enable students to think critically about some social and ethical issues in the modern world; to apply to these issues Christian insights drawn from the Bible, from acknowledged and official church statements and from relevant Christian literature.

1. The course should help the students develop an understanding and appreciation factors:
 - (i) the meaning of ethics
 - (ii) the necessary distinction between Christianity and culture
 - (iii) the need to communicate Christianity in a cultural context
 - (iv) the changing patterns of ethics in contemporary Africa.
2. The course is intended to develop and the examination will test:
 - (i) knowledge of the selected issues
 - (ii) understanding of the issues and the values involved
 - (iii) the ability to form judgements

Candidates will be required to answer four questions, chosen from at least any two Sections.

SECTION I

Sex, Marriage and the Family

Basic principles of the Christian view of sex, marriage and the family; love involving responsible living. The bearing of all this on issues such as: boy-girl relationships; courtship; pre-marital sex and marital infidelity, polygamy and monogamy; the dowry system; family-planning; divorce.

Respect for the elders in African tradition, maturity, the role of the young, causes of conflict and misunderstanding.

SECTION 2

Work, Leisure and Money

Work: Varying reasons for work; vocation; responsible attitudes to work; professional ethics (e.g. medical ethics); labour relations; rights and duties of employers and employees; trade-unionism; collective bargaining; strike action.

Leisure: The right use of leisure; intoxication and addiction; total abstinence and moderation; use of tobacco.

Money: The impact of the money economy in Africa; the right use of money; wealth and poverty; unemployment; differences between rich and poor countries; varying types of aid; saving, investment and insurance; the just price; bribery; gambling.

SECTION 3

Social Issues

Law, Crime and Punishment:

The necessity of law and order in society; cause of crime and justice; the purpose and morality of punishment (to reform, deter, punish or exact retribution?) capital and corporal punishment; rehabilitation.

The State and the Citizen:

The state and its function; power, its use and abuse the rights and duties of the citizen; taxation; Christian participation in politics; Church and state relations.

International Order:

Peace, with justice and without it; police action and legitimate force; illegitimate violence; war and revolution; the question of a just war; dialogue and boycott as methods of persuasion; racial prejudice, its nature and causes; economic factors in race relations in different societies; the problems of minorities.

APPENDIX 20

CHRISTIAN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION EXAMINATION ENTRIES

Entries for EACE/KCE ('O' level)

	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975
Total	92,837	76,854	-	-	-	-
224	72,302	56,090	48,000	42,249	37,303	26,814
79% 223	1,780	1,524	-	972	1,101	728
	78%	73%				

NOTE: The Total refers to the total number of candidates who sat for the EACE/KCE.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Entries for EAACE/KACE ('A' level)

	1980	1979	1978	1977	1976	1975
Old	-	-	-	6,309	6,621	2,920
New	9,578	8,089	-	1,293	44	-

NOTE: The totals for 1980 and 1979 refer to the total number of candidates for all the papers.

EACE/KCE ('O' level)

Paper	1980	%	1979	%
1 Luke	72,302	(100)	56,090	(100)
2 OT	64,742	(90)	47,687	(85)
3 Early Ch.	3,007	(4)	3,509	(6)
4 Ch.in E.A.	290	(.4)	411	(1)
5 ATR	4,330	(6)	4,039	(7)

Collated and passed on by Dr. T. Farrelley, R.E.Department, KCS, 1981.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Entries for KACE ('A' level)

Paper	1980		1979
1 OT	2,918	+ 433	2,485
2 NT	3,070	+ 541	2,529
3 Ch.Hist.	1,341	- 156	1,497
4 Ethics	2,249	+ 671	1,578
Total	10,687	+ 1,489	-

Increase of 1980 over 1979 = 1,489

NOTE: The total is for all subjects

APPENDIX 20 Continued

'O' and 'A' Level C.R.E. Papers in Relation to Other
Social Science Subjects, 1980

'O' Level C.R.E.

224/1 - 72,302
2 - 64,742
3 - 3,007
4 - 290
5 - 4,330
223/1 - 1,780

Total No. of Candidates

English - 92,837
Geography - 85,159
Kiswahili - 73,161
History - 58,746
Literature - 51,369

'A' Level C.R.E.

Paper 245/1 - 2,918
2 - 3,070
3 - 1,341
4 - 2,249
General Paper - 10,687
Geography - 6,350

History, Paper 210/1 - 819
2 - 873
3 - 1,891
4 - 50
5 - 457
6 - 2,246
Paper 220/1 - 3,976
2 - 3,946
Literature Paper 1 - 3,004
2 - 3,004
3 - 3,004

NOTE: The numbers for K.J.S.E. Candidates has, over the years, remained around the 40,000 figure.

Collated and passed on by the Inspectorate, 1981

APPENDIX 21

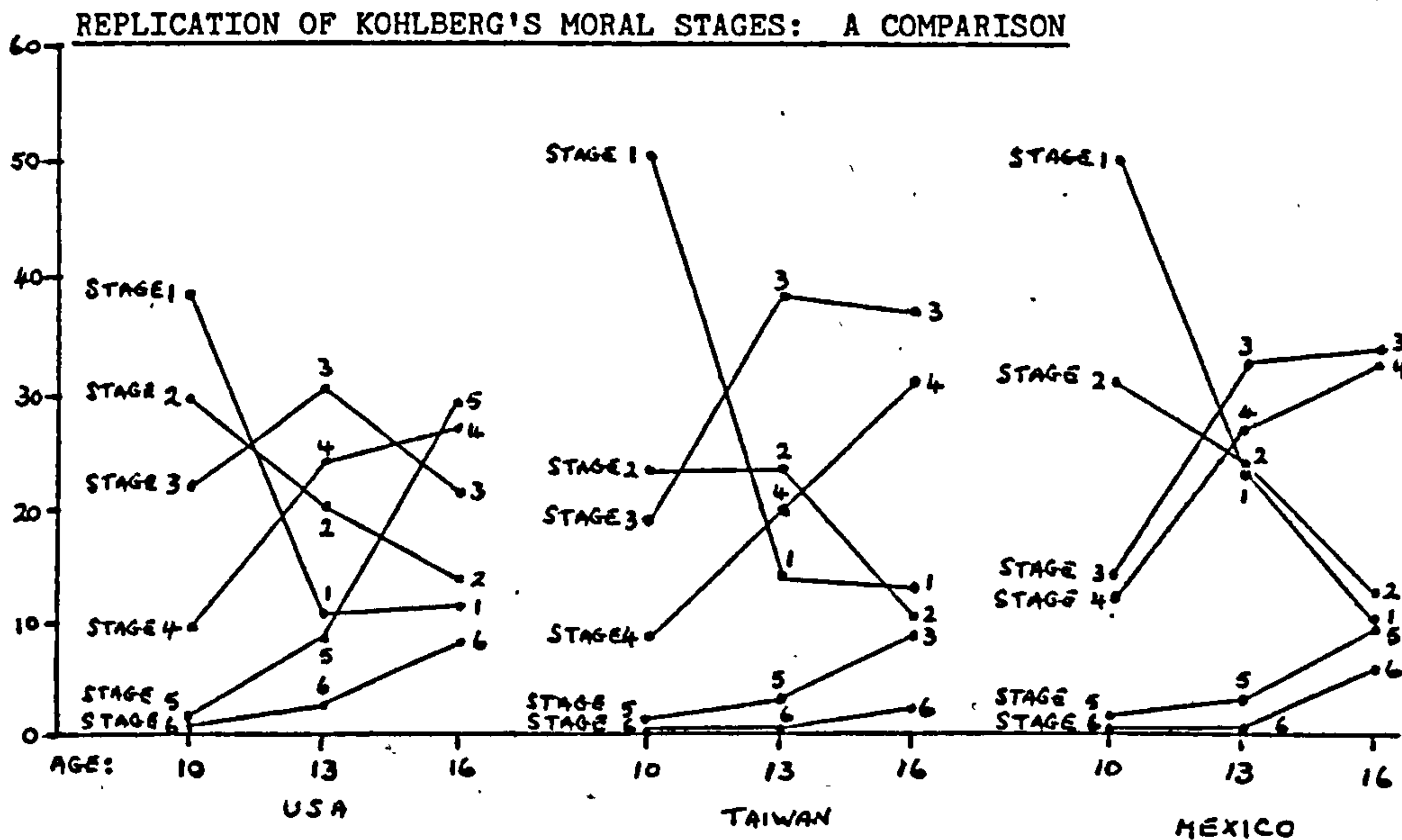


FIG. 1A

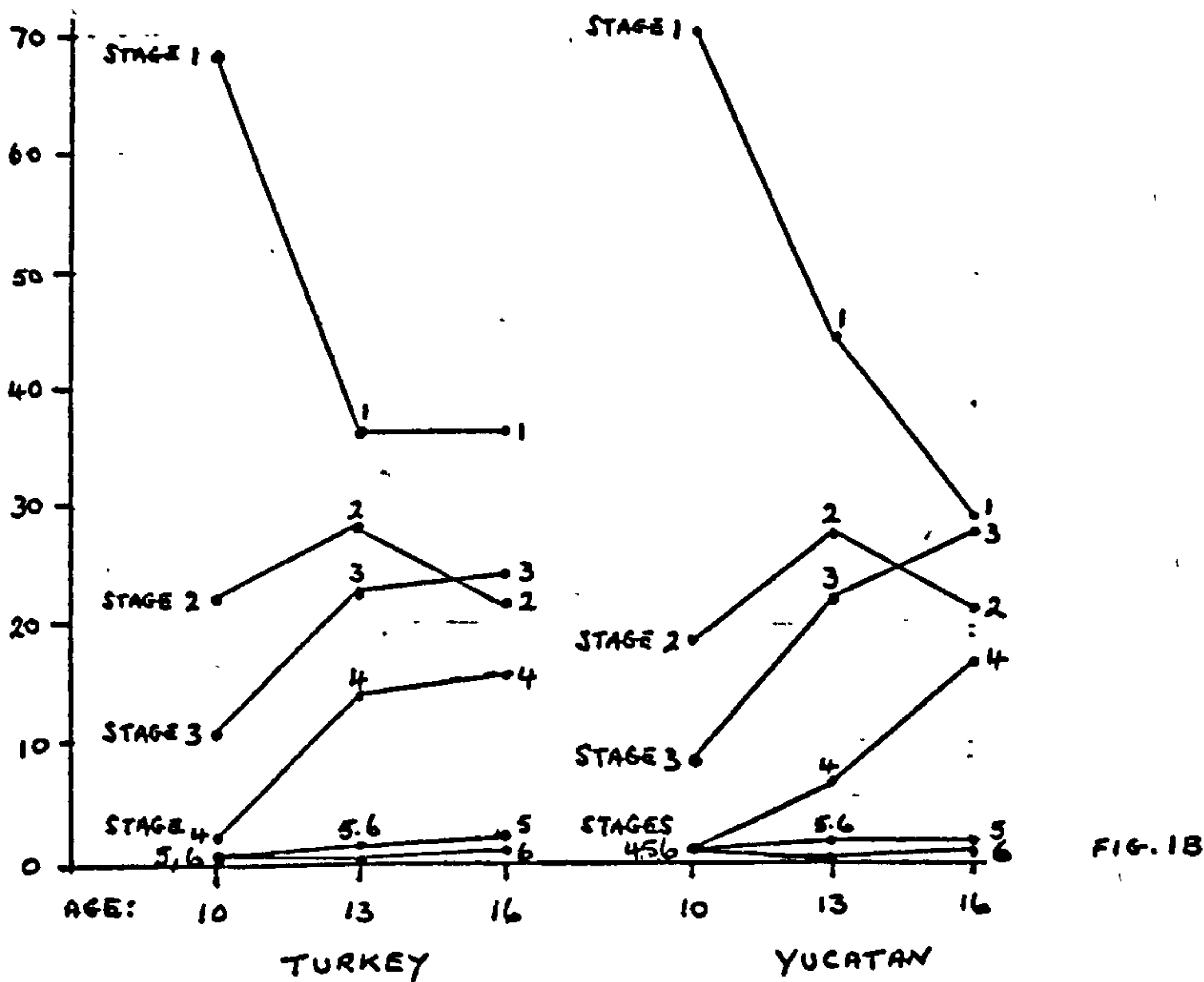


FIG. 1B

Fig. 1a. Middle-class urban boys in the U.S., Taiwan and Mexico. At age 10 the stages are used according to difficulty. At age 13, Stage 3 is most used by all three groups. At age 16, U.S. boys have reversed the order of age 10 stages (with the exception of 6). In Taiwan and Mexico, conventional (3-4) stages prevail at age 16, with Stage 5 also little used.

Fig. 1b. Two isolated villages, one in Turkey, the other in Yucatan, show similar patterns in moral thinking. There is no reversal of order, and pre-conventional (1-2) does not gain a clear ascendancy over conventional stages at age 16.

Fig. 1a and 1b, from Kohlberg, L., 'The Moral Atmosphere of the School' loc.cit.p.114

APPENDIX 21 (Continued)

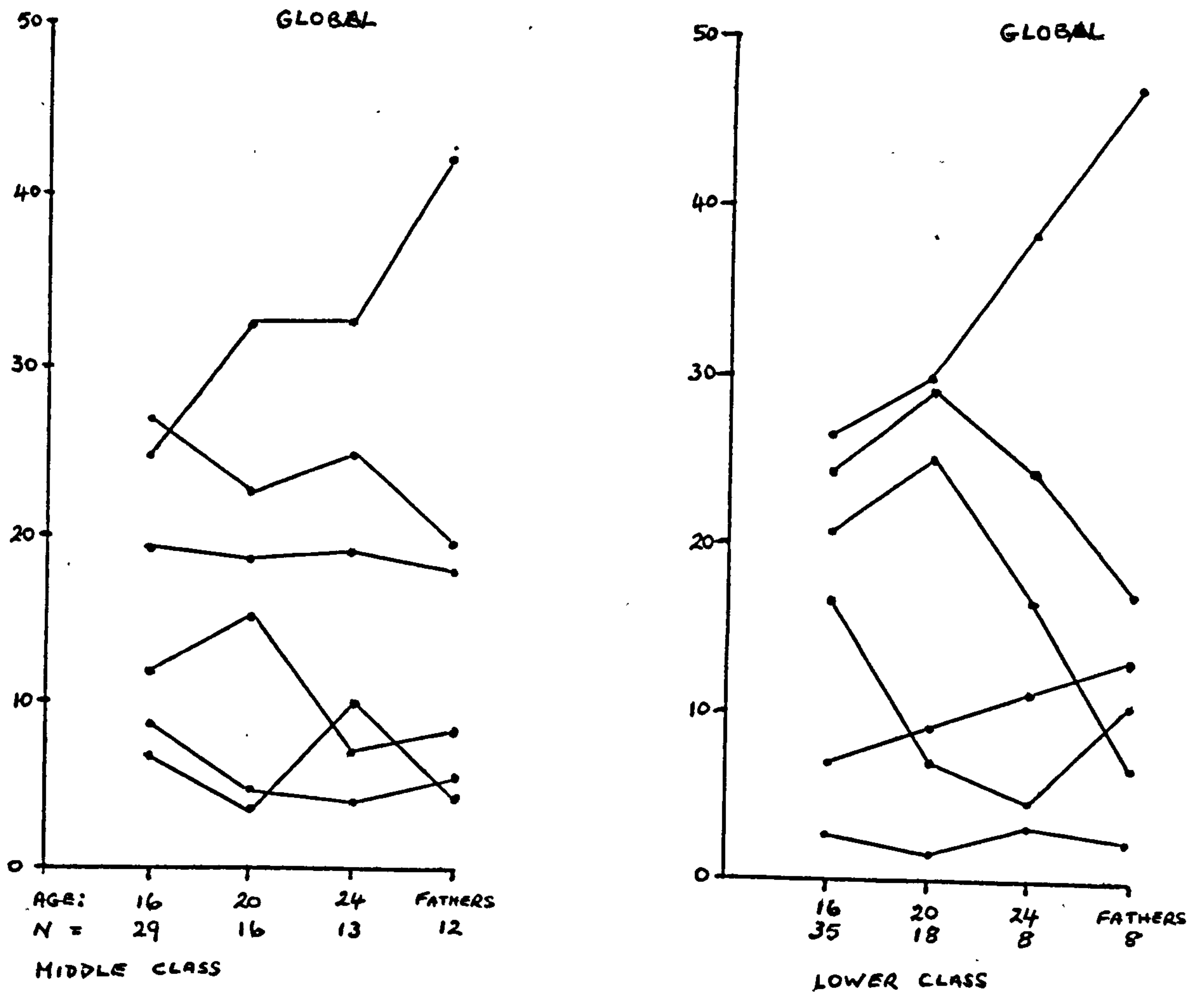


Fig 2 Moral judgement profiles (percentage usage of each stage by global rating method) for middle and lower class males at four ages.

Fig.2 from Kohlberg, L., 'The Moral Atmosphere of the School', loc.cit. p.116.

APPENDIX 22

KOHLBERG'S DEFINITION OF THE MORAL STAGES

I. Preconventional Level

At this level the child is responsive to cultural rules and labels of good and bad, right or wrong, but interprets these labels in terms of either the physical or the hedonistic consequences of action (punishment, reward, exchange of favors), or in terms of the physical power of those who enunciate the rules and labels. The level is divided into the following two stages:

Stage 1: The punishment and obedience orientation. The physical consequences of action determine its goodness or badness regardless of the human meaning or value of these consequences. Avoidance of punishment and unquestioning deference to power are valued in their own right, not in terms of respect for an underlying moral order supported by punishment and authority (the latter being stage 4).

Stage 2: The instrumental relativist orientation. Right action consists of what instrumentally satisfies one's own needs and occasionally the needs of others. Human relations are viewed in terms like those of the market place. Elements of fairness, of reciprocity, and of equal sharing are present, but they are always interpreted in a physical pragmatic way. Reciprocity is a matter of "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours", not of loyalty, gratitude, or justice.

II. Conventional Level

At this level, maintaining the expectations of the individual's family, group, or nation is perceived as valuable in its own right, regardless of immediate and obvious consequences. The attitude is not only one of conformity to personal expectations and social order, but of loyalty to it, of actively maintaining, supporting, and justifying the order, and of identifying with the persons or group involved in it. At this level, there are the following two stages:

Stage 3: The interpersonal concordance or "good boy - nice girl" orientation. Good behaviour is what pleases or helps others and is approved by them. There is much conformity to stereotypical images of what is majority or "natural" behaviour. Behaviour is frequently judged by intention - "he means well" becomes important for the first time. One earns approval by being "nice".

Stage 4: The "law and order" orientation. There is orientation toward authority, fixed rules, and the maintenance of the social order. Right behaviour consists of doing one's duty, showing respect for authority, and maintaining the given social order for its own sake.

III. Postconventional, Autonomous, or Principled Level

At this level, there is a clear effort to define moral values and principles that have validity and application apart from the authority of the groups or persons holding these principles, and apart from the individual's own identification with these groups. This level again has two stages:

Stage 5: The social-contract legalistic orientation, generally with utilitarian overtones. Right action tends to be defined in terms of general individual rights, and standards that have been critically examined and agreed upon by the whole society. There is a clear awareness of the relativism of personal values and opinions and a corresponding emphasis

upon procedural rules for reaching consensus. Aside from what is constitutionally and democratically agreed upon, the right is a matter of personal "values" and "opinion". The result is an emphasis upon the "legal point of view", but with an emphasis upon the possibility of changing law in terms of rational considerations of social utility (rather than freezing it in terms of stage 4 "law and order"). Outside the legal realm, free agreement and contract is the binding element of obligation. This is the "official" morality of the American government and constitution.

Stage 6: The universal ethical principle orientation. Right is defined by the decision of conscience in accord with self-chosen ethical principles appealing to logical comprehensiveness, universality, and consistency). These principles are abstract and ethical (the Golden Rule, the categorical imperative); they are not concrete moral rules like the Ten Commandments. At heart, these are universal principles of justice, of the reciprocity and equality of human rights, and of respect for the dignity of human beings as individual persons.

Source: Kohlberg, L., 'From Is to Ought', Mischel, T., (Ed.), Cognitive Development and Epistemology, (New York: Academic Press, 1971), pp.164-165.

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