
R.C. Prosser

I declare that this thesis has been completed by myself and that the work is entirely my own

R. C. Prosser
Summary

This thesis is concerned with the relationship between adult education and the way in which a peasant community is modernising itself. The view is taken that adult education is an important agent of change which can affect economic, social, civic, political and cultural life. The example of Kenya, as a national case-study of a developing country, is analysed in detail in order to demonstrate this relationship. The salient features of the history and organisation of adult education in Kenya are described to help identify the main problems that have occurred and to evaluate the role of adult education in the process of modernisation. The major adult education programmes are examined separately and in juxtaposition to determine their interrelationship.

In particular the thesis concentrates on the evolution of adult education from the Second World War. After 1945 an impetus was given to rural development and the first signs appeared that Kenya would ultimately become a fully self-governing nation-state. It is suggested that before the mid-1950s when political unrest and the Mau Mau revolt made African economic development an urgent necessity, there were few significant advances in the provision of adult education. It is suggested also that the importance of adult education as an agent of economic change was insufficiently recognised until the late 1950s when national independence and a new emphasis on the democratic process necessitated a far greater use of persuasive rather than coercive methods for stimulating
modernisation. This new emphasis coincided also with the notion which gained currency at this time, that resources spent on education could be considered as economic investment as well as a social service. The description of the national and sectoral provision of adult education shows that it has been largely fragmentary and sporadic. It is suggested that uncoordinated provision is one important reason why many of these programmes have not achieved their full potential and ways in which integration has been attempted are examined in relation to the achievement of a coordinated approach to rural development.

To date there has been little published work on adult education in Kenya and the thesis relies primarily on original source material. It is arranged as follows. The introduction gives a brief outline of the problem of modernisation and its relationship with adult education. It also deals with the nature and scope of adult education as it is interpreted for the purposes of the thesis. The first chapter provides a general description of adult education within the traditional tribal systems. The second chapter traces the growth of adult education and the extension services during the early colonial period up to the Second World War. The third to seventh chapters contain accounts of sectoral adult education programmes, dealing respectively with: community development and the effects of the Jeanes Schools on the spread of training for citizenship, administration, home-making, trade and agriculture; farmer training; health education; literacy; formal adult education; and, university extra mural work. The eighth chapter describes and reviews the development of coordinatory and national planning machinery. The ninth chapter contains the main conclusions to be drawn from this study.
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The inspiration for this thesis arose largely from my work in Kenya during 1958 to 1970 when I served variously as a lecturer at the Jeanes School, Kabete; as Director of Extra Mural Studies at the University College, Nairobi; and as Adviser on adult education to the government of Kenya.

I am greatly indebted to Dr. John Lowe and Professor George Shepperson, both of the University of Edinburgh, for the detailed comments and helpful guidance they gave in the design for this thesis. I would also like to acknowledge my appreciation for the encouragement given to me by Professor B.A. Ogot of the University College, Nairobi. Most of the research was carried out in Kenya. The Office of the President approved my work, and I was given considerable assistance by officials of ministries and departments especially the Department of Community Development and Social Services, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, the Department of Trade and Supplies, and the Department of Cooperative Development. I am obliged also to the staff of the adult education institutes of the University College, Nairobi, and the University of Makerere, Kampala and to the staff of the National Christian Council of Kenya. Many other individuals and organisations gave me assistance and to these, too numerous to mention individually, I offer my sincere gratitude.
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Glossary of Kiswahili Words

Baraza A public meeting of local tribesmen normally called by a Chief
Boma Administrative centre of a town or district
Duka Small African shop
Habari News
Harambee A shout to pull together for a group task
Kipande Identity card
Maerideleo Progress
Moran Maasai warrior
Safari Journey
Shamba Small-holding or small farm
Wanawake Women

Abbreviations used in Sources

HQCD Department of Community Development
KNA Kenya National Archives
MCCE Centre of Continuing Education, Makerere University
MOA Ministry of Agriculture
MUCL Makerere University Library
NASC Adult Studies Centre, University of Nairobi
NCCK National Christian Council of Kenya

Other Abbreviations

ADC African District Council
AI Agricultural Instructor
AEO Adult Education Officer
CDO Community Development Officer
CDTC Community Development Training Centre
DAO District Agricultural Officer
FTC Farmer Training Centre
RTC Rural Training Centre
Introduction

The Problem of Modernisation

This thesis is about one aspect of the way in which an African country is struggling to modernise itself. The national policies of the countries which have loosely come to be known as States of the 'Developing' or 'Third' World are all geared in one way or another to the prime objective of bringing the benefits of modern life to their peoples in as short a time as possible. For the most part, these benefits are those enjoyed by the industrialised nations, that is, relatively speaking the 'Developed' World. The elimination of poverty, ignorance and disease has become more than just an empty slogan for nation building since, on the degree to which these aims are met depends the basic political stability of these countries. 'They are traditional societies', pleads Professor Harbison, 'but for the most part their ruling elites recognise that rapid economic and social progress is a political imperative of modern times'.¹

The scale of the attempted metamorphosis is enormous. What is being attempted is, indeed, nothing less than a complete change in the totality of national

life in its every aspect: cultural, social, economic and political. Tribal loyalties, previously paramount, have to be subordinated to a larger national dedication to the idea of common progress, but the loyalties deeply rooted in antiquity do not give way so easily. Traditional organisational forms and techniques, well suited to a subsistence culture and inextricably intertwined with the tribal social fabric, become obsolete in the face of the requirements of a modern cash economy. Codes of social behaviour and forms of community organisation, which not only regulate the narrower aspects of cultural life but profoundly affect economic activity and civic and political organisation, have little relevance to the requirements of the new society and frequently act as barriers hindering necessary innovation. They have, therefore, either to be adapted or to be superseded. The process of modernisation becomes drastic when the time factor is introduced. Change comes willy-nilly whether wanted or not, and simple societies living in previous isolation collapse under the vigorous onslaught of more powerful, complex and highly developed societies which have taken the changes leading to their present stage of development at a very much slower pace. The tragedy of this experience lies not so much in the collapse of the simpler societies but in their inability to control and absorb these revolutionary changes and to readjust themselves speedily without violent political upheaval, economic crisis and social instability.1

Time is the crucial factor, for standards of living must not just improve, but must also be felt to be improving in order to satisfy the minimum expectations of the people. But the price of success is high. The traditional way of life must be abandoned and with it there must be made a tacit or open admission of its inadequacy. Few statesmen can be so ruthless however for they cannot contemplate the death of a culture without regretful thought that something valuable is being lost. Few can bear the loss of self-respect that accompanies the rejection of cultural heritage. Indeed, there are always those who prefer the old to the new. Thus a dilemma faces governments: how can they modernise in a thoroughgoing fashion and yet still retain a recognisable and distinct national heritage rooted in tribal traditions and customs? Questions are posed: How much of the new is really required? How much of the old must be preserved? How much of the old is capable of adaptation without deferring too long the attainment of the new? In what ways can adaptation be effected? What will be the effect of altering one aspect of life on other aspects? How, for example, can one change to a modern economic system with its emphasis on capital accumulation and specialisation and still keep the benefits of an extended family system? How can one modernise agricultural production without destroying the independence and simple dignity of the peasant farming family? How can the leading agents of change be educated and trained without their losing contact with those they have been trained to serve? Modern standards of living are in demand; developmental priorities are for debate; the methods to be adopted are for discussion; the exact cost cannot be known but has to be paid in full.

Meanwhile, while experiments are being made and programmes are underway, the problems grow in scale and complexity. The revolution in communications exacerbates
the demonstration effects of the affluence of the wealthy nations as they grow relatively and absolutely richer. In the developing countries themselves small enclaves which have modernised accumulate wealth and power in rapidly mushrooming urban centres and these spawn new-felt needs throughout the countryside in the face of limited resources and know-how. At the same time, the population explosion relentlessly inflates the sum total of human misery and complicates the measures to be taken for its alleviation.

The problem of how to bring about modernisation in as short a time as possible continues to vex economists, sociologists, administrators and politicians alike. Since the mid-1940s, it has become a specialised field of study in its own right. The problem was viewed at first as a strictly economic one for, in its most acute manifestation, poverty was the most immediately observable.

Economists postulated a poverty cycle which could only be broken by massive injections of capital. Lack of capital was identified as the most important cause of underdevelopment. The task of economic planners was established as raising activity to the point of economic 'take-off', after which it was expected that a self-sustaining momentum would be created. It was, however, soon found that injections of capital did not automatically lead to a solution

1. For the classical exposition of this theory see R. Nourse, Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries (Oxford, 1953).
to the problem and that the problem could not be solved purely in economic terms. It was seen that a fundamental foundation had to be laid before there could be any assurance of adequate use of capital. This foundation involved the creation of a development-minded population, so that there could be an imaginative and skilled utilisation of capital inputs. Inquiring minds and technical expertise were recognised as basic prerequisites to the efficient use of physical resources and attention was to human resource development, 'for if a country is unable to develop its human resources, it cannot develop much else, whether it be a modern political and social structure, or a sense of national unity, or higher standards of material welfare'.

Education and training received unprecedented new consideration, and educational planning in relation to manpower needs reflected their new importance. Education was no longer a social service but an economic activity. Moreover, this change of emphasis had another important effect. Education is concerned with attitudes and behaviour, so the field of study could no longer draw solely from the science of economics; the whole complex of behavioural sciences needed to be called in aid and those concerned with human resource development were urged 'to make the effort to grasp the whole pattern of the social,

economic and political life of the nations with which they were concerned.¹

Almost simultaneously with the shift of interest from the physical to the human aspects of the problem of modernisation, there was a shift in locational emphasis from the urban-industrial sector to the rural agricultural sector. Earlier it had been fashionable to consider that modernisation programmes could best originate in the urbanised, more forward-looking areas, and that ideas about progress would steadily spread into the countryside. Rural development would, in other words, take care of itself. It was found, however, that this did not necessarily happen or if it did, then the process was too slow. Almost all the 'human resources' in a developing country are in the rural areas. The people are peasant farmers and it is at them as much as at the less conservative urban dwellers that the stimuli for modernisation needs to be formally directed. These countries are agricultural, the economic potential for development lies in farming, the peasantry could not be left behind. Further, the need of indigenous national politicians and governments to secure their political base in the rural areas from where their power derives, has given an added force to the new focus on rural development.

The contemporary strategies for modernisation derive from all these factors. The acceptance of the need for human resource development as a vital pre-requisite has given a stress to education and training. Economic and political considerations have focussed attention on the rural areas. It is being more and

more appreciated that the expertise from all disciplines must be brought to bear simultaneously if fundamental change is to occur in the rural environment, and that the work of all engaged in the transformation of rural areas must be harmonised. The current suggestions to the best approach to modernisation, however, are based not simply on tacking together sectoral programmes but on the full integration of activities planned from the outset as one entity. Traditional society as a social system is, in the words of Guy Hunter, 'intimately related to its religious basis, to its tools and techniques, to its political history and system, to the forms of administration which control it, to its educational system. Change in any of these dimensions will affect the rest'.1

Adult Education and Modernisation

This thesis is about adult education in the context of modernisation processes. Education is concerned with the changing of attitudes and behaviour. The primary aim of adult education is to change the attitudes and behavioural patterns of adults. The inter-relationship of attitudes, behaviour and modernisation has already been explored. It remains to be stressed that in the short run it is the adult who will determine the nature and extent to which modernisation can be achieved and not the children. Developing countries are vitally concerned with the short run since their most fundamental and pressing problems do not permit delay.

A wide definition of adult education has been adopted in this thesis, relating it to the concept of change and the way the modernisation process operates within society. It is used to mean the process which in its ideal application helps society to determine its ends and which, in the shortest possible time, brings about the readjustment of human attitudes to facilitate change, evolving and imparting skills and techniques as part of the process.\(^1\) Thus adult education is here interpreted as the means by which adults are formally involved in the process of change. The use of the term 'adult education' however has been limited to the regularised learning situation in contrast to the irregular or informal situation where learning may take place but is not a specified objective. Thus, excluded from this study are the general effects of radio programmes, television programmes, films, libraries and newspapers, except where they have been instruments for the attainment of specified learning goals.\(^2\)

Since the field of adult education is a wide one, the study assumes a broad classification of the different kinds of education. The categories used embrace formal education, fundamental educational, liberal education and vocational education. Formal education is interpreted as that kind of education which is aimed at providing for adults opportunities normally

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1. This definition was used by the writer in an earlier study where it is discussed more fully. See I-O. Edstrom, R. Erdos and R. Prosser (eds.), Mass Education (Sweden, 1970), pp. 48-53. See also a short discussion of this definition in relation to others in J. Lowe (ed.), Adult Education and Nation Building (Edinburgh, 1970), pp. 3-5.

2. For an elaboration of this distinction see C. Verner and A. Booth, Adult Education (New York, 1964), pp. 1 - 17.
associated with the formal child system leading to State-recognised examinations and qualifications. This corresponds with what may be elsewhere termed 'remedial education' or 'further education'.

Fundamental education is that kind of education which aims at teaching the basic and fundamental techniques essential for modern life. Simple improved agricultural practice, health and hygiene, family care, trading methods, parental and civic responsibilities as well as literacy and numeracy, may be included in this category. Other terms which are sometimes used interchangeably with this include 'mass education' and 'community development'. Liberal education is less easy to define, but if formal education is geared to examinations and fundamental education to the simple techniques of modern living, liberal education can be said to be concerned with the mind, the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake or for the self-satisfaction that comes with knowing more as a form of personal fulfilment. Vocational education embraces all the learning situations created to impart and improve skills in job performance, and it therefore includes pre-service training, in-service training and technical education. This classification of adult education is rudimentary and the categories are not mutually exclusive but they serve broadly to distinguish the component programmes.

It will be seen that the main preoccupation of this study is with the provision of fundamental education. This is natural since this kind of adult education sets out to identify needs and to remedy deficiencies through basic education and training in order to improve the lives of the mass of the population. Nevertheless, the importance of the other kinds of adult education cannot be minimised. Where State systems of education are used to categorise ability and attainment levels and State-recognised certificates
of educational achievement become essential credentials for employment and promotions, formal education takes on an importance in its own right. The significance of having an open-minded, enlightened group within society cannot be exaggerated and liberal adult education serves in its creation. The benefits of vocational education are self-evident for it provides for the transference and development of skills and specialised techniques essential to a rapid and ever-changing modern society.

Although theory can provide evidence in support of the vital importance of adult education in the achievement of modernisation objectives, its role is seldom widely appreciated. Where it is there is little sign that words are translated into action, though it may well be argued that greater attention is paid now than, say, twenty years ago. Thorough examination of past and present modernisation programmes in relation to their adult education content have yet to be made. Any cursory glance at modernisation leaves one with the distinct impression, however, that the full impact of adult education has yet to be experienced in Kenya and anywhere else.

Inadequacies in the practice of adult education and apparent lack of appreciation of its role spring from a number of different causes which have relevance to this study. First, adult education in the broad sense in which it is used here is a comparatively new field of study. Adult educators who recognise this title as descriptive of their function have themselves been unclear about the nature, scope and methods of their chosen field. There still exists, indeed, some doubt whether the practice of adult education can be termed a profession. The confusion in terminology reflects the infancy of the field; the lack of agreement and the want of common cause of adult educators.
provide reasons why one can still question its professional status. Adult educators have still to clarify their own minds and their objectives and, while maintaining their specialisms, to adopt a communality of approach which will make for a better understanding of its scope by those not centrally engaged in it but who have much to gain from it.

Secondly, it must be recognised that far more adult education is provided by organisations which do not regard it as their prime function than is provided by those organisations which do. This has led to lack of focus and fragmentation of the field which make identification of its boundaries difficult. In developing countries, for example, whilst small adult education sections may be sponsored by government and by university through an Extra mural Department the bulk of the provision is made by other organisations; ministries of agriculture, health, community development, cooperative development, and trade, as well as a myriad of voluntary bodies, provide far more. Yet those employed by the latter bodies are usually recruited as specialists not in adult education but in, say, medicine, agriculture, trade or cooperative development. Even though their work may be and often is primarily that of a teacher, an instructor, or an administrator of a programme which is mainly educational, they are rarely recruited on this basis, or trained for this purpose, or encouraged to think of themselves even in a minor role as an educator. This may not be deliberate nor may the omission be made consciously. It is reasonable, however, to suppose that those taking up a professional career in a field of their own choice may see little purpose in pursuing activities which appear to relate to another professional field. Moreover, where the status of a teacher is considered inferior to that of a technical expert or administrator,
a loss of status may be felt from an overt acceptance of the role of teacher. Where promotion and success in a technical profession is in no way dependent on proficiency, in a teaching role there is even less incentive for technicians to give this any stress. For whatever the reason there is no doubt that it is difficult to disentangle the adult education content of the different components of a modernisation programme, and it is equally difficult to get acceptance that professional and field staff could benefit from a familiarity with those adult education concepts and techniques on which the very success of their field programme could depend.

A third reason which may be offered for the lack of attention to adult education in the modernisation process is that it is only one of several instruments of change. The use of adult education is based on the persuasive approach to development, but there is not always the time or the inclination to persuade people to change. In this case, coercion affords an obvious alternative. To persuade people to accept change is undoubtedly a more acceptable method in a free and democratic society where freedom of choice is at a premium. But even in a free society, some changes have to have legal sanctions behind them. Changes which occur voluntarily are, however, more securely based and often of greater durability than those which occur through coercion. The use of force can lead to changes in behaviour, but it rarely creates an immediate change in attitude. The imagery of the iron hand in the velvet glove illustrates judicious combination of persuasion and coercion. The iron hand however is easily swung, but so often the velvet glove remains unworn and adult education is neglected.

A final reason which may be offered for adult education's failure to gain sufficient recognition for
its important role in the development process arises from the disproportionate attention which is given to child education.¹ The twentieth century educational system of the developed nations are child-oriented, even though concepts like that of life-long and continuous learning² are placing a new emphasis on a broader approach, and the best educational planning encompasses the whole spectrum of educational endeavour. Child focussed systems have been transferred bodily to developing countries, especially those formerly under colonial rule. This has had a number of effects which have distorted attitudes to adult education. Whereas the developed nations generally have around ten years of universal primary education and already have highly literate adult community, the developing countries may be fortunate if fifty per cent of school age are at school and their adult population may be almost totally without any formal education and ninety per cent illiterate. The national needs of developing countries are less obvious in the preparation for the future than they are in the maintenance and development of the present socio-economic structure where the interests of the adult must be paramount. Yet Ministries of Education in developing countries have been taught to conceive their role in the same way that a Ministry of Education sees its role in a parent or former parent country. The traditions and expertise of ministries of education in developing

countries have been built up focussed on the education of children but because they have overall responsibility for education, it is often found expedient and convenient to include the education of adults in their brief. Preoccupied with enormous problems arising from the education of children and from those relating education to employment caused by short sighted and ill-conceived educational policies, these traditional ministries have rarely shown that their staff have the time, the inclination, the ability, or the imagination to play an active role in the development of adult education. Yet because they exist and because they are expected to fulfil this function, they afford a convenient excuse for other agencies to shelve their responsibilities. Adult education belongs to many organisations. To place responsibility for it in any one sectoral institution is to court the risk of disproportionate attention being paid to its different aspects or even worse, no attention being paid at all.

For these reasons among others, the development of adult education still languishes and remains ill-defined, cursorily explored and sporadic, with its full potential still far from realisation. Yet nations pledged to a rapid and comprehensive modernisation programme can afford nothing less than its efficient and well-planned application, for it remains one of the most important factors determining the successful achievement of many of their national aims.

So far, in spite of the importance of adult education, no comprehensive national case study which illustrates and analyses the total adult education provision of any one developing country has been made. There are no studies which describe the way in which a national adult education system has developed and which examines its organisations and utilisation within the context of a national modernisation programme. Yet
such studies are needed, for the methodology, techniques, practices, staffing, resource utilisation, and priorities have a direct influence on the speed and efficiency with which modernisation can take place. The example therefore of one developing country - Kenya - has been taken and the way adult education has developed there is described in detail; its organisation is examined; its problems, achievements and deficiencies are described, in order to throw light on the ways in which provision can be made more efficient and effective. The main fields of adult education are identified and their evolution is traced, drawing our the factors which have determined their pattern of growth. The main programmes are examined in juxtaposition in order to provide an independent picture of each whilst at the same time demonstrating their mutual relationship. As far as is known this is a novel approach. In the context of a developing country, its originality lies as much in the demonstration of the way in which an operational adult education system may be identified from the multiplicity of national activities, as it does from the analysis of the relationship of this system to the processes determining the modernisation of society. The study does not pretend to any large range and generality: it is primarily a detailed case study of the past and present day problems of adult education policy and practice in a particular country, the stark facts which, in conjunction with information and experience drawn from other case studies, will form the basis for broader strategies.

The Kenyan Background

Kenya lies aside the Equator but is not equatorial. It is a land of contrasts. The coastal belt is humid and hot with coral reef, mangrove forest and
coconut plantation. Further inland, occupying some three-fifths of the country's 225,000 square miles, is the hot, arid, sparsely populated, thorn and bush covered country and the bleak deserts of the Northern areas. Further inland again, thorn bush gives way to open grassland, dry and burnt between rains and luxurious during the wet seasons. Thence to the Highlands, which rise to over 5,000 feet with a temperate climate, higher rainfall, cultivated farm areas and forests which ascend to bamboo covered mountain. The Republic is bounded in the east by the Indian Ocean and in the west by Lake Victoria whilst it is bisected from north to south by the Great Rift Valley.

There are no minerals of any consequence and the major source of wealth remains agriculture, concentrated in the fertile Highland and Nyanza areas. Peasant farming produces food crops such as maize, millet, beans and cassava and cash crops such as tea, coffee, wattle, animal products and vegetables, while larger-scale farms and plantations are the main producers of crops for export. Rainfall is the key to agricultural production. Rain in three-fifths of the area is uncertain with less than thirty inches a year, though this increases in the Highland areas to over seventy inches. Almost all of the ten million people of the country try to make a living from the 52,000 square miles of good, productive land, and population densities range from less than 2 persons to the square mile in the arid north to over 1,000 persons per square mile in the central Highlands and the Nyanza region. Living standards are low and most people live well below the £40 average per capita income.

The development of strategies for modernisation has preoccupied the Government since the attainment of independence from British colonial rule in 1963. These have achieved a measure of success but have been
largely negated by a rapid increase in the population, for Kenya has one of the highest population growth rates in the World. Mounting population pressure has created a multitude of problems in its wake. Hopes for a better standard of living are dashed as more people consume the additions to national wealth which could otherwise have been utilised for this purpose. Well over half the total population is under fifteen years and the numbers of young show an absolute increase every year. School education is allocated over twenty per cent of the national budget each year but provides primary education for only half of the children who are eligible. Around eighty per cent of the total population is illiterate and there is every sign that this proportion is increasing. Unemployment soars and the unemployed congregate in the already overcrowded urban areas, placing mounting pressures on the towns which are already expanding in population at twice the national rate of growth. The youth, educated or otherwise, are finding it increasingly difficult to find jobs. Of the 150,000 annual primary school leavers, for example, 100,000 are destined to remain without paid employment.

These problems are common in developing countries; differences tend to lie in the intensity with which they are felt. But Kenya is more fortunate than some countries. Possessing a strong governmental structure and a fundamentally sound administrative system, a relatively well-developed agricultural economy and a people tempered to some degree on the flintstone of the formerly firmly entrenched settler community, Kenya faces the future with confidence. Nevertheless, the constraints on the achievement of far-reaching modernisation are enormous and it is in relation to these constraints that the provision of adult education must be considered.
Chapter One

Adult Education and African Tribal Life

Descriptions and analyses of educational systems in Africa usually begin with the development of Western type school structures as though no education occurred in pre-colonial times, yet 'learning in the entire pre-colonial period', as Dr. Alan Thomas has stressed, 'may yet turn out to have been the significant element in newly emerging Africa'. Learning is indeed universal; it can occur consciously or unconsciously; it can be organised formally or informally. Education, however, usually implies a measure of formalisation in the learning process and where the term is used in this sense, it cannot readily be applied to the learning process in African tribal society where learning was essentially unconscious and informal. The process through which information, ideas and skills were transmitted can be more accurately described as a socialising process than as an educational one. However, in spite of this it is wrong to ignore the methods of African learning or to dismiss the possibility that education occurred at all since while learning was essentially informal, formalised learning did take place.

Kenya is rich in its variety of peoples. The African tribes are by no means homogeneous and they

represent four major groupings with distinct differences. The four groups embrace Bantu, Nilotics, Nilo-Hamites and Hamites. This grouping is not definitive but serves as a convenient way of differentiating according to linguistic and cultural criteria the Kenya African peoples. The Bantu peoples are the most numerous, representing some sixty per cent of the total population. They include among their number the important Kikuyu, Embu Meru tribes, the Abaluhya and the Wakamba peoples. The Nilotes are spread around Lake Victoria, constitute over twenty per cent of the population, and include the powerful Luo tribe. The Nilo-Hamitic group makes up around fifteen per cent of the population and occupies the lands in and around the Great Rift Valley. The group includes the Kalenjin peoples, the most important tribes of which are the Kipsigis and the Nandi, and it includes the nomadic Massai. The smallest group, the Hamites, are represented by the Somali, the Galla and the Boran, and this group is located in the north-east of Kenya. They account for roughly three per cent of the population.

Before the European invasion of the East African interior, the tribes lived a life of primitive simplicity. Untouched by any outside culture, tribal economic life was one based on subsistence agriculture. Agricultural practice varied from a basic shifting

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2. These figures are based on the preliminary population figures of the Kenya Population Census, Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, Nairobi, 1969.
system of land cultivation practised by, for example, the Kikuyu, to a fully nomadic pastoral cattle culture like that still practised by the Maasai. The wheel was unknown; rudimentary tools and implements were fashioned from iron; weapons included the spear and shield, the club and the bow and arrow. Housing was simple, ranging from a mud and thatch semi-permanent construction to skin tented dwellings more suited to the nomad. Clothing, normally of the barest, was made from skins. Nowhere was there a written culture and communication was essentially oral. Disease was rife and warfare not uncommon, so a life-span tended to be short by modern standards. Common to most tribes, the most important feature of tribal organisation was the age-grade system. Males were born into age-steps as part of an age-grade and at appropriate intervals, whole age-grades moved from childhood to warriorhood, and from warriorhood into elderhood. Each progression was often marked by an elaborate ceremony. The age-grade system cut across family and clan social groupings and tribal life evolved customs and conventions which carefully regulated social relationships. Loyalty to families and clans, loyalties to others of the same age-step, respect for elders and ancestors, politeness and gentleness were personal characteristics held in high regard and to be extolled. Tribal life could be short but it was not necessarily nasty and brutish.

Detailed anthropological and sociological studies of tribal life abound but few of these make reference to the education within this framework. Educationalists, themselves, have made no attempt to identify or record tribal educational patterns. This may be partly due to a difficulty of recognition. Where a process is so informal and so diffused throughout the total length of life, permeating the complete economic, social and political complex of tribal living, Western educational
concepts do not easily lend themselves to their analysis. It may also be due to a pre-conceived notion that pre-colonial systems have little relevance for the contemporary situation.

What studies there are show that education was life-long and that to introduce concepts of child and adult education is therefore misleading. Nevertheless, it is possible to isolate definite aspects which have adult needs specially in mind. One may generalise about these since they applied to practices of most of the Kenya tribes: education for age-grades, education for specialists, and general education.

Education for Age-grades

There were for males normally three age-grades: boyhood, warriorhood and elderhood. Within each age-grade there were a number of age-steps one of which a youth entered on attaining manhood. A young man could, therefore, learn from his own associates in his own age-step, from those in the age-step immediately ahead or from the age-grade in advance of him. It was a normally accepted responsibility for those in one age-step to teach those in the age-step immediately junior as well as to discipline them. Important among such teaching were included: codes of behaviour, social responsibility, courtship, warfare techniques and law and custom. The promotion of age-grades was marked by special ceremonies of great social importance and in association with these there were regular courses of instruction. The most significant of these ceremonies was usually that which took place on the transition from boyhood to manhood or from girlhood to womanhood. At this time, males would be between twenty and twenty five years old and females slightly younger. The transition period marked by ceremony could last for up to nine
months and was associated with formal instruction from elders and often with circumcision.

**Education for Specialists**

Tribal life required a minimum of specialist activities. Tribal specialists may be divided into two main groups: public officials and artisans. Instruction for public officials was in no way formalised. The most important, public officials: political leaders, oath administrators, ceremonial initiators, religious leaders and experts in sacrificial offerings, learned through participation under the supervision of those already skilled. Artisans included: herbalists, potters and gourd workers, blacksmiths and beehive-makers. These trades tended to be kept within families but it was possible for others to learn these crafts and rudimentary apprenticeship systems existed to facilitate this.

**General Education**

A complete pattern of general informal education existed based on social gatherings. Where an oral tradition is the sole means of passing on information and knowledge, it is natural that great emphasis should be placed on regular meetings with formalised procedures. Such meetings were developed to a high degree of sophistication and conventional rules of address ensured controlled debate. Such social gatherings included customary regular evening meetings of elders where news could be exchanged and the world outside that of the tribe could be discussed. Travellers and visitors could be given special encouragement to relate experiences of interest. Young men and warriors would be present at
such meetings and whilst they would not expect to participate they would learn from the accounts, discussions and debates of their seniors. Beside the evening meeting of local folk there were meetings on special occasions for clans and larger tribal units and for inter-tribal discussions. The present widespread use of the 'baraza' as a formalised meeting with both an informative and educational function by governmental agencies is a recognition of the importance of such meetings and a direct continuation of a tradition that has been adopted for current use.

These features of the African tribal educational system are exemplified in most of the Kenya African tribal groups whether Bantu, Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic or Hamitic though in practice there could be differences of emphasis.

Jomo Kenyatta in the anthropological study of his Kikuyu tribe noted that 'education begins at the time of birth and ends with death... The parents take the responsibility of educating their children until they reach the stage of tribal education'.¹ He gives a careful account of the forces educating a child through the stages of infancy to youth. He stresses the preoccupation of Kikuyu education with 'personal relations rather than natural phenomena'² and continues by elaborating on the relationship of the age-set system, education, and initiation ceremonies leading to adulthood, marriage and elder rank:

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2. ibid.; p. 106.
Each step in the ladder is marked by a corresponding standard of manners and behaviour. It is to be noted that the education given at initiation does not concern only sex but the youth is taught with equal vividness and dramatic power the great lessons of respect for elders, manners to superiors of different grades, and how to help his country. The trials of circumcision teach the youth how a man must bear pain, meet with misfortune and bear himself like a warrior. He is taught to think things over carefully and not to act on the impulse of the moment... At marriage the husband is taught his duties towards a wife... Similarly when the child has reached the stage of circumcision, the father is taught the manners of the next stage that he may have the right to join and speak in the mundi ya keera or advisory council.

Making no excuse for the solely oral culture, Kenyatta stressed that 'the Gikuyu does not use printed books; instead his social education is imparted to him by image and ritual, the rhythm of the dance and the word of the ceremonial song. For every stage of life there is an appropriate course of instruction through this means'.

In Kikuyu society traditions, customs and the accumulation of tribal wisdom were handed down informally from one age-set to the next. Discussions during leisure hours and whilst attending cattle and in the evenings have been documented by one of the early Catholic missionaries:

2. ibid., p. 314.
The inherited wisdom of the Kikuyu is best revealed in his language, proverbs, legends and fables. The Akikuyu do not possess books on ethics, psychology, or other high-flown theories of modern science; but they possess a rich inheritance of common sense which is handed down in oral tradition from father to son, told by grandfather to young people in the evenings when the moon is shining, in the form of endless proverbs, parables and stories. 1

The age-set system has been emphasised as an educational mechanism. 2 The young men were circumcised and initiated into adulthood when they reached the age between eighteen and twenty five years, young women between the ages of ten to fourteen years. During the initiation period tuition included knowledge of laws and customs of the tribe, rules of behaviour and etiquette, and the code of morality. 3

As well as learning related to social and civic life, there were also numerous technical skills to be handed on. In Kikuyu society the crafts of thatching and pottery were hereditary and were learnt by young women of around eighteen years who came from families who specialised in these skills. 4 Other skills included: hut-building, bridge building, string making, woodwork and weapon manufacture. 5 Extensive training following an apprenticeship system was associated with the special techniques of blacksmithing and medicine, both of which often had overtones of sorcery and magic.

The educational processes which operated in Bantu Kikuyu tribal life were similarly to be found in the Nilotic Luo tribal life around the Lake Victoria coastline. Civic and social education was an informal activity. Oginga Odinga tells of two sources of education in the Luo village.\textsuperscript{1} One was the village gathering after the evening meal when problems of the village were discussed and elders gave instruction on duties and told stories often concerned with tribal custom, folklore and history. The other source was the village harpists who played an important role in the Luo community and who 'learnt at the feet of the elders and expressed the people's philosophy in musical and poetic language'.\textsuperscript{2} Crafts of fishing and woodcarving were passed on from father to son whilst more specialised skills in iron-working and medicine were passed on through an apprenticeship system.\textsuperscript{3}

Amongst the Nilo-Hamitic tribes, the same educational features are discernible. The age-set system was highly developed with seven groups; four elder groups, a warrior group, a youth circumcision group and a child group. Initiation ceremonies accompanied by circumcision marked the change into manhood and during this period formal instruction was given in the responsibilities of adulthood and the rules for social conduct.\textsuperscript{4} Young warriors and youths slept together in communal dormitories and members

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2. \textit{loc. cit.}
of senior age-sets acted as tutors and mentors on behaviour and custom to those immediately below them. Female initiation was similarly an occasion for instruction in womanly duties.

The Nilo-Hamitic Pokot Tribe in the north of Kenya are still relatively untouched by Western culture. The tribe's formal education is described as being provided "during circumcision ceremonies - at meetings near the circumcision hut, which is set off by itself in the bush - when young boys from a number of nearby neighbourhoods receive from three to five months training and instruction in traditional lore and morality'. ¹

As for other Kenya tribes, education is designed to instil an appreciation of the value of their way of life whilst simple technical skills are acquired through participation in economic activities of the family.

The African tribal learning system was primarily an informal process of socialising the individual in the context of his socio-economic environment. Yet there was an element of formalisation to ensure that the basic essentials of tribal custom and convention were accurately transmitted and to meet the more specialised needs of certain essential skills. The process of socialisation concerned the transmission of domestic and economic skills basic to the structure of family life. It was undertaken within the family: the learning of cooking, childcare, and womanly home activities such as basketry for the females; the acquisition

of skills in animal husbandry, warfare, and hunting for the menfolk. Both males and females were acquainted with skills in simple agricultural techniques and, for example, house building where clear separation of duties allocated roles to men and womenfolk. Knowledge of tribal affairs, traditions and customs was also gained informally through instruction and advice gained through senior age-sets, village meetings, evening discussions and more official gatherings of tribal elders. The strictly educational core was associated with the initiation ceremonies marking the promotion of one age grade to a senior rank. Youths received formal instruction in tribal customs and traditions during the period before their assumption of adulthood in which elderly men and women were the tutors. In some cases, the lowest grade of elderhood received tuition in the responsibilities of elderhood and especially in tribal law. Recognised apprenticeship systems existed where skills were more specialised. Medicine could be handed down within families or trainees could be accepted from outside the immediate family. Blacksmithing and metal work were other masculine skills which followed an apprenticeship pattern.

By modern standards, tribal life was primitive, with control of tribal life totally in the hands of elders; it was also conservative. The tribal systems of learning suited the needs, the educational core ensured the transmission of the prime needs efficiently and well. In Kenya, the results of tribal education are still to be noticed since a generation exists, in fact unaffected by Western education, which has for the young in most of the major tribes now superseded tribal methods:

The dignity, courtesy, 'wisdom', and wide knowledge of culture which elderly men and women possess are evidence of the success
achieved by the traditional systems of education. These characteristics strike the European observer at once, and lead him to seek the contributory factors. The fundamental importance attached to social relationships in the education of the child, the informal nature of the educational process, the early assumption of economic and other responsibilities, the unity of the sphere of adult and child, and the comprehensive content of education - are all factors which operate to mould the child into a well-adjusted adult.1

It is easy to romanticise on the ideals of African tribal life as it is to condemn the whole tribal cultural system. The revulsion of early missionaries and administrators and settlers at the apparent barbarous and unclean nature of tribal life led to the immediate rejection of all that was traditional. In 1902 an early Catholic Father at Nyeri recorded: 'If any sort of education is given by the elders of the village, it mostly deals with superstitious practices to end with others that are mostly immoral'.2

To the settlers tribal life reflected an 'animal existence'. European farming wives preferred to be completely out of contact with tribal life:

The chief thing is to be away from natives. I would prefer not to have native servants. You cannot prevent natives going to nurse their native friends - They are much more likely to fall than whites who have been trained to self-restraint - I think the laws of life should be taught very carefully. They would then refuse to listen to tales of native debauchery from natives. The remedy to native environment is proper instruction.3

Proper instruction was to mean the complete rejection of all that was native and an attempt to

replace this with Western culture in as complete a form as was possible. It was not until the mid 1920s that a school of thought, reflected in the reports of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions, was to begin to show interest in some aspects of tribal culture worthy of attention but by this time forces were strongly at work disturbing the very core of tribal life in the major tribes of central and western Kenya. No attempt was made to build on traditional educational systems or to adapt learning situations to modern needs.

In 1939, Mbiyu Koinange made an attempt to use the age-set system as a basis for his Teachers' College at Githunguri which developed as a central pivot to the Independent School movement but there is no evidence that any success was achieved in the merging of a traditional form of social organisation with the objective of providing an essentially Western educational content. In the 1950s the Department of Community Development was to attempt to revive traditional tribal methods of mutual help in support of self-help projects with some degree of success. This, however, never expanded to embrace tribal educative processes.

The impact of Western culture has left few African tribes untouched. Transformation in cultural life has been dramatic. Education and training have been geared to destroying the tribe rather than to its preservation. Some tribes have proved resistant

to change; the Maasai live lives of very little difference from that of their forebears in spite of their proximity to Westernised peoples. Other tribes in the far north and in the Coastal area have been less affected by change having been less exposed to the new alien influences. But the process continues and tribal culture gives way to the new without any attempt at synthesis least of all in the educational field.
Chapter Two

The Colonial Origins 1885 - 1945

Mission Work and Early Attitudes to Adult Education 1885-1914.

The beginning of Christian missionary work in East Africa marked the introduction of the contemporary adult education form, though the early missionary would hardly have described his calling in these terms. Yet the prime missionary aim of converting the heathen to Christianity involved a distinct educational process. The rapid spread of the Christian gospel implied a knowledge of reading and, to a lesser extent, writing. It implied the learning of new languages. A secondary aim which arose from the social conscience of the missionaries was the improvement of the living standards of those amongst whom they were working. This embraced improved health and better hygiene, better housing, more productive agricultural techniques and, the following of principles leading to a Christian family life. Their work therefore was not simply a matter of persuading the unaware to accept the basic Christian code but of teaching also the rudiments of what the missionaries considered essential to the then modern way of living. Indeed, the learning of new simple artisan techniques was as much a necessity for the survival of the mission stations as it was for the improvement of the lives of the parishioners.
The earliest parishioners were the freed slaves who were placed in mission settlements on the East African Coast. These ex-slaves had usually been captured from among the most backward tribes and 'they had somehow to be educated to survive in the comparatively advanced and individualistic conditions at the Coast'.

The earliest mission-station had been established by a German missionary, Rebmann, at Rabai, just outside Mombasa in 1846 for which, under the auspices of the C.M.S., he was to have the care for some twenty-two years. By 1862, the United Methodist Free Churches had established another mission-station at Ribe. In 1875, the mission-station at Freretown had begun work amongst freed slaves. Coupland notes that between 1867 and 1869 some 2,645 slaves had been liberated. Oliver describes the aims of a freed slave mission settlement at Bagamoyo where 'the negro should learn to be a useful member of society whilst having taught the doctrines of Christianity'. He explains how this was organised: 'the pupils were divided into three intellectual grades: the highest was given a literary education, the middle grade was instructed in a skilled trade, whilst the lowest did nothing but manual labour'.

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4. Oliver, op. cit., p. 22.
5. ibid. p. 22.
By 1885, mission work around Mombasa was firmly rooted. In that year, Mr. Handford, in charge of Freretown, was reporting back to headquarters the establishment of: day and Sunday schools, bible classes, reading rooms for boys and girls, industrial classes and a medical department. At Ribe, in 1887, trade instruction had begun which included: printing, carpentry, blacksmithing, rope-making, medical dispensary work and breadmaking for the mission. Special provision was being made for the education of women. At Freretown, in 1894, a Mrs. Bailey had a class of adult women. At Rabai, it is reported that 'Mrs. Tobin conducts a class of forty candidates for baptism, and a sewing class at which children's garments are made; and Miss F.I. Deeds has a men's night school'.

During this early period, the main interest of the missions centred on the Kingdom of Buganda. From 1888 until 1895 when the British African Protectorate was declared, the onus of responsibility for British interest in East Africa rested with the Imperial British East Africa Company whose headquarters were at Mombasa. The main route to Buganda had been through central Tanganyika and across Lake Victoria and therefore what is now the Kenya hinterland remained largely untouched. The travels of Joseph Thomson across this area in 1883 and the international agreement partitioning Eastern Africa into German and British spheres of influence a few years later, focussed

4. ibid., p. 82.
British attention on what was later to become their Kenya Colony. The missions followed the trade routes developed by the East Africa Company to Buganda. By 1895, the Company had established posts at Nandi, Machakos, Dagoretti, Eldama Ravine and Munias whilst the C.M.S. had developed mission-stations at Kibwezi and in Taita. The commencement of the building of the railway from Mombasa to Kisumu gave a further stimulus to mission expansion as did in 1895, the proclamation of the establishment of the Protectorate. In 1898, the Church of Scotland established itself at Kiluyu, just at the time when the rail had reached the Highlands and the railway authorities had built a base which was to become the future Nairobi. In 1901, the African Inland Mission developed a station at Kijabe, whilst in the west of the Protectorate the Quakers began work at Kaimosi being followed by the C.M.S. two years later at Maseno. A Catholic mission had been established at Mombasa in 1890. Inland, the Catholics built missions near Nairobi in 1898, at Kiambu in 1901, Limuru and Nyeri and Kisumu in 1903. Sorrenson notes that by 1910, there were eighteen mission societies at work with seventy stations between them.

Almost concomitant with the expansion of the missions inland was the influx of British settlers. In 1898, missionary Stuart Watt turned farmer at Machakos and in that same year Lord Delamere visited the area on a hunting trip returning three years later to permanent settlement. By 1903, there were over one hundred settlers in the country.

3. Ibid., p. 93.
The advent of civil administrator, missionary and settler was not accepted entirely passively by up-country tribesmen and to 1914 there are records of sporadic up-risings all being put down with varying degrees of ruthlessness by the quasi military, civil administration.\(^1\) On this background, an embryonic governmental structure began to take shape and in 1903 small Medical and Agricultural Departments were created as part of the national administrative machinery to meet the needs of settler and government officials.

While the settler community under the leadership of Delamere and with the encouragement of the Commissioner, Sir Charles Eliot, was preoccupied with the acquisition and planning of new farms and establishing a stake in the government of the country, the missionaries within their mission stations were developing their programmes of evangelism and education. Their methods were those, naturally, with which they were most familiar. Their eyes saw only what was to them primitive and barbaric and all that was associated with the tribal way of life was at best ignored or at worst rejected as representing a heathenish code of living to be done away with before a Christian mode could take its place. In the face of understandable suspicion and frequent hostility, they encouraged the younger tribesmen, though accepting as they could get, to come to the station to be converted and whilst undergoing the process of conversion potential Christians were often taught reading and writing and simple crafts. There was no attempt made to build on any tribal customary system of learning but, rather the reverse, to get the would-be converts to turn away

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1. For a good brief account of this unrest see C. G. Koesberg and J. Nottingham, The Myth of Mau Mau (Nairobi, 1966), pp. 7-16.
from traditional life. For the Protestant missionaries, Christianity and literacy went hand in hand. During the 1910s, as the supply of literate converts increased so they were used in the spread of small bush schools as offshoots of the main mission-station. The same mixture of Christian doctrine and literacy was taught and often literacy was used as the test for baptism.¹

Missionary work was concentrated predominantly in the Kikuyu areas, north of Nairobi, and in the areas of Western Kenya peopled by the Luo and Abaluyha tribes. In Kikuyuland, initial suspicion soon turned to an eagerness for education in the areas around the stations. Work on the newly established European farms was one stimulant. It is noted that the first expression of interest by the Kikuyu in the activities of the C.M.S. occurred in 1909 in the shape of a desire for reading and writing as accomplishments connected with the most highly paid employment on the newly established European farms.² In Nyanza, Maseno School was established in 1906 by the C.M.S. as part of the policy for evangelising the district. Young men were drawn in from widely scattered areas and after four years were encouraged to form their homes on Christian rather than traditional lines. 'Their homes were to become beacons in a heathen night attracting in those who wished to become Christian, giving them instruction in literacy and in the faith'.³ The first pupils were to become the first literate political, educational and religious leaders within the Luo tribe.

1. Oliver, op. cit., p. 212.
2. C.G. Richards, History of the C.M.S. in the Highlands, incomplete typed manuscript, n.d., KNA.
There was little sympathy from settlers for the provision of a literary education for Africans be they men or boys, and 'mission boys', as all of any age were derisively termed, were not popular. Technical and craft training however, was a different matter since this could be put to some use on their farms. The government was also in need of skilled labour. In 1907, the first Secretary for Native Affairs was appointed whose main task was to organise an efficient labour supply. In the same year, W. MacGregor Ross, the Director of Public Works, was allowed to begin systematic training for Africans in carpentry and joinery at a training depot under a skilled European instructor but even this, MacGregor Ross notes was frequently criticised adversely by unofficial members of Council.¹ The missions appreciated the need for technical training. In 1911, John Ainsworth in charge of the Nyanza Province, reported:

a movement in the way of wishing to learn trades such as carpentry, smith's work and brick making and agriculture. There is no doubt at all that this tendency will gradually increase. The C.M.S. have a fairly well equipped carpenter's and blacksmith's shop at Maseno and they are turning out very good samples of sun dried bricks. The Friends Industrial Mission are training some sawyers and lumbermen. The E.A. Industries which are allied in a way to the C.M.S. are educating a certain number of natives in ploughing and cultivation.²

By 1911, also, the Church of Scotland Mission at Kikuyu could record its first industrial apprentices being indentured, the beginning of training of medical assistants, the establishment of three out-schools and

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¹ W. MacGregor Ross, *Kenya from Within*, (London, 1927), p. 420. The Legislative Council had been established in 1906 with unofficial settler representation.
² Nyanza Province Annual Report 1911-1912, p. 5.
Government activity in the education of adults had hardly begun. The Medical Department was engaged in the development of hospitals in the larger administrative centres: Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu. The Agricultural Department was small and engaged in experimentation and the production of seed and improved livestock for the settler community. Experimental farms were established at Nairobi in 1903 which was moved to Kabete in 1907, and in 1904 at Mazeras on the Coast and at Kibos in Nyanza. The stock farm at Naivasha was started in 1906. The farm at Kabete was training young Europeans as farmers in 1908 and providing seed for native cultivation. In 1909, it was agreed that the government farm at Kibos, which had originally been started as a centre for helping train Indian ex-railway labourers on a nearby agricultural settlement scheme, should be conducted 'mainly in the interests of the natives ... further the Plant Instructor spends three weeks of each month touring the various shambas and giving instruction to the Natives ... The teaching is now beginning to bear fruit, the Chiefs becoming alive to the value of sowing improved seed and better cultivation'. Insignificant in itself, the work at Kibos marked the beginning of agricultural education through the government.

It was not until 1911 that government entered the conventional education field when the Education

Department was created to help meet the local needs of the settlers and to provide embryonic support to the missions. Control of policy and schools still remained very much a mission matter to be jealously guarded. However, in support of the chronic needs for skilled labour, the new Education Department built two small trade schools at Machakos and Waa which were opened in 1913.

During the thirty years before the start of the world war in 1914, a youthful Kenya had come into being. The local tribes had been subdued. An administration of government existed. Towns were growing fast. A European settler-farmer community was firmly entrenched. Indian shop-keepers were spreading from the larger towns into smaller rural centres. A pattern of mission stations had taken shape from whence radiated a spread of bush schools. The educational curriculum, for adults as well as children, included religious education, literacy, and the teaching of simple skills: building, carpentry, weaving and the making of clothes, agriculture and hygiene. Night schools for adults were part of the mission programme. The main government departments which were to be concerned with adult education had been created: Education, Medical and Agriculture, though as yet they were still in their infancy. Some teacher training had been established in the mission stations. Most of the country, however, still remained untouched by the new developments which were concentrated in the central and western regions of the country and to a smaller extent at the coast, and even in these areas the major effects were felt only in the areas around the townships, the new European farming areas and in the immediate environs of the scattered mission-stations.

The first World War is an important watershed in East African history. It provided a situation where suddenly large numbers of Africans were pitchforked into the European life of Kenya. Some 160,000 Africans were engaged as carriers in support of the army and large numbers of these were Kikuyu, Luo and Wakamba. After the war many of these were to provide national and local leadership to the African community. They had brushed shoulders with Europeans during their period of crisis. They had brushed shoulders with each other and shared a common experience. They had seen at close quarters the benefits of much of the European way of life and had been exposed to new ideas. Most of all, they saw the advantages to be gained from education. With their focus in the towns, especially Nairobi, African grievances began to crystallise on the loss of their lands, the system of poll tax, the conditions of labour and the system of forced labour, and the kipande system of registration. Political agitation, African and Asian, was a feature of post-war Kenya culminating in the formation of the Young Kikuyu Association led by Harry Thuku in 1920 and his subsequent deportation in 1922.

The need for a clearly defined educational policy was apparent and an Educational Commission was

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formed which reported in 1919, the Commission was mainly concerned with the future provision of education for Europeans but throws an interesting light on prevailing attitudes to African education. The Commission reiterated the opinion that 'technical education should be the main aim and objective of native schools'. It emphasised the need for a moral content for all education and recommended that education should be left in the hands of the missions whilst appealing to the Administrative Officers to take an interest in the development of schools. A scrutiny of the evidence given by the settler organisations shows little enthusiasm for African education. The settlers of the Limuru Farmers' Association stated clearly that no education should be provided for Africans until Europeans had been provided for and that certainly no education should be provided for grown-up Africans as it was not believed that they could possibly learn. On the other hand, mission evidence spoke enthusiastically about their educational programmes. A Luo mission teacher at Nguya in Nyanza describes his school and seven bush schools with 600 pupils. He was teaching religion, reading, writing, arithmetic and drill and football. He mentions that pupils were of all ages and that some of them were married. Father Lutz described an aspect of adult education of his mission's work:

4. Ezekial Apindi, ibid., p. 18.
We have native night schools where we teach the natives when they are free from their work. We have two of these schools. There are about 300 natives attending. The teaching of these schools is in Swahili. Women, about 40, attend these schools. No school fees are charged, they pay for their books.

During the early 1920s, the government administration was still rudimentary but within that administration a few officers were turning their attention to the chronic need for improved social and educational services. C.W. Hobley, a Provincial Officer, was concerned about African educational interests and deplored the current system of indentured apprenticeship where parents agreed to indenture their sons for a period of five years in return for a mixed literary and technical education with desertion an offence against the law. He was disappointed in the state of native schools with their lack of discipline and poor instruction. He suggested the development of 'attractive evening classes' for town dwellers and those employed on estates. He drew attention to the small amount of money being devoted to African education where the amount of African poll tax and hut tax revenue was £500,000 and the native education vote £24,000, or less that 5 per cent. He wanted more health and agricultural education programmes, and, being worried about the growing problems arising from detribalisation, saw education as an aid to remedying the ill effects.

The Director of Medical Services, J.L. Gilks was as

pessimistic in his annual report for 1922. He stated that life in the reserves was little different from what it was twenty years before. He noted the prevalence of diseases such as yaws, syphilis, leprosy, tuberculosis, pneumonia, plague and small-pox. He drew attention to high infant mortality and malnutrition, bad housing and poor sanitation. He was encouraging the use of the government publication, 'Habari' started in 1921, as one medium for health education. Without mentioning how, he concluded optimistically: 'It is hoped to teach the individual that the prevention of the disease in his own hut or boma lies in his own hands and to convince him that it is worth his while always to be taking the steps necessary for such prevention'.

Rural training leading to improved agricultural output was slow to get off to a start. In 1921, proposals were put forward to train African agricultural instructors at Kibos. But the following year Kibos along with Mazeras and Kabete, was closed due to the financial effects of the economic slump in the colony. Until 1923, there were no Agricultural Officers working in the field in African areas. But in that year the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a White Paper, drew attention to the need for the development of African areas in Kenya. In 1923, the first Senior Agricultural Officer was appointed to Kisumu after the policy was established to concentrate work on the Kavirondo and Kikuyu through the development

1. Medical Department Annual Report 1922, pp. 41-65
2. Agricultural Department Annual Report 1921, p. 27.
3. Agriculture in the Colonies, Cmd. 1922, (1923).
of agricultural shows and, in cooperation with the Education Department, through the establishment of school gardens. In 1922, the first African exhibit was made at the Nakuru Agricultural Show and in the following year the first native agricultural show was held in Kiambu. As part of the plan to train African instructors to work in the reserves, Kibos was reopened in 1923 and its site moved to Bukura where it was considered the terrain was more typical of Nyanza conditions. Also Kabete was reopened by the veterinary staff and a new agricultural experimental and training centre, the Scott Agricultural Laboratories, was established just outside Nairobi also at Kabete. During 1924, the Scott Laboratories were able to accept thirty-two apprentices and Bukura twenty-nine, whilst there were nine Agricultural Supervisors in the field and forty-one African Instructors:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Agricultural Supervisors</th>
<th>Instructors</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nyanza</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kikuyu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukamba</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coast</td>
<td>1</td>
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Shows were held in Kavirondo, Fort Hall, Machakos and Kiambu. On the veterinary side by 1924, there were eight stock inspectors and forty African veterinary scouts in the field with veterinary stations being established in Nandi, Kerio, North Kavirondo, Machakos, Isiolo and Kibigori.

The attention given to African affairs was

3. Ibid., p. 105.
4. Agricultural Department Annual Report 1924, p. 27.
5. Loc. cit.
undoubtedly the result of the demands and agitation fermented by Harry Thuku and the Young Kikuyu Association. A similar organisation had also been formed in Western Kenya in 1921, the Young Kavirondo Association. This in 1923, under the guidance of Archdeacon W.E. Owen, became the Kavirondo Taxpayers Welfare Association with membership from the Luo and Abaluhya tribes. While the prime effect of the K.T.W.A. was political, it also had an educational aim geared to social improvement. It encouraged amongst its membership self-help, better hygiene and housing, improved water supplies, better family life and educational provision. It was one of the first organised attempts to create an indigenous self-help movement through adult education and the Phelp-Stokes Commission was a few years later to describe it as 'a great experience in mass education'.

But the airing of African grievances and the new attention being paid to the need for mass education was not confined to Kenya, for in London a small but powerful lobby concerned with East African native interests was growing up. This centred on J.H. Oldham, the Secretary to the International Missionary Council. General dissatisfaction with mission educational policy had been formally expressed as early as 1910 at the World Missionary Conference. Oldham was Secretary to the Conference and had, thus, been an observer of the

attack on the predominant literary education. At that Conference, also, he was introduced to a possible alternative. This was the educational programme that had been developed in the Southern States of the United States of America amongst the negro population and which came to be known as the Hampton-Tuskegee model after the two most prominent schools which pioneered this type of education. Those working on this programme in the American South held that a purely or predominantly literary education was unsuitable for folk who were still grappling with the basic fundamentals of life. More suited was a curriculum which met the pressing needs of the negro: better agriculture, better health, hygiene, diet, childcare, home-making and civics. They advocated a system of community education with an emphasis on self-help. The possibility of applying the lessons learnt at Hampton and Tuskegee to the African scene was readily appreciated. In 1919, a request from the West African Baptist Missions for a survey of education there was made and taken up by the American Phelps-Stokes Fund. A commission visited West Africa under the leadership of Thomas Jesse Jones, the Head of Hampton, during 1920 and 1921. The ensuing report was received enthusiastically by missions and government. Oldham himself, was now a forceful proponent of these

new ideas. Numbers of missionaries, educators and government officials, with help from the Phelps-Stokes Fund, were encouraged to visit Hampton-Tuskegee. Oldham was held in high esteem by officials at the Colonial Office and was a close friend of Ormsby-Gore, the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies. It was natural that another commission should leave for Southern and Eastern Africa. The second Phelps-Stokes commission visited Africa during 1924 and again under the leadership of Thomas Jesse Jones who was accompanied by James Aggrey, a leading African educator from the Gold Coast; James Dillard, President of the Jeanes and Slater Funds; Homer Schantz from the U.S.A. Department of Agriculture; the Reverend Garfield Williams, Educational Secretary of the C.M.S. and Major Hanns Vischer from the Colonial Office. James Dougall, a Scot and Christian U.S.A. trained teacher, with James Dillard was Secretary to the Mission. A further member of the group was C.T. Loram, a leading authority on education in South Africa but he was not present when Kenya was visited.

Jones and his party were in Kenya from 24 March to 28 March, 1924. Wherever they went, they were well received. Their terms of reference were strictly educational:

1. To enquire into the educational work being done at present in each of the areas studied.
2. To investigate the educational needs of the people in the light of the religious, social, hygienic and economic conditions.
3. To ascertain to what extent these needs are being met.
4. To assist in the formulation of plans designed to meet the educational needs of the native races.
5. To make available the full results of the study.

They missed little. They surveyed Kenya's history. They looked at the problems of administration, agriculture, health and social life. They took note of the multi-racial nature of Kenya's society. They appreciated the need for African labour on settler farms and they marked the problems arising from compulsion. They reviewed government's growing need for trained artisans and clerical staff. They understood the desire of the missions to gear African education to the achievement of religious ends. The main theme of the report was the need for education to serve the immediate requirements of day-to-day living in all its aspects. It was emphasised that 'in general, the members of the Commission are convinced that all education must be of a character to draw out the powers of the Native African and to fit him to meet the

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2. ibid., pp. 101-141.
specific problems and needs of his individual and community life.¹ They emphasised the value of African social and cultural heritage and recognised the role of language 'in preserving whatever is good in Native customs, ideas and ideals, and thereby preserving what is more important than all else, namely, Native self-respect'.² The confusion over educational aims was explicitly stated and missionaries, settlers and government officials were castigated. The Commission recognised that 'some have recognised the principle of trusteeship and desire to assist the Natives to realise their full capacity as human beings; others have thought of them as economic assets to be exploited for the satisfaction of the party in control'.³

Jones and his team went far beyond the confines of child education and their thoughts covered the whole complex of education, rural training and rural development. They were convinced that an abstract literary educational system unrelated to mass needs had no place in Africa and foresaw the serious problems which could arise from elitism and false hopes should this kind of education become prevalent.

On the lines developed in the American South, they advocated community schools to meet the needs of the masses. They knew that it would be difficult to find teachers but thought that trained teacher-supervisors could visit groups of schools and help to maintain standards. They wanted travelling schools which would give farm and home demonstrations. They

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1. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, op. cit., p.xvii.
2. ibid., p. 19.
3. ibid., p. 7.
wanted trained leaders in agriculture, medicine, engineering and law who would work among the masses and who were trained to this end in suitable training colleges which would have their roots in the community. They advocated an extension service acceptable to tribal authority and which could initiate economic and social reforms from within the African society. They recommended strongly education and training for women and girls in 'health and hygiene related to the life of womanhood and especially to the care of children; agriculture and gardening for food; the home and the responsibilities for preparing food, for restful sleep and clothing, and for the full round of family life; recreation for childhood, youth and adults; character development'.¹ They entered into no debate as to whether education for children or education for adults should be given priority. They knew that 'it is essential for the future welfare of Africa that the education of men and women, boys and girls, should be parallel and simultaneous'.²

Even before the second Phelps-Stokes Report was published in 1925, the first report had had its effect.³ In London, Ormsby-Gore had set up the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa in 1923, Hanns Vischer was to be its Secretary. Ormsby-Gore then circulated all colonial Governors suggesting that a similar committee should be created

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1. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, op. cit., p. 351.
2. ibid., p. 349.
3. For a description of the work of the Advisory Committee during this period see L.J. Lewis, Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Areas (London, 1954) pp. 16-50, passim.
in each colony. In 1924 and it met for the first time on 31 May, with the Kenya Colonial Secretary present. It consisted of the Commissioner for Native Affairs and the Director of Education along with representatives from the missionary bodies. The influence of the Phelps-Stokes reports was also strong in the recommendations on educational policy which were produced by the London Advisory Committee in 1925. The Memorandum on Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa was circulated to all colonies. It had the support of the Colonial Secretary and it was the first clear statement of a broad educational policy to come from London. One can discern the hand of Oldham in its wording:

Education should be adapted to the mentality, aptitudes, occupations and traditions of the various peoples, conserving as far as possible all sound and healthy elements in the fabric of their social life adapting them where necessary to changed circumstances and progressive ideas as an agent of natural growth and evolution.

Besides recommending national systems of elementary, secondary, technical, vocational and higher education, the Memorandum gave a place of major importance to adult education:

It is recommended that those responsible for the administration of each colony should keep adult education constantly in view in relation to the education of children and young people. The education of the whole community should

1. L. Secretary of State for the Colonies to all Colonial Governors in Africa, circularCol.no. 533/342, 29 Dec. 1923.
2. Educational Policy in British Tropical Africa, Cmd. 2374, 1925, p. 4.
advance pari passu, in order to avoid as far as possible a breach in good tribal traditions.¹

But in Kenya in 1925, the education and the extension services were still in their infancy. What existed was primarily there to serve the needs of the European community. Of the £75,000 spent on education less than half was spent on two and a half million Africans whilst nearly £40,000 was spent on forty-six thousand Europeans and Asians.² The Education Department ran three schools only; at Waa, Machakos and Narok; the remainder being run and controlled by the missions. Health education hardly existed and the Medical Department had mustered 1,086 beds in twenty-three simple native hospitals with thirteen doctors.³ More attention was being given to agricultural work in African areas but the work of Bukura and the Scott Laboratories was still in its first year whilst the work of nine field officers was hardly skeletal even if it represented a beginning.

Neither the Phelps-Stokes recommendations nor the Memorandum of the Colonial Secretary had any dramatic effect on the provision of adult education or rural training. There was no political inclination nor was there financial backing for any large-scale innovation. The ideal of developing institutions, curricula and syllabi which would meet the immediate practical needs of the African community was appreciated, but the liberal traditions of British literary education

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2. T.J. Jones, Education in East Africa, op. cit., p. 112.
were too strong and, in any case, it was natural that Africans should demand the same kind of education that their European masters and mentors had received. Any attempt at substitution or deviation was suspected as a means to prevent Africans reaching European status. This conflict of educational aims: the provision of education which met immediate practical needs of the masses in their every-day life and the provision of a more literary education on the British model, still remains a heated problem in modern Kenya.

Nevertheless, the Phelps-Stokes Report helped to crystallise educational thinking related to the need for mass education. It threw up possible answers to the questions rising from the confusion in thinking on educational policy in Kenya. Jones' enthusiasm for a mass education approach on the American pattern, the influence of Oldham, the lead of the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the pressing need to do something led to the beginning of what was to become a fascinating experiment in Kenya. An experiment which was to have a considerable impact on adult education and rural training. The basis of the new approach was to be the small village school with teachers who would be as much concerned with the education of the surrounding community as with the actual classroom. Curricula and syllabi would be geared to the development of the community around the school. To inspire and direct the teachers, there was to be cadre of supervisory teachers who were to receive their

inspiration and training in a central training institution. It would be their task to see 'that the organisation of activities outside the school room blend naturally and intimately with the life of the groups from whom the pupils come. The schoolroom becomes the school home. Village gardens become school gardens. Village needs become the concern of teachers and pupils'. Jones pioneered this idea whilst visiting Kenya and sold it on the basis of the success of the system of Jeanes teachers in the American South although a more weighty consideration may have been the availability of finance from the Carnegie Corporation to build and staff the basic training college. During 1925, it was agreed that a training college should be built. Carnegie provided $37,500 for a five year period. After its inspirator, the American education philanthropist Miss Jeanes, the college was to be called the Jeanes School. For the important post of Principal, the former Secretary to the Phelps-Stokes Commission, James Dougall was available. A Scot, experienced in the Christian educational work of the American South, familiar with the background of Kenya through his work with the Commission, a youthful twenty-nine year old, Dougall was to be an impeccable choice. He received a year's training in the Jeanes methods in the U.S.A. and began construction of the school on a conveniently situated site eight miles from Nairobi at Kabete. The doors of Jeanes School opened in October, 1925 and Dougall's task began to attempt what was 'nothing less than the conversion of the educational system from the traditional Western model of elitist academic education to one more apparently

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tuned to the economic and social forms of African life.¹


During the twenty years from 1926 until the close of the Second World War, adult education and rural training were dominated by the Jeanes School. The first seven years of its life were marked by interested attention and support from government officials and missions as its experimental work developed. Its programme was, however, small and there was never enough finance. The following seven years were less successful. The expense of producing the Jeanes Teachers was called seriously into question. In parts of the country, the growing numbers of staff employed directly by government departments engaged in extension work such as agriculture made the need for Jeanes Teachers less obvious. The technical and personal qualities of the Jeanes Teachers began to be questioned by government and mission whilst for reasons of principle and expense, settler opposition became more vocal. The war was a convenient reason for the closing of the School and it became temporarily an institution for the training of military personnel. In spite of its gradual decline in importance, the School during these twenty years provided the first cadre of rural adult teachers and influenced enormously the development of the government extension services in African areas. Places at the School were eagerly sought after by rural folk and it established a reputation amongst the more progressive of them for

¹ King, The American Background, op. cit., p. 218.
the encouragement and help it gave in programmes of rural development.

The School opened with accommodation for fifteen prospective Jeanes Teachers and their families in temporary sun-dried brick houses whilst more permanent dwellings were being built. It was an important feature of the training that the educational unit should be the family since on the return of the teacher to his home area, he would be expected to develop a model home as an example to the rest of the local community. The course was to last two years and both the living conditions and the instruction were oriented toward the practical life of the rural areas. Buildings were constructed keeping the simplicity of rural design but incorporating improvements capable of emulation. Thus, for example, a bamboo and grass practice school was constructed and houses were kept simple and small. Instruction in the School was in Kiswahili, and at first no English speaking teachers were recruited. The training included: religious instruction, physical training and games, literacy and arithmetic, history, geography, civics, and the professional techniques of teacher training. In later parts of the course, the trainees received instruction in the art and practice of the supervision of village schools, the improvement of rural life, village development, methods of extension work, the role of native custom, and the techniques of cooperative method. All students studied simple agriculture, demonstration plots were developed by the students. Supervised visits were

1. The following description of the early years of the Jeanes School is based on a Digest of Reports of Jeanes School in Village Education in Africa, Report of a Conference in Salisbury (Lovedale, 1935).
made to local village schools and a demonstration night school was run by the students for local people around the School. Initially, the staff of the School was just Dougall, the Principal, an assistant master and a matron.

The major problem to begin with was how to get the teachers being trained and the local population to understand the nature of the experiment. Teachers who were selected for the course had already to have received a teacher training certificate and they were therefore familiar with the conventional school system. But what they were being trained for was far from conventional. Teachers came in naturally expecting to receive higher education of a formal kind and it was some months before they 'at last began to realise the function of the Jeanes School'. Teachers selected had to be married and most of the wives were illiterate. To assist in broadening knowledge about the School and its purpose outside, groups of village teachers began to be brought in, in 1926, for short courses 'which helped to explain the objectives of the school in the improvement of village education and in facing the problems of community health and livelihood'.

The Governor, Sir Edward Grigg, was a firm supporter of the School and he explained the nature of its work to Legislative Council, asking the members 'not to begrudge the proposed expenditure' and noting that the School had already aroused an interest 'far beyond the boundaries on Kenya'.

1. Jeanes School Annual Report 1926, p. 4. KNA.
The Jeanes School grew year by year. In 1927, a lady doctor was added to the staff and another assistant master was appointed. Five of the original students who had graduated in 1927 were kept at the School to help in training. Two years later, Dougall could boast five European staff at the School:

Three are men, of whom one is a Cambridge graduate and a former master at Harrow... The other assistant master was on the staff of the School of Rural Economy at Oxford and has the best training in agriculture. The two women are respectively a Froebel graduate with domestic science abilities, and a trained midwifery nurse and child welfare worker.1

By 1929, the campus had developed to house fifty-one trainees and their families, a simple workshop had been built and a dispensary equipped. Ten acres of land was turned into a demonstration small-holding for instruction in farming.

More important than the physical attributes was Dougall's effort to run the School as a friendly community and to instil in the trainees a spirit of community service. He endeavoured to put into practice in the every-day life of the School those principles which were being taught. A shop which was run as a cooperative was opened in 1927 and was probably the first African shop of this kind. In the same year, Dougall, with the aid of the trainees, revived the old Government newspaper 'Habari' as a means of spreading news of current affairs and matters of concern to the

rural areas. In the vacations, school staff went out visiting the Jeanes Teachers and refresher courses were organised regularly. Close personal relations were maintained between staff and students.

Longer term financial problems were partially solved when in 1927 government agreed to pay 50% of the training costs and two-thirds of the salaries of certified Jeanes Teachers.

1929 was a peak year for public support of the Jeanes School. The *Times of East Africa* was lyrical in its description of the School:

The little houses, built for the most part of brick or cement in which the pupils live are a model of cleanliness and sanitation. Reminiscent of a miniature garden city, buried away in the extreme suburbs of London, they are possessed of their neatly cultivated gardens at the front and at the back, while the interiors are comfortable, warm and clean. It is an education in itself in what can be done with sympathy and understanding and patience, to walk around this school.2

In the first five years of the School's life, by 1930, there were 71 Jeanes Teachers in the field supervising 349 village schools with 528 teachers. Most of these were operating in Central Kenya and in Nyanza and they included: Luo, Kikuyu, Baluhya, Kamba, Teita, Masai and Coastal people. Most of the Jeanes Teachers came from Protestant Mission schools, a few from Catholic schools, and a handful were sponsored by government. One teacher had been sponsored by a settler.3

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1. 'Habari' was a government newspaper started for circulation amongst Africans in 1922. Due to settler opposition, publication ceased in 1925. See W.M. Ross, op. cit., p. 236.
3. Dougall to Director of Education, Report 1929, op. cit., appendices tables B and D.
As the small but steady flow of Jeanes Teachers into the rural areas continued so problems began to arise. Mounting criticism became noticeable and could not be ignored. The most important problem, and the one which was ultimately to cost the Jeanes Teachers their existence, was the problem of determining the relationship between the Jeanes Teachers and the growing numbers of other kinds of government extension staff. The Jeanes Teacher was a multi-purpose village worker, a natural forerunner of the community development worker but he was not a specialist in any one aspect of rural development. He came partially under the Department of Education but usually worked under mission control. He was not a school teacher in the normal sense either. He fitted into no conventional category. He straddled across the relationships and roles of missions and government. He straddled across the roles of agricultural worker and health worker yet he did more than either. It is not surprising that he should find difficulty in being accepted by government workers in the field though since these workers were so few, one might have thought that there would have been enough for all to do.

Dougall circularised all Medical Officers on the way they could use the Jeanes Teachers:

It is hoped that they may be leaders of public opinion in their respective districts... It is hoped that their influence may extend far beyond the schoolroom and with this object in view it is hoped that District Officers and Medical Officers will be good enough to recognise and support their efforts... and to look upon Jeanes Teachers as a medium through which instruction and advice may be conveyed to village communities in the reserve. This may be achieved by having them notified of preventive or remedial measures that are being taken in regard to the health of the natives and also by consenting to address meetings which the Jeanes Teachers may convene for the
spreading of ideas of community improvement.¹

Similarly he circularised all agricultural and veterinary field officers reminding them that the Jeanes Teachers had been trained in agriculture, rural economics, markets, seed selection and the curing of hides and skins and he urged them to give the Jeanes Teachers 'a trial'.² He appealed to the Chief Native Commissioner that his teachers be allowed to attend local authority meetings so that they might play their part in the solving of local problems.³

Dougall was further brought under financial pressure and he had to fight to prevent a cut in his £6,000 recurrent budget provided through the Education Department. He felt it necessary to restate the objects and aims of the school to the Director of Education:

It would be distinctly a wrong impression of the Jeanes School if it were imagined as simply as an elaborate and expensive Normal School. Its distinctive features and those which make it develop in directions largely different from the conventional type of education in Mission schools are to be looked for as much or more so in non-school activities. Of these it will be enough to mention the home gardens, their village and school councils, the community farm and the cooperative store... The students go back to their reserves having had experience of better living conditions. They are propagandists for public health and improved agriculture... They have made their own furniture. Their wives have fed and cared for their babies in intelligent fashion. They have put capital into the school shop. They have drawn interest

1. Dougall to all M.O.s Circular, 20 Aug 1929, KNA file Ed.1/25/55.
and pocketed dividends on their purchases. They have bought food at wholesale prices and sold it at reasonable retail prices. They have used ploughs and seen how to market their produce. All this is training for life through the practice of living and it cannot but influence their neighbours both by instruction and example. Of the many other by-products of this type of education, there is one which will affect the social life of the reserves as the above experiences will tend to better economic conditions. The programme places great stress on recreation... it uses many forms of indigenous recreation, folk songs and games, fables, tales and traditions... Consequently it may be claimed, both because of the character of the life of the School and because of the results already visible in the Reserves, that the students of this school, both men and women, are much more than teachers in the academic sense. They are leaders and pioneers of improvement in regard to economic and social conditions among the masses of the people and their influence extends to pagans as well as Christians.¹

Dougall went on to plead that money spent on the School was money spent on the system and was therefore justifiable. He was proud that the school brought together members of different tribes and different religious denominations. He stressed the role of the Jeanes Teacher in preserving the best in African culture and tradition and in 'developing native education along African lines before the unity of African life is disintegrated and destroyed by a generation of African youth which is too good for its parents'.²

He had problems with some of his missionary

². Ibid., p. 12.
sponsors and was not satisfied with the recruits coming forward. The School took a broad view and he recognised that this had sometimes cut across missionary thinking on the return of the students to their homes.

He knew that many Africans were suspicious of the motives of the staff of the School and therefore wanted to keep the relationship with government as flexible as possible. 'They (Africans) can and do impute political motives and import racial considerations into purely educational questions and thereby destroy the fundamental teaching relationship which is based on trust'.¹ And even on strictly educational issues, he knew that the kind of mass education which he favoured was not appreciated by all Africans:

To the native, with his ideas of education as foreign and bookish presenting abstract information rather than interpreting familiar facts and preparing for practical necessities, this education is at first sight a real disappointment. Hence we have to grapple at first with strong prejudices in the minds of natives against such things as hygiene and agriculture, manual work and the study of native custom.²

He was attacked for encouraging the use of Kiswahili and it was alleged by Dr. Arthur of the Kikuyu Mission that Kiswahili was not wanted by Africans.³ Nevertheless Dougall was proud that he had demonstrated that Kiswahili could be used effectively as a medium of instruction and whilst later English was introduced as a second language of instruction, Kiswahili remained the most important medium.

². ibid., p. 20.
In August 1931, Dougall left the Jeanes School to become Educational Adviser to the Protestant Missions and his place was taken as Principal by his Assistant Master, T.G. Benson. Benson was to remain as Principal until the temporary closure of the school at the onset of the War. Dougall had attempted to produce a cadre of multi-purpose village workers imbued with a community spirit who used the village school as their base for general programmes of rural development in cooperation with mission and government field staff. Benson tried to continue this policy in spite of the many difficulties which were being raised. There was no question of the running down of the School. The Labour Government in London had issued a White Paper in 1930 stating clearly the need for social and economic development of Africans. It made specific reference to the need for adult education especially in the fields of hygiene, medicine and agriculture. The Jeanes School was needed and supported from London.

The Jeanes Teacher was, however, not so necessary and at no time did they exceed one hundred in the field. The idea of the community school fast lost ground to the more acceptable, if conservative, normal school system. This was unfortunate, if inevitable. Unfortunate in that the development of a realistic school curriculum has never been achieved and this had led directly to the serious contemporary problems of education and employment in modern Kenya. Inevitable in that Africans demanded the same kind of

education that Europeans received and the British Administration found this the easiest to provide. The measure of African enthusiasm for formal education is the spread of the independent school movement during the 1930s. These independent schools developed predominantly in the Kikuyu lands of Central Kikuyu and represented an attempt to develop a system of education free from mission interference. The association of independent churches, independent schools and political organisation went hand in hand. The schools were primarily concerned with elementary education for younger children but their activities inevitably involved youths and adults in some of their programmes. Their purpose was formal education with the stress on the use of English with little sign of any influence from the Jeanes School and its principles for rural development.¹

At the Jeanes School, recruitment of trainee Jeanes Teachers declined quickly. In 1933, only eight new teachers were recruited for training although two more came from Uganda and three from Tanganyika. Specialised courses for rural workers began to take the place of courses for Jeanes Teachers. But adverse criticism of the Jeanes Teacher in the field undoubtedly discouraged expansion of the original Jeanes programme. In 1932, a visiting member of Parliament noted that 'of more than twenty Jeanes Teachers, only a small number were giving a good account of themselves'.² A meeting of Jeanes workers convened

at Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, was equally critical. The representatives noted a tendency on the part of Jeanes Teachers 'to talk too much rather than show by example what to do; to prefer social teaching and community work rather than improve the standard of teaching in the schools... some tend to be self-satisfied, tactless, time servers, and mercenary minded. With some there is tremendous preoccupation with salary. Many have no intention of changing their old habits and do not justify the money spent on them. Perhaps they were too human. But in mitigation the same meeting records:

The Jeanes Teachers tend to have divided loyalties between government officials and his missionary employers. He is not sure where he stands and who is his master, and he may form the habit of playing one off against the other. On the other hand, missionaries and government officials comment on their infectious enthusiasm, their ability to inculcate new ideas. We are inclined to expect too much all at once. A feeling of superiority over their fellows and a tendency to political mindedness must be expected of comparatively primitive people deliberately trained to be leaders.

In 1932, Benson began his new programme of introducing specialist courses alongside the Jeanes Teacher courses. With the enthusiastic support of the Director of Medical Services, A.R. Patterson, he began a two year course for the training of health workers and sanitary inspectors. Patterson was concerned about the development of medical services in the rural areas and was interested in promotive and preventive health measures. From a South African model, he conceived of a pattern of primary and secondary health centres from

which would radiate programmes of health education and medical relief. The existing dispensaries were to be the nuclei for the new pattern and the staff were to be trained at the Jeanes School. Ten recruits and their families were enrolled in the first year.

At the same time, in 1932, Benson introduced a similar course for agricultural instructors. Here he was unsuccessful and the course had to be abandoned. The Agricultural Department preferred to develop its own training institutions at the Scott Laboratories and at Bukura, whilst the veterinary staff were already being trained at Maseno and Ngong. It is perhaps regrettable that the Agricultural Department were unwilling to develop agricultural training at the Jeanes School since there could have been advantages to all.

The new developments at the Jeanes School were warmly welcomed by the Director of Education who described 1932 as 'a year of transition'. He envisaged the Jeanes School as developing as a Social Welfare Training Centre and saw the new health workers and agricultural instructors as really government Jeanes Teachers. He went on: 'in time we may see short courses for adults somewhat on the lines of the Danish Folk High School. It is tolerably certain that the numbers of Jeanes Teachers sent for training will be small... The Jeanes Teacher is to a certain extent regarded as a luxury'.

The following year, Benson introduced a course designed especially for women in homemaking and forty women were enrolled. The course lasted six months. The Director of Education noted that 'the 21 women who left

1. Education Department Annual Report 1932, p. 44.
in July 1933, were very teachable and most interested. They showed a much greater desire to learn than their husbands'.

Notwithstanding the lack of success with the agricultural instructors course, in 1934 Benson introduced a course for farmers. It was designed to meet the needs of a representative peasant. The model farm and smallholding were used as the main demonstration but the farmers were given six acres of cultivatable land and twenty acres for grazing and from these they had to make a living. These were the first courses especially designed for farmers to be run in Kenya.

Whilst the development of specialist courses was a new venture for the School, the traditions of the school remained very much those which had been set by Dougall. Religious instruction was an integral part of all instruction, the community spirit of the School remained an important feature. The School entered into the community life around Kabete and ran organised games, plays and scouting groups. Staff went out during vacations to visit former students and refresher courses were held in district and provincial headquarters. In spite of occasional criticism, the School attracted constant favourable comment and a stream of visitors from overseas. The School became the major centre for adult education in the country.

1. Education Department Annual Report 1933, p. 63.
3. For this account of the Jeanes School between 1932 and 1939, I am indebted to T.J. Wambugu for the loan of the Jeanes School Log Book for this period. This is had written in Kiswahili from 1932 to 1937 and then continues in English.
It combined work in the field of community education with health and agriculture. Within Kenya, it gave practical application to the exhortations of the Colonial Office on the subject of mass education.

Following on the recommendations of 1925 and 1930, the Colonial Office Advisory Committee supported the Colonial Secretary by producing a further statement on mass education. The new Memorandum was issued in 1935. It contained essentially the same ideas as had been in the two previous statements except that this time recognition was given to the growing need for the coordination of educational activities. There was 'need for clear recognition of the intimate connexion between educational policy and economic development which demands close collaboration between different agencies responsible for public health, agriculture and schools'.

It stated the case for adult education even more strongly: 'even at the cost of some temporary restrictions of educational facilities for the young, provision needs to be made for the promotion of adult education'.

It maintained that 'a general advance will become possible only after further experience has been gained in carefully conducted experiments and when large numbers of people have received a special training in methods of adult education and community development work'.

The Jeanes School was in keeping with the theme of the Memorandum though there is no sign that the Memorandum had any expansionary effect on the work of the School. The School, however, was firmly

2. ibid., p. 1.
4. ibid., p. 21.
established. The government had taken over the full costs of the school in 1934 and there can be no doubt that the words of the Memorandum helped to silence its detractors. The Jeanes School closed its doors on 8 September, 1939, and the King's African Rifles took possession of the School as a military depot and training base.

The problem of coordinating the work of the different field workers had been raised in the 1935 Memorandum. In Kenya, the work of the Jeanes School and the Jeanes Teachers and the rudimentary adult education work of the health and hygiene field staff of the Medical Department developed in harmony through the use of the Jeanes campus as the training base. The same was not true of agricultural and farmer training although the Agricultural Department had in 1934 made a half-hearted attempt to train field workers at the School. It had been seen how Benson had introduced courses for farmers independent of the Agricultural Department, and in later years these courses were to influence the work of the Agricultural Department. In the main, however, the Agricultural Department was to follow a separate path in their special adult education field.

The recognition of a 'dual policy' for European and African development from 1924,¹ gave a direct commitment to the Agricultural Department for the initiation of development in the African areas as well as looking after European farming interests. The slow process of building up a cadre of extension staff had begun before the Jeanes School had been established. But in 1928

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the coverage was still very thin. 59 instructors had been trained at Kabete and Bukura but of these only 24 were actually employed after their two year course. These were employed by the Local Native Councils. Agricultural Instructors (A.I.) were employed in the Central and Nyanza and Coast regions of the country. The A.Is worked on demonstration plots where seed was produced for distribution to local farmers and they used the plots for demonstrating new agricultural techniques. Scattered around the country, there were 106 of these small plots.\(^1\) In 1928, however, the Agricultural Department emphasised its intention to build up a larger cadre of field staff and to give increased attention to African areas by appointing for the first time, an Assistant Director of Agriculture with responsibility for native agriculture.

Lack of funds and lack of trainable students were two of the main reasons given by the Department for the slow development of a cadre of field staff. The economic slump of 1931 aggravated the first and A.Is were actually reduced in number from 80 to 62.\(^2\) In his annual reports for these years, the Director of Agriculture is continually mentioning the difficulty of getting candidates with sufficient education and that both Bukura and Kabete have to introduce a considerable amount of formal school education in the training courses. The Animal Husbandry Centres suffered similarly. Of the seven centres at Maseno, Ngong, Sangalo, Baraton, Machakos, Isiolo and Mariakani, only the first two had pupils.\(^3\) In 1932 it is quoted that

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3. loc. cit.
In Central Province there were 'only two Agricultural Officers and one of them who had to look after Fort Hall and Nyeri Districts was also required to spend part of his time in Kisii District'. By 1934 however, the Director could report for the first time that there was an Agricultural Officer in each Province and Provincial agricultural development plans could be drawn up. The number of instructors in the field had risen to 228 with just under half of them in Nyanza Province and the remaining split between the Central and Coast Provinces. Most of the work of the A.Is was based on the seed farms but some farmer training was instituted by getting 'picked natives from the reserves to enter the seed farms for six months's practical work so that they may return to their homes and adopt better methods there'. The A.Is also began to encourage the development of school farms, and a new training centre was established at the Coast, Kabarani, for the training of instructors.

By 1935 the output of A.Is from Bukura, Kabete and Kabarani had considerably outrun the ability to provide them with paid employment. The courses had been lengthened to three years and it was clear that a change of policy was required. Benson, at the Jeanes School had already begun to take in farmers for training on plots of their own and the idea was taken up by the Agricultural Department. It was decided that the training given at the Native Agricultural Training Centres must be largely based, in the future, on the idea that the majority of the pupils will return to

1. C.O. Oates in Evidence to the Kenya Land Commission, 1932, vol. i., p. 1048. KNA.
work their own small holdings in the reserves'.

Arthur Walford who was in charge of farmer training at the Jeanes School helped in the setting up of seven acre small-holdings at Bukura and the Department introduced a system of group farming for the farmers coming in for training.

The throughput of young peasant farmers at the three agricultural training centres never amounted to more than around 100 per year and the main instrument of adult farmer training in the rural areas remained the demonstration plots on the seed farms and it is not clear that these had any great effect on improving the level of agricultural practice. There were exceptions however and these tended to be located where there was an educationist in charge of the project. The preoccupation of the Agricultural Department with research into crop and animal husbandry was still paramount and the technical aspects of better farming took precedence over the ability of agricultural officers and instructors to communicate their knowledge. Indeed there is no sign that any awareness existed of the importance of teaching ability in the introduction of new ideas and techniques though high-level attention was being drawn to this serious deficiency by experts outside the agricultural field:

I do not want to belittle the value of the introduction to better agricultural methods

2. ibid., p. 121.
4. For an account of the work of an educationist and agricultural instructors in a successful project see C.H. Chaundy, 'Primitive Agriculture as practiced by the West Suk tribe and methods introduced to improve it at the Government African School, Kapenguria' in Education Department Annual Report 1938, pp. 95-103.
that is given in the mission schools and organisations like the Jeanes School at Kabete in Kenya... They will provide the material from which may be drawn the instructors on whom will depend the routine supervision of the bulk of the natives embarking on new methods... The agricultural staffs working in the African colonies have been greatly expanded during the last twenty years... But it will be found that their attention has been wholly concentrated on the plantation industries and the crops that can be grown for sale. The opinion is often expressed that the readiest way to teach the natives an improved agriculture is to introduce them to a growing crop by working on the White plantations. The scientific officers in the colonies have been trained in European experimental stations and laboratories and bring to Africa a preoccupation with the class of problem that they have worked upon at home, so that they tend only incidentally to come into contact with native agriculture for subsistence. It is not unfair to say that this side of agriculture has received little attention from either the administration or the agricultural officers.

It is idle to speculate what may have been the effect on farmer training if agricultural training had been centred on the Jeanes School at this time, but it is clear that the exposure of A.Is to an understanding of the work of other field staff and to methods of adult teaching would have been of benefit to them.

By the outbreak of the Second World War, whilst a framework for an intensive programme of agricultural education for adults was in existence, the spread of staff was very thin and it is doubtful whether those staff received the best kind of training for the needs of their work. Little attention was being paid to the improvement of African agriculture in comparison with

the attention being given to the settlers' needs. It was not until the late 1930s that Africans were encouraged to participate in the major cash crop production and it was not until 1937 that a few Africans were allowed to plant coffee. \(^1\) Bukura, Kabete and Kabarani were training A.Is although it was expected that most of the recruits would return to their own smallholdings as farmers after the two year training. Shorter courses were being run at the veterinary centres: Ngong, Machakos, Baraton, Maseno and Sangalo, of between six months and two years duration. \(^2\) The work being carried out by the Agricultural Department was an independent operation separate from the work being done in health education and the activities of the Jeanes Teachers. In the rural areas, the task of coordination was that of the District and Provincial administrative officers. In effect there was little since departmental policies were determined at national level and district and provincial officers preoccupied with law and order, were unlikely to rule on the technical aspects of the work of departmental officers.

During the late 1930s, however, the Colonial Office became concerned about the lack of coordination especially in those fields where a joint approach was an obvious necessity. Two of these fields which clearly required a cooperative effort between different departments were social welfare and nutrition. The Memorandum of 1935 had spelled out the need in these fields. In the following year, the Colonial Secretary pointed out that nutrition was a 'matter which concerns many branches of government, notably the Secretariat,

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the Administration, and the Education, Agricultural, Veterinary and Medical Department and if a proper plan of action is to be laid down and carried through there must be close cooperation between them all'. In 1939, a more strongly worded circular was sent to all Governors: 'Every year it becomes more manifest that Medicine, Agriculture and Education in the Colonial Empire are very closely bound together and are not so much three separate subjects as three aspects of the same subject of social and economic welfare'.

The despatch went on to recommend the formation of social welfare committees with representation from Health, Agriculture, Veterinary Services, Education as well as of the District Administration. The matter had already been broached in Kenya through the Conference of Governors a few months earlier where the need for cooperation between welfare departments of government and between those departments and private agencies such as missions and commercial companies had been observed. The Conference noted especially the need for cooperation in nutrition, community education and welfare for women.

The advice of the Colonial Secretary led to the formation in Kenya of a Native Welfare Committee which was to meet monthly under the Chairmanship of the Chief Native Commissioner with the Directors of Agriculture, Medical, Education and Veterinary Services as members.

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1. Nutrition policy in the Colonial Empire, Col. no. 121, 1936.
2. Secretary of State for the Colonies to all Governors, Col. no. 854/113, 8 Jul. 1939.
4. Chief Secretary to Directors, 30 Sep. 1939, KNA file 1/38.
The committee appears to have served no useful purpose and to have met very irregularly. Certainly no plans for joint action emanated from the Committee. In 1941, the Director of Medical Services questioned the value of the committee which had met only eight times and suggested that it should either be dissolved or reconstituted with the Chief Secretary as Chairman and the membership enlarged to include other departmental heads and Financial Secretary. A reorganisation was undertaken with little effect except that the attention being given to social development led at the end of the War to the formation of a Social Welfare Organisation and the consequential increased problems of coordination arising from the creation of a new government department.

In the period up to the Second World War, there was no specific government policy on literacy or formal adult education. These were sporadic activities which depended entirely on the inclinations of the Jeanes Teachers and the missions. Some missions continued to organise classes on an ad-hoc basis but these activities became less important as the schools run by the missions became formalised and directed toward the literary education of school children. The Independent Schools and the African organisations like the K.T.W.A. organised adult classes but again these were on no regular basis and depended entirely on individual initiative. There is no evidence to show that any of these efforts had any significant impact except, perhaps, in Nairobi.

1. Director of Medical Services to Chief Secretary, 3 Mar. 1941, KNA file 1/38.
In Nairobi during 1937, on the initiative of the Town Clerk, a systematic programme of evening continuation classes was begun. The Nairobi Town Council gave a grant of shs. 7,000 and a paid supervisor was appointed. The classes which were for Europeans and Asians only began in May 1937 with some 320 students. European and Asian classes were kept separate and the subjects offered included: technical subjects like book-keeping, surveying, electricity and mechanics; languages like Latin, French and Kiswahili; and commercial subjects. Inevitable enquiries from Africans for their participation met with a curt refusal, and it was not until 1941 that special classes for Africans began.

From the end of August 1939, to the beginning of 1941, classes were suspended owing to the War. In January 1941, the Management Committee was reconvened with representatives from the Municipal Council, the Asian community, the Education Department, the Office of the Post Master General, the Mines Department, the Kenya Uganda Railway and the Kenya Society. A small grant was received from the Municipality but the Management Committee was instituted as an independent body separate from the Municipal Council. This was done in order that the Council should not be publicly involved in any repercussions from their unwillingness to run classes for Africans. In 1941 only one class in technical electricity was organised for Africans and it was established that only English speaking Africans could attend. The following year, a class in English

1. Minutes of Meetings of Committee of Management, Nairobi Evening Continuation classes, 8 Jun. 1938, min. 3 and min. 1 of 13 Jul. 1938.
2. Ibid., min. 1 of 10 Sep. 1941.
was reluctantly arranged for Africans and it was not until the need for increased African recruitment into the Army and free public lectures were arranged on topics like 'Training and Education of Africans in the Army' that sympathetic consideration was given to African needs. In 1945 special classes in English were arranged with African teachers and Eliud Mathu, a nominated member of Legislative Council for African Interests, was invited to join the Management Committee. The total evening class programme was still very small, the classes being held in a local primary school and the total attendance in all classes rarely exceeded 200. Nevertheless, it marked the first interest in a local authority for an adult programme.

The Second World War left the lives of but few untouched. It is estimated that just under 20 per cent of the African male population in Kenya was drawn into the armed forces, a total of some 75,000. Many of these men served in the Far East, the Middle East, Madagascar and Ethiopia. They came into contact with men of other tribes and of other nationalities. Their experiences gave them a broadened outlook and the accepted superiority of the white man was given a reassessment. They were told they were fighting for liberty and democracy which opened up new lines of thought for them. African political pressure had been mounting throughout the thirties and the political associations had been proscribed at the beginning of the War. Militant trade unionism had been developing before the War and during the War labour unrest.

1. Minutes of Meetings of Committee of Management, Nairobi Evening Continuation classes, min. 3, 22 Sep. 1941.
The war necessitated greatly increased agricultural output and the African farming areas received new attention for increased farm produce.

The Jeanes School became the training centre for the East Africa Command with troops coming in from Rhodesia to Somalia. In 1941 the East African Army Educational Corps was founded and had its headquarters at the School. There was a European Wing and an African Wing and courses included, besides those of a strictly military nature, literacy, civics and adult teaching techniques for Education Corps personnel who were posted to information centres in military units. Askaris were given both formal and informal training and it was the policy of the army to make as many askaris as possible literate and also able to speak basic English. At the Jeanes School a six months' English course was run for those who knew no English. An Army Information Unit was based on the School which used to travel around the African reserves informing villagers on the progress of the War and doubtless bringing news of sons and relatives. An army newspaper was begun and a broadcasting unit was created. Many of the military staff working in the training centre were to remain in Kenya after the war to man the new social development, information and broadcasting activities. The adult education traditions built up so carefully at the Jeanes School by Dougall and Benson by no means ceased with its military occupation.

2. For this information I am indebted to Horace Mason who was at the Jeanes School during this period and who later became Principal of the School.
It was clear to many that post-war Kenya was going to be a very different place from the Kenya of 1939. It was noted that the African 'has shown his worth and it will not be surprising if he expects to see it acknowledged... He has been well clothed and shod; he has been fed on an ample and balanced diet; and his medical and material needs have been carefully tended... His desires will be such that he will not generally be content with the low standard with which most Africans were content before the war.' The move towards regularising and expanding social welfare activity has already been noted. Before the end of the War, recommendations were being made on the labour conditions of work, on the development of trade unions, on the development of cooperatives. The Governor, Sir Henry Moore, had in 1943 begun the planning for a Development and Reconstruction Authority and a ten year development plan for the country. In agriculture massive problems of soil erosion were in being, caused by bad farming practice, over-cultivation aggravated by the war, and pressure of population on some tribal areas. These all had to be faced and they were all to have dramatic implications for adult education and rural training.

Chapter Three

The Jeanes School: Community Development and Adult Education for Civic, Social and Economic Development

In line with the rest of the world at the end of the Second World War, Kenya was caught up in a wave of ideas for progress, reconstruction and development. Proposals and plans begun to be outlined before the war finished. Kenya was still firmly a White man's country but forces were at work making attention to the needs of the African community unavoidable. Homecoming African troops flooded back to their tribal reserves or swelled the growing towns seeking paid employment. Political activity gathered momentum. There was a mushrooming of small African associations: tribal, recreational, occupational and political; Mombasa alone boasted some 63. Overseas, India was preparing for political independence. Other colonies in Africa had set their sights on this goal. A Labour government in London pledged itself to support these aims. The inter-tribal Kenya African Union had been formed in 1944 in Kenya with independence as one of its platform. For a short time the Union had been persuaded to emphasise its social and educational aims and had been renamed the Kenya African Study Union, but by 1947 its militant political purpose had regained the ascendency and it reverted to

its former title. The first African member of the Legislative Council, Eliud Mathu, had been appointed in October 1944. A new Governor with a liberal reputation, Sir Philip Mitchell, had been appointed to Kenya in December 1944. He pioneered the idea of multi-racialism and racial partnership as a long-term objective. For the African community, he considered that their participation in a position of national political power would take an indeterminate length of time to achieve. For the European community, he introduced on his arrival, an Executive Council within which unofficial members of the Legislative Council could hold portfolios.

The British government’s aim of progress towards self-government for her colonial empire led to a further emphasis on the role of education in this process. In 1943, the London Advisory Committee produced another report and White Paper specifically on mass education. The report was concerned with the improvement of the health and economic conditions of those in the colonies and the development of their political abilities and institutions. A plan for mass education embracing juveniles, adolescent and adults was advocated. The mass education plan was to be rooted in the community and was conceived to embrace: universal schooling for children; the spread of literacy amongst adults; the development of welfare services; and the widespread provision of reading materials and libraries. It was recommended that men back from the War would be well suited to help in such...
a broadly based scheme and that missions, voluntary bodies, trade unions and cooperatives should be encouraged to participate. The preparation of a five year development plan was recommended to lay a basis for a better educated community more self-reliant in its social, economic and political life.

Further reports on higher education followed that on mass education.\(^1\) Universities and colleges of higher learning were to be established and they would participate in the programme of mass education by producing trained leadership.\(^2\)

The British government's ideas on mass education were followed a few years later in 1948 with a further elaboration on its civic and citizenship aspects in the Circular Despatch on Education for Citizenship in Africa.\(^3\) The despatch of 1948 emphasised:

It is not enough to train patient and skillful and reliable farmers, artisans, clerks and rural grade employees; it is not enough even to train professional men, technicians and men capable of assuming responsibility in managerial and administrative positions. We have to go further and train men and women as responsible citizens of a free country. Constitutional advance, culminating in responsible self-government is a necessary consequence of advances in general education.\(^4\)

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4. loc. cit.
Adult education for citizenship was a major recommendation in the report.

The statements from London, three concerning adult education within four years, were not directives but recommendations and hopes expressed to the administrations of the colonies on the spot. It would not have been politic to have ignored them completely but the extent to which they were implemented was essentially a local decision.

A rudimentary national development plan had already begun to be designed in 1943. The report of the Development Committee which constituted a five year programme was published in 1946.¹ To meet Colonial Office thinking, it contained a comparatively minor mention of the fields of social welfare, information and mass education. The sub-committee set up to report specifically on these areas had recommended an expenditure of £900,000 over the five year period.² The final report, however, had cut this to some £20,000 on the basis that these were social services and economic services should be developed first in order to generate income to pay for the social side. A further explanation was that in the first five years projects should be small and experimental and therefore would not require much finance.³ This reduced sum represented 1% of the total budget which was to be financed from local funds and funds to be acquired under the Colonial

². ibid., vol. ii, p. 226.
³. ibid., vol. i, p. 96.
Development and Welfare Act \(^1\) from the United Kingdom. Recommendations were, however, made at a time that there should be a small cadre of welfare officers who would be part of the provincial administration and work as assistants to the District Officers and that experimental projects should be planned and carried out in the Kiambu and Machakos Districts, later to be spread to Nyanza. Information rooms, to be established in market and administrative centres, were to be centres from which literacy could be organised. Most of the finance for these and their radial activities it was expected would come from the Local Native Councils. The training centre for staff to man the programme was to be the Jeanes School. The proposals for Kenya were but a pale shadow of the recommendations made by the London government. Mass education received but a scant mention and little money was available for anything significant. Nevertheless, the decision to appoint welfare staff marked, even if done reluctantly, the beginning of the appreciation of the need that these services of welfare and mass education could meet.

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1. The first Colonial Development Act was passed in 1929. The Colonial Development and Welfare Act, 1940, provided funds for social services as well as economic development. The Act of 1945 provided £120million to be spent in the Colonies over a period of ten years. See L.J. Lewis, op. cit., pp. 46-50.
One of the immediate needs at the end of the War was the assurance of a peaceful demobilisation of African troops and their return as civilians to their homes. The Jeanes School had been used during the War as an army training centre and after the War it was natural that it should be used to help in demobilisation. In June 1946, it became the Ex-Servicemen's Training Centre 'C' and it was made possible for askaris after they had returned home to apply through their District Officer to attend one of a variety of courses being provided at the Centre. Many of the military staff who had taken part in the wartime training remained at the Centre. P.E.W. Williams, in charge of the military school, became Director of Training in charge of the Centre 'C' and two other centres. One was at Kabete which catered for the training of artisans, and one at Thika which trained builders and brickmakers. Horace Mason remained as Principal of the Centre 'C'.

The aims of the Centre 'C' were twofold: 'to give suitable training to educated ex-soldiers in order to fit them for employment; and second to teach them civilian values of life'. Long courses were designed that lasted up to two years. These included courses for: Social Welfare Assistants, Probation Assistants, British Legion Assistants, Traders, Teachers, Agricultural Instructors, Health

Assistants and Clerks. A special course was run for seven African Assistant Administrative Officers.

There was direct continuity of training between the pre-war Jeanes School and the Centre 'C'. There was contact between the former staff like Benson and the staff of Centre 'C'. The staff of the Centre 'C' were aware of the traditions and aims of the former Jeanes School and were in sympathy with them. The courses were the same kind of courses as the Jeanes School ran. The Social Welfare Assistants were direct descendents of the Jeanes Teachers. Teachers, agricultural and health courses were former specialist courses. Probation, British Legion and Traders courses were new specialist needs though even trading had formed part of the old Jeanes curriculum. Courses were designed to meet employment opportunities in the public service or for self-employment.

A direct relationship was established between the Centre 'C' and the rural areas. By 1948, there were 41 welfare halls established each with a trained welfare worker supplied from the Centre 'C'. Former European Civil Reabsorption Officers who had helped in the process of demobilisation in the field gradually saw their function being more related to social welfare and in the supervising of welfare and information rooms, in the organising of adult classes and the development of rural industries. By 1948, the eight former Civil Reabsorption Officers had been redesignated

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1. Information supplied by H. Mason, O.B.E.
2. P.E.W. Williams, Mass Education or Rural Community Development (Nairobi, Nov. 1948), p. 3. (Typewritten)
See also H. Mason, Community Development: Some Comments on the African Contribution (Rural Development College, Denmark, n.d.), p. 1.
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1. Information supplied by H. Mason, O.B.E.
District Welfare Officers, and a Municipal African Affairs Officer had been appointed in Nairobi and Mombasa.

The traders courses met an immediate and urgent need. Ex-soldiers with their gratuities found trading an excellent way of re-establishing themselves in the community. The ownership of a shop carried status with it. 'District Commissioners were inundated with requests for transport licences, for shop plots and for assistance in all manner of trading enterprises though few of the applicants had resources in experience and capital commensurate with their ambitions'.¹ The government had become concerned over the influx of new shopkeepers and had instituted a system of licencing based on a ratio of one licence to a population of 400. In some districts more than double the regulation number of shops existed.²

An officer in charge of the development of rural industries had his base at the Centre. His task was the promotion of simple crafts and cottage industry throughout the rural areas. There were no field staff to begin with and he relied on the social welfare assistants. Some success came, however, through the energies of Miss Rachel Chilson who began in 1948 a spinning and weaving group in the Kericho District of Nyanza Province.³ This was a significant development since it was the small beginning of what was to grow into a pattern of women's training centres and a women's social and educational movement. The Centre

³. Personal communication from Miss Nancy Shepherd.
'C' had followed the Jeanes tradition of women's training. Many of the men who came for training brought their wives and families with them and the wives received training in homecraft and childcare whilst they were there. The link between women's training and the development of the cottage industries was forged when the ideas of spinning and weaving spread rapidly from Kericho to other centres in Nyanza. Women's clubs sprang up and the centre at Kericho became a training centre for the growing number of instructresses working at other centres and clubs. So successful was the movement that another training centre was established at Kisumu a year later in 1949. The Centre at Kericho was described as 'a scene of industry such as is certainly not common in Africa, the available space is overcrowded, people sat two or three to a loom, mostly women but some men... The wool is spun and dyed here and the designs are made by Miss Chilson. Besides things that sell well to Europeans and are exhibited at Agricultural Shows and the like, there were solid blankets that would be of great value in the African home'.

Another important need which Williams quickly met at the Centre 'C' was training in cooperative methods. Unlike neighbouring Tanganyika and Uganda, the development of cooperatives amongst Africans in Kenya had never been encouraged. Dougall, at the Jeanes School had earlier attempted a cooperative shop and a thrift society, but the registration fees and capital requirements prevented any large scale development amongst Africans. In 1945 however, following the

advice of the Colonial Secretary in London, the existing legislation was revised facilitating the formation of cooperative societies, and the first Registrar of Cooperative Societies was appointed. During 1945, five African societies were formed to be followed in the years immediately after by a rash of small societies, mainly producers in cereals, wattle, vegetables and livestock. The most successful were amongst the women's egg circles of Nyanza where by 1948 there were forty-seven producer egg circles beginning to form a cooperative district union. Few of the societies were long lived, however, for the organisers were unskilled and it was a major difficulty to get efficient secretaries and treasurers. The course arranged at the Centre 'C' was designed to train the newly appointed Cooperative Inspectors and the secretaries of some of the larger societies.

For whatever the need, Williams and his staff were prepared to provide help. Other courses covered a wide range from surveying to bakery and the Centre 'C' evolved into a training centre geared to the requirements of African economic and social development. During 1948 with the rapidly diminishing need for the training of ex-soldiers, plans began to be drawn up for a complete transference of the Centre to normal civilian use. By this time Williams had become Commissioner for Social Welfare. The Welfare Organisation was not a department in its own right but came under the control of the Chief Native Commissioner. Similarly the eight District Welfare Officers came under the immediate control of the District Commissioners, thus

ensuring that possible idealistic propounders of unsettling ideas did not get out of hand. Williams' task during 1948 was to prepare for the future of the Welfare Organisation and to complete the transition of the Centre 'C' back to the Jeanes School. He put forward proposals for an expansion of the number of District Welfare Officers from eight to fourteen. This would mean that instead of covering just parts of central and western Kenya, also parts of the Coast and Rift Valley areas could be covered.¹ He also asked for four African Assistant Welfare Officers and the beginning of a planned recruitment of locationally based African field welfare workers. The Welfare Officers he envisaged as part of the team of district officers working on programmes of betterment and incorporating the supervision of social halls and literacy classes. The Jeanes School was to be the training centre for government in technical instruction and citizenship and in the methods and techniques of adult education.² Finally he made it clear that he would like to see the terms 'social welfare' and 'mass education' dropped in favour of the term 'community development' and his own designation and that of the field staff changed to 'community development'. He argued that the prime role of the Social Welfare Organisation was in fact to involve itself in programmes of village and district betterment through

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1. The Districts which were already served by Welfare Officers were: Kiambu, Fort Hall, Machakos, Kitui, Kisumu, Kakamega, Kisii. Williams proposed expansion in Nandi, Kericho, Nakuru and the remainder of the Rift Valley, one for the Coast, and one for Nyeri, Embu and Meru Districts.

2. P.E.W. Williams, op. cit., p. 5. This change of name had received support in the Circular Despatch, 1949, op.cit.
the stimulation of local initiative and self-help.¹ He recognised the need for mass education and accepted that his organisation used this process for the achievement of the goal of better living for all.

But the flush of post-war reconstruction was beginning to wane. The progressive ideas of Williams and his staff at the Jeanes School were becoming less acceptable. The Governor, Sir Philip Mitchell, was by no means sympathetic to the School.² The latent hostility of some of the settler members of the Legislative Council came gradually into the open.

Early in 1949, an attack was made on the Jeanes School in the Legislative Council whilst the educational estimates were being debated:

With regard to the Training Centre 'C' again I do not know how many (students) there are at the centre, I think it is about 400, but there seems to be a staff of 168, which I think is very high including two midwives. (Laughter). I think the two midwives need a little explanation, Sir. (Laughter). Are they all families? Is this a breeding centre or a training centre? (Laughter).³

In fact student numbers in residence at any one time was often over 500 and the European teaching staff was fourteen. There was insufficient staff to allow for any follow-up in the field or to allow courses to be run in the districts.

1. P.E.W. Williams, op. cit., p. 15. The first betterment project had been pioneered in Nigeria, see E.R. Chadwick, 'Communal Development in Udi Division' in Oversea Education, 1948, vol. x, no. 1, pp. 627-646.
2. Personal communication from H. Mason.
Few settlers were able to appreciate the novelty of the experiment which was being tried at the Centre 'C'. It is perhaps unrealistic to expect retired British Army Officers and expatriate British nobility who made up the bulk of the settler group to have appreciated this kind of experiment. But it was appreciated by the Provincial Administration and the Chief Native Commissioner defended it as 'a new concept of adult education which is certainly going to prove a model for other territories in Africa... I believe that in this Centre we have an idea whereby if we handle it properly and wisely, we can build a sound administration in the years to come'.

In March 1949, the Centre 'C' became officially once again the Jeanes School. The half of its recurrent funds which had previously come direct from the British government ceased and the School became completely financed from the government's education vote. At the end of 1949, the estimates for the Welfare Organisation and the Jeanes School came once more under fierce fire. The post of Commissioner for Social Welfare was abolished, the functions were amalgamated with those of the Principal, Jeanes School, and the budgets were severely cut. Williams left to go to the Groundnut Scheme in Tanganyika and then on to Uganda where he founded the Nsamizi Training Centre on the lines of Jeanes School. Mason also left for Tanganyika where he was later to become Director of Community Development.

The achievements of Williams and Mason at the Jeanes School during and after the War were considerable. Although they found it necessary to leave Kenya during 1950, they left behind an administration which, though small, was influential in the fields of social welfare and adult education. The Jeanes School was firmly entrenched with a definite purpose as a flexible training centre for rural field workers. The Centre 'C' had been 'something more than a training centre for ex-servicemen. It had been an educational experiment of a unique kind, an experiment in human and racial relationships and in community education'.

Settler opposition to the school had to a certain extent been overcome. Williams had successfully transformed the field social welfare workers into community development field staff with a definite role in the stimulation of local people toward self-improvement, a role which was to be developed further in the future and which gained some support from the powerful Provincial Administration. There was, however, still no appreciation that adult education could have a role in economic development and should not be considered simply as a social service. A further disadvantage was that by setting up the Social Welfare Organisation which in 1950 became the Community Development Organisation with definite responsibility for adult education, the Education Department ceased, for the time being, to take any interest in this field. Thus the Ten Year Plan for the development of African education deliberately excluded any mention of adult education, and the Beecher

Report of 1949 on African Education in Kenya made no reference to this field.


The new Commissioner for Community Development was an Officer of the Provincial Administration, T.G. Askwith. He had already had some connection with the Jeanes School, he had acted as Principal during the absence of Williams and had previously been African Affairs Officer for Nairobi. Nine field officers were redesignated District Officers (Community Development) from District Welfare Officers to emphasise that they were part of the Provincial Administration and that their role was to help in rural betterment projects rather than being concerned with social welfare. The African Welfare Assistants employed by the Local Authorities were similarly redesignated Community Development Assistants. Askwith combined the post of Commissioner for Community Development with the Principalship of the Jeanes School and was based at the School. Whilst the field officers were primarily engaged with field officers of other departments in betterment schemes in a few rural areas, adult education was emphasised in their brief:

Mass education embraces all forms of betterment. It includes the whole range of development activities in the districts whether these are undertaken by government or official bodies; in the field of agriculture, the adoption of better methods of soil conservation, better methods of farming and better care of livestock; in the field of health by promoting better sanitation and water supplies, proper methods of hygiene and infant and maternity welfare; and in the field of education by spreading literacy and adult education as well as by the extension and improvement of schools for children.1

It was emphasised 'that the policy of the Jeanes School was governed by the requirements of Government Officers in the field and directed to helping them in the introduction of their plans for African betterment by reducing ignorance and thus prejudice among leaders of African opinion'.2 Imaginatively, Askwith planned an extension service that was to be run from the School. District Commissioners were urged to organise courses in their districts on the lines of those run at Jeanes School with the participation of his staff. In 1950 two such courses were undertaken; one in Machakos district where a resettlement scheme and an urgent soil conservation project were being run, and one in Nandi district. These were the first courses to be run in rural areas organised from the School and their success made these rural courses a permanent feature of the School's programme.3 They provided a way of keeping the Jeanes teaching staff in touch with rural problems and conditions whilst at the same time providing an opportunity for follow-up of old students.

2. Ibid., p. 19.
3. Information supplied by T.G. Askwith.
The success of the new role for Jeanes gathered support in the new national five year development plan. The report of the Planning Committee placed great emphasis on the need to 'develop citizenship in its widest sense'.\(^1\) Jeanes was to be developed to help provide an informed leadership in the African community, especially in the field of local government. It was needed to help local people devise new and adapted institutions and customs necessitated by the rapid breakdown in tribal life. It was needed to develop the customs and practice of self-help amongst the African community.\(^2\) It was stated explicitly:

The most important of these courses in our view are those which train Chiefs, local native councillors and officials and other prominent Africans in local government and civics. We consider it essential that this training should be carried out in suitable surroundings and that adequate facilities be provided for the training of those Africans who, as the present and future leaders of their community, have important responsibilities in the development of the African areas and will greatly influence the attitude of their people to Government policy.\(^3\)

Money was to be provided for new buildings, for more community centres, for more mobile cinema units.

The recognition of the need for the education and training of African leaders was, however, belated. For the past few years, African political agitation had been mounting. The clandestine and militant Mau Mau Movement had been proscribed by Government in August 1950. Nationalism was rampant and oathing, during 1951, was mounting significantly throughout the

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2. ibid., pp. 64-65.
3. ibid., p. 62.
Central Province and the Rift Valley. It took these factors to awaken an awareness to the need for civic education. But it was too late. During 1952 tension mounted, murders had become commonplace. Sir Philip Mitchell had left and was replaced as Governor by Sir Evelyn Baring and a State of Emergency was declared. The rebellion was officially recognised.

Even before the Emergency had been declared, the young Community Development Organisation had run into extreme difficulty. 1951 was a year of economic depression and money was short. Economies in government finance had to be effected. All the posts of District Officer (Community Development) were abolished and the staff absorbed into the Provincial Administration. In the following year the posts were reinstated and new staff appointed for a new role had been assigned to the Organisation, now upgraded to a department in its own right. Askwith had already seen that his policies could not easily be implemented without field staff under his direct control. The D.Os (C.D.) had been under the direct control of the Provincial Administration and were often used as clerks or accountants depending on the interest of the District Commissioner. Askwith had written to the Chief Native Commissioner complaining that he was, in fact, only an adviser and that he was frequently placed in an invidious position in the field when his advice was ignored.2

2. Askwith to Chief Native Commissioner, 19 Sep. 1952, KNA file Mass Education/CDI/201
But the Emergency changed the situation. The detention of thousands of Kikuyu tribesmen in prison camps and the need for rehabilitation programmes with staff to carry them out was considered a correct role for a new Department of Community Development and Rehabilitation. There were some 17,000 convicts and 50,000 detainees all committed under the Emergency. At the same time a systematic programme of bringing tribesmen in Mau Mau infected areas into villages was underway. It was also vital that other tribes should be kept loyal or at least quiet and they could be bought off partly by social programmes.\(^1\) It was decided that rehabilitation staff should be placed in the new department and that women field officers would help in the programme of villagisation in the Central Province districts as well as supporting welfare and training programmes for women in other districts of the country.

During 1953, 38 posts for Rehabilitation Officers were established with an unspecified number of temporary posts and nine posts of Community Development Officers (Women) were created.

The sudden expansion of the functions and staffing of the Department necessitated an alteration in its senior staffing. Askwith remained Commissioner but an Assistant Commissioner was also appointed as the Principal of the Jeanes School. The new Principal was J.L. Porter who had previously served at Achimota College in Ghana and in the Kenya Education Service. By 1956, the senior field staff in community development had expanded to 64 C.D.Os and 41 C.D.O. (W)s, the subordinate C.D.As had reached 457.\(^2\) The Jeanes School

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had reached 35 teaching staff. This rapid expansion was undertaken with great difficulty. Many of the Rehabilitation Officers had become C.D.Os and these had been recruited from ex-military personnel and from the Prisons Service. It was undoubtedly regrettable that community development should have undertaken such rapid expansion in staff since there was no time for their proper selection and training. Further, the identification of the staff with the rehabilitation of Mau Mau detainees as the prime purpose for the recruitment of most of these staff meant that the kind of person who tended to be selected was not usually the kind of person who would make a good conventional community development officer.

In 1954 the Department of Community Development received a further elevation when it became a Ministry under the first African Minister to be appointed in Kenya. The Minister was B.A. Ohanga, who took office after the proclamation of the Lyttleton constitution which instituted ministerial government and gave one Ministry to a nominated African. Field work was dominated by the rehabilitation camps where some adult education activity was carried out mainly in primary education and literacy. In the Central Province, community development was centred on the process of villagisation and the development of youth centres for the growing numbers of unemployed and uncared for youths. Outside these areas, work with women and the development of self-help projects continued, with adult education programmes being organised in support of such projects of rural betterment.

The broad adult education policy and role of the Jeanes School had been established before Porter became Principal. Citizenship and civics were the core of all courses. A special course in citizenship was run for rural leaders which included study of the economy of the country, the way the government was organised, social studies and the history of Kenya. But these subjects were included in all other courses whether the short five week courses for: Chiefs, farmers, traders, community leaders, or the longer courses for: health staff, cooperative staff, community development staff and women leaders.

Porter's formal education background caused him to try to tidy up the loose informal structure which had become a feature of Jeanes. He established semi-autonomous wings within the School. These already existed in the case of health and cooperative instruction and the Women's school. He added wings for farming, citizenship and local government. Coming himself from a farming background, Porter considered that the greatest contribution to rural development would be derived from a clear demonstration that a small-holding could be profitable if correctly organised and managed. He gave support to the agricultural courses run for farmers with this end in view. Beside the courses geared to rural needs in economic and social development, sports and culture were not neglected. The Colony Sports Officer was based at the School and later, from 1957, the Colony Music and Drama Officer was to

2. Personal communication from J.L. Porter.
have his base there. Whilst the School catered mainly for African needs, it was also used for running courses to teach Kiswahili to Europeans, mainly government officers, and was available for conferences and seminars. On average, a thousand students were passing through the School each year ranging from illiterate farmers from Masailand to more sophisticated trainee Health Inspectors. Coming from different parts of the country, they mixed freely and participated in many extra curricula activities which were run at the School. For example during 1956, 1,416 students attended, with a teaching staff of 28. Over half of the students had either no primary education or an incomplete primary education; 282 had completed a primary education; 339 a secondary education; and 5 had been to a university. Around 100 of the total students were Europeans attending the language course.

Before Porter took over the Jeannes School, Askwith had initiated a scheme to develop other Jeannes Schools throughout the country. During 1953, thought was given to the establishment of a Jeannes School to serve the Nyanza Province partly as a gesture to the Nyanza people especially the Luo, at the beginning of the Emergency and partly as a result of the Binns Report on educational development which emphasised the importance of education in citizenship. It was decided to build a second school at Maseno where there was already an educational complex with a secondary school, teacher training college and an agricultural training centre. Building began in February 1955 with finance

from the Cotton Cess Fund and contributions from the African District Councils in the non-cotton growing areas.¹ The Maseno Jeanes School opened in 1956 with accommodation for 20 students. The Principal, R. Bissett, was a long serving member of the Jeanes staff who had been at Centre 'C' under Mason. The same pattern was followed at Maseno. All courses included civic subjects and courses were arranged for farmers, traders and local leaders.² During the vacations staff went out and ran courses in the districts. There was always a greater demand for places than there was space.

From August to December 1955, Porter with a senior member of the African teaching staff made a study tour of Scandinavia to study the pattern of adult education there and to determine its relevance to developments in Kenya. In his report, Porter took the opportunity to draw together all his thinking on the development of adult education in Kenya and to produce in effect the first national adult education plan.³ Porter was a convinced multi-racial Capricornist and he saw the immediate task of adult education as helping the African community to achieve a position of equality with Europeans for he said: 'I think it fair to say that Africans know that they have a long way to go to attain as a community the status of equal partners on merit'.⁴ Education in citizenship was a top

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4. ibid., part 1, p. 11.
priority for him, and he drew inspiration from the Folk High School system of Denmark. Beside civic education on a mass scale, Porter was concerned with both adult education for economic development and social development. He supported a mass programme of agricultural education with emphasis on the African small-holding. He advocated also a mass programme in social education to help in solving the problems raised through the loss of parental authority and the weakening of tribal authority and the general breakdown in the African social structure.\(^1\) He recommended a programme to develop a Jeanes School in each district of the country in order to make an impact on the problem. He noted that in the six years since 1950 the students who had passed through the Jeanes School amounted to only one quarter of one per cent of the rural adult population. Each district adult school should, he went on, have educational clubs and societies attached to it and in this way over twenty years perhaps a quarter of the population would have been affected.\(^2\) In his scheme, the Jeanes School at Kabete was to be a parent school for the district adult schools and act as a higher college for adult education.

The report had no effect of any consequence. The country had taken a respite from the worst aspects of the Emergency and was involved in the constitutional problems which were to last through to the achievement of independence. The racial partnership ideas of the Capricorn Africa Society were a talking point but received little support from European or from Africans. The African community had just received the right to

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2. ibid., part 3, pp. 3-5.
elect six members to the Legislative Council, Askwith was preoccupied with his community development programme of self-help through group work whilst the Education Department could not decide whether what Porter was proposing was formal adult education and therefore its responsibility, or informal education and therefore the responsibility of the Department of Community Development.¹

At the end of 1957, disillusioned, Porter resigned his post and W.B. Wigram became Principal of the School. Wigram, in the early post-war days had been bursar of the school and had later taken a teaching post so the traditions of the School were maintained. The focus of attention, however, as far as practical policies in adult education and community development were concerned, had shifted from the School to the Commissioner's office in Nairobi. Askwith was preoccupied with his large community development field staff and his programme of engendering self-help through the harnessing of traditional indigenous practices in the tribal reserves.² As well as this he was responsible for youth programmes, probation and social welfare services.

If there had been any real intention to develop the School further then the resignation of Porter could have afforded an opportunity to bring into the School new and imaginative blood. Wigram had been at the School for many years and when he became Principal it was only in an acting capacity for he was not confirmed in his post for some sixteen months. Whilst the places

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¹ Director of Education to Chief Inspector of Schools, 25 Sep. 1956, KNA file Education34/106/12/4.
² T.G. Askwith, Community Development and Indigenous Practice, 16 Dec. 1958, typewritten paper to all Community Development Officers.
on courses were oversubscribed from applications by rural Africans, little public support was given to the School by African political leaders. This is understandable since it was a government school and was inevitably involved in explaining and teaching government policy which made it therefore suspect. At the same time, there was little enthusiasm for the School amongst the European elected members and even some antagonism from some members of the Provincial Administration. The former saw it as a school teaching subversive ideas which they had to pay for whilst the latter were not happy always to send adults from their districts because of the ideas they might pick up during the time that they were in Nairobi.

In 1959 the charting began for the route to African majority rule in Kenya, and a 'crash' programme of training for African staff to take over positions of authority began to be planned. 1960 was a year of financial stringency and cuts in government expenditure had to be made. The axe fell heavily on the Department of Community Development. The post of Commissioner was abolished and the establishment of 47 Community Development Officers was reduced to 25. The Jeanes School was swept away closing its doors in June 1961. The site was taken over by the Provincial Administration as a civil service training college to be known as the Kenya Institute of Administration. The Jeanes Schools did not close completely unheard. Askwith had stated his opposition and tried quietly to arouse some public support but had been threatened by disciplinary action

2. Information gained whilst teaching at the Jeanes School.
by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of African Affairs. In Legislative Council an African member, J. Mulli, supported by Mboya and Nyagah, had asked 'if the government is aware of the concern of the public over the curtailing of the facilities of the Jeanes School and Maseno'. The Chief Secretary replied that this was necessary due to the need for economies, due to the rise of Farming Training Centres, and due to the need for a localisation training centre.

The Jeanes School: Education for Women and the Homecraft Training Centres 1950-1960

The tradition of the Jeanes School from its earliest days laid emphasis on the special adult education needs of women. The Centre 'C' had encouraged husbands and wives, where possible, to attend courses together. The family cottages built by Dougall were available for this purpose. When the Jeanes School was re-established on a civilian basis in 1950, the Domestic Science Training Centre for women already existed on the Jeanes campus. Miss Nancy Shepherd, a social worker with domestic science qualifications, was appointed to be in charge of the newly designated Homecraft Training Centre as part of the Jeanes School. She had already participated in women's training during the days of the Centre 'C' since 1948 and was familiar

1. See correspondence Askwith and Permanent Secretary, Ministry of African Affairs, Apr. 1961, KNA file MCD/13/2/7.
with the developments in the spread of spinning and weaving centres in Nyanza. During 1949, she made a tour to see how the Jeanes Homecraft Training Centre could best help in women's education and decided that the training of women leaders was an essential to the sound expansion of women's clubs.¹

The development of training for women was not easy. The traditions of tribal society did not encourage womenfolk to seek training or education. It was one thing for a husband to bring his wife with him when he came on a course at Jeanes School, it was quite another thing for him to allow his wife to attend on her own. Fathers could be equally reluctant to send their unmarried daughter. To get potential leaders to the School meant that care had to be taken to see that no harm came to the women students whilst they were living in a predominantly male community. However in 1950, a course lasting nine months was run at the School. The women were selected by the District Commissioners and it was expected that when they returned to their districts that they would help in the women's clubs mostly in Western Kenya. This was the first course of its kind to be run in Kenya. The students had received only one or two years of primary education and the instruction was in Kiswahili.²

Instruction was as practical as possible and it included 'teaching them to improve their cooking, eat nourishing foods, care for their children and in accordance with proper health standard, adopt correct agri-

1. I am indebted to Miss Nancy Shepherd for this information and much that follows relating to women's education.
cultural methods and make and mend their own clothing.¹ All the students, of course, received training in civics as well. A Rural Industries Officer was based at the Jeanes School and a close link was established between the Jeanes Homecraft School, rural industries and the clubs in the districts.

The inception of women's clubs in Nyanza and their rapid spread throughout the Province was undoubtedly due to the relative position of strength of women in nilotic society. By 1951 there were recorded 54 women's clubs in North and South Nyanza and the original club in Kericho had become the Provincial Domestic Training Centre.² The clubs were also beginning to spread to Embu, Machakos, Nyeri and Meru. They were helped by wives of government officers serving in the districts and were unaided financially, using profits made from the sales of work to pay small sums to the instructresses where this was necessary.³ The Jeanes School quickly became a focus for the work and development of the women's clubs. Staff from Jeanes School would visit them and give encouragement and advice. Club leaders could expect to go to the Jeanes School for training. Help in equipment and materials could be had from Jeanes School.

During early 1951, Miss Shepherd made another tour of the clubs and at the end of her safari called a meeting of representatives from most of the places that she had visited to decide on future policy. At that meeting, it was decided that a national women's organisation should be set up. It was to be known as

as the Mændeleo ya Wanawake or Progress of Women. The association was to issue a newsletter, purchase badges for sale to women leaders and members and give guidance in the formation of women's clubs. This development was to be of great significance since the association was to grow into probably the most well organised social and educational movement for women in Africa.

The movement spread rapidly. It was locally based having its roots deep in the rural community and from the outset illiterate women from whatever their background were made to feel at ease and to look upon the movement as theirs. During the later part of 1951, a further training centre joined that at Kericho and was established at Kisumu. In 1952 Nakuru established a Homecraft Training Centre. At the Jeanes Homecraft Centre, the training course was lengthened to a year with 55 students, 11 of whom were illiterate, 36 had had partial primary education and 8 had had a few years secondary education.

By 1952 there were 172 known clubs. Each club meeting was generally held weekly, sometimes more frequently, and simple instruction in homecraft subjects was given: making simple clothes, receiving talks by district staff in health and hygiene and childcare and often running a literacy class. Sometimes, the club met in a simple building constructed by the members, sometimes they met in a member's house, sometimes they met in a local health centre. More ambitious students could attend a course in a local homecraft centre, and potential club leaders could go to the Jeanes School.

In 1952, a further boost was given to the movement by the appointment within the Community Development Organisation of nine Homecraft Officers and Miss Shepherd became officer in charge of the programme. These appointments coincided with the
declaration of the state of emergency in the colony and there can be no doubt that they were made partly as a method of placating areas which were not as yet affected by the emergency. The staff were appointed in Kericho, Kisumu, Kakamega, Kisii, Tambach, Kapenguria, Machakos, Kiambu and Nairobi, and they were generally wives of serving government officers.

Membership continued to grow. By 1954 there were 508 clubs with a membership of 36,970 women, located mainly in the Central Province and the Nyanza. The most impressive district was, however, Machakos where there were 94 clubs with 10,000 women attending. During 1955 the Maendeleo association became affiliated to the Association of Community Women of the World and in 1957 was able to send two delegates to the World Conference in Ceylon. The government paid the expenses of one delegate whilst the first African woman delegate was paid for by a special subscription from the Maendeleo members of 10 cents per person. The success of the movement impressed visitors and attracted international aid. In 1957 the U.S.A. government provided funds to bring to a total of forty-one the community development's women field staff.

By 1957 a definite pattern had begun to take shape. The pivot was the Jeanes School. At the field level, there were now 986 clubs. Each club had its own elected officers and organised educational activities in homecraft subjects. Social activities were also important when the women met together and singing and cultural activities were part of the

1. Department of Community Development and Rehabilitation Annual Report 1954, p. 13
programme. The clubs were aided by a Homecrafts Officer and were visited by other government officers who frequently gave talks. Some women were able to go on for further training at a local Homecraft Training Centre and there were now ten of these: four in the Nyanza Province at Kericho, Kisumu, Bungoma and Kakamega; three in the Central Province in Kiambu and two at Nyeri; one in Southern Province at Machakos; and two in the Rift Valley at Nakuru and Njoro.

These training centres were built with local authority funds but with some help from central government toward the capital costs. Recurrent expenses were borne by the local authorities supplemented from student fees. The facilities and courses at each training centre varied according to the wealth and interest of the local authority. In general they were kept very simple. Kericho, for example, consisted of seven two-roomed houses with five women sleeping in one room and cooking in the other. The women did their own cooking and catering. Courses lasted for three months and instruction was in Kiswahili. For the course women from the district paid 80shs. whilst those from outside the district paid 160shs. The course syllabus included: homecare, cooking, childcare, nutrition, needlework, hygiene, agriculture and some civics.¹

As part of the pattern of development, it had become the practice by 1957, for the Jeanes School to give preference for their courses to women who had already attended a course at a District Homecraft Centre. The rising educational level of students coming in to Jeanes School and the more formalised requirements at

the District Homecraft Centres led to the planning of a two year course for women leaders which was instituted in 1958. Jeanes School staff went out and visited the Homecraft Centres as well as the women's clubs.

The late 1950s showed a change of emphasis in community development policy. Since 1950 there had always been an element of stimulation of self-help for village betterment as part of the work of the community development officer, but this had never prejudiced the role of the C.D.O. as an adult educator or as an organiser of adult education programmes. After 1957, however, a definite change came about and the C.D.O. became more closely involved in the organisational aspects of self-help project activity. Askwith observed that:

Group work is indeed synonymous with the term community development... adult education can support community development field projects in a number of ways. Firstly, it can provide training for community development staff in the approach and techniques found by experience to be most effective. Secondly, it can teach the leaders of the voluntary groups what group work entails, and how it can best be promoted. Thirdly, it can provide orientation courses for administrative and departmental staff for they have to adopt an entirely new approach when working through groups.

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2. Group work for self-help toward economic development was first tried in the Manyassi and Malaha locations of Nyanza Province in 1952. It was under the supervision of an Agricultural Officer and was concerned with farm planning and dam building. In 1954 a much larger project was begun in the Mbooni location of Machakos District under the supervision of the District Officer. This was generally considered successful and provided a blueprint for other projects. See T.G. Askwith, Progress through Self-Help (Nairobi, 1960).
In order to show cohesion of the staff of the department and to emphasise the role of self-help through group work which had become Askwith's major departmental policy, all the women Homecraft Officers were redesignated Community Development Officers (Women) and the Homecraft Training Centres were redesignated Community Development Training Centres. The women's clubs and the Maendeleo ye Wanawake were to involve themselves in group work. The Homecraft Training Centre at the Jeanes School was renamed the Community Development Training Centre and no longer concentrated on women's education but took over all training of community development staff.

The effect of this policy was that men and women field staff no longer had separate functions and became interchangeable. The District Training Centres no longer concentrated on courses for women and there was no special category of staff at the Jeanes School concerned exclusively with the training of women. The two year course became a course for community development assistants (women) but the short homemakers course was still continued for women coming direct from the rural areas. By 1959 the change was almost complete and it could be reported:

The domestic arts of sewing and cookery have given way largely to subjects concerned with raising living standard and how to achieve this through community development group work. The women have been quick to appreciate, once the idea of group work has been introduced, that they were the chief beneficiaries. It is they who with husbands away at work or merely uncooperative, find the improvement of their homesteads or gardens impossible without the help of their neighbours. The use of the forgotten weapon of cooperation together with that of the knowledge of how to achieve
a better life will, it is hoped, render the trainees more valuable members of society.¹

The increase in group work was dramatic. But the impact of the change of policy on the women's clubs was equally dramatic. From a membership of 46,000 in 1956, numbers had fallen to 13,188 in 1960.²

The District Community Development Training Centres similarly lost the immediate attention of the community development staff. The homecraft staff had used the training centre as the focus for their work with the women's clubs and often, where convenient, had their offices in the training centre. The change of emphasis to group work moved the work-focus away from the training centre and toward general organisation of betterment schemes. By 1960 there were 9 District training centres functioning with each having residential accommodation ranging from 26 beds to 50 beds. Five of these were in Nyanza; Bungoma, Kericho, Kakamega, Kisii and Kisumu; two were in Southern Province at Machakos and Kitui; and two in the Rift Valley at Nakuru and Njoro. After 1960, whilst they were still predominantly concerned with women's homecraft courses, they became more multi-purpose and courses for men, when needed, were arranged in them.

During 1960 Askwith went a step further in loosening the ties that had grown up between the Maendeleo ya Wanawake and the community development staff. Since 1958 the Association had had its own African woman President although headquarter office of the Association was in the Ministry of Community Development office suite. In 1960, the Association was asked to find

its own offices and to get itself registered as a private voluntary organisation.\(^1\) This was done in 1961 and the official links between government and the Maendeleo ya Wanawake ceased, though government still continued to act as a channel for voluntary aid to the Association and the community development staff, where they were so inclined, still continued to take an interest in Maendeleo affairs. The local authorities continued employing some Maendeleo club leaders in their districts.

When the Jeanes School closed, women's training lost its national training centre. The Kenya Institute of Administration, whilst continuing community development training as part of the government civil service training programme, discontinued the Homemaker courses and special courses for women. Similarly, the District Training Centres lost their national institution which had provided them with guidance in training, with materials, and with regular staff training. The Jeanes School had performed the function of a parent centre which linked the various district centres together in one national programme and had provided the major focus for women's education as a special field. When it closed it left behind a fragmented spread of local authority training centres and a weakened training structure for the special needs of women.

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\(^1\) Personal communication from Miss Nancy Shepherd.
Alongside education and training for farmers and women, the Jeanes School pioneered two other kind of courses which were important to the economic life of the rural areas of the country. Dougall and Benson in the pre-war days had stressed in the training of the Jeanes Teachers the rudiments of shopkeeping and cooperative organisation. The Centre 'C' after the war had included courses in both fields. Petty trading and shopkeeping in village centres was a prestigious, if not always profitable, business. Goods for which there was a market were few: sugar, matches, patent matches, simple cooking utensils, trinkets, tea and perhaps blankets. For the more wealthy farmer, an infrequent visit to the nearest town was both a social occasion and an opportunity to buy any special goods that he needed. Here most shops were owned by Indian or European traders. In the rural areas, shopkeeping was generally a part-time occupation. Traders were normally farmers first and foremost and trading was a side-line often managed by a relative. Shops, or dukas as they were called locally, proliferated but few were successful. In 1950 the Provincial Commissioner of Central Province summed up the position:

The number of shops increases yearly; although the volume of custom for them does not. A duka is still looked upon as a sound investment, and confers much social prestige on the owner. The number of shut doors, half-completed buildings and the low level of takings, much less of profits, do not deter the new applicants, who appear to believe that their ventures will succeed next door to others that have failed.

The same situation existed in all other districts and was to continue to the present day. The mushrooming and withering away of small business ventures was not limited to shopkeeping; small transport concerns and vehicle repairshops were equally vulnerable though far less profuse. As yet there were no special field officers to give help and advice. The role was performed by the local District Officer. A call had been made for help to be given to African traders in 1946, by Bishop Beecher. In that same year an Economic and Commercial Adviser had been appointed within government who had in 1948 become Secretary to a newly formed Board of Commerce and Industry. The Adviser and the Board were, however, preoccupied with the development of national commercial life and the bigger ventures which were the precincts of Europeans and Indians.

The unhealthy situation of African trading life was replicated in the development of African cooperative societies. Primary societies of producers of agricultural commodities proliferated after the war when the new Cooperative Act was passed. A Registrar of Cooperative Societies had been appointed in 1946 but there were no field staff. Cooperative activity was mainly in the Central and Nyanza Provinces and in 1950 only one society existed in the Rift Valley Province. In 1950, the District Commissioner of Kiambu District, one of the most progressive districts summed up the situation:

At present the people do not really understand the meaning of the words 'Cooperative Society' but it is to be hoped that it will mean more to them as they progress. One of the biggest problems is to find an honest hardworking treasurer who is capable of keeping a simple set of account books.¹

These were to be the major problems in the development of cooperative societies: getting people to understand what cooperation meant and what it could do for them and finding competent and honest administrators who not only understood the cooperative philosophy but had the technical ability to run a cooperative society. By 1950 there were 233 registered African societies and the first Assistant Registrars were appointed. By 1952 there were three Assistant Registrars: one each in Nairobi, Kisumu and Nyeri. There were also 21 Inspectors and Assistant Inspectors of Cooperative Societies of which 11 were in Nyanza and the remainder in Central Province.² The prime task of these officers was technical rather than educational and they were responsible for the auditing of accounts of the societies in their districts, the inspection of minutes of society meetings and aid in the formation of new societies. There was no attention paid to any kind of mass education programme in the nature and scope of cooperative philosophy and method or the development of a cooperative movement. There was neither the commitment of cooperative philosophy in the government or the administration nor, if there had been, were there the technical staff to guide such a movement.

². Registrar of Cooperative Societies Annual Report 1952, p. 11.
Until the respective departments of government had been formed and were strong enough to supervise their own training and educational programmes in commerce and cooperation, the Jeanes School undertook these functions.

From 1951 until the School closed, courses for traders were a regular feature of the School's programme and in most years the intake of traders constituted one of the largest groups represented in the School. The traders were recruited through the District Commissioners and they came to the Jeanes School for four weeks. Between four and six courses were run every year. The traders studied: book-keeping, business and trading methods, display and maintenance of premises, and simple economics. Civics was included as part of the School's normal programme. Teaching was in Kiswahili. Traders came from all over the colony and places were allocated to districts on a rotational basis. The courses initially were run by R. Bissett, an ex-Centre 'C' member of staff who had been incharge of teacher training. But Jeanes School teaching staff had to show versatility and as there was nobody better qualified to run the courses, Bissett received the job.

In January 1953, shortly after the declaration of the State of Emergency, a Department of Trade and Supplies was formed as part of government structure. The new Department spent the first year organising itself but by 1954 was ready to carry out its major role which was, as far as Africans were concerned, to administer a system of loans. During 1954, four Joint Loan Boards were established in the Nyanza Province to

1. See Appendix IA.
administer loan funds made available in equal parts by the central government and the local authorities.\footnote{1}
The first trade field officer, designated an Executive Officer, was appointed to Kisumu in Nyanza Province, to guide the new Loans Board after the Secretary for Commerce and Industry had noted:

It has become apparent that the majority of African traders' knowledge of trading and simple bookkeeping is extremely poor, the Working Party recently recommended to the Board of Commerce and Industry that a suitably experienced officer should be appointed to conduct courses of instruction for African traders at the Jeanes School; and that a suitably qualified officer should be posted to the Nyanza Province to coordinate the work of the four Joint Loans Boards, to operate courses of instruction and generally assist African traders in that Province.\footnote{2}

The Jeanes School was a natural home for traders' courses but the proposal to appoint a special officer to take over the Jeanes School courses and to develop them proved extremely difficult and Bissett had to continue running them. There was no ready supply of personnel who could teach at Jeanes School or carry out the functions of a Executive Officer in the field. Knowledge of trading conditions in rural areas, knowledge of the technical aspects of commerce and knowledge of Kiswahili were difficult to find combined in one person.

However, after the Government's decision to help small traders, financial help was forthcoming from

\footnotesize{\vspace{-1ex}\begin{itemize}
\item[1.] Secretary for Commerce and Industry to Secretary for African Affairs, 26 May 1955, KNA file T and C 16/11/12.
\end{itemize}}
Foreign Operations Administration of the U.S.A. As part of American aid to the development of training for traders and local authority staff, it was agreed that £7,140 should be provided for two years to finance two instructors and to pay for student bursaries. It was accepted that the training should be done at the Jeanes School, Kabete, 'which with its emphasis on the inculcation of good citizenship and its existing facilities for instruction, sport and social activities, would be ideal for the purpose in mind'.

The scope of subjects outside the narrower field of commerce was considered of importance since 'these traders are of course men of influence in their local communities and the full resources of the Jeanes School will be used to give them instruction in a wide range of subjects so that they may become leaders in social as well as economic development'.

The new courses began at the Jeanes School in January 1956. As before, students were recruited through the District Commissioners and through the African District Councils but the recruitment was undertaken by the Department of Trade and Supplies. Traders had to have had a primary education or its equivalent and had to be reasonably fluent in Kiswahili. No fees were charged for the course and candidates had to be practising traders. The students came from a wide

2. ibid., p. 2.
3. ibid., p. 4.
range of geographical areas ranging from the Coast to Nyanza, and from Kitui to Masai.

Still no suitable candidate had been found to organise and run the traders courses at the Jeanes School by the Department of Trade and Supplies. Bissett, in 1956, went to the Jeanes School, Maseno, as Principal and an Assistant African Master on the Jeanes School staff, Charles Kabetu, continued to run the courses besides teaching on other courses in the School. At Maseno, Bissett ran traders' courses with the help of a clerk-interpreter.

During 1957, field Executive Officers of the Department of Trade and Supplies were increased to three covering Nyanza, Coast and the Central Provinces. These officers ran short two day courses to help traders in their areas. The demand from the Provinces from traders to attend the Jeanes courses was overwhelming and could not be met. The Executive Officer, Mombasa, suggested shortening the length of the Jeanes course and thus increasing the number of courses 'this would give more traders a chance of attending Jeanes School. I have 30 from one district alone who have given me their names but on present quota it will be 1960 before these traders have a chance to attend'.

As a contribution to the spread of the training load, the Jeanes School began organising, through the local Executive Officer, short one week courses in the Districts during the School's vacation.

An example of a typical Jeanes district traders' course will serve to illustrate the way these courses were run and, since courses run in other subjects were

1. Executive Officer, Mombasa to Director of Trade and Supplies, 24 Mar. 1958, KNA file Jeanes School, Kabete, C/AD/Traders/C.
similar, serve to illustrate these as well. A typical course was held in August 1958 at a local social hall. Domestic arrangements were made by the Executive Officer and the students were recruited by him. Thirty-two traders came to the course from all parts of the Coast. The course was opened by the District Commissioner. The teaching subjects included simple accounts, shop management and business methods, and arithmetic. Talks were given by local dignitaries including politicians and the Secretary of the local Chamber of Commerce. The course was closed by the member of Legislative Council for the area. After the course the Jeanes staff visited shops of old students, on the Coast commenting on what they found:

Mr. Ali Masudi owns a shop, outstanding in display, cleanliness and advertisement boards. He has opened books of accounts properly. He is winning more and more and more customers... Mr. Masudi has been granted a loan of £100 by the Mombasa Loans Board. 

Not all the traders were as successful. On his way back to Nairobi from the Coast, the lecturer called in at Mchakos:

We met Mr. Mwangi, a former Jeanes School student, who runs a bakery-hotel. Much business but closing down due to bad debts and unaccounted for personal expenses. The bakery was unhygienic. We saw Chief Philip of the same area owning a large shop but somewhat poor display... The last complaint of the traders in this area is that the Chiefs were the main enemies as they took goods on credit and refused to pay back.

One of the major difficulties of Jeanes courses which was particularly applicable to the traders'

2. ibid.
courses, was fitting the course to the level of ability and language of the students. This became particularly acute with traders so that in 1958 an advanced traders' course was organised using English as the medium of instruction and it was agreed that half of the courses each year should be of this kind. The advanced courses lasted six and a half weeks instead of five weeks. Another problem arose in 1959 when a fee of 10shs. per week was charged for the courses. This brought the courses for traders in line with other courses run by the School. The Director of Trade and Supplies appealed to the Principal of Jeanes School:

I am of the opinion that the vast majority of African traders are poor and normally have to close their shops, with the resultant loss of business. Our biggest endeavour has been to assist these African traders who are not in a position to help themselves.1

However the intake of students continued unabated until the Jeanes School was closed in 1961. Just under 1,000 traders underwent courses held at the Jeanes School during the period 1950 to 1960, and many more were affected by the courses run in the districts. When the School closed, the focus for training for traders was fragmented and no replacement was made for this service.

Training for cooperative workers followed a different trend to that followed for traders. The Centre 'C' had run short training courses for cooperative assistants and the tradition was continued when the Jeanes School was reestablished in 1950 with

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1. Director of Trade and Supplies to Director of Community Development, 28 Feb. 1959, KNA file C/AD/Traders/C/217.
the support of the Registrar of Cooperative Societies. In 1951, however, discussions began between the East African governments on the formation of an East African School of Cooperation. It was agreed that the School of Cooperation should be sited at the Jeanes School and a piece of land was selected on the Jeanes campus for the construction of new buildings. The courses planned were for government Cooperative Inspectors from Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. It was therefore, in effect, a government in-service training centre. Although the East African School of Cooperation was academically independent of the Jeanes School, the Cooperative Inspectors received instruction in civics from the Jeanes staff and were able to participate in the extracurricula lectures and social activities of Jeanes School. The staff of the School of Cooperation were able to give lectures on cooperation to students on other courses at Jeanes. Like the Director of the Department of Trade and Supplies the Registrar of Cooperative Societies found the Jeanes campus conducive to the best all round training:

In addition the students take an abridged course in citizenship and are encouraged to play a full part in the communal life of the Jeanes School. It is undoubtedly a great advantage to have a School of Cooperation at a centre where the students so mix with many others taking similar courses such as community development, citizenship, trade, farming and health work.

Development through cooperative methods has never been a major policy of the Kenya Government. There was a slow increase in the number of societies but this was not due to any major educational campaign. The government cooperative staff were strictly technicians

with no evangelical mission. This tradition has been maintained. In 1951 there were 233 African societies; in 1956 there were 360 African societies registered but of these only about 200 were active. Of the three Registrars appointed between 1946 and 1961, none were professional cooperative men; one was an ex-Army Officer, one an ex-Provincial Education Officer and one an ex-Senior District Commissioner. One Registrar did show some concern for the lack of educational and social programme to help the development of cooperatives:

Educational work in schools has not been possible and little has been done to teach members anything of the further aims of the movement, and of their duties and responsibilities. In consequence, societies are doing less that they should to raise the general social level of the people. One objective which might be attained without much difficulty is to make every member of the society literate ... It should not be difficult to teach their illiterate fellow-members to master the rudiments of reading. ¹

In 1954, under the Swynnerton Plan for agricultural development, the Registrar's department was enabled to double its senior staff making a total of 9 Assistant Registrars. Between 1954 and 1956 the number of cooperative inspectors and assistant inspectors reached 80. The work of these field staff was still predominantly on inspection of accounts and auditing. Few of the Assistant Registrars were professional cooperative workers or were qualified in accounting. They were recruited locally from amongst, for example, District Assistants or from the Maize Control Board. In the field, the staff were faced, more often than not, with lack of support from either the government

¹ Registrar of Cooperative Societies Annual Report 1952, p. 15.
agricultural staff or the Provincial Administration. There was lack of knowledge on the part of the farmers on cooperative development and what societies there were suffered from incompetent society officers.¹ Regular courses began to be run by government cooperative staff in the field; three week courses for secretaries and bookkeepers, usually held in schools; one week courses for committee members. In 1956 the East African School of Cooperation began to run two week courses for society secretaries and treasurers, but these were few and between 1956 and 1960 only 83 students had attended these courses.

During 1959, the Registrar's Office became the Department of Cooperative Development with 21 Cooperative Officers in the field.² By then there were over 500 cooperative societies registered but the standard of management was poor in all but few. Short district courses for society officials and committee members continued to be organised, but the courses largely confined themselves to the teaching of bookkeeping and accounts and the methods of committee management. The Commissioner noted: 'It is surprising how little many committee members know about the cooperative movement and every attempt was made through these courses to explain its basic principles'³ What is surprising is that the Commissioner should have shown surprise.

Cooperative development in Kenya by 1960 was far from a mass 'movement'. The societies were never instruments for adult education programmes. Indeed

¹. Personal Communication from W. Craw.
even education in the nature and purpose of cooperatives was rudimentary throughout the country where it existed at all.

The East African School of Cooperation, being solely an institution for government in-service training was unaffected by the closure of the Jeanes School in 1961 except that it lost the civics element which had been provided by Jeanes School. Post-war Jeanes School was never centrally involved in the development of a cooperative. No stress was laid on the role of cooperatives or the way they could be formed in any of the courses that the Jeanes School organised which included groups that one might have thought could have benefitted from such a stress: farmers, traders, community development workers, and local leaders. That this was not done, whether by design or default, is a measure of the government's commitment to the use of cooperative method as a means of economic and social development.

Community Development Training Centres and Rural Training 1960-1970

The years between 1960 and 1964 were ones of intense political ferment. The country was consumed with the march to Independence and the structure and control of the government which was to lead Kenya after this. Constitutional conferences prepared for new governments; further constitutional conferences and constant new political alignments gave way to fresh governments. 1961 saw an African elected majority in the Legislative and a minority K.A.D.U. government.
Later in the year Jomo Kenyatta, released from detention, became President of K.A.N.U. 1962 marked the resignation of the Governor, Sir Patrick Renison and his replacement by Malcolm MacDonald with a new Coalition government. A restructuring of the administrative areas of the country into powerful Regions, under the system known as 'Regionalism' disrupted the system of local and national government. 1963 saw a new government formed in June with Jomo Kenyatta as Prime Minister and internal self-government achieved. Six months later on 12 December 1963, Kenya gained complete independence. 1964 saw the merging of political parties into K.A.N.U., the preparations for a Republican constitution and the abolition of the Regional system of government. Kenya became a Republic in December 1964.

The hurriedly changing and confused political scene had, as was to be expected, a disturbing effect on the administration of government services; community development was no exception. A crash programme of placing Africans into posts held by expatriate Europeans added to the confusion. The decision to dismantle the Department of Community Development in 1961 contributed further to the disruption of this particular field. The Commissioner's post was abolished and the field staff decreased for 47 to 25 C.D.Os, the community development function being placed under the Office of the Chief Secretary.

No plans were laid for the transference elsewhere of the Jeanes School functions after the closure of the School in 1961, though in-service training of government community development staff was expected to continue at the Kenya Institute of Administration. Wigram, the Principal, had tried to draw attention but failed. He listed those courses which would not have a permanent home:
Kiswahili, English for members of the Police Force, teaching techniques for Agricultural Instructors, administrative courses for Agricultural Instructors, courses for farmers, Chiefs, traders, District Council staff, welfare workers, Court Clerks, Cooperative Secretaries, Industrial Relations workers, and courses in Music and drama and citizenship'.

Hope was expressed that some of these functions would be taken over by the new College of Social Studies. Traders courses, it was suggested, might go to the Kabete Technical and Trade School or to the Royal Technical College.

In the event, nothing happened and a flexible, informal national training centre with its focus on the grass roots field worker and rural peasant, disappeared. The K.I.A. never associated itself with the Jeanes School image, indeed a quick transformation of the campus was made; whitewashed stones, guards and barbed wire, the hall marks of the Provincial Administration, appeared; new buildings were erected with U.S.A.I.D. finance of $830,000; and high level courses designed to produce 'a blue-print of the old British official' were instituted. A similar change was implemented at Maseno.

Although the Jeanes School closed, its offspring, the Community Development Training Centres remained. The nine established by 1960 had by 1966 expanded to 20, covering about half the districts of the country. In essence a community development training centre (C.D.T.C.) was a small residential

2. loc. cit.
3. Askwith to Permanent Secretary, African Affairs, 24 Apr. 1961, HQCD file MCD 13/2/7/139.
centre with a warden and one or two other staff offering homecraft and community development subjects. The C.D.T.Cs however, offered their facilities to other departments and organisations which wished to make use of them. The Provincial Administration used them for Chiefs' and sub-Chiefs' courses and for courses for local government personnel. The Department of Trade and Supplies used them for traders' courses. The Department of Cooperative Development used them for short courses for cooperative staff and members. The main community development courses were those for self-help group leaders, nursery school teachers, literacy teachers and homecraft courses. Three of the centres conducted women's courses only, these were: Nakuru, Eldoret and Kitale and they retained the designation Homecraft Training Centres since they catered for the needs of the women in their townships. Eldoret and Kitale were both non-residential for the women that they had as students usually lived nearby. But these were exceptions. The C.D.T.Cs continued to be financed by the local African District Council and general supervision of the C.D.T.C. rested with the C.D.O. In a few cases, external help was forthcoming. In Nyeri, the C.D.T.C. was run jointly by the Red Cross Organisation and the local authority. In Nandi District, the Catholic Church developed two training centres at Chepterit and Kobujoi which are now run jointly with the local authority. In 1966 a West German trust built a small training centre at Njoro, just outside Nakuru, the Kenyatta Educational Institute which it finances. In 1970 the same trust, the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, built and financed a similar training centre in the Baringo District.

1. See Appendix IA.
An example of one of the better typical C.D.T.C.s is Embu. This centre was officially opened in 1961 though some training had been undertaken previously in a disused Homeguard centre nearby. The C.D.O. who established it clearly had the Jeanes model in mind:

The dormitories are being partitioned into twelve double cubicles, this will enable mixed courses of either 12 married couples or 12 men and 12 women to be run. I hope to see the centre develop as a local Jeanes School, to undertake staff courses, both initial and refresher, Ngwatio group leaders, civics courses for local leaders, traders, homemakers, nursery school teachers, adult literacy teachers.

During 1961, Embu C.D.T.C. ran 17 courses with 353 students. These included traders, women’s club leaders, Chiefs, nursery school teachers and, in conjunction with the local Farmer’s Training Centre, a course for farmers. There was one classroom only and room for 30 students. The centre was clearly too small for the needs of the area. Help in expanding the centre came from the U.S.A.’s International Cooperation Administration with £15,000 for buildings. By June 1965 there were three classrooms and accommodation for 80 students. The government’s policy of regionalism adversely affected Embu. In the administrative re-organisation Embu lost half its area and half its source of income in 1964. The African District Council was forced to curb its expenditure and the C.D.T.C. had its share of cuts. The C.D.O. tried to get the Embu

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1. For this account of Embu C.D.T.C. see HQCD file Embu Training Centre, MCD 28/2/3.
C.D.T.C. accepted as a training centre for the Region:

I have learned today that the other counties concerned, i.e., Kitui, Masaku and Meru cannot now participate in the proposed Regional Training Centre. All of these County Councils are bankrupt or nearly so, and the Regional Secretary said that any participation in the foreseeable future is out of the question. It was expected that each County Council would pay shs.1200 per month which was the pro rata cost for the overhead and upkeep. This included the employment of sufficient staff. This amount of financial support would have made it possible for 10 students to come from each County each month having only boarding fees to pay.

Besides financing, staffing was an equally serious problem. At Embu, there was a Warden being paid £291 per annum, a teacher for nutrition and childcare earning £153, and another teacher for domestic science with a salary of £141, a cook and one labourer. All these were paid by the local authority. The salaries were low and were unattractive. Most of the teaching staff at the training centres were of primary educational level. Fees paid by students were 5shs. per day in common with most of the other C.D.T.Cs. A week's course would cost 30shs., which was as much as could be afforded. From 1963, U.N.I.C.E.F. aid had been available for women's courses which allowed a subsidy to be made to women students but this ceased in 1969.

During 1964 some 145 different courses were organised at the centres with 4477 students attending.


Statistics on the C.D.T.Cs are not available. The C.D.T.Cs themselves do not have staff to maintain statistics in any detail and until 1970, the Department of Community Development had no machinery for the collection of statistics.
Most students were in the Nyanza and Eastern Provinces. The North Eastern Province had no training centre in any of its districts and the Coast Province had only one C.D.T.C. in Kwale District which was financed jointly by the local authorities on the Coast.

After Independence there was no significant change in the nature and role of the District Training Centres, and there was no alleviation of their financial and staffing plight. The focus of work of the Community Development Department was the marshalling of local effort to a great breakthrough in the self-help movement after the President's call for 'Harambee'. The hastily drawn up national development plan for 1964-70, made no reference to the C.D.T.Cs but highlighted the need for a structure of self-help committees reaching from local to national level to be guided by the Community Development staff. The development of this highly successful structure and the consequent increase in self-help activity was to be a main preoccupation of the Community Development staff over the succeeding years.

Within the Department, however, new policies were being identified and proposals were made to turn the C.D.T.Cs into multi-purpose training centres. The theme was taken up in the National Development Plan 1966-70, which expressed further the intention the C.D.T.Cs should be taken over by central government before the multi-purpose development could take place. All these proposals were to remain expressions of intent for they have yet to be carried out.

In March 1968 a survey of the training centres was carried out, which dealt mainly with their staffing. It was found that the average salary of a Warden was 500shs. per month whilst that of the other teaching staff was 300shs. per month. Most Wardens were of an educational level just above a primary education and were male, whilst most of the teachers in the centres were female with something less than a primary education. Only one of the instructors was reckoned to be fully trained and of the Wardens it was reported that they had had very little training for the work.\footnote{Department of Community Development and Social Services, Local Authority Staff Study 1968, p. 5. (Mimeo.)}

The report commented that the C.D.T.Cs were meagrely equipped, simply constructed and inadequately staffed. But they did, however, maintain a utilisation capacity of over 70 per cent for the year.

In spite of their inadequacies in physical facilities, equipment and staffing, the C.D.T.Cs have great local value as a home for courses in community development subjects and women's training, local administration, trading and cooperative work.

For example, the Maendeleo ya Wanawake still make constant use of them. The women's club movement continued to expand after 1961. After the difficulties that the women's movement experienced when they were officially severed from government in 1961, a steady improvement in club development was maintained. From 1963 until 1965, U.N.I.C.E.F. was able to provide funds for the appointment of an Executive Officer so strengthening the headquarter structure and helping in liaison between clubs. By 1964 the number of clubs had
risen once more to 1,120 with a membership of 42,470. By 1967 membership was over 50,000 and current estimates put membership at 80,000.¹ Since Independence, the emphasis of the Maendeleo has been training of women to increase their incomes. Handicrafts and the marketing of goods for sale have become a prominent feature of the programme. However, the broader educational aspects have not been forgotten and members were reminded:

The encouragement of normal club functions like instructing members in child welfare, adult literacy, sewing, cooking, housewifery is most important and must not be excluded or left behind due to the new ideas we are trying to introduce into the programmes of Maendeleo.² These are the foundation of our organisation.

With the growth in the size of the organisation, there has been the inevitable difficulties arising from lack of communication between headquarters in Nairobi and the village club membership. There is, however, but one full-time officer for the Association and funds permit no other staff so the task of maintaining communication is unenviable. Yet, the reports of the field officer show that the movement is firmly rooted in the rural community; that the help of the community development staff and C.D.T.Cs help to maintain the momentum; that there is enthusiasm for the movement; and that the association is clearly an important agency for the spread of fundamental education amongst women.³

The field staff of the Department of Trade and Supplies similarly made use of the C.D.T.Cs for traders' courses. Between 1961 and Independence,

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1. Estimate provided by Maendeleo ya Wanawake Headquarters.
2. Speech by the President of the Maendeleo ya Wanawake on 6 Feb. 1965.
3. Maendeleo Reports to 1969, HQCD file CD 141/105
courses for traders at the C.D.T.Cs depended entirely on the interests of the Executive Officers for African Trade. After Independence, there was a rapid increase of field staff to administer an improved and more generous system of loans to traders. In 1964 the Industrial and Commercial Development Corporation introduced a Small Traders Loan Scheme and 31 trade Development Joint Boards were created with 4 Municipal Loans Committees. The objectives of the scheme was to promote the expansion of African business enterprise; build up the credit-worthiness of African traders; and ensure a wider selection of goods in rural trading centres.¹ Training was an essential part of the programme. During 1967 an attempt was made to standardise the training given at District level. Standard syllabi were drawn up for a 3 to 6 locational or divisional course; a slightly more advanced course for the district level; and a two week course to be held at Provincial level.²

At the national level no replacement location for the Jeanes School had been found. During 1962 and 1963 attempts had been made to run a high level course for English speaking African traders in Nairobi. The course had been sponsored by Shell Co. and their premises were used for the course. It lasted three weeks and was intended for the emerging entrepreneurial type of businessman. After the first course, however, the programme was discontinued owing to administrative and financial difficulties.³

By 1968 the field staff of the Department of Trade and Supplies had increased so that there was a

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2. KNA file Commerce and Industry, C/10/31/1/186.
3. KNA file ibid.
Provincial Trade Development Officer in each Province, a District Trade Development Officer at the District level, assisted by Trade Assistants. It became increasingly the practice for Trade Assistants to organise the district and lower level courses at the C.D.T.Cs.

In spite of the efforts to strengthen field courses, training in the rural areas was not as it should have been. In 1968 a Senior Trade Officer reported:

I feel that training could be intensified in a number of ways but basically we need to step up the courses in the districts as a matter of urgency. However, this is virtually impossible at the present time for when I went to Nakuru, for example, I discovered that everyone, even the Rent Inspector, was working flat out on licencing and nothing else could be done.

It is clear that the rapid staffing of the Department could not match the even more rapid increase in administrative chores in the expansion of the licencing and loans scheme. During 1969 and 1970, there was an intensification of the district course programme but it remains a sporadic and distinctly local concern depending on the inclination and initiative of the local trade staff, and the time they have available for training. The District and Provincial Trade staff are appointed as administrators and not as educators.

As well as catering for the training needs of the rural traders, the C.D.T.Cs have provided a home for the training of cooperative workers in the rural areas. This training continued with instruction in

1. Senior Trade Officer to Permanent Secretary, Commerce and Industry, 27 Mar 1968, KNA file Commerce and Industry C/10/31/1/186.
accounts and committee organisation for secretaries and treasurers of cooperative societies. Between 1957 and 1962, produce dealt with by African cooperative societies increased from £1,100,000 to £4,499,000, a fourfold increase. Over the next two years, produce value doubled again to £7,000,000. By 1968 there were well over 600 African societies. It is estimated that in 1970 cooperative societies of all kinds handle produce to the value of £50,000,000. The rapid increase in the development of cooperatives has not been commensurate with the ability to maintain efficient management of the societies. It is noted that by 1968 only one third of the societies were up-to-date with their audits, that another third had only had their accounts audited to 1966 and a remaining third were either several more years in arrears or had never had their accounts audited at all. Mismanagement, dishonestly and fraud have been and are major features of the cooperative programme and at the end of 1966 a new Cooperative Society Act had to be introduced to give sweeping powers to the Commissioner for Cooperative Development over the societies. He was enabled to surcharge officers, suspend management committees and force amalgamation of societies.

In this background, it is not surprising that the improvement of management and accounting procedures should be the main aim of an educational and training programme. The Department noted that training is

4. loc. cit.
required for 'departmental staff, society and union employees and elected officials, and a mass education programme is required to spread understanding of cooperative concepts and principles among society members', ¹ Plans were drawn up to develop Provincial Cooperative Training Centres at a Farmer Training Centre in each Province which would cater for the training of society officials on two to six week courses run by a two men cooperative educational team. For government staff training, the East African School of Cooperation had been disbanded in 1962, and a Department of Cooperative Training had been established within the Kenya Institute of Administration for the training of Kenya government staff and officials of the larger societies and unions. It was however proposed, that a separate Cooperative College should be established to 'give cooperative training in Kenya a separate identity.'²

By 1964 the Department of Cooperative Development had staff in 19 Districts and 5 settlement schemes, that is just under half of the districts in the country. By 1970 most of the country had been covered with a Provincial Cooperative Officer, District Cooperative Officers and Cooperative Assistants. There was a two-man educational team in six Provinces and a further team for the settlement schemes. The Provincial Education team consisted of a Cooperative Officer with a Nordic Adviser from Scandinavia and they ran courses at C.D.T.Cs and Farmer Training Centres for committee officials and members. In Nairobi, the Cooperative College of Kenya was established in temporary buildings during 1967, with Nordic aid. Accommodation was

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1. Revised Development Plan for Cooperatives, ibid., p. 4.
for 35 students and courses were of two kinds: eight week courses for government staff, and society secretaries and bookkeepers; and one week courses for committee members.

The mass education programme envisaged by the Department in 1964 has never come into being. The battle to improve the technical efficiency of government staff and society leadership is still being waged and has the highest priority in the educational programme. One hesitates to use the term 'movement' in relation to the development of cooperatives in Kenya. The cooperative is treated solely as an organisational form geared to economic development; it has not gathered a momentum of its own embracing other than economic ends. The societies have never been used as a medium for general programmes of adult education nor has there been at any time a mass education programme organised by the Department of Cooperative Development or by, or in conjunction with, any other body to spread even a wider understanding of the philosophy behind a successful cooperative structure. The organisation for cooperatives remains essentially an insular and introspective structure part of, but not integrated with, the national adult education effort.

Between 1945 and 1970, the Jeanes School and the District Community Development Training Centres have provided a focus for adult education and training in rural areas. Three landmarks in the development of these services were: Second World War and its aftermath in reconstruction programmes; the Mau Mau Emergency and the impetus it gave to rural development in the affected areas as a means of cooling the political
climate through an intensification of economic services and in the non-affected areas as a means of keeping the areas loyal to government; Independence, with its political and administrative confusions in the early period prior to and just after self-government, and after 1965 the efforts to develop improved economic services to the rural areas under an African government. It can be seen that the main impetus for the development of adult education between 1945 and 1952 came from the Colonial government in London rather than from internal pressures. After 1952, the Mau Mau revolt brought home the need for serious programmes of economic development and civic education.

Between 1950 and 1960, the Jeanes School was instrumental in the training of rural staff and facilitated the growth of the government economic departments. A department dealing with African trade and commercial activities did not exist until 1952; Jeanes School pioneered in this field before this time and provided a base for training after the formation of the Department. After 1960, the C.D.T.Cs provided a home for these courses in the districts where they existed. Since then there has, however, never been a national home of the Jeanes School kind. Jeanes similarly pioneered in the organisation of cooperative education. In the growth of women's education and training Jeanes played a major role in establishing the Maendeleo ya Wanawake. In citizenship and civics, it provided a programme that helped in the creation of an informed local leadership. When the school closed, no other body was to replace this service in the manner that Jeanes was able, catering as it did for literates and illiterates alike, for English speaking and non-English speaking at the same time. Jeanes School also played a prominent role in other fields dealt with elsewhere; literacy, agriculture and health education are some of the most important.
The effect that a spread of Jeanes Schools might have had on rural development must remain speculative. The C.D.T.Cs are but a pale shadow of what might have been. In 1970 they suffer from inadequate finance through local government control, inadequate staffing and they are poorly equipped. They have suffered from competition with other kinds of rural training centres. The proposals to develop in each district a multi-purpose training centre, which are described later, embraces the C.D.T.Cs in a larger unit. If these new training centres are created, they may well be a fulfilment of the earlier desire to develop a system of rural Jeanes Schools.
The end of the Second World War found the Agricultural Department still providing only an embryonic service in the African reserves. The war years had seen an aggravation of the problems which had already begun to raise their heads before the onset of the war. Population growth and corresponding pressure on the land with little thought to good farming practice had given rise to serious problems of soil erosion in some areas. The war had increased the need for foodstuffs and an all out effort had been made by government to get maximum production. For instance, in Nyanza Province between 1943 and 1944, bags of maize produced had almost doubled, from 339,054 to 646,924.¹ The result of this policy was a severe intensification of what was already a serious soil erosion problem. It had been recorded in 1945 that the production capacity of the average acre in the native reserves had fallen by not less that 50 per cent and yet 'due to national food shortage caused through the war and aggravated through famine and draught farming policy had to be subservient to the needs of the country and the world in general and considerations of the needs of the land to take second place'.² Soil erosion was most acute in the Machakos district³ but everywhere 'continuous cropping of the maximum quantity

¹ Agricultural Department Annual Report 1944, p. 1.
² Agricultural Department Annual Report 1945, p. 3
of land is draining the land of fertility... the ill-
effects are cumulative and are rapidly increasing'.

To meet the massive challenge of the problem of how to
rehabilitate the land were: two Senior Agricultural
Officers (S.A.Os), 19 Agricultural Officers (A.Os),
4 Makerere trained Assistant Agricultural Officers (A.
A.Os) and 388 Agricultural Instructors (A.Is).

Most of these were employed on research projects and
were not engaged in agricultural extension work. The
main instrument of education for farmers was the
demonstration farm, a plot of land set aside for
research and for demonstrating the way crops could be
grown. These were concentrated predominantly in
Nyanza and Central Provinces and groups of farmers
were brought in occasionally to see them. Other than
this, no systematic training of farmers existed.

The Development Committee which reported in
1946 with proposals for a ten year development plan
took the problem of rehabilitation of African lands
seriously and recommended a two-fold policy of
'rigorous enforcement of sound agricultural practice' and an alleviation of population pressure, especially
in Machakos through settlement on new land through
'betterment schemes' under the control of the
Provincial Administration. The justification for
using force to establish better agricultural practices
amongst the African population was because 'propaganda
and education must necessarily be a slow process
whilst the situation with which the country is faced in
the Native Land Units will not brook delay'.

1. Agricultural Department Annual Report 1946, p. 11.
3. ibid., p. 29.
4. ibid., p. 24.
recommendations were made on the development of farmer training except to note that more AIs were needed.

The Jeanes School and Farmer Training 1945-1960

The need for trained African agricultural field staff met a ready response from the Jeanes School which in 1946 in its guise as the Centre 'C' for ex-soldier training revived its pre-war tradition of agricultural courses. 72 AIs were trained at the Centre 'C' and in addition agriculture was included in the courses for teachers, social welfare workers and clerks. During 1949 when the Centre 'C' reverted to its civilian role as the Jeanes School, agriculture was planned as a component of all the courses. P. Sauvage who had been in charge of the Centre 'C' agricultural work remained to develop the new Jeanes work.

The agricultural work at Jeanes was to be new since in 1950, the Agricultural Department decided to concentrate its in-service training of AIs at Bukura and Embu in their own centres. During 1950, Sauvage planned the first farmer training courses especially for practicing farmers. This was of significance since the practice of the Department of Agriculture had been to concentrate on the training of field staff with the failures or those who could not be employed going

back to their farms. The courses planned by Sauvage were to last two months and students were selected by the DAOs of the student's home area. Women were encouraged to attend as it was appreciated that in many cases women did much of the day-to-day farming. Teaching was practical and in Kiswahili and the policy was to recruit those farmers who had shown signs of bettering themselves and who were likely to be able to influence their neighbours when they returned home. The farmers who came received instruction in agriculture, animal husbandry and managing a small-holding. However, the farmers not only received instruction in their particular field of interest but had lectures on civics, simple economics, cooperative organisation, health subjects and community development. They had, also, of course the opportunity of joining in the extra-curricula activities which were organised and of meeting adult students attending other courses. Students were taken to visit local farms and other places of interest as part of the variety of the Jeanes programme.

An early difficulty which had been encountered was that of recruiting students from different areas for the same course as was the practice with most other Jeanes courses. It was also found that it was difficult to keep farmers away from their farms for as long as two months at a stretch. The first difficulty was resolved by allocating courses to particular districts having a similar agricultural environment so that particular problems could be dealt with as they affected the area in question. The second was resolved in 1953 by reducing the length of the course to five weeks.¹

During the vacations, the Jeanes agricultural staff made visits to farmers who had been to Jeanes. This provided encouragement to the farmers, and also helped to keep the staff abreast of problems in the field. More importantly, it helped also to build up good relationships between the staff of Jeanes and the staff of the Agricultural Department in the field and to liaise on future farmer recruitment. Courses were also run by Jeanes staff in the districts and these provided a rich recruiting ground for new students. As far as possible courses were recruited from those areas where there was a definite policy of betterment being implemented. Machakos received special attention and four courses were devoted to Wakamba farmers in the first year. The following year, one course was for Wakamba from Machakos and Kitui, another for Nandi in the Rift Valley, another for Kikuyu from Fort Hall and Nyeri.

The success of the Jeanes farmers' courses was readily recognised. The demand for places exceeded the supply. The best test however was that the Agricultural Department began to take serious note of what was happening at Jeanes and to develop a programme of farming training of its own, on the lines of what was done at Jeanes. The development of the Farm Institutes run by the Agricultural Department was a slow process and it was not until 1958 that fears began to be expressed on the effect of the Farm Institutes on the recruitment of students for the Jeanes courses. During that year Sauvage noted:

1. Personal communication from J.L. Porter.
Farmers courses continue to be very popular in spite of the fact that several districts now have their own Farm Institutes. It is hoped that recruitment to the Jeanes will be allowed to continue even in districts with their own Farm Institutes, owing to the great diversity of subjects that our courses offer, and the opportunity for farmers to visit Nairobi and its educational, scientific and industrial institutions, as well as the surrounding areas where African farming is amongst the most progressive in the Colony.

During 1959, the effects began to be felt and it became necessary to discuss officially with the Agricultural Department the role of the Jeanes School in farming training. The Jeanes School at Maseno was running farmers courses but had not suffered from competition since it was regarded as the training centre for Central Nyanza and had an officer seconded from the Agricultural Department to run courses there. The Jeanes School, Kabete, however was a national institution and its problems in the agricultural field could not be solved in the same way. There were also other reasons why it was becoming necessary to clarify the role of Jeanes. Whilst the Jeanes courses had been generally supported by the field agricultural staff, this support was by no means unanimous. Where there was latent resentment, this tended to become more vocal as the Agricultural Department's own centres became more widespread and firmly established. For example the DAO Embu stated quite categorically that he had no intention of sending farmers to Jeanes because:

(1) It caters for the whole colony and is therefore unable to understand problems particular to any one district.

The normal five week courses are too long for farmers to be away from their homes.

Its officers do not tour the districts frequently enough to keep pace with current developments.

Inclusion of civics and other subjects on a farmers course is a waste of time.

There is no examination at the end of the course.

Late 1960 discussions began between Sauvage and the Assistant Director of Agriculture. The discussions were timely for Sauvage since political developments in the Colony had begun to have an impact on agricultural policy and methods. The Assistant Director confided that 'the days of development by enforcement were over and that the only proved alternative was by teaching through self-help groups'. The discussions provided recommendations for a role for Jeanes within the national framework for farmer training and were endorsed by R.J.M. Swynnerton, the Director of Agriculture. Jeanes was to be used for short specialist courses and for advanced courses for farmers who had already been to a Farm Institute. It was, furthermore, to be used for courses in community development and teaching techniques for agricultural staff especially those in the Farm Institutes. It was agreed that staff from Jeanes should visit and advise the Farm Institutes and that Jeanes should organise each year a conference for agricultural teaching staff. These proposals were an important breakthrough in the thinking within the

1. E.S. Mbugua, Report after a visit to the DAO Embu, 14 Apr. 1960, HQCD file MCD 4/6/1/50.
2. Quoted in letter Sauvage to Askwith, 2C Jan. 1961, HQCD file MCD 13/2/7/134.
Agricultural Department on farmer training. Jeanes was to become the official national training centre for the district farmer training centres and was to be responsible for the teaching methods and techniques used in these centres.

The recommendations were well received by the Provincial Agricultural Officers\(^1\) and the new Jeanes programme began in 1961. In the first six months two courses were held. The first began with 27 Agricultural Instructors and was described as 'the first course designed to impart better knowledge of teaching techniques to Agricultural Instructors and generally to broaden their knowledge of agriculture. The last two weeks of the course was largely devoted to practical teaching using the community development students as pupils'.\(^2\) The course lasted for five weeks. The second course followed soon after, this time for 19 Senior Agricultural Instructors 'in order to give senior agricultural instructors an opportunity of showing their paces with a view to possible promotion. The main emphasis of the course is on agricultural extension methods and the duties of an assistant agricultural officer in a district, with a strong injection of civic subjects'.\(^3\)

The new role for Jeanes in agricultural education and farmer training was to be short lived for, as the course of Senior Agricultural Instructors left on 22 June 1961 so the following week the Jeanes School closed permanently. A great opportunity had been lost

1. Minutes of a Meeting of Provincial Agricultural Officers, 16 May 1960, HQCD file MOD 4/6/1/52.
which was never to occur again to develop a national training centre for farmer training as part of a larger centre for all kinds of field training in extension methods and adult education aimed primarily at field workers in rural areas. The speed with which the Jeanes School was closed appears to have taken the Agricultural Department unawares for there is no sign of any complaint or any plans for alternative provision for their training. The Kenya Institute of Administration made no provision of this kind and still, in 1964, the Agricultural Department were referring to the loss of the expertise and facilities provided by the Jeanes School which had been the pioneer and initiator of the national farmer training programme:

This account does not show the valuable contribution made by the old Jeanes School Centre. The Advanced courses were very valuable in giving the advanced farmer, or the prospective agricultural businessman that little extra which the Farmer Training Centres cannot give today. The course of five to six weeks with fees of 10 shillings per week provided students with a much deeper insight into both practice and business of agriculture. If any such centre were built again, and there is a demand for this, the situation and site are of great importance. The old Jeanes School site being perfect in that it was rural, but with almost every type of Government and commercial agricultural and veterinary undertaking within easy reach.¹

At the close of the war agricultural extension was in its infancy. Vast problems of soil conservation, cattle destocking, resettlement, crop rotation, consolidation of holdings, livestock control faced the Department. The approach, supported by the recommendations of the Development Committee, was to be authoritarian rather than to persuade through education. Attempting to effect agricultural improvement with a shortage of senior staff and working through ill-equipped and poorly trained subordinate field staff provide a reason for the authoritarian approach but it is speculatory to suggest that short term gains outweighed long term losses for one effect of this policy was that the agricultural staff were to find it difficult to acquire the confidence of those Africans where the strictest measures had to be taken. Political capital was made out of the agricultural approach. The Director of Agriculture complained in 1947 that the objects of soil conservation were 'at the mercy of agitators whose incitements to refrain from physical work find a considerable measure of popular support'.

Oginga Odinga records his impressions of the approach of the agricultural staff:

The government was feared rather than respected. Agricultural Instructors came to inspect our fields for cotton, but they never taught us anything. They only asked questions and if we did not answer quickly or did not give them the answers they wanted, they beat us with a hippo whip. Veterinary inspectors came too, but they wanted to be respected as Chiefs, and they

accepted as good and loyal only those villagers who gave them beer parties and presents.¹

Agricultural instructors were trained at Bukura and at Embu. The Bukura Training Centre ran two year courses for young men but few had had any primary schooling and some were illiterate. The recruits were nominated by district agricultural staff from temporary agricultural instructors and others who were already farming. There was accommodation for 60 trainees divided into two courses. Each course was divided into groups of between two and four trainees and each group was allocated a small plot of land of up to ten acres to represent a family unit. They received instruction in the development of the plot. In the second year of the course, the second year students were expected to supervise the work of the first year students. After the course, the students were sent out to work temporarily under the supervision of field officers and then some were given permanent employment and others were sent home.²

The two most immediate problems to be solved by the agricultural staff were those arising from fragmentation of land holdings caused by overpopulation and soil erosion. As a method of combatting these immediately after the war, the idea of group farming became fashionable and popular amongst agricultural staff. The policy was to bring together family groups living in adjacent areas and to get them to agree to farm their land as a single unit. It was expected that the

². For an account of the work at Bukura at this time see E.L. Bradfield, 'Bukura Native Agricultural School' in East African Agricultural Journal, Apr. 1946, vol. iii, pp. 162-164.
larger unit could be farmed more efficiently and more economically and would be able to hold more people on it. The first group farms were introduced into the Nyanza Province during 1947 in the Central Nyanza, North Nyanza and Kericho districts. Attempts to introduce the idea into the Kikuyu areas of Central Province were firmly resisted by the Kikuyu. In 1949 when faith in the idea was at its peak, the Agricultural School at Bukura was drawn into the scheme and seven of the small-holdings at Bukura, previously used to train the AIs, were converted into one group farm.\(^1\) Families from the three Nyanza districts were brought into Bukura for a one year course on the group farm or on the remaining small-holdings. Special attention was given to the training of the wives and they were allowed to keep all the milk products and fruit and vegetables and some of the grain crops. All the farmers were taught how to keep simple accounts.

From 1949 to 1953, work was concentrated on the group farm and funds were spent on the construction of buildings and on water supplies. But, by 1954 the scheme was admitted a failure and the idea abandoned. The main reason given for the failure of the scheme was that the farmers' incentive in receiving special Betterment funds petered out when the funds ceased and that there were no further perks for farmers participating in the scheme. A further reason which is offered is that the experts running the scheme changed their minds on the minimum economic land unit for a group farm reducing the original 100 acres to 10 acres which made the group farm policy less tenable. There seems to be doubt, however, whether the idea was really accepted at all by the indigenous farmer and his

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\(^1\) Agricultural Department Annual Report 1949, p. 24.
family. \(^1\) In 1951 it had been noted in relation to the development of land consolidation programmes that 'there is unfortunately so much suspicion created by group farming that little progress has been made'. \(^2\)

Whilst the group farming experiments were being carried out in Nyanza, the agricultural training centre at Embu expanded its training of instructors from 22 in 1948 to 60 in 1950, whilst a centre was reopened at the Coast, at Kibarani, for 20 trainees. The training of instructors at Bukura moved to Siriba at Maseno during 1949. Here at Siriba, a project was developed under the control of the Education Department to train together field staff for agriculture, health and veterinary work alongside that of the teachers for schools who are going to be located in the Province. \(^3\) Parallel to the development of training institutions for agricultural work, was the growth of centres for the training of veterinary field staff. Of the original veterinary centres, Maseno, Baraton, Sangalo and Ngong were operating in 1947. They were predominantly animal breeding centres but sporadically took in trainees. In 1949 they were redesignated Livestock Improvement and Animal Husbandry Centres and three new centres were opened at Kisii, Meru and Mariakani. \(^4\)

From the end of the war to 1951, there was still no serious attempts being made at farmer training by the Department of Agriculture. In the districts, agricultural betterment was undertaken by the District Team

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which consisted of the District Commissioner as Chairman with a committee of district technical officers to include the agricultural officer, the veterinary officer, the doctor and the district officer (community development) where these existed. Decisions on what was needed to be done were taken at the District team meetings and then enforced often by the Local Native Council resolution of which the District Commissioner was Chairman. What was being done in the agricultural field was concentrated mainly in Nyanza and Central Province. A centre of attention in Southern Province was the Machakos district. But at the Coast there was little activity and in the whole of the Rift Valley Province there were but two Agricultural Officers. The Northern Province had nothing.

The failure of the training for farmers and their families under the group farming system centred on Bukura coincided with the successful programme of farmer training which was being developed under Sauvage at the Jeanes School. The recognition of the success of the Jeanes courses was given by the Agricultural Department\(^1\) and this success determined the future policy for Bukura. Bukura became a Farm Institute running one year courses for farmers from the Nyanza Province. The Department of Agriculture, taken with the idea of farmer training institutions, had arranged during 1952 that money from the Cotton Cess Fund should be used to develop other Farm Institutes in the Province in Central and South Nyanza.\(^2\)

The new departure of the Agriculture Department in the development of farm institutes coincided with

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the proclamation of the State of Emergency and there can be no doubt that the more serious interest taken in African agriculture reflected a need by government to placate possible sympathy for Mau Mau in the Nyanza Province. During 1953 the Maseno Farm Institute opened to cater for Central Nyanza with land excised from Siriba, and a Farm Institute opened in Kisii. In 1954 a small Institute was opened in South Nyanza at Oyani and plans were underway for a Farm Institute to be opened in the following year at Kabianga to serve the Kericho district. It is interesting to note that the development of Farm Institutes in Nyanza was in no way related to the development of the Homecraft Training Centres, though in retrospect it is easy to see the advantages which could have accrued from a coordinated development.

The period after 1952 marks the real turning point in the development of serious farmer training. Acute African unemployment and the political unrest made it imperative to have an accelerated agricultural development programme in the African areas. In 1953, R.J.M. Swynnerton, the Assistant Director of Agriculture was charged with the drawing up of a five year plan with an objective of accelerated development. The plan was produced in 1954. It was nationwide in its embrace and involved an expenditure of some £82 million over the five year period.

The main emphasis of Swynnerton's proposals was on the need for land consolidation and the registration of farms. Consolidation was a prerequisite to

land registration and only through registration could security of land tenure be achieved which would provide a basis for a system of agricultural loans. It was believed that this, accompanied by an increase in the growing of cash crops, could create increased income for farmers and provide scope for the employment of the landless on the more prosperous farms. The creation of a contented middle class African farming community supporting an equally contented agricultural proletariat was Swynnerton's panacea to Kenya's problems for, he notes, 'in the long term, the greatest gain from the participation of the African community in running its own agricultural industries will be a politically contented and stable community'.

As part of the proposals, Swynnerton made a new commitment to agricultural education and farmer training. He stressed that 'agricultural education of the farmer requires constant contact with them by as wide a range of influences as possible, not only by the agricultural and veterinary staff but by ensuring that the African administration and cooperative societies have the right approach also. Education of the farmer can be made more specialised by running short or long courses for him at Farm Institutes or by banding him into farmers' clubs and societies for educational purposes or for cooperation'. In spite of the call for improved farmer training Swynnerton allocated only a small part of the total budget for the five year plan to this function. £78,070 of a total budget of nearly £7 million was only around one per cent of the total. He proposed specific improvements to the Farm

2. ibid., p. 52.
Institutes in Nyanza and a new Farm Institute to be developed in Nandi district to serve a resettlement scheme at Sorora. The significance of the Swynnerton Plan for farmer training was not in the immediate effect that it had, but rather in the statement of a firm policy for farmer training. It focussed attention sharply on the African agricultural areas for the first time and demonstrated the need for a larger ratio of field agricultural staff to farm families. It gave formal approval to the idea of training farmers in a residential centre which was to provide the impetus for the extension and development of the Farm Institutes.

By 1956 training of AIs was being conducted at Siriba, in Nyanza; Embu in Central Province; and at Matuga on the Coast. The centre at Matuga, a small one, had opened in 1951 when the students from Kabarani had moved there.\(^1\) The Education Department had shown its interest in supporting agricultural education by having the overall supervision of the training at Siriba, and by establishing two schools, in 1954, called rural secondary schools at Thogoto in Central Province and Kapenguria in the Rift Valley Province, from where it was hoped that students would continue on to an agricultural career.\(^2\) The need for creating a pool of interested potential agricultural staff in the Rift Valley was particularly acute since recruitment of staff in this Province was proving particularly difficult.\(^3\) The output of agricultural field staff was still small, some 60 a year in total.

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The total provision included the Farm Institutes at Bukura, Kisii and Oyani with buildings beginning to be erected at Kaimosi and Nyeri. Kabianga and Maseno were not operational. The facilities for farmers were still meagre, accommodation for twenty families at Bukura, ten at Oyani and nine at Kisii.¹ There were also many problems. Financially there were severe constraints on the development of the Farm Institutes and in 1952 an attempt had been made to make the local authorities responsible for part of the capital costs and all the recurrent costs.² The local authorities were continually short of funds and there was no guarantee of continuity of funding. The Agricultural Department found itself having to provide the funds if a national programme was to develop. Even so, by 1956 Bukura was severely short of finance and Oyani had none.³

The Veterinary Department had the same problems with their centres. There were now ten of these in operation; Sangalo, Maseno, Kabianga, Marimba, Kisii, Ndomba, Machakos, Baraton, Ngong and Mariakani. The Livestock Improvement Centres were primarily cattle breeding centres where local people could buy stock. They did, however, have a teaching function since short courses of up to a week were arranged for farmers in order to teach them the proper care and treatment of the better grade livestock that were reared at the centres. There was, however, no policy on this kind of training and much depended on the interest and inclinations of the local livestock officer.

At the grass roots, the main instrument of the Agricultural Department's farmer education was the demonstration plot usually situated in the district headquarters. Field days were organised and the demonstration plot or the farm of a suitable progressive farmer was used to illustrate some particular agricultural technique or crop. This form of training was sporadic and informal.

The value of the demonstration plot, or the farm of the progressive farmer, or indeed the farm associated with a training centre, is doubtful as an educational aid. The staff of the Agricultural Department and of the Veterinary Department were professionals. Their farms and demonstration plots were often ends in themselves. They tended to become show pieces supported by government finance. The attempt to use standards of the best European farms to effect change amongst poor conservative peasant farmers could not be expected to achieve much. They were well beyond the reach of the expectations of the ordinary peasant farmer. A critical description of the campus at Maseno serves as an example of what was true of similar centres:

They seem to make no impression at all on the people they are designed to lead. Right up to the beautiful green fields of the farm, native agriculture and cattle keeping went on its own way, providing a sorry contrast to worn out fields and ragged tough grass, interspersed with great patches of red eroded soil. The feed given here, silage from the cultivated fields of sunflowers, lucerne, maize and millet is far too high a standard for the native farmer, whose mixed herds of dwarf cattle, large goats and thin short haired sheep, pick up a living as best they can on the stubble of the crops and the hard tufts of grass left by the previous grazing.

What was true for the farms of the government was also true for the farms which were used for demonstration purposes and which belonged to progressive farmers. The identification of progressive farmers by agricultural staff and the care, attention and capital with which they were provided made the recipient farmers happy but could have little influence on the surrounding farms since they were special cases beyond the reach of the ordinary farmer.

The agricultural staff in the districts or in the training centres had no special training in extension methods or in the principles of adult education though their prime role was educational. The courses run in the in-service training institutions were designed to improve the technical agriculture and veterinary ability of field staff. That the field staff received no training in the methods of rural training and that they worked bearing the brunt of unpopular soil conservation campaigns, made their educational impact even more limited. It is not surprising that the one year courses for farmers run at the Institutes should have been found to have had no fruitful effect. In any case, the one year course was found to be far too long to affect many farmers. One farmer in 50,000 was an optimistic assessment of the throughput of farmers at this time. In spite of the need for farmer training, the department did not look outside for help in their programme, by 1956 there were seven Homecraft Training Centres but there is no indication of the field agricultural staff using

2. loc. cit.
3. ibid., p. 80.
these as one of the bases for their programme of farming training.

In 1957 the Bukura long course of one year for farmer training gave way in favour of the shorter courses pioneered by the Jeanes Schools in Maseno and Kabete. It was expected that this would improve the throughput of farmers, make it easier to recruit students who became restless when away for a year, and make it easier to recruit the wives of farmers. A further advantage of the short course of five weeks was that it could deal with special agricultural topics that were of current concern in the district and the agricultural instructors could join the farmers on the course.

The impact of the Swynnerton plan on the production of cash crops by African farmers was beginning to be felt. Also the militant phase of the Emergency had come to an end so that attention could be devoted to Central Province where the biggest strides forward were being made. Land consolidation and registration of holdings were well underway necessitating attention to farm planning. It was seen that there was a need for each agricultural district to have its farmers' training centre where it has been found that instruction in the best arts of farming is given by bringing groups of progressive farmers, their stockmen and their instructors, in for short courses as each phase of farm development evolves.

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3. ibid., p. 8.
By 1961 every district in Central Province had its Farmers' Training Centre as the Institutes had been redesignated: Wambugu F.T.C. at Nyeri had been opened in 1957, Embu F.T.C. in 1959, Waruhiu F.T.C. in Kiambu in 1953, Mariira F.T.C. in Fort Hall in 1960 and the Kaguru F.T.C. in Meru in 1961. In the Nyanza Province coverage was almost complete, only South Nyanza had no F.T.C., the centre at Oyani having been closed in 1956 during the period of financial difficulty: Bukura, expanded to 100 beds, catered for the Districts of Elgon and North Nyanza; the Jeanes School, Maseno, catered for Central Nyanza; Kabianga and Kisii had been re-opened in 1960, the former expanded to 50 beds catered for Kericho District. In Southern Province, an F.T.C. was opened in Machakos in 1961 and in conjunction with the Ministry of Health, the Better Living Institute was opened to cater for Kitui District. The huge area of Masai remained without an F.T.C. In the Rift Valley provision was not so good, Kaimosi had opened in 1957 and two former veterinary centres at Chebororwa and Baraton were opened as F.T.C.s in 1960. In the whole of the Coast Province there was nothing. In the Northern Province there was also no training centre of any kind. In 1961, over 7,000 farmers and often their wives attended courses at these thirteen centres.  

The rapid increase in the establishment of F.T.C.s had been made possible by finance from a variety of sources: the Department of Agriculture contributed funds, the local authorities helped, U.N.I.C.E.F. donated student bursaries for wives, and overseas aid agencies, like U.S.A.I.D., helped with capital costs. Within the Department of

Agriculture there was no specialist division dealing with farmer training. The F.T.Cs came directly under the control of the DAO and they were staffed with a Principal, usually an AAO, and two or three teaching staff. The staff were mostly untrained in teaching methods and in the techniques of running a residential training institution. Most of the F.T.Cs had large farms attached to them and income from the farms was expected to help finance the running of the centre. The farm inevitably distracted attention from the main training purpose of the F.T.C. The natural inclination of a good agriculturist was to run a good farm and since he had to make a profit, he could legitimately spend more that a fair share of his time in this occupation.

By 1961 the pace of political change had forced the department to change its own approach to the African farmer. The emphasis was now firmly on persuasion rather than force and coercion since, in the past, the approach had been 'frequently misunderstood and tended to become a political issue'.

One way in which the F.T.Cs sought to gain the confidence of the local people was by establishing a Management Committee or a Board of Governors with representatives from local people. One such was the Embu F.T.C.:

for which one mbari gave 25 acres and the local inhabitants raised nearly £1,000 by subscription. It is managed by the local Agricola but supervised by the Board of Governors consisting of three Chiefs, three schoolmasters and about half a dozen ordinary Elders of the clan. At the Institute where we met we sat on benches on green turf among simple mud and wattled whitewashed buildings housing an office, and some precious half-bred Guernsey calves

destined to become Better Cows kept by Better Farmers, who take three week courses in batches of twelve. They bring their wives who learn how to rear calves on the bucket and to keep milk clean...

No two centres were the same in physical facilities. But they had problems in common: their finances were insecure and insufficient, their staffing was inadequate and ill-trained for the purpose of agricultural education. The thirteen F.T.C.s did, however, represent a practical commitment on the part of government to a programme of farmer training as a firm basis on which improvements could be made.

Special Centres for Farmer Training 1960-1970:
The Better Living Institute, Kitui, and the Rural Training Centres of the National Christian Council of Kenya

As well as, what was to become, the conventional development of Farmer Training Centres, two innovations took place at the beginning of the 1960s. One was the development of a training centre which was run jointly by the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Health, the Better Living Institute at Kitui. The other innovation was the beginning of the programme for the development of rural training centres by a voluntary organisation, the National Christian Council of Kenya, in collaboration with the Ministry of Agriculture.

A description of the Better Living Institute

2. This description of the evolution of the Better Living Institute could have been included in the chapter on Health Education. It has, however, been included here as the main emphasis of the BLI has been agricultural.
provides not only an example of the way two government ministries could collaborate but also serves as a study of the way an F.T.C. operated since many of the internal problems of the B.L.I. were common to most of the F.T.C.s as far as the farmer training programme was concerned.

The initiative for the B.L.I. came not from the Ministry of Agriculture but from the Ministry of Health. An Assistant Director of Medical Services, Dr. N.R.E. Fendell, who had been instrumental in the development of health centres, had in discussions with the Nuffield Foundation, conceived an idea of combining, in an adult training centre, both agriculture and health education. Men and women, husbands and wives, would attend courses together and both would learn better farming since both, as part of a farming family, would be interested in this, and both would also learn together something about nutrition, hygiene and homecraft. It was felt important that wives should learn not only homecraft but some agriculture and that husbands should learn something about running a home as well as agriculture in order to effect a maximum improvement in total family welfare.

At a meeting in June 1959 agreement was reached between the Ministry of Health and the Nuffield Foundation for an experimental centre to be built. The Foundation agreed to provide £50,000 to meet the capital costs and £10,000 to be spread over a five year period to meet some of the recurrent costs. At this time, the Agricultural Department were planning to build a new F.T.C. in Machakos for the Machakos Wakamba,

but the neighbouring Kitui district, also of Wakamba, had for long been neglected. When the proposal was put to the Agricultural Department, they immediately thought of placing the new centre at Kitui which would soothe the disgruntled Kitui Kamba.\textsuperscript{1} It was agreed that the Principal of the centre should be an Agricultural Officer whilst the Vice-Principal should be provided by the Ministry of Health. Building at Kitui continued during 1960. Four classrooms and two dormitories for 60 students were erected. An important feature of the Better Living Institute as the new centre was designated, was the demonstration houses. These consisted of an improved rondavel or mud hut of the kind normally used by the local people; two huts joined together by a connecting room; and a square type five roomed house. It was intended that the wives should receive a considerable amount of their instruction in these houses. The campus of the B.L.I. included a 350 acre farm which it was intended should be used for demonstration purposes and also to help in the supply of foodstuffs and recurrent income to the centre.

Two committees were organised. One based in Nairobi was to have control of the policy and finance for the centre. This consisted of the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Health as Chairman, the Director of Medical Services; the Director of Agriculture; the Provincial Commissioner; the Provincial Medical Officer; the Provincial Agricultural Officer; the District Commissioner, Kitui; and the Principal of the B.L.I. The other committee was responsible for the day-to-day running of the B.L.I. and consisted of:

\begin{itemize}
\item Information supplied by the first Principal of the Better Living Institute.
\end{itemize}
the District Commissioner, Kitui as Chairman, the District Medical Officer, the District Agricultural Officer, two members of the Kitui African District Council, and the Principal and Vice-Principal of the B.L.I.¹

The Better Living Institute opened in January 1961 with a course of agricultural instructors. The courses planned included three week courses in home-craft and hygiene and two week courses in farming at a cost to the students of five shillings per week. Apart from the special problems of the B.L.I. arising from the joint departmental function, the problems that it met were those of all other farming training centres. These include quality and quantity of staff, student recruitment, financing, and the running of the farm.

In the six years of its existence to 1967, the B.L.I. had five Principals, an average of almost one per year. The Principals were all Assistant Agricultural Officers and none had had any special training in the running of a training centre or in the techniques of adult teaching. During 1962, the European Health Visitor who was Vice Principal left and had not been replaced. The local management committee did not meet at all during 1963 and the policy committee in Nairobi met only once. The Nuffield Foundation became worried. The Trustees were concerned about the lack of teaching in hygiene, about the heavy turnover of staff, and about the lack of guidance being provided by the management committees.² The B.L.I. had in effect become a conventional F.T.C. The Provincial Agricultural

² Secretary, Nuffield Foundation to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Health, 13 May 1964, MOA file EDUC/AG/PRIV/4/18.
Officer related that in his view:

The BLI has now become in effect an FTC as the medical hygiene courses have stopped owing to lack of staff. We are lucky to have this FTC without having to use Colony funds, but it is now vital that we give this institute great attention and support. Agricultural training is badly needed in Kitui District.¹

The lack of interest taken in the B.L.I. by the Ministry of Health reached a turning point when the B.L.I. signboard was removed in 1964 and an F.T.C. sign replaced it. This aroused the Ministry of Health and the original sign was reinstated and another Health Visitor was brought into the centre.

In spite of the staffing difficulties, the student attendance at the B.L.I. rose rapidly, especially after Independence. Attendance figures are as follows:²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>1083</td>
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<td>1965</td>
<td>1554</td>
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<td>1405</td>
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<td>1967</td>
<td>1344</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>2085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>1478</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The intention to bring into the B.L.I. husbands and wives together failed. It proved impossible for both to be away from home at the same time. However it was not uncommon for husbands and wives to come on courses at different times. Until 1965 more women than men attended the courses but after 1964, the ratio of men to women was 2 : 1.³ The Ministry of Health was well satisfied with the experiment:

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1. Provincial Agricultural Officer to Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Agriculture, 15 Mar 1963, MOA file EDUO/2/111/84.
The success of this plan has been a great one. However, the number of womenfolk has been much higher than the original plan of one third women to two thirds men. As from last year the number of men to women has been in the ratio of 1 : 2. We have always more women than men. The reason for the small number of men being that a great number of men have gone to big towns for employment.¹

Nuffield financial support was due to come to an end in 1965, but savings which had been made largely through the non-employment of staff, were used to extend the grant to 1967. The inability of the government to meet costs in 1967 brought further financial help from the Nuffield Foundation for two years. In 1969, however, recurrent costs were showing a shortfall of £5,000 and there were problems arising from the need to restock the cattle herd. The demonstration homes are no longer used for demonstration teaching purposes but are occupied as labourers' quarters indicating a need for more staff housing. Only about 150 acres of the farm has been brought into agricultural use and the income from the farm has been negligible.

A recent tendency in course organisation in the past few years has been the growing proportion of non-agricultural courses. In 1967 of 40 courses, 12 were for farmers, 12 for agricultural staff and 16 were of other kinds. In 1969 of 29 courses, 10 were for farmers, 4 for agricultural staff, and 15 were of other kinds. The other kinds include: cooperative workers, traders, local leaders, adult education workers.²

¹. Assistant Director of Medical Services to Nuffield Foundation, 16 Jun 1965, MOA file EDUC/2/111/95.
This reflects the interest of the Principal, in common with all other F.T.C. Principals to keep their centres as full as possible. But it does lead to misleading statistics. The total attendance for 1969 at the B.L.I. represented a space utilisation figure of around 78 per cent. However, in terms of farmers and related courses space utilisation is around 40 per cent.

The experiment in cooperation between Health and Agriculture in the B.L.I. has been a successful one. The centre is well run and well used. No evaluation of the effectiveness of the joint approach has been attempted but the B.L.I. has one of the most consistently high attendance rates of all F.T.Cs. Yet the experiment has never been repeated anywhere. The Ministry of Health had suggested the extension of the experiment in other places but the suggestion has never been taken up. Perhaps because Kitui is one hundred and twenty miles from Nairobi on a rough road leading to nowhere of importance is one of the reasons why the B.L.I's light has been hidden under a bushel and why it has not had the publicity that it deserves.

The second example of special farmer training centres is provided by the programme of the National Christian Council of Kenya. This demonstrates the way in which a voluntary organisation has been able in association with government to develop an effective programme of farmer training.

The National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCK), an association of Protestant churches formed in 1944,

2. Assistant Director of Medical Services to Nuffield Foundation, 16 Jun 1965, MOA file EDUC/2/111/95.
had in 1959 been discussing with the Interchurch Aid Division of the British Council of Churches, ways in which the British churches could help in the immediate problems facing Kenya.\(^1\) Discussions during 1960 and 1961 led the churches to believe that their best contribution could be made in two ways. The first was by the alleviation of the effects of famine which was particularly acute in the Masai areas during these years. The second was by helping in the resettlement schemes which had been proposed by the government where European farms were being bought out and being resettled with landless peasant farmers.\(^2\)

It was agreed, after discussions with the Department of Agriculture, that the most effective form of help would be in the development of rural training centres akin to the F.T.Cs under the supervision of the Department of Relief, Rehabilitation and Rural Development of the N.C.C.K. The British Council of Churches pledged £400,000 over a five year period for the development of rural training centres and the Ministry of Agriculture agreed to help in staffing where it was able.\(^3\)

It was decided that there should be five R.T.Cs: two in Masai, one in North Nyanza, one on the South Kinangop, and one in Kiambu.\(^4\) The first R.T.C. to get underway was in the famine stricken area of Masai.

A disused prison camp near Kajiado was selected

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2. loc. cit.
3. NCCK Committee on Relief, Rehabilitation and Rural Development, Meeting of 30 May 1963, min. 3.
4. Memo on CCK Agricultural and Malnutrition Project, Sep 1962, NCCK file RRR.
as the site for the R.T.C. and a Principal, Neil Watson, was appointed to develop it. The first course was held in January 1962:

A Moran training course began with a minimum equipment. The Administration here provided the food from famine relief supplies. The ADC have lent a blackboard and a few tools. The ADC bus has also been used for a few visits... so far the CCK have only supplied blankets and myself as the Course Instructor. The Agricultural Department have lent one of their agricultural instructors and the Administration, a tribal policeman, both very good chaps. A small shamba has been started and quite a lot of practical work has been done there e.g. small scale irrigation and cultivation of cabbages, maize, beans and potatoes. Other agricultural subjects are being taught in the classroom together with reading and writing and some background medical knowledge - P.T., football and other games take their place in the timetable. Also film strips on various subjects have been shown in the evenings and some voluntary religious teaching given. The Moran appear to be very interested in the Christian way of life, but say that it would be very hard for them to change from the old ways and customs that are held so strongly. 1

The Isinya Rural Training Centre was provided with a 2,000 acre farm for ranching and the old camp was refitted to hold 45 students with two classrooms. Courses lasted for two weeks with a fee of five shillings for the course. The main purpose of the centre was to run agricultural courses but from the outset there was flexibility in approach to course development and by 1956, the centre ran women's courses, leadership courses, courses for literacy teachers and nursery school teachers, as well as ranching courses for farmers. 2

A second centre was also opened in 1962, in Limuru just outside Nairobi. This was intended to cater for Kikuyu farmers settling on European farms in the area and for ordinary Kiambu farmers. But the centre never prospered for a variety of reasons, 'some political, some emotional, but mainly because the District Agricultural Officer did not give it the necessary support or deal with the recruitment of students competently as was his responsibility'. 1 But the centre had insufficient land to develop a demonstration farm and there were no facilities for the growing of cash crops for teaching purposes. Local Kikuyu felt that the centre was on land that had been unfairly taken away from them and this proved a difficulty in recruiting students for the centre. 2 In 1967 the Limuru Rural Training Centre was closed and it became a Boys' Training Centre in rural industries and agriculture.

A third centre was opened under the auspices of the Methodist Church in Meru District in 1963. The Marimante Rural Training Centre was to cater for the Tharaka people of the district who occupied a depressed area with low agricultural potential. The centre was provided with 20 beds but proved too expensive for the impoverished Tharakan farmers. Fees were suspended in 1967 to encourage attendance. 3 In 1968, a fee of 1/- per week was introduced which was raised to 5/- in 1969, although students still found hardship in meeting the fees. Like Isinya, Marimante introduced courses other than

those purely agricultural: trade development, Harambee Leaders' courses and women's courses and in spite of difficulties in fee payment managed to maintain a student utilisation capacity of 82 per cent in 1968.¹

During 1963 the N.C.C.K. were able to recruit an adviser to their programme, a former agricultural officer, John Dearden. At the same time, negotiations were underway with the Department of Settlement to introduce rural training centres into the new settlement areas which were being demarcated as European farmers were being bought out just before and after Independence. A Salvation Army Centre was opened at Thika to cater for the new African settlers on European farms in the Muq Hills Settlement scheme and for farmers in parts of the Machakos and Maranga districts, some 80,000 farm holdings. Courses began in January 1964. The courses run were entirely agricultural based and the centre proved a great success. The centre was equipped with a large farm which was managed profitably giving a steady income to the centre.² During 1964 two other centres were opened. Lugari Rural Training Centre was opened in January by the Friends African Mission with 80 beds to cater for 3,000 holdings on the Lugari Settlement Scheme and in May 1964, for 7,000 holdings on the Kinangop Settlement scheme, the Njabini Training Centre was opened with 40 beds. All these were supported by staff from the Department of Settlement to help in the instruction in farming subjects.

In 1965 a seventh N.C.C.K. rural training centre was opened by the Methodist Church again in the Meru District. The Kaaga Rural Training Centre was equipped with a bed capacity of 48 and worked in conjunction with the Marimante Centre.1

An eighth centre which was not part of the N.C.C.K. Agriculture and Malnutrition Scheme, but which carried out the same kind of function, was the Mucii wa Urata centre in Embu District which was started by the Friends African Mission to work on the Mwea Tebere Settlement Scheme. This centre had been started in 1955 as a scheme to develop community work amongst ex-detainees on the settlement scheme.2 From 1962, Mucii wa Urata developed as a rural training centre giving agricultural courses and general courses in adult education, leadership and trade and cooperative development.

The N.C.C.K. rural training centres, whilst primarily concerned with farmer training are different from F.T.Cs of the Ministry of Agriculture. Physically, their premises are poorer and their accommodation inferior to F.T.Cs. Their standard of management and instruction is, however, higher. Where they have farms attached to them, they tend to make profits. Follow-up work is given prominence, for example Kaaga has a system of follow-up teamwork as part of its service with staff specially assigned to this purpose.3 The Njabini centre sets aside 10 weeks especially for follow-up work.4 Where F.T.Cs were

set up purely for farmer training, the N.C.C.K. centres have reckoned on catering for any rural training needs although it was stated categorically 'that the agricultural work must not suffer when bringing in other subjects'.

Relations with the government extension staff have been good and most centres have government agricultural instructors on their staff. In spite of this, however, there has been the occasional complaint of isolation from district development programmes. Dearden complained to the Director of Agriculture:

This integration has not worked out as well as I had hoped in all areas. There is still feeling amongst some of you that we are the Church and they are the Civil Service. A word or two from you, which if it is to be effective, must go down to locational level would I am sure bring better understanding of the fact that our efforts are supplementary to yours, to help you chaps to achieve official policy, and are not in competition with you.

In recent years, there has been a feeling of competition for students between N.C.C.K. centres and the F.T.C.s where there are both in the same area e.g. Meru and North Nyanza. But essentially relationships remain harmonious. All the training centres with the exception of the Salvation Army Training Centre now have African Principals. The N.C.C.K. centres whilst remaining Christian based do not discriminate in accepting students. Students are recruited by the District Agricultural Officer.

The centres established by the N.C.C.K. have

3. Personal communication from the Principals at Meru and North Nyanza.
been successful, 6,081 students passed through them in 1969. They illustrate a way in which successful collaboration can take place in a field of rural training between a voluntary agency and government. In spite of their shortage of finance and their inferior physical facilities their strength lies in that 'they manifest an interest in people as people whereas the Administration is more concerned with a scheme as a scheme and techniques as techniques'.

**Farmer Training 1960-1970**

The years between 1958 and 1961 were years of rapid growth for the Farmer Training Centres. The years immediately following were years of consolidation in growth. They were also years of financial shortage caused by poor world prices for agricultural produce and they were years of famine in many parts of the country. They were years of adjustment caused by the rapid movement to Independence with its crash programmes of replacement of expatriate European staff with local staff. By 1964, three quarters of the senior staff of the Agricultural Department had been Africanised and the first African Director of Agriculture was appointed. During 1962, it became the policy of the department for staff 'to move from an executive to an advisory capacity in African areas'.

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1. Calculated from Ministry of Agriculture, Farmers Training Centres Annual Report 1926, Table iv, pp. 18 and 19.
Rapid Africanisation in agricultural staffing coincided with greater attention being paid to farmer training. In 1963, for the first time, an officer within the Ministry's headquarters in Nairobi was given special responsibility for farmer training and extension with the title Education Officer (Extension). The appointment gave a much needed focus within the Ministry to farmer training and agricultural education. C. Barwell, the Officer appointed, had had long experience in farmer training having been instrumental in developing Bukura F.T.C. from 1954. He quickly produced a penetrating survey of the current state of the F.T.Cs. He argued that an average AAO had about 8,000 farm families for which to cater which meant that it was impossible for field staff to deal with them on an individual basis. He saw the F.T.C. as providing an opportunity for a group approach with field staff sending in groups of farmers being taught by a minimum of staff at an F.T.C. He saw that follow-up could be carried out by the field staff through group meetings. He emphasised the insufficient spread of F.T.Cs and reckoned that it would take around 20 years for one member of each family to attend a course at an F.T.C. once. He stressed the importance of siting for an F.T.C., and believed that to maintain adequate liaison with field staff it should be sited as near a district 'boma' as possible; he quoted examples of bad siting at Bukura and Maseno where the main factor had been the availability of large acreages for the development of an economic farm. He was opposed to the idea of a commercial farm where, especially in time of staff

2. ibid., p. 2.
shortage, the farm side of the centre benefitted at the expense of the teaching side. He drew attention to the current shortage of staff where in some centres there was just one teacher. He enumerated the duties of a Principal of an F.T.C.:

1. The overall responsibility for the FTC which may include 500 acres of land, buildings, transport, livestock, tractors, visual aids.
2. The organisation of courses, day-to-day supervision of teaching in the vernacular. Only 3 of the 14 centres have vernacular speaking officers on their staff.
3. To maintain liaison with the DAO and his field staff. To attend DAOs staff meetings and other policy meetings. To visit AAOs in the field and to keep close contact with new developments and trends in the district.
4. To supervise the farming operations of the centre on farms ranging from 50 to 2,500 acres.
5. Supervise transport, visits, tours.
6. To keep in touch with local research station staff, so that at all times the FTC is a shop window for all the latest research findings.

It is not surprising that he should mention there being some Principals who never go inside the classroom. But he deplored this and that most of the staff of the F.T.C.s had had no training in teaching methods. He criticised the proportion of time spent lecturing in F.T.C.s and noted that 'adult farmers are not used to long periods of sustained listening to lectures'. He raised the question of the popularity of F.T.C. postings amongst agricultural staff due to long hours that have to be worked and poor terms of service.

2. ibid., p. 11.
3. ibid., p. 40.
Two other new features of farmer training reflected the interest of the Ministry at this time. The first was the provision of a travelling team to give field courses to DACs and Principals of F.T.Cs in order 'to widen their knowledge of extension and teaching methods'. The programme was supported by experts from the U.S.A. who also helped provide overseas courses for local staff and funds for the improvement of some of the existing F.T.Cs, and Maseno and Mariira were rebuilt. The second was the introduction of Home Economics as a course in the F.T.Cs under the control of a Home Extension section within the Ministry.

The Home Extension programme was supported by I.C.A. with an adviser from the U.S.A. and with funds for training home extension staff. 'The plan was to train women with an agricultural background in the running of a home as part of the rural life'. The training included nutrition, the better care of children and hygiene, as well as farming subjects. During 1964, 26 Home Extension Assistants were stationed at Farmer Training Centres and a further 45 Assistant Agricultural Instructors (Female) trained in home economics and agriculture were in the field. They were trained at Egerton College on three month courses by the Head of the Section, Grace Wagema, and the Home Extension Adviser. The Home Economics courses, lasting 2–3 weeks gave a great impetus to the attendance of women at F.T.Cs. During 1962, 19 per cent of total attendance was women; during 1964 this figure rose to over 50 per cent. Nearly 20,000 women attended courses in the first year and F.T.C. timetables were beginning

to reflect an ever increasing demand for more time to be allocated to these subjects.1

After Independence, the number of F.T.Cs began slowly to increase once more. In 1964 an F.T.C. at the Coast was established at Mtwapa in the Kilifi District. In 1965, an F.T.C. was opened in the new district of Kirinyaga, the Kianyagga F.T.C. In the same year, the renovations at Mirilia were completed and the F.T.C. was reopened as the Kenyatta F.T.C. In 1966, the Department of Animal Husbandry was merged with the Agricultural Department and, Baraton, Chebororwa, and Ndomba became official F.T.Cs. A new F.T.C. was opened in South Nyanza, at Homa Bay and the Kenya Tea Development Authority opened a special centre at Kagochi for short courses for tea farmers. To meet the training problems of large scale African farmers who had acquired farms from Europeans under the 'willing buyer, willing seller' scheme, a new large-scale F.T.C. was opened at Thomson's Falls. Here 80 farmers could come for a year to learn how to deal with the special problems of large-scale farming.

By 1967 there was a total of 27 centres in operation. Nineteen of these were directly under the control of the Department of Agriculture; six under the N.C.C.K.; one under the Kenya Tea Development Authority; and one run by the Veterinary Department; The Department of Agriculture could offer 1,188 beds, the N.C.C.K. 222 beds, the Veterinary Department 30 beds and the K.T.D.A. 40 beds, totalling 1,480 in all. However, whilst the total bed space at F.T.Cs was increasing, the growth of farmer attendance was not keeping pace. Unfilled places rose from 14 per cent

in 1965 to 29 per cent in 1967, and to 41 per cent in 1969.\(^1\) This decrease was made even more serious by the fact that the proportion of non-farmer courses was also increasing. In 1965, 16 per cent of courses were for non-farmers, in 1967 there were 30 per cent, and in 1969 48 per cent. This meant that not only were the F.T.Cs attracting fewer and fewer students but that the numbers of farmers attending were in proportion even less as F.T.Cs tried to fill up with non-farmer courses.

The reason for this lack of interest on the part of farmers remains, in essence, the same as those already enumerated by Barwell in 1963. There was still a heavy turnover of staff at F.T.Cs. In 1967 most F.T.Cs had at least two Principals, only seven managed to keep the same Principal. The rate of turnover of field staff was also high which disrupted continuity in recruitment of students. Teaching staff were often very junior and inexperienced, most had no training in the techniques of teaching or the running of a residential adult centre. Pay was poor in relation to the responsibilities, and promotion possibilities within the Ministry were considered to be poorer from within an F.T.C.\(^2\)

The Ministry of Agriculture was not unaware of the difficulties in farmer training. In 1965,

\(^1\) Calculated from statistics in Ministry of Agriculture, Farmer Training Annual Reports 1967 and 1969.

the ground was prepared for a commission of experts to examine the whole field of agricultural education and farmer training. The commission began sitting in 1966 to report on the development of four aspects: university education in agriculture; intermediate staff training; short term training of farmers; and agricultural education in schools. The commission immediately recognised the need for a distinct Division of Agricultural Education within the Ministry with a specialist cadre of agricultural educators. They recommended that the pay and terms of service of this cadre should reflect the educational staff's specialism and training. They thought that F.T.C. Principals and Vice-Principals should be, in the long run, university graduates and that teaching staff should have a minimum of a Diploma in Agriculture with specialised training in the methods of teaching adults.

They recommended an F.T.C. in each district and emphasised the need for facilities in the F.T.Cs for mothers to be able to attend courses with their children. They tackled the vexed question of F.T.C. farms and stated that F.T.Cs should not be expected to finance their recurrent expenditure from farm income but that the farm should be viewed as a pure educational institution and not as a prime revenue earner. Without specifying how, the commission recommended that means should be found to associate the farmer training programmes with the activities of the Board of Adult Education.

The Ministry of Agriculture was completely reorganised in 1969 and the old departmental divisions

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of agricultural veterinary service and water department were abolished. In their places were created two departments: one dealing with administrative services and the other with technical matters. The Technical Department consists of 12 divisions, one of these being the Agricultural Training Division which has responsibility for staff training and farmer training. Plans were laid for the construction of five more F.T.Cs in Bungoma, Busia, Teita, Kwale and Baringo districts. The new Division of Agricultural Training entered into the activities of the Board of Adult Education and plans were drawn up for F.T.Cs to be integrated into a national programme of multi-purpose training centres.¹

In 1970 farmer training is achieved by 29 F.T.Cs and around 1,000 Agricultural Instructors working in the field. The two major problems facing the development of the F.T.Cs are related to shortage of finance and the ability to make the courses attractive to farmers and their wives. The shortage of finance is so severe that in 1969 some centres had to be closed for part of the year as funds were insufficient to keep them open.² At 15 shs. for a two week course or 10 shs. for one week, the fees are highly subsidised but it is not considered that farmers could afford to pay more. Farmers are brought to their centre by provided transport and returned to their homes in the same way but still attendance is low. The average length of an F.T.C. course is one week which can hardly be considered too long for a farmer to be away from his home and farm. Little research has been done on the effectiveness of the F.T.C.

courses or on possible ways that the courses may be made more attractive. Teaching standards still cause concern and there is still no formalised training in the techniques of adult education or specifically on the running of an adult training centre. The average Principal is still an Assistant Agricultural Officer with an educational level of around secondary education. In 1970 only one Principal of an F.T.C. is a university graduate and he supervises an N.C.C.K. centre. The shortage of finance is leading to difficulties in maintaining the present facilities and transport, classrooms and accommodation are becoming rundown. F.T.Cs are still responsible for uneconomic commercial farms and they are providing an embarrassment to the staff of the centres. Recruitment and follow-up of students remain inadequate. Both these functions are those of the District Agricultural Officer and not of the Principals of the F.T.Cs. This must contribute to the inadequacies in these fields since Principals are not responsible for the farmers coming and if the local DAO does not give high priority to the needs of the F.T.Cs then the result, as frequently happens, is a complete cancellation of a course. The farmer training programme is essentially introspective, a carefully guarded programme of the Ministry of Agriculture, developed in isolation from the rest of the training

3. Ibid., p. 11.
programmes leading to rural development. It is organised and managed by technical agriculturalists and it is for this reason, perhaps, that the poverty of teaching expertise is so apparent.

The severe reliance on farming prosperity has shaped the political, economic and social development of Kenya. It will go on doing so since no other activity has the necessary raw materials. Ninety per cent of the population live directly off the land and the problems of increasing the standard of living can only be solved in the rural areas. Farmer training lies at the root of the creation of higher incomes and better standard of living. Yet the increasing of incomes, through greater agricultural output, raises in its wake a myriad of problems. Problems which cannot be answered simply in economic terms or, indeed, in agricultural terms but which must be solved as much through an understanding of the social, psychological and political weaves which make up the Kenya society. Questions relating to family systems, land tenure and inheritance complicate the basic agricultural problem. Acceptance of new skills and techniques by peasant farmers includes the removal of traditional cultural and social barriers. Pressure on the existing land increases rapidly and further complicates the agricultural problem. Fluctuating prices in world markets complicates the problem even further.

The national agricultural programme has a high priority. The farming programme has developed its technological aspects: the identification of new crops, new machinery and new techniques. It has developed its economic aspects: the search for new markets, production control, and farm planning. It has developed its agrarian aspects: land tenure, land inheritance and consolidation. It has developed its training aspects. All these have to progress at the
same time. They all compete for the limited funds and expertise that are available to agriculture. Agriculture has to compete with other national projects. It is, however, only comparatively recently that the mass training of farmers has been an important objective in the development to the full of the national agricultural potential. It began during the Mau Mau rebellion in 1952, was boosted by the Swynnerton Plan in 1954, but did not really develop any momentum until four years later in 1958. It has suffered through a shortage of expertise; through a shortage of funds; through misconceptions arising from the pioneering nature of the growth in course planning, teaching techniques, length of courses, and staff training. It has, however, been seen that it is not sufficient to identify better farming methods, to identify crops which are viable economically, to create new techniques. These have to be accepted and understood by a peasantry which is bound by tradition, conservative to change, illiterate and poor. Acceptance involves a change of attitude and this is the resultant of an educative process. For quick effect, the educative process must have an educational core. In Kenya, the educational core is provided in the F.T.Cs. They are still too few, they are still too poor in staffing and materials, they have not yet found their correct role within the total complex of rural development. But they are firmly established as a core to be developed.
Chapter Five

Health Education

The education of adults in the ways and means of achieving better health through improved sanitation, better hygiene and nutrition is a responsibility of the Ministry of Health. The objectives of health education embrace not simply the eradication of bad health in the community but the active promotion of a sense of physical, mental and social well-being in the individual; a positive aim rather than the more negative objective which is implied in the mere absence of disease. Whilst health education is concerned with the curative aspects of medicine, it places a greater emphasis on the preventive measures that can be taken to stop sickness occurring and the promotive means that lead to well-being. Recognition is made of the role of the individual in the achievement of these ends:

The aim of health education is to help people to achieve health by their own actions and efforts. Health education begins, therefore, with the interest of people in improving their conditions of living, then aims at developing a sense of responsibility for their own health betterment as individuals, and as members of families, communities or governments. Health is but one element in the general welfare of the people, and health education is only one of the factors in improving health and social conditions. It is, however, an indispensable factor and should therefore be integrated with other social, economic, health and educational effort.1

In Kenya, health education evolved as an informal activity of the medical and health staff based on district hospitals, cottage hospitals and dispensaries with supplementary work being undertaken by the Jeanes teachers and later, the community development staff.


The end of the Second World War marked the beginning of a rethinking for the shape and form of medical services in the country. By 1945 there were, with the exception of Tana River and Central Nyanza, hospitals in every district, with a hospital bed ratio of 0.9 to 1,000 people. There was, however, not yet a doctor to each hospital and the spread of facilities was uneven. Concentration was in the Central and Nyanza Provinces where government hospitals were supplemented by mission hospitals, whilst the Northern Province had but one medical officer in some 77,000 square miles and 100,000 people. The average district hospital was poorly equipped, understaffed and without adequate drugs. Most operated without electricity, relying on oil pressure lamps for their lighting. Radiating from the district hospitals was a system of cottage hospitals and dispensaries. These were financed by the local

authorities and staffed by medical assistants and dispensers. Medical attention was free. Reports from districts and provinces emphasize constantly staff shortage and poor facilities. Medical services which were provided were of a curative nature and the Director of Medical Services complained:

The demand by the African population for more curative services is insatiable. Throughout the Colony, even in the remote areas, overcrowding of hospitals, congestion in dispensaries and inadequacy of funds and supplies is the regular report.¹

Medical staff were too preoccupied with medicine to be able to pay attention to preventive and promotive programmes. The pre-war suspicion of government and mission medical services had given way to an avalanche of demand for cure. Direct responsibility for preventive and promotive health measures lay with the health staff of the Medical Department. The Health Inspectors and their assistants were responsible for health education. They, however, were still few, numbering only twelve deployed in nine districts: Nakuru, Kisumu, Mombasa, Kiambu, Kerugoya, Meru, Kitui, Kakamega and Kisii.² Their time was spent primarily in enforcing the legal requirements making for good health: inspection of building plans, sanitary inspection, inspection of shop premises, all largely urban activities, which left them with little time for 'education, propaganda and demonstration'.³

African field staff filled subordinate health posts and these were trained at the Medical Training

2. Medical Department Annual Report 1945, p. 36.
Centre in Nairobi. The Centre 'C', following the old Jeanes School tradition, also engaged in the training of Health Assistants as part of their training scheme for ex-Servicemen, 72 health and hygiene trainees passed through the centre on two year courses during 1947 and 1948. While in 1949, 'partly to make room for additional students at the Medical Training School and also to allow for a greater measure of practical training in the adjacent reserve' all training of Health Inspectors and Health and Sanitary Assistants was transferred to the newly reorganised Jeanes School.

Although medical and health services were thinly spread, achievements had been made in that the occurrence of disease in epidemic proportions was infrequent. Tuberculosis, venereal diseases, malaria, hook-worm, dysentery and respiratory diseases remained common communicable diseases resulting from the chronically poor standards of hygiene, sanitation and nutrition. It became increasingly clear that reliance on legal enforcement alone could not effect the necessary improvements in health conditions. Whilst Health Inspectors could busy themselves making sure that buildings conformed with township rules, with the laying out of market sites and shopping centres, with examination of slaughter houses, with the regulation of water supplies, and with the control of eating houses, it became increasingly clear that only health education could provide a permanent basis for these achievements and for achievements in those fields.

where compulsion could not be applied, as in personal hygiene and nutrition.

In 1945, a sub-committee on Health, Hospital Services and Nutrition was formed as part of the Development Committee charged with the formulation of a national ten-year economic and social development plan. The sub-committee reflected the contemporary thinking that all sections of the health service should be coordinated into a comprehensive whole and that 'from a development point of view the most substantial dividends are yielded by a concentration of resources on preventive rather than on curative medical services'. Proposals were made for the better coordination of health services provided by the government, missions and local authorities and suggestions were made on the expansion of medical training establishments, the improvement of existing hospitals and on the increasing of the number of hospital beds. The central pivot of a new health centre as a physical focus for medical attention, laboratory services and health education was not a new one. The Director of Medical and Sanitary Services, A.R. Paterson, had put forward similar proposals in 1933. In the Union of South Africa, a comprehensive medical and health service had been developed with the health centre as its focus and the sub-committee had been considerably influenced by the South African organisation. The proposed health

2. ibid., vol. ii, p. 141.
centre would consist of a grouping of medical and health personnel in a particular area thus preventing a scattering of resources and allowing an economic supporting administrative structure to be provided in order to minimise the amount of non-medical work that specialists had to fulfil. The staff at the centre would work as a team under the overall supervision of a Medical Officer. Curative, preventive and promotive health programmes would be coordinated through the centre. Specific programmes in health education would 'radiate to the schools, the homes and the work places of the people in the form of health lectures, technical assistance and instruction in domestic hygiene and in addition the application of general socio-preventive measures'.¹ In the district the health centres would be combined with the district hospital, but sub-centres were to be developed in smaller areas supervised from the main health centre. The sub-committee proposed that the health centres should be financed equally by central government and the local authorities and it stated that the general aim should ultimately be one Health Centre to every 10,000 of the African population.²

For the next three years, health centres remained very much a paper conception, though the recommendation of the Sub-committee had been accepted by and incorporated in the main proposals of the Development Committee.³ Indeed there was some concern over a possible danger that the provision of health centres would lead to a greater demand for hospital

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1. Medical Department Annual Report 1946, p. 16.
3. ibid., vol. i, pp. 61-73.
It was felt by the Director of Medical Services that as medical facilities were brought closer to the people so the number of cases identified requiring hospitalisation would increase. The demand for hospital beds would be aggravated and an extra burden would be placed on the already insufficient facilities provided at hospitals.

The first health centre was built in North Nyanza, at Butere, during 1949 and opened officially on 7 November 1950. This was largely the initiative of the district Medical Officer, N.R.E. Fendall, who, in succeeding years was to influence considerably the health centre policy of the country. During 1951, two more health centres were opened: one in Kiambu District at Githunguri, and another at the Coast in Kwale District. In these centres health teams were established for the first time. Prior to 1949, the practice had developed that the Medical Officer in the district, based at the District Hospital, provided a curative medical service through the hospital, smaller outlying cottage hospitals and dispensaries scattered at convenient points throughout the district. The Health Inspector worked, however, more closely with the District Administrative Officer as part of the district team and his subordinate health staff in the outlying areas worked as part of the locational staff with their base as the locational administrative headquarters rather than the district hospital or dispensary. Depending on the personal relationships of the Medical Officer and the Health Inspector, there could be a double streaming of medical and health services: the curative side working through the

hospital to dispensary, the preventive and promotive side working from the District Headquarters to location. The Health Centre eradicated this possibility of double-streaming and brought medical and health staff together with a physical base and the institution of a team.

The adoption of the new policy brought considerable confusion to the field work of the Medical Department and in 1950 the Director of Medical Services, A.J. Walker, found it necessary to produce a clarifying statement.¹ There was confusion over the new role of the district hospital and the health centre and over the relationship of these to other subordinate health centres in the district. There was misunderstanding over the role of the health centre. Walker established that main health centres were to be those based on the district hospital whilst the locational or outlying health centres were to be designated sub-health centres. He noticed 'that it appears to be firmly fixed in many minds that Health Centres are solely for the purpose of preventing disease and ill-health',² and emphasised that while this was an ideal it was unrealistic and unattainable owing to the demand for curative services. As a guide, he suggested that a locational centre should cater for 5,000 people and work within a three mile radius. He noted however that few districts would be able to afford complete coverage since the centres were to be financed by the local authorities with a total estimated cost of £2,000 for each centre. Walker maintained pessimistically that even where centres were built

2. ibid., p. 73.
there would be staffing problems since the provision of staff with the calibre needed is bleak',¹ He raised the controversial problem of equipping the locational centres with beds and stated firmly that this was inevitable and should be done in view of the thin spread of medical services, long distances and inadequate transport. He restated the objective, however, of basing health education programmes on the centres through home visiting, propaganda and informal education. He envisaged only a slow spread of health centres with financial aid being provided from Colonial Development and Welfare funds; he planned for six to eight centres in pioneer districts over the following two years.

During 1951 and 1952, dispensaries and cottage hospitals were arbitrarily redesignated health centres with little justification in the case of the former since other than a dresser, there were few other health staff available at these centres. Health Assistants, recruited from primary school leavers as far as possible, were trained in small numbers of up to 25 at the Jeanes School, Kabete, on a two year course, and similar training was established at Siriba Training College in 1950 under the Department of Education to cater for Nyanza's needs, whilst the training of African women as health visitors was established at Vihiga in North Nyanza.

The most ambitious health centre programme and that which came nearest to the plans and objectives set by the Development Committee in 1946, was in North

Nyanza where the first health centre had been established by Pendell. The original proposal of the Development Committee that costs of health centres should be borne equally by central and local government could not be fulfilled. In 1951 the Planning Committee which reviewed the earlier ten year programme, directed that central government could only help toward the cost of the main health centre at the district hospital and one demonstration rural centre in each district. In North Nyanza, however, Pendell was able to establish a main health centre at the district hospital and to build with local authority finance ten locational satellite centres. The North Nyanza District Council was at the time the wealthiest local authority in Kenya and was able to provide in addition a mobile Health Unit to cover the more remote areas, areas which needed particular attention or where important development projects were underway. The mobile unit helped for example in agricultural betterment projects which were, through the district team system, being introduced into the district. An attempt was made to regularise health education through the work of the medical teams based on the health centres and to integrate this work with the work of other departments especially in relation to the nutritional aspects of the agricultural development programme. In Nyanza, especially, the newly formed women's clubs provided an organised audience for health education and bodies like the Community Development Organisation and the Red Cross Association gained the cooperation of the district health staff providing regular teaching in health education.

Elsewhere health education remained sporadic and informal, without focus and without organisation.

By 1952, whilst there was still little achievement in the actual mounting of adult programmes in health education, the stage had been set for such programmes. A climate of opinion had been created which emphasised the need for education in hygiene, better sanitation, and nutrition. A new policy had been adopted by the Medical Department which gave health education, as part of preventive and promotive medicine, a recognised role in the work of the field medical and health staff. An administrative reorganisation had taken place in the field which brought together a team of specialists in each district which could promote health education and which had this function written into their duties. Training of field health staff had been regularised. The weaknesses of the embryonic system was the reliance placed on the local authorities in being able to finance developments and the availability of trained staff.


The declaration of the Mau Mau Emergency coupled with a period of international economic recession forced a curtailment of expenditure on medical services. In Central Province, the normal provision of health services was dislocated and extra burdens were placed on staff in the rushed programme of bringing Kikuyu, Embu and Meru families into hastily constructed fortified villages. Financial stringencies affected the ability of the local authorities to expand
their health services and small fees began to be introduced by some councils for medical treatment. Nevertheless, the numbers of rural health centres continued to increase. During 1952, a main health centre was opened at Nyeri. In 1953 five new rural health centres were opened: two in Nyanza, and one each in Central, Southern and Rift Valley Provinces. By 1955 there were 19 rural health centres with over half of these in the Nyanza Province. At the same time the Director of Medical Services could report:

Every District and Provincial Hospital in the country can be classified as a main health centre where the senior staff undertake the duties of supervising an ever growing number of rural health centres in their districts. The main health centre extensions are usually built on to out-patient department where there is room for clinics and demonstrations and offices for the field staff whose duty it is to tour around and supervise the work of the rural health centres.

The need to give an impetus to health education was becoming acute. In 1952 plans were prepared by the Director of Medical Services to create a Division of Health Education within the Ministry. UNICEF was able to promise some financial support for the new organisation and the Division came into being in 1953. An Health Inspector of the Department, A.C. Holmes, was appointed to head the Division. The new unit was not to be an operating unit with health education field staff of its own, but rather a supporting unit for the work of the existing staff. The Division was to be a production unit responsible for the development of teaching materials and demonstration equipment.

available to Health Inspectors, Health Visitors and field workers. The Division began in a very small way. Holmes was 'given three rooms, a workshop, storeroom filled with junk, three African carpenters, a few incompetent clerks, a long list of requirements, and £500 and was told to get on with the job'. Getting on with the job meant producing posters, wall charts, flip charts and film strips. These were sold to the local authorities through the district health staff at a subsidised rate, and to the staff of other government departments such as community development which might have need of them. Holmes was given the task of organising health education displays at the district agricultural shows and in giving instruction in the techniques of health education to medical and health trainees on courses at the Medical Training School. It was, however, only a small contribution that one man could make and Holmes spent his time producing visual aids and organising stands at national, provincial and district shows.

By 1956 Holmes had organised himself and field staff were frequent visitors to his office buying health education visual aids. During 1955, aids to the value of £2,000 were produced and sold. One may consider that so great was the need to encourage the spread of health education, and since so little was being spent on this by government, that at least the materials produced by the Health Education Division could be given away free. The Director of Medical Services defended his policy not by admitting a shortage of finance but on the grounds of respectability

and evaluation: 'Two objectives are achieved by their (local authorities) having to pay. In the first place, the unit is able to command the respect, in part at least, of a revenue earning concern and it has also been a guide with which to judge the worth and popularity of a particular product'.¹ The argument on respectability is dubious and there were other ways of discovering the popularity of the output from the unit. The result of the maintenance of a charge for the posters and aids was that few were distributed. By 1958 only £250 worth were sold. It is not conceivable that the Health Education Division was created with any degree of seriousness of purpose. With no health staff and little money, Holmes was diverted into gadgetry. He set up a graphic museum in 1956 and its functions included:

Colour printing, trick models with mirrors and flashing lights. Some models were there simply for light relief and gave electric shocks when touched, but the peak of the novelty may have been reached when curtains were printed by the silk screen process with health hygiene slogans and design.²

Being responsible for no health education programme of his own and realising that the content of health education involved the work of not simply medical department staff, Holmes tried to organise a body which would consist of the main agencies working in the health education field and which could collate ideas in health education. Holmes was reviving an idea which had been first expressed in 1953 but which had never been put into practice.³ The Committee on

². loc. cit.
Health Education was formed during 1957 with representatives from the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Community Development, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Agriculture and Veterinary Services. In 1958 the Committee was expanded to include representatives from the East African Literature Bureau, the Ministry of Information and the Ministry of Local Government. The first formal meeting of the Committee took place in June 1958, with the Director of Medical Services, the Deputy Director of Community Development, the Assistant Director of Agriculture, the Chief Inspector of Schools and the Officer in charge of publications from the Ministry of Information present. It was agreed that the Committee should meet regularly once each month and that the function of the Committee should be:

To examine and propose action on the suggestions of all members on all aspects of health education. In addition, members should carry reports back to their respective departments on the proceedings of the Committee with a view to the coordination of their departmental policy with the plans proposed in the Committee, for the propagation of health education.

There is no evidence that the Committee was successful in generating health education activity or in achieving coordination of programmes which had an health education content. The Committee, however, achieved a major goal in the establishment for the first time of short training courses in the techniques and content of health education for government staff of different ministries. The courses were established at

2. ibid.
the Medical Training School and were, at first, scheduled to last one month. From the outset, two problems crippled the proposed courses. There was difficulty in getting field staff released to attend the courses. When the first course began it was scheduled to last two weeks for junior field staff such as community development assistants, agricultural assistants; and one week for senior staff. By the end of 1959, only one course had been run for senior staff and three for junior staff and the length of the course had decreased to five days. The syllabus for these courses included talks on the work of the various departments and its relationship to health education, problems of planning a health education campaign, the use of visual aids and teaching techniques.

As well as supervising the running of the training courses, the Committee on Health Education discussed the production of visual aids by the Health Education Division and at each meeting Holmes tried to produce one or two new posters or charts. But after 1959 the interest of the Committee members began to wane, meetings became less frequent and after August 1960 there is no evidence of any further meetings. The Committee on Health Education achieved very little. It did not get the support that it deserved and demonstrated clearly the lack of interest in the general field of health education both in the Ministry of Health and in the other government ministries and departments working in this field.

Meanwhile, Holmes in the Division of Health Education continued to produce his health education aids and received equipment from UNICEF: film

1. Extracted from course timetables in HQCD file MCD 13/1/4.
projectors, strip projectors and taperecorders which he was able to loan out to interested local authorities. He lectured regularly at the Medical Training School and at the Jeanes School to medical auxiliary staff in the techniques of health education. In 1957, he was able to get through UNICEF, a vehicle equipped as a Mobile Health Education Unit. This vehicle was available to district staff engaged in specific projects where health education was a vital element. It was used, for example, in Nandi District in 1957 where there had been a severe outbreak of typhoid fever and the vehicle was used to distribute printed materials and show films and filmstrips giving public instruction on the preventive methods that should be used to prevent the outbreak spreading.¹ There was a great demand for the unit and in 1958, a Ministry of Information mobile information van was used to supplement the work of the Health Unit in the districts. There was, however, no increase in staff for the Division of Health Education nor was there any change in its financing, even income that was made through the sale of its aids went into the general revenues of the Ministry of Health and were not ploughed back into the work of the Division.

The Division of Health Education in the Medical Department had been created to act as a supporting agency for the educational work of the health centres. After 1955 these continued to expand rapidly. In 1955 there were 19; a year later in 1956 there were 33, still with a predominance in the Nyanza Province which accounted for 16 of them as against 7 in Central Province, 5 in the Coast Province, 4 in the Rift Valley

¹. Medical Department Annual Report 1957, p. 33.
Province and 1 in Southern Province. There were none in the Northern Frontier District.¹

The normal establishment of staff at a health centre was a Medical Assistant in charge of the centre, an Assistant Health Visitor, a Midwife, a Health Assistant and a dresser. The Medical Assistant usually had had experience as a dresser and had then received four years training at the Medical School. The Assistant Health Visitor, a woman, usually had a primary education and two years training under the supervision of a European Health Visitor. The Health Assistant was trained at the Jeanes School, usually a primary school leaver, who then received a year's training with a period of field work in the middle of the course. These staff were expected to work as a team under the supervision of the Medical Officer of Health and the staff of the main Health Centre at the District Hospital. Health Education was an important part of their work. The team had a regular schedule of visits that were made to villages around the health centre. During these public visits talks were given usually by the health assistant or the health visitor.

By 1955 serious problems in the running and expansion of the health centre programme were encountered. The first of these was the inability of the local authorities to finance the centres in the numbers required. Walker, in 1950, had set an aim of each centre catering for 5,000 people and working within a radius of 3 miles. By 1955 the programme had to become less ambitious. Fendell in North Nyanza estimated that he would need 35 centres to cover the one district in

¹. Medical Department Annual Report 1955, p. 36.
North Nyanza. The cost of these would be at £9,000 each, reaching a total of £225,000, whilst the recurrent costs at £3,000 per year would reach £105,000 per year. At that time the North Nyanza local authority was the richest in the country with a total annual income of £445,000 per year. Fendall's estimate of 35 for North Nyanza was based not on Walker's aim but on a less ambitious aim of each centre catering for 20,000 people within a radius of 5 miles. It would be difficult for North Nyanza to reach the new target, but for other districts it was to be an impossibility. Even in North Nyanza, some centres were having to cater for up to 60,000 people with people from outlying districts coming to the centre. Besides the problems arising from human coverage and geographical area, there were problems in the provision of adequate transport for the health centre team and the lack of transport hindered visiting the outlying areas thus aggravating the increase in attendance at the health centre itself. There were also problems arising from the attempt to develop a team approach. Fendall recognised that putting staff together did not necessarily mean the creation of a team. The Medical Assistant was still responsible directly to the Medical Officer of Health whilst the Health Visitor was responsible to the District Health Visitor at the main health centre and the Health Assistant was responsible to the District Health Inspector. Coordination was not easy. There were also difficulties in getting the health centre team to coordinate its work with other District departmental staff.

The health centre staff were expected 'to coopt members of other government departments to help in health education and to coordinate work with that of other departments, for example, homecraft centres, community development, agriculture and veterinary'.\(^1\) The mobile health unit attached to the centre was expected to cooperate with other departments of government in paying, for example, special visits to betterment schemes.

The greatest problem, however, lay in the execution of the main purpose of the health centres, the coordinated development of curative, preventive and promotive medicine. The tendency was for curative medicine to swamp all else. The natural inclination of trained medical staff and the demands of the sick gave an automatic stress to this function which was difficult to combat. In some of the first health centres, that at Githunguri for example, beds for sick patients were deliberately not provided to avoid the health centres becoming cottage hospitals. The great distances between hospitals, however, made it unavoidable to keep a few beds for patients who needed to be transported to hospital or who needed short term treatment. An effort was made to keep the number of beds to a minimum and Fendall insisted that no health centre should have more than six beds lest diagnostic and therapeutic work overwhelm positive health work.\(^2\)

Fendall was adamant in emphasising the prime role of the health centre in health education. He recognised that the success of the health centre

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2. Ibid., p. 131.
depended on the Medical Assistant in charge for 'to him have been explained the aims, objects and principles of the health centre many times, and he has visited existing health centres and has been sent on relieving duty to health centres, has travelled with the mobile health unit and has been taught the art of health education'.

He welcomed the fact that the health centres were staffed entirely with African staff and chided European Medical Officers of Health who expected too high a standard of diagnosis and treatment thus putting too much emphasis on the curative side. He suggested to his health centre staff teams that they should give educational talks whilst fortnightly clinics were being held at the outlying centres. He suggested that clinics should be opened with a health talk and he exhorted the teams to concentrate on health education all the time.

Health centre buildings were designed to facilitate health education. Fendall experimented with different room layouts and the Simohnn type design came into common use in their construction. He describes one of the centres which he built:

There is a waiting room large enough for use as a talking place to waiting patients on health matters; it has a blank wall at either end on which posters and charts can be exhibited. A separate health education room has been provided as it is considered that health education is a fundamental principle

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2. The term 'Simohnn' is an abbreviated form of Sanitary Inspector Medical Officer of Health North Nyanza. For a description of the designs for various health centres in use see M. King, (ed.), Medical Care in Developing Countries, (London, 1966), pp. 3:1-3:4.
of health work. The room is used for lectures, talks, demonstrations, models, pictures, posters, charts, magazines etc. and later it will be used for film strip projection. It contains a small 'saucenpan' radio.¹

Whilst it took a decade, from 1945 to 1955, to get the idea of the health centre as a focus for all rural medical and health services accepted and implemented, the following five years saw a rapid increase in the number of health centres established. From 19 in 1955, there were 33 in 1956, 58 in 1957, 85 in 1958 rising to 130 in 1960. It was recognised that there was 'no doubt that the ready availability of curative services is responsible for this but there is at the same time a more widespread acceptance of the preventive and promotive functions'.²

The Nyanza Province by 1960 was still far ahead of other areas in the development of health centres. But even here there was still nothing like adequate coverage. The average coverage of the centres was one to 60,000 people, far from Fendall's aim of one to 10,000. The brunt of the health education work was borne by the Health Assistant, the Assistant Health Visitor and the midwife as part of the health team. The Provincial Health Inspector for Nyanza Province stressed the work of these: 'The Health Assistant attends weekly meetings held by Chiefs and as the occasion demands speaks on his work in connection with current health problems, giving advice and

¹ Fendall, op. cit., p. 151.
offering help to people concerned'. But the Health Assistant was trying to reach 60,000 people and he had other onerous duties: investigating infectious diseases, control of health standards in markets and trading centres, and housing schemes, protection of water supplies and other direct environmental matters. The Assistant Health Visitor and midwife had duties which included 'the operation of the maternity section, domiciliary midwifery and health education'. But they had large distances to cover with only a bicycle and many patients to see. The District Medical Officer of Health for North Nyanza described some of the problems of the time:

The commonest difficulty becomes apparent very quickly. He (the hospital assistant) becomes swamped by the weight of clinical work which results from the enthusiasms of the local people. At the present time most health centres are dealing with 1,000 new cases per month, with 750 reattendances... At the present time some 70,000 persons are theoretically served by one centre at distances up to 15 or 20 miles. This produces several adverse effects. It leads to a dissipation of effort over a very large area. The man in charge has been found valiently attempting to cover adequately a large area by mobile clinics. The beneficial effects of the service are diluted and do, on occasion, bring the service into disrepute.

He drew attention to the problem of financing centres. Fees had had to be introduced in 1957 by the local authority when the northern part of the district had been allowed to secede to form a separate district

1. loc. cit.
2. loc. cit.
of Elgon Nyanza. A third of the population had left taking with them two thirds of the revenue and 'the upper limit of taxation had been reached'.1 As well as finance, staff warranted comment: 'The present position is that persons of the right calibre are not coming forward in adequate numbers for the immediate and future needs of health centres... The present courses being taken by trainees, particularly in midwifery and health visiting, emphasise the academic and hospital aspects of these subjects to the detriment of the domiciliary aspect'.2

In contrast to the developments in Nyanza Province, Central Province, owing to the advent of the Emergency, had lagged behind in the provision of health centres. In Kiambu, by 1960 there were only four centres, one centre for 88,000 people. The policy effected during the Emergency of bringing the people into villages facilitated educational programmes. 272 villages had been established in Kiambu, 235 in Fort Hall, 169 in Nyeri, 128 in Embu and 80 in Meru. The severe social and economic disruptions caused by the Mau Mau revolt had attracted the attention of the Red Cross Association in particular and the Red Cross staff were spread through the Province. The Red Cross Community Development Training Centre had been built in Nyeri whilst, for example, there were three European Red Cross workers posted to work in the field in Kiambu. The Red Cross officers worked in close cooperation with the health centre staff and they were able to appoint village home visitors on a small

salary through the district after some training at the training centre at Nyeri.

The Medical Officer of Health in Kiambu, faced with huge problems, was not daunted. The fundamental idea was:

To utilise the help and interest of every agency even remotely concerned with health. The health centre associates itself with all community development activities, and more especially, with the women's clubs where the health staff assist with lectures and demonstrations. The Education Department and teachers assist with vaccination campaigns and health education. There is day to day liaison with the Veterinary Scouts and Agricultural Instructors whose activities are closely allied with those of the health centres in promoting community health.

The health centres operated a clinic on one day a week and on the other four days staff were mobile on a fixed but not rigid programme to markets, towns and schools. On arrival the health team gave a talk to the local people and then split up, the Health Assistant having a look around the town and visiting shops, the Health Visitor making home visits. At the end of the day the team met with the town leader and the local home visitor to discuss common problems and possible solutions. In the Province as a whole, the Red Cross organised over nine months in 1959, 43 health education barazas and it was noted that 3,000 to 4,000 people at a baraza was not unusual.

As in Nyanza, the Medical Officer noted the severe problems of finance, staffing and the need to

2. ibid., p. 207.
develop better team work. He was especially critical of the lack of reserve transport commenting on the disappointment which arises when the team fails to arrive at its destination after people have been called together.

Nyanza and Central Provinces are areas of high population density with static populations. The problems arising in the provision of health education in the more sparcely populated areas where the population is predominantly nomadic were different. There was less justification for the development of permanent health centres and instead mobile health units were established. The first mobile units were located in Masailand and in the Northern Province during 1956. By 1959 there were mobile units in West Suk, Northern Frontier District, Baringo, Maralal, Narok and Kajiado.¹

West Suk provides a typical example of the operations and problems of a mobile unit. In the whole district there were in 1960, three units. Each unit included a Hospital Assistant, a Health Assistant and sometimes an Assistant Health Inspector. The unit moved around on a pre-arranged schedule through a series of stopping places spending two or three days at each stop after monthly intervals. The district of West Suk covers an area of 1,500 square miles so the stops had to be wide apart to give maximum coverage and the medical staff, like the West Suk people, had to enjoy the wandering life. The West Suk tribe were in 1960, and still are, comparatively untouched by the Western way of life; communications in the district are poor and roads almost non-existent. The District

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¹ Medical Department Annual Report 1958, p. 31.
Medical Officer of Health observed the West Suk attitude toward his health service as being 'just another, probably more powerful form of witch-craft'.  

He described a typical visit from the mobile health unit:

The visit of the health unit causes quite a concentration of the local population. This is often in small groups of up to 20 to 30 patients, relatives and friends who arrive from time to time during the unit's stay. This gives us our only real chance at present of carrying out preventive medicine, even though only on a modest scale. As a routine these audiences are used for health education and from time to time they are used for preventive inoculations, disease surveys, etc. Each group that arrives is given a short talk often illustrated with flannel graphs, on one aspect of hygiene, for example 'The importance of keeping children's eyes clean', 'Keeping warm and dry when you have a cold', etc. These talks are kept short and very very basic. They are given either by the health assistant or a Suk member of the treatment staff.

The main problem of the mobile unit was getting advance notice of the programme to the people and was mainly done through the Chiefs and Headmen. Time and dates meant little to the West Suk and the team had to schedule its visits on a lunar monthly basis 'so the visits coincide within a few days with the state of the moon each time'.

The value of the Mobile Health Units is best summed up by the Medical Officer for Maasai: 'if a continuous pressure is maintained; if one is content with small achievements; if the programme is based on

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2. ibid., p. 235.
3. ibid., p. 233.
taking the services to the people, making its basis effective cure, and slowly building up the health education side particularly with reference to the mother and child, then progress will be achieved'.

By 1960, a definite pattern in the promotion of health education had emerged. As the prime focus for health services in the rural areas, the health centre had been established, financed by the local authorities and supervised by central government staff based on main health centres at the District hospital. The health centre was responsible for curative, preventive and promotive health measures. The health centre staff were responsible, amongst other things, for the development of health education activities as part of a team approach. In the Ministry of Health, a small Division of Health Education had been set up to provide a flow of health education materials to district staff and to teach the principles of health education to field staff during their courses of teaching. Around 130 health centres existed mainly in the Nyanza and Central Provinces, and subordinate to the health centres there were some 600 sub-health centres and dispensaries through which the health centre teams worked. In the sparsely populated and nomadic districts a system of mobile health units had begun to operate with health education as part of their function. The health centre system suffered from shortage of finance and unreliability in finance depending on the

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financial viability of the local authorities. The system suffered from a shortage of trained staff and from shortage of transport. The main difficulty, however, was the overwhelming pressure from the demands for curative services which was making it increasingly difficult for staff to find time to support preventive and promotive health programmes.


1960 saw the end of the Emergency situation, Kenya set on a firm path to Independence under an African government, a constantly changing political pattern and the introduction of the idea of regionalism to replace the former system of local government. It also saw the beginning of a severe financial retrenchment coupled with crash programmes of replacing expatriate government personnel with local African staff.

The increase in the establishment of health centres slowed down considerably after 1961 when there were 149 centres in existence. By 1968, the number had increased only to 165. There was, however, a significant new feature in the health centre programme following a decision in 1960 to go ahead with the establishment of a national training centre for health centre teams. The necessity of improving the team approach to the public health problem had been commented on by many medical officers and it was agreed that this could best be done by running a short training course for health centre teams. The Rockefeller Foundation contributed £50,000 toward the capital cost of a new centre to be built in a rural locale in the
Kiambu district. It was decided that the centre should have three main functions: it should act as a normal health centre for the surrounding district so that a practical approach could be maintained at the centre; it would act as a team training centre for all categories of health staff and medical workers associated with health centres; it would undertake operational research in relation to health centres.\(^1\)

The new centre with the title of the National Reference Health Centre, Karuri, opened in January 1963. It was administered directly by the Assistant Director of Medical Services (Training) in the Ministry of Health. It was staffed initially with an Health Inspector and a Health Visitor. The courses were designed so that there could be three three-month courses every year. Health centre teams were received in groups for a course which included common training in team work, an understanding of the work of each member of the team, and the techniques of health education. The emphasis of the course approach was on group discussion, seminar work and practical team field work under supervision in the surrounding areas. During 1963, 15 health centre teams attended courses at Karuri and returned to their districts.\(^2\) However, the shortage of staff in the field, which was becoming more acute, made it increasingly difficult to release whole teams for training for three months. At the same time it was felt that teams should have the opportunity to attend more rapidly. In 1964, the course was shortened to two months so that 24 health centre

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teams could attend during a year.¹

Meanwhile the situation with health centres had begun to exhibit severe problems. Shortage of finance began seriously to affect the work of the centres. In 1964 all districts were complaining of the shortage of finance. The Rift Valley Region noted that 'the demand for funds becomes an ever increasing burden'.² In 1965 when free treatment was introduced in health centres some centres in the Rift Valley Province had to close. Nyanza reported that Gusii County Council had removed its medical vehicles from the road during the last three months of 1964. In South Nyanza it was recorded that health centre buildings remained in a poor state of repair and that the County Council was unable for financial reasons to undertake any repairs.³

As well as a serious shortage of funds there was an equally serious shortage of staff. Bungoma County Council recorded that only one of their five health centres had a trained Hospital Assistant in charge, the remainder had dressers.⁴ Central Region reported:

The collection of graduated personal tax was not as successful as it might have been, and as a result, money was short in most of the County Councils and this reflected on the medical services they provide. Staff too was in short supply and economies had to be made in transport in most districts.⁵

Western region reported nepotism in the recruitment of health staff. There was no Health Visitor in

¹. Medical Department Annual Report 1964, p. 60.
². Medical Department Annual Report 1965, p. 28.
⁴. ibid., p. 29.
⁵. ibid., p. 24.
Kakamega and only one doctor in the whole district. The North Eastern Region had no midwives, nor any Health Inspectors or Health Assistants.  

Dissillusion had begun to set in with the performance of health centres. Busia County Councils reported that their health assistants and health staff gave health talks where they could. But 'in health centres the effects are doubtful; a better response has been in schools where we have a disciplined audience'.

In 1963, Fendall, now Director of Medical Services, appealed for a higher proportion of government incometo be spent on health services. He continued to point out that the strength of the health service was the strength of the health centres. Costs of building and running a health centre had more than doubled over the previous years. He restated the need for some 450 health centres to meet the minimum national demands and noted that only 140 existed. The aim of building and equipping 15 to 20 centres a year was not being met and was indeed not to be met. An annual net population growth of over 3 per cent was aggravating the situation and the provision of health services was failing to keep pace with this. The national development plan drawn up in 1964 projected an increase in the provision of health centres at a rate of 4 in the first year rising to an annual rate of 24 by 1968. The following development plan in 1966 stated that by 1970 an additional 110 health

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2. Ibid., 24.
3. N.R.E. Fendall, Planning Health Services in Developing Countries, op. cit., p. 981.
centres should be established with central government assistance by up-grading existing dispensaries and sub-health centres. This was not met and records show the existence of around 200 centres in 1970.

During 1965, the President's call for a greater effort in the development of self-help projects resulted in local initiative in the construction of new health centres. However, the willingness of local people to build their own centres was not matched by sufficient health staff to man them. By 1970, in 27 districts self-help groups were promoting 115 health centres and 118 dispensaries, most of which were started with no assurance that needs for staff, equipment or recurrent costs could be met. A good many have since been completed but cannot be operated. The government admitted that the standard of service provided by the health centres was not improving because of the shortage of para-medical staff, inadequate supervision, lack of adequate financial support from local authorities, and the rapidly increasing work load. The original target of one centre to 20,000 people was nowhere met. The national average provision was one to 65,000 with some districts but one centre to well over 100,000 people.

With financial shortage, staff shortage, and a rapidly increasing demand for curative services, the health education programme which was based on the centres has now collapsed. The Division of Health Education continues as a support unit producing aid to

3. See Appendix II.
5. loc. cit.
health education and has a staff of four including a Medical Officer in charge. One of the staff is deployed in Nyanza with the Mobile Health Unit. Most of the time of this staff is spent on preparing exhibits for district and provincial shows and in teaching on courses of in-service training for medical and health auxiliaries. The courses for health centre teams run at the National Reference Health Centre, Karuri, ceased during 1967 as staff could not be spared from the field.\(^1\) The strain on the existing 165 health centres in coping with curative needs of the areas they serve is enormous whilst the problems raised in finance and staffing of the self-help centres being developed have serious political implications which bedevilled the already insoluble economic ones.

The provision of staff and resources for health education programmes has to compete for staff and resources for curative medicine. At present, Kenya is short of medical staff and hospital beds. The service is 200 doctors short and most districts have a ratio of less than one hospital bed per thousand population.\(^2\) In the rural areas there is one doctor to around 40,000 people.\(^3\) Yet it is only through intensive programmes of health education that will, in the long run, help to reduce the demand for curative services.

The principle behind the health centre is that the staff in these centres should combine together in the development of comprehensive programmes which embrace curative, preventive and promotive aspects in a unified approach. Health education is a function of

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1. Information provided by the Medical Officer in charge of the National Reference Health Centre.
2. This compares with a ratio of 10.6 per 10,000 in the United Kingdom.
all staff in general and of none in particular. If one accepts that priority will always be given to the development of curative services then the amount of time and money which will be spent on health education will depend on firstly the number of medical staff in the field who have the time from their curative duties to devote to educational work, and secondly, the willingness of the medical staff who do have the time to spend this on health education programmes.

In Kenya, it has not so far been established that there are sufficient staff in the field to be able, reasonably, to expect them to engage in health education activities other than in a superficial way. When the present health programme in Kenya was planned during the late 1940s and early 1950s it was recognised that there were two opposing schools of thought on the development of health education: one that believes that all health education should be performed by a specialist health educator, based on the outlook that the doctor and nurses are too immersed in clinical work to be able to spare much time for health education; the second school believes that all personnel should take part in health education as part of their routine duties.¹ The second school's belief was adopted in Kenya and it has shown little success. It may be that a combination of both approaches is what is required where a small cadre of field health education officers is created to provide a focus for health education programmes in the districts. Proposals have been put forward by the Division of Health Education for Provincial Health Education Officers.²

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² Health Education Development Plan, 11 Jul. 1968, p. 3.
But these as yet have not been accepted by government and until 1974 the only development expenditure intended is the construction of a new building for the Health Education Division in Nairobi. At present, there are no local staff with special training in health education training techniques. The teaching in health education techniques given to medical field staff is meagre and rudimentary. As yet there has been no research carried out on the most effective ways through which health education can be programmed or to ascertain the approaches that are most acceptable to rural folk.

In spite of the failure to achieve a comprehensive curative, preventive and promotive health service and a viable health education programme, the framework within which this could be developed has been established. The health centre remains the medical and health unit nearest to the people and during 1970 responsibility for these have been taken away from the local authorities and handed directly to the Ministry of Health. This will help to correct the uneven spread of centres which in the past had to rely on the wealth of each individual local authority and will help to facilitate improved national planning and administration. The basic problem still remains, however, of providing a minimal acceptable curative service until this is achieved little improvement in preventive and promotive services should be expected.

The abilities of reading, writing and doing simple arithmetic are not ends in themselves, they are skills which enable those who have them to communicate more effectively. An adult who is illiterate is forced to rely on oral communication. East African tribal society was an illiterate one. The Christian missionaries saw it as one of their functions to teach reading and writing and, supplemented later by the Jeanes teachers, they organised literacy classes for adults on an ad-hoc basis. As the national child school system began to evolve on the firm base of the mission schools so the main pre-occupation of missionary teachers concentrated on children of school age. Government, similarly, was pre-occupied with child education though the pre-war Jeanes School was concerned with producing teacher-supervisors for the Education Department and Missions who would as part of their responsibilities develop literacy classes for adults. There was, however, no specific government policy on the eradication of illiteracy. It was expected that as the school system expanded so adult illiteracy would automatically eradicate itself. This, of course is true but does not take into account the slow speed with which the educational system has expanded and the fast rate at which the population has increased. The number of adult illiterates is possibly higher now than it was in 1945. Illiterates, unable to learn through reading, unable to communicate through writing, unable to help themselves with basic
arithmetic are a drain on the human economic potential. They are limited in the way they can help themselves and in the way they can help others. Illiteracy is a blockage to national economic social and political development as was recognised by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in his Memorandum on Mass Education in Africa in 19441 and in the Report on the development of Citizenship in Africa which was circularised to the colonies in 1948.2 But Kenya was pledged to a policy heartily endorsed by the Governor, Sir Philip Mitchell: 'Social services, hospitals, clinics, welfare workers and many other things of that kind are a consequence and not a cause of primary production, and if we cannot produce a wealth we cannot have the consequences'.3 The eradication of illiteracy was considered a social service.

Literacy and Community Development: 1945-1952

Adult literacy programmes received no special encouragement during the post-war period. With the establishment of the small Social Welfare Organisation in 1946, it was tacitly assumed that literacy work would be part of the responsibility of its officers. The Education Department showed no interest in this field as far as its own portfolio was concerned and was happy that the social welfare officers should shoulder this task. The plan for African Education

1. Mass Education in Africa, 1943, Col. no. 186.
2. Education for Citizenship in Africa, 1948, Col. no. 216.
produced in 1948 made it quite clear that the Education Department considered adult literacy a part of the work of the Social Welfare Organisation. The Development Committee endorsed the proposals of its sub-committee on Social Welfare, Information and Mass Education that the social welfare staff should develop Information Rooms which would evolve into community centres 'from which ultimately adult literacy will spread'.

In 1948 there were only eight senior social welfare staff and twenty-one social welfare assistants. No special money was allocated to literacy. The Education Department had its own problems. In the whole country, there were only two government and four mission secondary schools whilst only two of the mission schools offered full secondary courses. Throughout the country there were just over 2,000 primary schools and 51 Junior Secondary Schools giving a two year post-primary course. What finance was available was required for the expansion of primary and secondary education. The task of the Social Welfare Organisation was an impossible one. Nevertheless, wherever there was a social welfare worker or a social centre literacy classes were organised combined with classes to teach English and other kinds of further education related to the primary school course. The training course for social welfare assistants at the Centre 'C' included training in the techniques of literacy teaching, and in 1948, the

Commissioner for Social Welfare tried to get an establishment for a Literacy Officer as a member of staff as part of the proposals for the reformed Jeanes School.¹ It was suggested that the Literacy Officer would help in the training of literacy teachers at Jeanes and in the field and also would identify districts which were ripe for a special literacy drive. The suggestion was not accepted. There was considerable scepticism about the work of the social welfare staff, the concept of mass education and the need for literacy programmes. E. Carey Frances, a leading educator and Principal of one of the African secondary schools, wrote during 1946:

My present belief is that the present talk about Mass Education is hot air largely. I see no sign either that the people want to be educated or that the educated ones really want to educate them though the educated ones might well do something if they really felt that the others wanted them. I believe that if there were a campaign for adult literacy around us, I would put it to the Kikuyu boys (of the school) and get a satisfactory response from many of them. I am ready to do this if and when the initiative comes from elsewhere.²

Government encouragement to the literacy programmes remained meagre. It depended on the inclination of the individual field officers. By 1951, there were only nine district level officers charged with social and community development work and their posts were deleted from the national financial estimates during 1952. However, there are records of small literacy programmes being organised by the

Municipal African Affairs Officers in Nairobi, Mombasa and Nakuru, though in none of these places did the number of students exceed 200 at any one time. In the townships classes were based on the town social centres which were more like beer halls than educational establishments. In the rural areas, classes were organised in Nyanza based on the social centres and the growing number of women's clubs, in Central Province, on the social centres; records also show classes in Machakos district, Kitui, Kwale and Nandi. Classes were organised on a self-help basis with fees charged being used to pay those teachers who required to be paid. Literacy was taught as part of a basic primary school educational programme for adults and was combined with classes teaching arithmetic and English. In Nakuru classes were held in a local school and the fee was 15 shs. per term. Students provided their own writing books but a few textbooks provided through the Native Trust Fund were available from the municipality. In Nairobi literacy classes were organised separately from the programme of the old established Nairobi Evening Continuation Classes. The Evening Continuation Classes continued to be organised indirectly by the Municipal Council through a committee which was chaired by a municipal councillor but which included representatives from the African Affairs Department, the

2. The municipal social centres, short of funds, supplemented their income from the sale of beer became profit making institutions.
5. Personal communication from J.S. Omumba, Director of Social Services, Nakuru Municipal Council.
Education Department, the G.P.O., and members to represent Asian and African interests. The main programme was primarily aimed at meeting the needs of the European and Asian communities and included in 1950, classes in surveying, bookkeeping, plumbing and drain laying, dressmaking and cooking for European ladies, physics, chemistry and biology. In 1945, reluctantly, classes in basic English had been introduced but it was made clear that primary level classes were not part of the programme. Compared with other adult education programmes the Nairobi programme received strong government support. Its revenue in 1949 was £2,600 of which £1,300 came from the Education Department, £950 from the Municipal Council, £350 from the Native Trust Fund, and £50 from the East African Railways and Harbours Corporation. By late 1949 pressure from the African representatives and some of the Europeans forced a change of policy favouring a less exclusive programme, and in 1950 elementary education classes were introduced in the social centres and some of the primary schools in the African locations of Nairobi. 600 Africans were quickly registered each paying fees of 1/50 per month.

Government support for the Nairobi Evening Continuation Class programme was one of the direct results of the post-war enthusiasm for mass education.

1. These included Eliud Mathu, Tom Mbotela, and A.M. Sadruddin.
3. loc. cit.
It was P.E.W. Williams, the Director of Training and subsequently Director of Social Welfare, who had proposed government support in 1944. But it was to six years later before African interests were to predominate and anything like a mass education approach was adopted.

During the period from 1945 to 1952 the most successful and thorough literacy project was carried out not by Government but by the Methodist Church. In 1945 a woman missionary, Mary Holding, had been struck by the need for better African leadership in the Methodist Church in the Meru District in which she worked. She wanted to try to solve the problem of the paucity of women leaders in the district and she believed that a literate Church would not only be a stronger Church but would be more likely to produce its own leaders and to be able to free itself from dependence on European leadership. She set out, therefore, to organise a literacy programme beginning with the women associated with the church. She faced the difficulty of overcoming their inertia, apathy and unwillingness to accept new ideas. She noted that whereas on the part of some of the men in the more progressive areas of the district there was some faint desire to learn to read, 'among the women there was

none, nor was there any belief that the ability to read or write came within the realm of remote possibility'.

There was no vernacular literature except the Gospel of St. Mark, a hymn book and two school readers. There was no support from government funds and during the first two years of her literacy work only £20 from the missionary society. She was quick to perceive that there were three essentials for a successful literacy project: an incentive to make folk want to be literate; a self-help organisation, since there was no money; the elimination of European direction and control and the development of voluntary leadership. She organised her programme by tackling each of these essentials in turn.

Where before there had been no motive for literacy, she set about creating one. Two missionaries were briefed to bring before the Synod, on which Europeans and Africans were represented, a motion that literacy be made a condition of Church membership for anyone under the age of approximately forty years. The proposal was put to the vote and carried. She then set about demonstrating that the ability to read and write was within the capabilities of the people. A number of experimental classes were begun. It was decided to begin with the women 'partly because they had the most leeway to make up and partly because we knew

that if we succeeded in proving that a woman could read and write no man would dare to say that it was too difficult for him'. She wanted to prove that there were quicker and easier methods of learning that were more suited to adults and that there was no necessity to sit down in school for five days in a week.

The experimental classes were successful. She prepared teaching charts and booklets. The first five booklets were subsidised by the Mission bookshop and sold for ten cents each. She trained a nucleus of teachers. Successful students were used to enthuse others and classes quickly spread to fifty village churches which organised classes for themselves and paid for their own equipment. She attributed the success of the programme to the African control of the project and she perceptively noted: 'I think it is true to say that in Kenya, at present, on account of the difficult political situation, any idea coming from a European, however good it may be in itself, tends to be looked at with suspicion'. From the start her aim was to help the literacy programme through the churches to be independent and to help indigenous staff to learn from their own mistakes.

The project caught the imagination of the local people and 20 small booklets were published in the first two years, some of which were subsidised by the Local Native Council in editions of 2,000 each.

2. Ibid., p. 59.
3. Ibid., p. 57.
In 1948 a primer and two other booklets in Kimeru were published by the Methodist Missionary Society in editions of 3,000 each.\(^1\)

The period between the close of the Second World War and the outbreak of the Mau Mau rebellion saw little that was of significance in the actual development of a national programme for the eradication of illiteracy. The call from the Colonial Office was hardly heeded in Kenya. Nevertheless, some policy steps were taken. It was established that the organisation which catered for community development or social welfare also had a responsibility for adult literacy. The tradition of Community Development Officers encouraging and supporting self-help in literacy work was established, though in the early 1950s the involvement of community development staff in self-help projects and betterment schemes overshadowed the work they did in the literacy field. Through the work of the community development staff the government covertly admitted a responsibility for the eradication of illiteracy for the first time, even though it was not prepared to vote money for it. The Jeanes School re-established itself as a training centre for the training of staff working in the literacy field. Finally, a literacy programme had been organised which was generally considered a success, even though it had been on a small scale. The programme in Meru not only helped as an encouragement to government to take literacy work more seriously but it involved the local authority and most importantly reminded the Missions generally that whilst they were heavily committed to the expansion of school education, they

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\(^1\) M. Holding, op. cit., p. 59.
traditionally and morally still had responsibility in this field of adult literacy.

**Literacy and the Education Department 1952-1960**

Two events occurred in 1952 which gave an impetus to the extension of literacy programmes. The first was the publication of two reports on the development of education in Africa by the Colonial Office in London.1 The Colonial Secretary was critical of the way that education had been developing. On the one hand there was too little provision; on the other hand what was being provided was considered to be disruptive of traditional African life and was producing young Africans ill-oriented to the needs of African life. Two study groups were formed, one to deal with the West African situation, the other, under the Chairmanship of A.L. Binns, to study the East and Central African situation. The two reports together provided the most comprehensive survey of African education since the Phelps-Stokes Reports of the mid 1920s.

The Binns Report on East and Central Africa made specific reference to the role of adult education in the colonies.2 It was concerned with the rate at

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which the political scene was changing since it appeared that democratic forms of government were being introduced ahead of the ability of the masses to appreciate and understand the national issues. It was especially concerned with the dangers arising from the political intimidation of an uneducated and uninformed electorate. In the economic field the study group recognised the need for an agricultural revolution and noted the shortcomings of the school system in producing Africans suited to pioneer such a change. In the social and cultural field the group was worried about the breakdown of traditional customs and moral sanctions. The group strongly recommended the development of adult education programmes to help as a panacea alongside a reorientation of the formal school system. Binns emphasised that these programmes should be under the coordinatory control of Departments of Education and made a special plea for the development of properly organised literacy programmes in relation to the evolution of an informed electorate.

The second event which gave an impetus to the literacy programme was the declaration of the state of emergency in the country. The formal recognition of the Mau Mau rebellion and the immediate rounding up of thousands of Kikuyu, Embu and Meru tribesmen in detention camps during late 1952, underlined the need for improving educational provision as quickly as possible. The political situation in Kenya indeed bore out the pessimistic foresight shown in the Binns Report. There was an immediate need to stem the tide of violent political agitation in the country, rapidly to develop a programme of adult education to counter the worst aspects of rumour and misinformation flooding the country, and to keep unaffected tribal groups loyal to the government whilst at the same time, as part of the rehabilitation programme for the detainees, to
provide education as a way of keeping them occupied and putting their time in detention to some useful purpose. Literacy work was one of the ways in which the provision of adult education found expression. The effort of the government however, was to suffer from the lack of finance since security measures consumed an increasing proportion of government funds and the period coincided with a particularly bleak economic period when commodity prices were low.

The Binns Report, the Emergency and the possibility of some finance becoming available for literacy work, all stimulated the Director of Education. During late 1952, W. Wadley, the Director of Education, with the support of the Member for Education in the Legislative Council, persuaded the Chief Native Commissioner to take responsibility for literacy away from the Department of Community Development and give it to the Education Department once more.\(^1\) In December 1952, the Chief Native Commissioner called a meeting to discuss community development policy at which he announced that literacy would revert to the Education Department.

Wadley quickly set about planning an adult literacy programme and by August 1953\(^2\) had worked out the details. He talked about a two stage literacy campaign. The first stage was to be a pilot project in one district. The second stage was to be

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1. Wadley to Member for Education, 17 Aug. 1953, HQCD file H(P)10/1/1.
2. W. Wadley, Circular to the Committee on African Advancement and to all members of the Executive Council on Adult Literacy, 25 Aug. 1953, HQCD file H(P) 10/1/3.
a national programme based on two teacher training colleges at Kagumo in Central Province and Siriba in Nyanza. Wadley saw literacy not as a part of fundamental education related to mass education in health, agriculture and community development but as the first step on the formal educational ladder. He used this argument to justify the Education Department taking over literacy work:

Most important is the fact that adult literacy must deal not only with adults in the ordinary sense of the word but also with those who leave school at various stages; for the latter the literacy campaign must be a follow-up of their primary or intermediate education, and the only practicable way in which to ensure that this object is carried out is to make this type of instruction the responsibility of the Education Department.¹

Wadley proposed placing an Education Officer in charge of the pilot project, which was to last six months and which he costed at £3,717 for teacher training, books and teaching materials. The Education Department was to bear this cost but the local authority was to pay the teachers who taught the illiterates and he reckoned that students should pay small fees which would go to the local authority, thus reimbursing them for the cost of paying the teachers.²

The immediate task of the Education Officer in charge of the pilot scheme was to find out exactly what staff and equipment were needed for such a scheme.

¹. W, Wadley, Circular to the Committee on African Advancement and to all members of the Executive Council on Adult Literacy, 25 Aug. 1953, HQCD file H(P) 10/1/3, p. 2.
². Education Department Memorandum, Adult Education - Pilot Scheme for Adult Literacy CAA/2, 18 Dec. 1953, HQCD file H(P) 10/1/9.
Wadley chose the Machakos District for the pilot project. The Machakos African District Council had already minuted their support and enthusiasm for the scheme. 1 But more importantly the Chief Native Commissioner and the other members of the Committee for African Advancement were aware that it was politically desirable to make a gesture of this kind to the Wakamba tribe in order to help secure their loyalty to the government. The tribe provided a major recruiting ground for the army and the police force and their reserve bordered on the Kikuyu reserve so that there was always the possibility that some Wakamba might give support to the Mau Mau movement. 2 The choice of Machakos was therefore an acceptable one. In August 1953 the Executive Council approved the first phase of Wadley's proposals, though no support was given to the second phase until the Legislative Council had approved the provision of adequate funds. 3

The Education Officer, T.R. Young, began work in Machakos in January 1954. He was able to call on the expertise of the community development staff, who were already managing self-help classes. All the Community Development Assistants had had training in literacy work at the Jeanes School. The East African Literature Bureau had already produced simple books in Kikamba, Kikuyu, Nandi and Kiswahili. The community development staff had been trained in the

1. Meeting of Machakos African District Council, Jul. 1953, min. 46/53.
Laubach method of literacy teaching but no primers existed. Indeed, the Education Department expressly disclaimed the need for a special adult primer. It was argued that since school teachers were to be used to teach literacy classes it was better to use school primers with which they were familiar. The problem of follow-up books was similarly discarded:

In most vernaculars there also exist texts, which although originally produced for children, are suitable for adults. Obviously a translation of 'Pilgrim's Progress' falls into this category as do most biographies.

The Commissioner for Community Development offered the services of the local community development staff and the use of the social and community halls on which the staff were based. The Education Department, however, disapproved of the use of any premises other than school buildings and recommended the use of trained school teachers only. The main objective of the literacy project was clearly stated:

The literacy which is desirable is literacy in English. While it is true that this cannot always be acquired direct, it should be the ultimate aim of every scheme. The desire to acquire English is a powerful stimulant, and an incentive to face the laborious task (for an older man) of learning to read and write: the paucity of reading matter in the vernacular, and the financial difficulties implicit in providing special books, mean that students are frustrated, and the door opened to seditious and other undesirable ephemeral books.

2. loc. cit.
Young was given four African supervisors to help him organise the programme in Machakos. Three were paid by the African District Council and the fourth was provided by the Education Department. They began work in one Location, Kangundo, the area being divided between the four literacy supervisors. Part-time literacy teachers were recruited from amongst school teachers and they were paid between 16 shs. and 24 shs. per month depending on their seniority in the Education Department and the level of the literacy class which they were teaching. Students paid between 5 shs. and 7 shs. per term of 36, 1½ hour lessons, about three lessons per week. Fees were at first collected by the supervisors but this proved an unsatisfactory arrangement and the responsibility was transferred to the Locational Council since the fees, in any case, went to the local authority who paid the school teachers. The literacy classes were held in the early evening between 4.30 p.m. and 6 p.m. so that everyone could return home before dark. The course syllabus was designed to follow the primary school syllabus and included reading, writing and arithmetic. Teachers were forbidden to teach other subjects. Young used his time by moving around the district attending barazas and explaining the aims and objectives of the literacy project. During the school holidays he organised one week courses for the literacy teachers in teaching methods and to familiarise them with the Laubach system of 'each one teach one'.

1. The Laubach Method takes its name from the work of Dr. T. Laubach who pioneered literacy work in the U.S.A. and the Philippines. It has come to be associated with the philosophy that each person who becomes literate has an obligation to teach another as a rapid way of spreading literacy. It is also associated with the use of a pictorial base with a letter superimposed, linking sound with a visual object as an aid to memorising sounds.
Each class appointed a committee to check on the collection of class fees and to keep a record of attendance. During 1955, when the project spread to the rest of the district, part-time supervisors were appointed from amongst the local headmasters. Each part-time supervisor had responsibility for four classes and he was paid 3 shs. per day.¹ The class met in a local classroom, usually a primary school, and was issued with a basic textbook for each student. The course was designed to last for three terms over one year and the student was expected to become literate in his vernacular during the first two terms and then to progress to English during the third term. The Machakos scheme was considered a success. It has been estimated that between 1954 and 1956 some 8,000 adults were made literate and that a further 8,000 left the classes having achieved some skill in reading.² There was, however, no accurate method of record keeping nor was there any research or evaluation into the techniques or achievements of the project. Research and testing of methods and techniques was 'carried on through the ordinary channels of refresher courses for teachers, discussions on results obtained, monthly teachers' conferences and test courses given by adult literacy officers'.³

The progress of the Machakos scheme was sufficiently encouraging for the government to take

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¹ Personal communication from A.K. Thyaka. Thyaka was one of the original supervisors of the scheme.
seriously a suggestion from Wadley that international aid should be sought for the expansion of the programme to other districts. During 1955 an approach was made to the United States of America through the U.S.A.'s International Cooperation Administration for a literacy specialist and funds for the production of teaching materials, office equipment, travel and salaries for local literacy supervisory staff. The proposals envisaged the expansion of the programme to Nairobi, Mombasa, the Nyanza Province and some of the Rift Valley areas based on Nakuru. The I.C.A. was sympathetic and an agreement was signed in mid-1955 though it was not to be implemented until 1957.\(^1\)

Even before the agreement with U.S.A. had been signed Wadley had begun to spread literacy work to other districts. During 1955, Young had tried establishing classes in the Masai district of Kajiado neighbouring Machakos.\(^2\) A more serious attempt was that which was made in South Nyanza in the Kisii district. Here, in early 1955, Wadley posted a second officer to begin a project similar to that mounted by Young in Machakos.

L. Colchester, the Education Officer appointed to run the Kisii scheme, had had experience in literacy teaching in Kenya during the war. The Kisii scheme however, proved very disappointing. From the outset, the local people appeared apathetic to the scheme and Colchester had not the easy persuasive manner of Young. The District Commissioner was not in

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2. Personal communication from A.K. Thyaka.
sympathy with the scheme and one common accusation was that the project was too closely associated with government control.\(^1\) Instead of local government staff collecting fees as in Machakos, the task was given to the Chiefs and Headmen which introduced an early element of compulsion which was resented by the local people. Then, in a misguided attempt to encourage class attendance, exemption from communal labour tasks was granted to those who paid their fees. Communal labour, involving unpaid work on such local tasks as road building and construction work, was unpopular and onerous. The natural result was that the local people took the opportunity of registering at a literacy class and paid the fees but did not necessarily attend the class, though they gained the exemption from communal labour. Classes did expand but the provision of books in Gusii language was meagre and the project never gained the momentum as that in Machakos. In late 1956, the scheme was admitted a failure and was discontinued.\(^2\)

In early 1957, enthusiasm for literacy in the Education Department was beginning to show signs of waning. It had been decided that after mid 1957, the Department would no longer support the project in Machakos with staff or finance. It was felt that as the project was underway, the African District Council should take over full responsibility. Young was posted to Nakuru to begin a new literacy programme in the Rift Valley. The Machakos African District Council, however, was in no financial position to pay

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1. Personal communication from M. Oisebe. Oisebe was one of the original teachers in the Kisii scheme.
2. Meeting of Kisii District Adult Education Advisory Committee, 25 Sep. 1963, min. 3.
all the costs itself and the Education Department agreed to meet the costs of the supervisors. Payment of the teachers in Machakos became the responsibility of the individual class members, since the A.D.C. could not guarantee minimum payments any longer. The classes in essence became once more self-help classes like those previously fostered by the community development staff. From 1957 onwards, the Machakos project began to lose its momentum. From a total membership of 12,834 in 1957, paid membership had fallen by 1959 to half, 6,284, though the records of the supervisors show a registration of 20,000. It appears that both the District Commissioner and the District Education Officer were antagonistic to the literacy project and once Young was posted away they enforced a rigidity on the classes which tended to diminish enthusiasm amongst pupils and teachers. Regulations were introduced and as far as possible were rigidly enforced. Classes had to have a minimum of 25 students before they could be held; the permission of school area managers had to be given before school teachers could be approached to take literacy classes; all fees had to be paid at the first meeting of the class. It was not always easy to collect together 25 illiterates who could pay the cost of the course at the first meeting and school managers could be difficult in giving permission for school teachers to take classes. The momentum of literacy work was diminished and gradually the class organisation became weaker and weaker.

3. loc. cit.
The disastrous literacy project in Kisii and weakening of the Machakos scheme coincided with the beginning of the new phase in literacy work supported by I.C.A. It had originally been intended that the new scheme should include Nyanza but the antagonism of the District Commissioner in Kisii, who subsequently became Provincial Commissioner, precluded that Province being included in the scheme. Colchester, who had been in charge of the Kisii project, was posted to Kiambu to try again but here he was even less successful. He managed to open about twenty classes but by the end of 1956 they had died away. Here again it appears that rigidity in control foiled the development. The requirement that there should be minimum number of 25 students per class and fee payment on the first day militated against success. Moreover, classes had to be held during the day because the schools used had no lighting. This was inconvenient for most adult students and affected their availability to attend. The effort in Kiambu was quickly spent and Colchester was sent to Mombasa to see what could be done there. In mid 1957, after six months, Colchester reported that it was not worthwhile going on with the project since 'there was little response to the new classes opened; evening continuation classes under private management were already in operation and seemed to be meeting the demands; little scope for expansion outside the City'. Colchester subsequently resigned from the Education Department.

Based at Nakuru, Young was making a valiant attempt to develop literacy classes in the vast area of

2. L. Colchester, contained in Mooney, op. cit., p. 20.
the Rift Valley Province. He chose to try to work through, and in cooperation with, other government officers and private individuals. In the African reserves he worked through the community development staff; in the townships he tried to work with the municipal authorities; in the European settled areas he tried to work through sympathetic European farmers. Classes were established in Nandi, Elgeyo-Marakwet and Baringo districts; in the townships of Eldoret, Thomson's Falls, Nakuru and Naivasha; in the forested areas with the help of the Forestry Staff. He had, however, no subordinate staff. Money was short and since the local authorities could give little support local enthusiasm quickly died away. He was defeated by the size of the area, lack of personnel to control and supervise the classes, and lack of support from either his Department or the local authorities.

While Colchester was reaching his depressing conclusions on the possibilities at the Coast and Young was struggling in the Rift Valley, the American literacy expert arrived in May 1957, as part of the I.C.A.A. agreement. £30,000 was also provided by the I.C.A.A. on the understanding that a similar amount was provided by the government. The new expert, Miss Elizabeth Mooney, was not taken into the Departmental headquarters to provide her expertise throughout the Department but instead she was put in charge of a new programme to be developed in the Nairobi area. A former Community Development Officer, who had been engaged during the community development rehabilitation programme for detainees, was appointed after February 1958 to help her in the Nairobi project.

1. Mooney, op. cit., p. 25.
Mooney began work on her own without any other staff. She set about building on the base of the community development classes that had been run by the Nairobi municipality. In May 1957, she formed an Advisory Committee in Nairobi to give guidance to her work. The committee consisted of the Education Officer in charge of Nairobi, the Nairobi African Affairs Officer, the local Supervisors of Schools from the Christian Council of Kenya and from the Catholic Secretariat and two African representatives from the City Council. She began to coordinate the classes already being run in the City and to open new ones. A system of class registration was devised and all classes, whether sponsored by the Education Department or by voluntary agencies, were considered to be under the general supervision of Mooney's literacy section of the Education Department. By July 1958 45 centres had been opened with some 1,014 students. The teachers used were mainly school teachers who were encouraged to teach without pay. This did not, however, produce satisfactory results and a regular payment system was introduced of 35 shs. per month for all literacy classes and 45 shs. per month for English classes. As well as running these classes, the Literacy section produced a brochure for publicity and organised rallies in the African areas to build up support and gain publicity. In February 1958 Mooney produced a new quarterly newspaper for new literates, called The Key. This eight page paper was written in English with a simultaneous Kiswahili translation. It was sold at 20 cents a copy. The appointment of J. Dames as an

1. For the following description of the work of E. Mooney, I have drawn heavily from E. Mooney, Adult Literacy in Kenya, 1959, HQCD file AE/1, (typewritten).
assistant to Mooney in February 1958 was followed by the recruitment of another officer in August, and three supervisors were appointed from funds that had been released due to the failure of the Mombasa project. The Nairobi area, which for the purposes of the literacy programme was interpreted as including Thika and Kiambu, was divided between the two Literacy Officers, whilst the three African supervisors had responsibility for Kiambu, the Nairobi African Estates and for special classes for women.

In spite of the progress that Mooney was making, she was meeting considerable difficulty. The collection of fees and finding money to pay teachers were both serious problems and government economy measures, introduced in the middle of 1958, threatened to make the situation even more difficult. The Education Department and in particular the Assistant Director of African Education were finding the literacy programme an embarrassment. Economy cuts came in 1959 and they coincided with the cessation of the special I.C.A. funds, which had been provided for two years. The African members of Legislative Council were asking questions concerning the future policy of the government in regard to literacy work and were critical of the Education Department's programme.¹Mooney herself was not on good terms with the Assistant Director of African Education and she was no doubt suspicious of the future intentions of the Education Department in relation to the literacy project. W. Bromley, the Assistant Director of African Education, found her a difficult person² and alleged that she was

¹. Question no. 75, 25 Nov. 1958, HQCD file LEGCO/N/104
'not fitted to work in a government department'.\[^1\]

When her two year assignment came to an end in July 1959, Bromley took the opportunity of removing her and she returned to the United States without having her contract renewed. Considering the difficulties under which she had to work from the time of her arrival, when the Education Department's literacy programme was already showing distinct signs of losing momentum, she achieved a great deal and left behind a creditable programme in Nairobi.

By 1959 the Education Department's literacy programme was clearly unsatisfactory. The projects in Kisii, Kiambu and Mombasa had been written off. The projects in the Rift Valley and in the Nairobi area were under a cloud. The Education Department found itself committed to a policy for literacy with inadequate funds, insufficient trained staff and a moral commitment to the U.S.A. to continue the programme after spending of American funds during the previous two years. In February 1959 the Member for Education, Labour and Lands was minuting the Director of Education about the possibility of handing adult literacy back to the Department of Community Development. He noted that:

> it was doubtful whether the Education Department was, in fact, the most fitting instrument for such a campaign since it depended essentially on the stimulation of local self-help and therefore more a function of the Department of Community Development.\[^2\]

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After 1952 when the Education Department took over responsibility for literacy from the Department of Community Development, community development staff still continued to play a part in the encouragement and supervision of the traditional self-help classes. Indeed, it was only in a few districts, as has been described above, that the Department of Education made any impact. The Jeanes School continued to provide training in the organisation and methods of literacy work to the trainee community development field staff and welfare workers, and the customary association of community development with literacy was not lost, though it was no longer a major part of the community development programme.

In one important project the community development staff had been heavily engaged in literacy. This was the project of rehabilitation of the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru detainees who had been arrested under the Mau Mau Emergency regulations. During 1954, at the height of the Emergency, T.G. Askwith, the Commissioner of Community Development and Rehabilitation, had decided that adult education classes should be organised in the detention and prison camps. In the same year, a three months course was organised at the Jeanes School for trainee African Rehabilitation Assistants and the techniques of literacy teaching were included as part of the course. Teaching in the camps was undertaken by both the Rehabilitation Assistants and some of the better educated detainees themselves. The literate

cooperators were trained by the Rehabilitation staff and prepared their lessons for the early evening when the detainees came back from field work and were taught for an hour and a half. Some camps employed as many as 10 to 15 pupil teachers who were doing the actual teaching to groups of between 20 and 30. Usually one half hour was devoted to reading and writing, the remainder of the time being devoted to arithmetic, hygiene and agriculture.¹ It was estimated that in over 50 camps some 60,000 detainees received training in reading and writing and that about half of these gained a useful proficiency so that 'one of the major criticisms of the campaign was that more was done for the detainees than was done for the loyalists'.²

Of the voluntary bodies the Christian Council (C.C.K.) was especially active in literacy work during this period. The first controlled scheme began in 1956 in the Central Province districts of Fort Hall, Embu and Nyeri. Finances for the project were never strong but help came from the Church Missionary Society and the Council for Church Literacy and World Literacy, which enabled the C.C.K. to appoint an officer in the Nairobi headquarters to supervise the scheme with the assistance of two literacy supervisors. The project took the firmest root in the Fort Hall District where later the project manager and one of the supervisors were based. By 1959 there were 73 classes with some 15,000 students in the Fort Hall District. The African

1. Department of Community Development and Rehabilitation Annual Report 1955, p. 25.
2. J. Dames, Literacy Campaigns by the Department of Community Development and Rehabilitation in the Colony of Kenya 1954-1955, 12 Dec. 1955, HQCD file 34/106/7 (mimeo).
District Council in Fort Hall supported the scheme and provided £175 towards the cost of the classes. In Embu the African District Council paid the salary of the supervisor and by 1959 there were 35 classes. Nyeri was less enthusiastic. There was no supervisor and only 13 classes were reported as having started.

Like the Education Department projects, the C.C.K. project suffered from the shortage of funds and supervisory staff. The C.C.K. project suffered in particular from a shortage of transport to help in the supervisory work, whereas the Education Department had the government district pool of transport which it could call on. The C.C.K. attempted to provide motorcycles but these helped but little over bad roads in an enormous area of class visiting. Another problem that the C.C.K. had to overcome was the system of class registration.¹ Under the Emergency regulations any meeting of ten or more people for any purpose was illegal unless permission had been given and the proper registration procedure had been followed. This precluded any spontaneous class formation by anybody outside the Department of Education. Before a class could be formed the District Education Officer had to be consulted and his permission given or the class would be considered illegal. One of the particular faults for which the Education staff were on the lookout, was the attendance at literacy classes of children of school age. Since fees at the literacy classes were lower than those of the primary schools, there was a tendency for the poorer to send their children to a

literacy class rather than to a formal school. However, laudable as may have been the reasons for the enforcement of the registration system, it did prevent the spontaneity which is a pre-requisite to a mass movement. In spite of these problems the C.C.K. classes impressed Miss Mooney, who visited the classes in Fort Hall and Embu. She commented for example, on the classes run by the Friends African Mission at Embu:

Here the teachers are volunteers giving as much as two hours a day to their work. The classes are conducted more like clubs than formal classes and there is much interest on the part of both teachers and students. Libraries are maintained for follow-up reading.¹

For the most part, the C.C.K. classes were like the classes run by the Education Department which used a formal primary schools approach for adults. They were confined predominantly to members of the Anglican Church, much to the regret of the C.C.K. manager, who was critical of the lack of interest shown by the other protestant missions.² The prime purpose of the C.C.K. literacy classes remained the traditional one 'to give assistance to bible reading and meeting the demands of full Church membership'.³

One of the particularly noteworthy features of the C.C.K. literacy project was the contrast in methodology that it provided with the Education Department classes. Whereas the government scheme favoured the Laubach method of literacy teaching, the C.C.K.

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favoured the Lit-Lit method which was based on the immediate teaching of syllables rather than letter sounds as was the case with Laubach. There is no reason to suppose that one method was any better than the other since no comparative research was undertaken, but it did mean that literacy primer material could not easily be transferred from one scheme to the other. Another difference in approach was that the C.C.K. favoured the use of new literates and others outside the school system as literacy teachers whereas the Education Department insisted on the use of trained school teachers. The C.C.K. argued with justification that teachers in the habit of teaching children did not make the best teachers of adults and whilst a non-teacher might take time to pick up the skills required to make a good teacher of adults, a school teacher would have a great deal to unlearn first.

During 1959 it became clear to the Education Department that the easiest way of ridding itself of the embarrassing responsibility for adult literacy was to hand it back to the Department of Community Development. This period however was one of continuous change and reshuffle of government ministries and portfolios as new constitutions were introduced and modified. The Lennox-Boyad Constitution resulted in the boycott of the Legislative Council by the African members during 1959. In January 1960 the Lancaster House Constitutional Conference was held in London and subsequently a 'Caretaker' government was formed pending fresh elections. Community Development found itself operationally in the Ministry for African Affairs where the Commissioner for Community Development had become an Adviser to the Permanent Secretary for African Affairs, whilst responsibility for policy lay in theory at least with the new Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Adult Education. Under the circumstances the Permanent
Secretary for African Affairs was reluctant to take on responsibility for a defunct literacy programme. At a meeting of Provincial Commissioners in February 1960\(^1\) the Provincial Administration had openly opposed any further consideration of expenditure of public funds on literacy work, and in any case, the 'Caretaker' government felt itself unable to commit its successors to any expensive programme of adult literacy and had placed a moratorium on government sponsored literacy projects.

The Chief Secretary was finally prevailed upon to allow the Department of Community Development to take over adult literacy once more and the transfer came into effect in July 1960. By that time, the Education Department had run down its Literacy Section and all that remained was one officer, J. Dames, an office and office equipment.

There is no evidence that any lessons were learnt from the largely abortive attempt by the Education Department to develop a national literacy programme. In essence, the project was badly planned and ill-conceived. There was no preparation, no cadre of trained staff, inadequate finance and no systematised evaluation. There was no attempt to relate adult literacy to any of the development programmes in the African areas being organised by other government departments. The classes were a straight projection of the concept of the child primary school to adult groups making use of primary school buildings, primary school material and primary school teachers. Though it had been recommended in the Binns Report that literacy should be the responsibility of an Education Department, there was

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1. Notes on a Meeting of Provincial Commissioners, Feb. 1960, HQCD file H(P) 10/1/38.
no sign in Kenya that the staff of the Education Department at that time had any rudimentary idea of the nature and scope of literacy work. Young, working in Machakos and Rift Valley got nearest to the promotion of a successful programme but he was defeated by lack of support from his own department in the provision of staff and equipment. The Machakos scheme during 1959 began to show signs of developing into a mass movement, but after he left consider this account of the way classes were functioning in late 1960:

At the first centre, nobody was there due to K.A.P.E. examinations. Two miles from the second centre we picked up the teacher coming from his centre at the time he was supposed to be teaching. When we arrived at the centre, we found twelve young women and one illiterate man. There was no school register and no school textbooks. A few of the girls had their own books. Most of them had a pencil and an exercise book with four or five pages to work in, which may have been an indication of the amount of work done during two months of the term. The third centre was a small sisal go-down, there was a pressure lamp and a blackboard with sums of the previous day. We arrived after dark and after about a quarter of an hour, the teacher (untrained clerk in an African shop) turned up with four boys of ages between ten and twelve years, and four young men.1

The enthusiasm of organising staff, teaching staff and student body had evaporated. The basic mistake that the Education Department made was to spread its limited resources too thinly.

The three programmes taken together: those of the Education Department, the Christian Council of

1. J. Dames, Memorandum on the Machakos Adult Literacy Scheme, 28 Nov. 1960, HQCD file AE/1/59.
Kenya and the Department of Community Development, did, however serve to bring to light the crucial requirements of a controlled literacy programme. There must be adequate trained paid supervision; there must be adequate teaching material; there must be adequate transport. They also established that given these three requirements, the self-help motive could be used for paying teachers. Problems that were aired included the use of primary school teaching material; the use of primary school teachers as against non-school teachers; the right kind of training for literacy teachers and the adoption of one method of literacy teaching in order to simplify training and the production of teaching materials throughout the country.

By 1960, however, nowhere was there any sign that literacy was anything but the first rung of the primary educational ladder. The Ministry of Education and the Department of Community Development both adopted this approach whilst the Churches saw the objective of literacy in the same way with a more narrow emphasis on Bible reading and the way to being a better Christian. The idea that a motive for becoming literate could be linked to economic and social objectives had not yet been realised.

Adult Literacy and Formal Education Programmes

1960–1970

The period of responsibility for literacy in the Department of Community Development was short. During 1961 economy cuts which hit the Department particularly hard forced the Commissioner to send out
a circular to the community development field staff advising against the formation of new literacy classes beyond those already in existence.¹ There were also those who felt strongly that literacy should still be the responsibility of the Education Department and amongst these was the Permanent Secretary for the Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Adult Education. On the grounds that his Ministry was responsible for adult education policy, the Permanent Secretary called a meeting with the Ministry of Education and the Department of Community Development at which it was minuted that literacy should revert to the Ministry of Education and that a central Adult Literacy Board should be formed to coordinate the work of government in this field with that of the voluntary agencies.² A meeting of Permanent Secretaries in May 1961 confirmed this and in July 1961 literacy was officially once more with the Education Department.

The Education Department accepted the responsibility back reluctantly and was unable to provide any funds for a literacy programme. Instead, Bromley took the opportunity of winding up completely the Literacy Section. However, the work which had been started and which had experienced so many difficulties was not to be allowed to die completely. John Porter, who had earlier been the Principal of the Jeanes School, was now a member of the Legislative Council and he brought pressure on the Ministry of Education to form a Committee on Adult Education with a sub-committee to deal with adult literacy. In the event, the sub-

committee was formed before the main committee and it met under the Chairmanship of the Permanent Secretary for Education on 18 August 1961. On the sub-committee were representatives from community development as well as Porter. At the meeting an attempt was made to get representatives from the Ministries of Agriculture and Defence and to coopt Dames on to the sub-committee. Bromley, however, refused to do this. The main item of business of the meeting was a discussion of the possibility of getting funds for literacy from the Laubach Trust or from I.C.A.

When the Literacy Section had been threatened with closure Dames, the last surviving officer, had aired the possibility of the formation of a Central Literacy Office with aid from the Laubach Literacy Fund. Dr. Laubach had visited Kenya and had shown interest in the possibility. The sub-committee supported the proposal and in November 1961, Dr. Marshall Clarke, the Fund's Executive Officer visited Kenya to finalise the arrangements. It was agreed that the Laubach Fund would subsidise the new Centre at the rate of £350 per month until the end of the year as a holding operation on the assumption that government through the Education Department would make a similar contribution in the financial year beginning July 1962. The Literacy Centre opened in November 1961 as a private organisation with Dames as its head.

Dames saw his role of his Centre as providing a link between government and non-government bodies working in the literacy field under the general

guidance of the proposed Committee on Adult Education. Dames did not envisage that the centre would run any literacy classes of its own but rather that it would act as a supporting agency for those organisations which were running classes. He recognised that his Centre had a role in the production of literacy materials, literacy primers and follow-up books and in the training of literacy teachers.¹ Dames had had experience in both those activities whilst working under the direction of Miss Mooney. The Centre did not get off to a very good start. The Ministry of Education failed to include any finance for the Literacy Centre in its 1962 budget and the Laubach Fund had to come to the rescue and continue its grant during 1962. The Department, however, did allow Dames to take over what was left of the materials and equipment of the former Literacy Section.

But the newly founded Literacy Centre was to benefit from another round in the game of musical chairs that was played with adult literacy. In April 1962 a new government was formed. The Education Department was still unhappy with its responsibility whilst the Department of Community Development field staff were finding it both irritating and embarrassing to have to encourage and support self-help literacy classes without having the responsibility for them. It was decided that responsibility for literacy should revert once more to the Department of Community Development and in June 1962 the transfer was made. This time, however, the transfer was purely on paper since the Education Department had neither programmes of its own nor staff.

Adult literacy was to remain with the Department of Community Development from July 1962, until December 1964. During this time no government funds were directly available for literacy work though the department was able to make an annual grant to the Literacy Centre of £2,000 per year. It was part of the duties of the field community development workers to encourage the formation of self-help literacy classes on an ad-hoc basis. These classes were able to use the facilities of the Literacy Centre for the purchase of literacy primers and for assistance in the training of literacy teachers. During 1963 the Literacy Centre of Kenya, as it came to be officially titled, developed and produced literacy primers based on the Laubach method in most of the vernacular languages. It ran a bookshop in Nairobi through which it was able to sell its productions on a non-profit making basis. It organised short three-day training courses throughout the country where its services were requested and only travel expenses were claimed. By the end of 1965 it was estimated that over 5,000 prospective teachers had attended a Literacy Centre course though only about ten per cent of these were actually teaching. To help in the training programme, Dames had two assistants and a van to carry equipment and teaching materials and books for sale. Most of the training courses which Dames organised were with sponsoring bodies like the Churches, commercial firms in the urban areas, and plantations like the tea companies and sisal estates which organised literacy classes for their workers. He also trained community development staff in literacy methods at the Kenya

Institute of Administration.

Askwith, the Commissioner for Community Development, tried to streamline the procedures for the formation of literacy classes and he suggested to the field staff that they should encourage the formation of district adult education committees through which adult literacy could be organised locally. Some districts took up the suggestion and the Meru Community Development Officer, for example, issued the following directive:

Every class will have a committee elected by the people in the class, they will also have a teacher whom they will elect. The committee will take over responsibility for the class; it will be deciding on the fees to be paid by the members, teachers' salaries, and be thinking of ways to improve their funds and ways of improving their class. Representatives to the sub-locational self-help committee will be elected by the class committee and in the sub-locational self-help committee there will be a sub-committee to discuss adult literacy.

The effect of Askwith's circular was to bind adult literacy to the formal structure of the self-help movement which had been initiated by President Kenyatta after Independence. It also helped to tie literacy firmly to the community development sphere of government activity. The self-help classes did not operate without difficulty. It was a problem for them to pay sufficient fees to be able to attract a good teacher. They had difficulty in finding the money to buy note books and primers. Attendance was erratic and irregular and there was insufficient supervision.

1. T. Askwith, Circular to all Community Development staff, Jan. 1963, HQCD file MCD 13/1/3/2.
In spite of these troubles, it was estimated that during 1964, for example, there were at least 40,000 adult students attending 1,400 classes.\(^1\) Difficulties still remained with the Education Department. The Emergency regulations governing the formation of classes remained operative and self-help classes even if they were fully supported by a government community development officer still had to be registered with the District Education Officer. For registration, proof had to be shown that there was a competent manager and that there was a trained literacy teacher. The regulations were not always rigorously enforced but some Education Officers could choose to wield their power in an arrogant way and for no reason they could refuse permission for a class to meet, or for a school master to take a particular class. Records show continuing complaints by the C.D.Os about obstructive Education Officers.\(^2\)

The Literacy Centre was able to give valuable help to the C.C.K. literacy project which continued to operate in Fort Hall, Embu and Nyeri and in a new area around Nanyuki. The project was still finding difficulty in providing sufficient supervisory staff and sufficient transport but the C.C.K. specifically mentioned their appreciation of the help which their churches received from the district community development staff who now felt able to help as part of their normal duty. By 1963 it was recorded that in the project there were 120 classes with over 2,000 students. These numbers had increased in 1964 to 150 classes with

\(^1\) Ministry of Labour and Social Services Annual Report 1964, p. 21.
\(^2\) See HQCD file MCD 13/1/3/2.
nearly 2,500 adult students.¹

During 1964 the Department of Community Development was able to take two important new initiatives which were to have significant effects on the development of literacy. The first was the acceptance of the idea that there should be a statutory Board of Adult Education which could coordinate all kinds of adult education including adult literacy. The second was the opening of negotiations with UNESCO during late 1964 for the development of an East African Centre for Adult Education and Literacy. The Department of Community Development, whilst committing government to these two aspects of adult education policy, was fated not to see them through. In December 1964, it was announced by Presidential decree that from 1 January 1965, adult education was to be the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. It is tempting to surmise that the officials of the Ministry of Education once again, seeing the possibility of funds being available for adult literacy from international sources once more, wanted to get involved. What is clear, however, was that a new Permanent Secretary, J. Njeroge, had influence with the President and had a great interest in the development of adult education.

In the two years that literacy had been a responsibility of Community Development, considering that there were no special funds or staff available for this work, its record had been creditable. The nucleus of work that had been started in the Education Department and which had been threatened with complete

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extinction had been salvaged through the privately run Literacy Centre. The Literacy Centre had provided aid and expertise to the classes being run through self-help groups and voluntary agencies. The pressing problem of the eradication of illiteracy had been kept alive in the public mind. And there were 1,400 classes scattered around the country under the supervision of community development staff. The Kenya Education Commission paid tribute to the work of the Department even though it recommended the return of adult education to the Ministry of Education.¹

The negotiations which had been initiated by the Department of Community Development with UNESCO were continued by the Ministry of Education. It was agreed that UNESCO should supply two literacy experts and 22,400 dollars 'to assist the government in setting up an adult literacy centre, carry out experiments and studies in adult education, to set up a library and documentation clearing house on adult education and to train counterparts in teaching adult education and continuing education'.² It had been intended that the centre should be sub-regional in conformity with UNESCO policy which had been formulated at a conference on the planning and organisation of literacy programmes in Africa held at Abidjan during 1964 and which had stressed the importance of national and regional centres.³ The negotiations which took place to

2. UNESCO project: Centre for Literacy and Adult Education, 1965-1966, no. 541.
establish the centre were vague and no formal agreement was ever signed between UNESCO and the participating countries. It had been the intention that the centre should be guided by an Advisory Board which would consist of representatives from UNESCO, the Kenya Government, the University, the East African Literature Bureau and three coopted members from neighbouring governments. The Board never came into being.

It is clear that the Ministry of Education never properly understood the aims and purpose of the centre as they had been proposed in the Department of Community Development. In May 1965, the Ministry of Education approved the appointment of the first of the two UNESCO literacy experts, A Buitron. Yet, later in the same month, the Ministry of Education was asking the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development 'as to what exactly he will do here when he arrives'.

In October, just before Buitron arrived, there was still uncertainty:

We still have no idea what Mr. Buitron will do nor how he will operate. So far as I know there is no UNESCO centre. It seems we must give him office space. I suggest Mr. Kiti's old office. It is pretty poor but I think it will do.

However, the impending arrival of Buitron had forced the Ministry to clear its lines on the way it wished to develop literacy work. The Permanent Secretary took the bold decision as a matter of urgency to form an Adult Education Division within the

2. Deputy Chief Education Officer to Chief Education Officer, 2 Oct. 1965, HQCD file AE 192/UN/101
Ministry. A post that the Ministry had inherited from the Department of Community Development for a Secretary to the proposed Board of Adult Education was used to appoint a head of the new Division and an appointment was made in time for him to attend the UNESCO sponsored World Congress of Education Ministers on the eradication of mass illiteracy in Teheran in September 1965.

When the first literacy expert arrived there were no official terms of reference, no office space and no plans for a sub-regional centre which was to exist in name only. The second expert arrived in November and together with D. Mwandia, the head of the Division, they set about planning a national literacy campaign. The UNESCO experts were in favour of a selective approach to work-oriented literacy in conformity with unesco policy and wanted a scheme similar to that which had been started with UNESCO help in the Nyanza Region of Tanzania. The selective work-oriented approach is characterised by the development of a literacy programme within an economic or possibly a social development project in a limited area using the motive for economic betterment as a driving force to persuade the illiterates to participate. Literacy can thus become an ingredient of an agricultural programme, a cooperative development programme or of other similar types of programmes. In order to establish this approach the UNESCO experts tried to persuade the Ministry to request the services of an economist to help in making a survey of possibilities. The Ministry, however, neither wanted the services of an economist nor did they want a Tanzanian type project. The head of the new Adult Education Division wanted to cover the country with staff as quickly as possible. He appreciated that the past history of literacy in Kenya had not been healthy for staff who had been engaged in
the field. He knew the precarious nature of the work. He aimed therefore wisely at establishing a structure which could not be easily destroyed and he realised that continuity in literacy work was related to the number of full-time field staff of the Division working in the field. There was therefore a conflict of objectives between the UNESCO staff and the Divisional Head. Late in October 1965, Buitron had written to the Permanent Secretary suggesting a selective approach and making the point that 'a literacy project cannot cover the whole country. It has to be limited to an area where the links between literacy and economic development can be demonstrated'.

Whilst being preoccupied with the planning of the literacy campaign, the Ministry did not overlook its intention of involving itself in the whole field of adult education. The head of the Division was also Secretary to the newly formed Board of Adult Education and being an ex-school master was familiar with the primary school syllabus. Between March and September 1966, at least four draft plans for a national campaign were drawn up. Finally, it was officially approved that ten Assistant Education Officers (AEOs) could be recruited to launch the campaign in ten districts during the first year of the campaign. The AEOs would have finance to pay 350 literacy teachers with a student registration of around 10,500. The AEOs were to be recruited from school teachers with a flair for

1. A. Buitron to Permanent Secretary Education, 16 Oct. 1965, HQCD file AE 192/UN/103.
2. Education Officer (Adult Education) to Chief Education Officer, Allocation of Duties: Adult Education Section, 2 Mar. 1966, HQCD file AE2/2P0/57.
adult education, the literacy teachers were to be recruited from primary school teachers. The Campaign was in essence to be a primary school course lasting for four years of part-time study. The first of the four years was to be a literacy course, the following three years were to follow the normal primary school course 'to include subjects relevant to adult studies'. Arrangements were to be made for students to sit the primary school examination at the end of the four years. Students were to pay a small fee of 2 shs. per term or 6 shs. a year and the course was to follow the primary school year. The campaign was to begin in ten districts and then in each subsequent year more districts were to be included until the whole country was covered. There were, however, no guarantees for future financing, no training structure for training, either for the new AEOs or for the literacy teachers and the availability of teaching materials was poor. No consideration appeared to have been made on the desirability of taking adults through a primary syllabus even though the primary school leaver problem of finding employment was becoming intense and that it was generally considered that the primary school syllabus was unsuitable for children leave alone adults.

The inauguration of the National Literacy Campaign was announced by the President in his Kenyatta Day Speech on 20 October 1966. The first ten districts chosen were Taita-Taveta, Kitui, Embu, Nyandarua, Nairobi, Kajiado, Kericho, Kisumu, Bungoma and Kakamega. The criterion for the selection of these districts was the achievement of a reasonable geographical spread to

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avoid any political charge of favouritism. The new staff were given a week's training course on their duties and were allowed to begin organising their classes.

The new policy and programme of the Ministry of Education was not accepted happily by other bodies concerned with literacy. The UNESCO staff were unable to make any headway with the formation of the sub-regional literacy and adult education centre and found themselves having to work solely in support of a Kenyan programme which they could not whole-heartedly accept. Buitron, however, did help in the organisation and training side of the national campaign and in the production of materials. He supported a request for two more experts from UNESCO: one specially to help in staff training and the other to help in the production of literacy materials. These new staff arrived in 1967. Buitron felt able to make available 13,300 dollars for the purchase of writing books and materials for the new classes. He also was instrumental in persuading one of the national newspapers, the Taifa Leo to agree to print a page of news specially written for new literates in Kiswahili with an English translation. The page came out regularly once a week as part of the newspaper and Buitron, with the aid of a small editorial committee produced the material. The first edition was produced on 3 March 1966, and it continued to be produced regularly thereafter.

Relationships between the new Division of Adult Education and the community development staff were not good. The community development field staff continued

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to supervise the self-help classes and in 1965 there were 1,177 of these with over 31,000 students. The introduction of classes of the Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services in a district meant that in some districts two kinds of classes operated side by side; some subsidised by government and some not, which created resentment. The decision to transfer adult education to the Ministry of Education without prior consultation with community development 'created an atmosphere of uncertainty of authority and responsibility' which affected literacy development adversely. The head of community development training at the Kenya Institute of Administration had written to the Permanent Secretary Education asking why a new literacy campaign had been introduced when one already existed. He wanted to know why the experience of the community development staff was not utilised in the planning of the campaign. He criticised the new campaign's training programme and wanted to know why school teachers were being recruited most of whom were inexperienced in adult literacy and the methods of adult education. He raised the problem of paying some literacy teachers whilst others had to work without regular pay. What he voiced reflected the general feelings of the community development staff.

The privately run Literacy Centre was also drawn into the conflict. The Adult Education Division

3. Head of Community Development Training to Permanent Secretary Cooperatives and Social Services, 28 Nov. 1966, HQCD file AE2/2PO/147.
on UNESCO advice was critical of the Laubach methods used in the material of the Centre and even though there was paucity of alternative material, refused to allow Literacy Centre books to be used in its classes. It was also made clear to Dames, in spite of the fact that he offered to change his approach to literacy methods, that the services of his centre would not be required in the training field. Dames was critical of the programme of the Ministry of Education. He felt with some justification that 'since the new campaign is going to be run exactly in the same way (as the previous Education programme) that there is a real danger that the results will be as disappointing as the previous attempt'.

In July 1966, the Division having control now of government grants stopped payment of £1,000 of the £3,500 grant being made to the Literacy Centre, and in the following year ceased paying any grant at all.

It was apparent that two literacy programmes, both sponsored by government, could not exist under different management side by side. The largest and oldest programme was that run by the Department of Community Development. It was also clear that an element of self-help would always have to be an ingredient of any national literacy programme, the enormous scale of costing precluded any other conclusion. With effect from January 1967, responsibility for adult education and adult literacy was transferred once more to the Department of Community Development. Along with the portfolio was transferred the Adult Education Division.

The Division was kept intact within the Department of Community Development and no immediate attempt

1. J. Dames, Responsibility for Adult Literacy, 30 Nov. 1966, (mimeo).
was made to tamper with the form of the programme. This time Community Development had inherited a concrete structure from the Ministry of Education. Even though the concept of the project was open to radical criticism, there was a strong commitment on the part of government to provide funds for adult literacy. There was a headquarters staff, and field staff in ten districts with a commitment to spread the programme to other districts. The immediate problem was to get the community development and adult education staff to work in harmony. This was to prove extremely difficult. In the Ministry of Education, the field Assistant Education Officers (Adult Education) worked to the District Education Officer. When the staff were transferred to Community Development, it was expected that the AEOs would work similarly to the District Community Development Officer. This proved a constant problem since the AEOs considered themselves academically better qualified and more competent than their community development counterparts and resented having to report to a CDO. On the other hand, the AEOs found themselves having to rely on the Community Development Officers for office space, equipment, telephones, typing assistance and transport and the CDOs were not above using their rank to emphasise the chain of command. The field working relationships were made even more difficult by the lack of clear direction from the Community Development headquarters. The problem remains still to be solved.

The programme also began to run into difficulties. The reports of the AEOs together with others show that most of the classes were not teaching literacy but were a mixture of illiterates and semi-
The semi-literates in some districts predominated since they saw this as an opportunity of gaining a Certificate of Primary Education (C.P.E.). What was called a Literacy Campaign was only partially so. Another difficulty was the provision of new classes during the second year of the campaign. Twelve new AEOs were appointed to develop classes in twelve more districts: Kilifi, Machakos, Meru, Garissa, Kwale, Muranga, Nyeri, Nakuru, Nandi, Elgeyo-Marakwet, Uasin Gishu and South Nyanza. But although the budget of the Division for teacher salaries increased from £20,000 to £45,000 this was insufficient to allow for the payment of teachers in the second year programme of the original ten districts, plus a corresponding number of new first year classes in the original districts, plus a corresponding number of first year classes in the twelve new districts. It was decided to limit all new classes to fifteen per district. The addition of eight more districts to the campaign in 1969 without corresponding increase in funds meant that the total classes in all districts sponsored by government had to be limited to fifteen. This was demoralising to the organisers, teachers and students since more classes which had started by being supported with government funds could no longer be maintained. It became clear that self-help would of necessity have to be the mainstay of the Campaign.

By 1969 it had been estimated that a total of 40,636 illiterate adults were attending literacy

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1. A good critical detailed account of the way the National Literacy Campaign operated in one district is given in Rural Development Administration in Bungoma District (German Development Institute, Berlin, 1968).
classes of various kinds. The largest group were the self-help classes and Maendeleo ya Wanawake groups which totalled 22,382 students; the government groups had 10,469 students; the Churches 7,171 students and others which included the municipalities and industrial firms 604 students.¹ Two thirds of the total students were women² whilst about half of the literacy teachers were school teachers.³ Based on a survey of four districts, it was found that the average drop out rate from all classes was around 25 per cent⁴ and since there is no measure of assessing the achievement it is not possible to estimate the number of illiterates who actually reach a standard of literacy though the Division of Adult Education has estimated that about 28,000 illiterate students were made literate during 1968.⁵

By the beginning of 1970, 30 of the 41 districts had adult education officers and the headquarters staff had been strengthened by the addition of three Education Officers. In the government classes there were 141,000 students with about half of these following a primary school course rather than learning literacy. Since under the programme many primary classes were receiving a subsidy whilst other classes engaged in pure literacy remained unsubsidised, it was decided that the policy should be changed. With the increasing number of

¹. B. Linne, A survey of Adult Literacy Work in Kenya, May 1969, p. 3.
². ibid., p. 5.
³. ibid., p. 6.
⁴. ibid., p. 28.
school primary leavers remaining unemployed it became increasingly difficult to justify the expenditure of government funds on adults which had the effect of swelling the numbers of jobless. The UNESCO idea of functional and work-oriented literacy was also finding greater favour. The Sub-Regional Literacy and Adult Education Centre project had been wound up in 1968 when it was found that 'the institution had not been able to implement fully any of its objectives' but UNESCO staff continued to work in support of the Literacy Campaign.

In March 1969 an official policy statement was issued changing the nature and organisation of the Campaign.

The revised objectives were:

(1) To organise and develop the National Literacy Campaign as a functional literacy and numeracy programme throughout the districts of Kenya using the development programmes of other institutions as a framework for a literacy element. Such programmes will include agriculture, family planning, health, cooperative development, self-help and relevant community development projects.

(2) To organise and develop a Formal Education programme to take adults on a part-time basis through to C.P.E. level whilst investigation is made of the possibility of structuring an adult oriented recognised C.P.E. equivalent more relevant to adult needs.

The Headquarters staff of the Division were

reorganised so that there were separate sections for literacy, formal adult education, and research and training. The AEOs were instructed that from 1970 only literacy classes should receive a teacher payment subsidy and that any primary classes should be self-financing.¹ A national survey was made, district by district, of development projects that were in being or which were being planned that could usefully benefit from a literacy ingredient.² The Board of Adult Education and the Board's district committees were used to provide the necessary liaison between the various government departments and voluntary agencies involved in the new orientation. The changes were embodied in the national Development Plan 1970-1974³ and came into effect in 1970.

In the field of formal or further education, the new policy was to affect the provision of this type of adult education. Besides the primary education programme for adults run by the Division of Adult Education, other municipalities had followed the example of Nairobi and developed small evening continuation class programmes. Nairobi with the largest programme, had in 1968 around 1,500 students following primary courses in English and arithmetic and courses of a higher level in typing and commercial subjects. The classes were still organised as a private venture receiving grants from the Nairobi City Council, the Kenya Government, the East African Posts

and Telecommunications Company and the East African Railways and Harbours Corporation. The government's contribution was £1,200 per annum. Mombasa, Nakuru, Eldoret and Kisumu also had organised similar programmes with student attendance ranging from around 150 in Eldoret to 600 in Mombasa. Most of the classes were following the primary school syllabus with facilities for adult students to take the CPE as private candidates. In 1969 the municipalities of Kitale, Thika and Nyeri joined the other municipalities in claiming small grants from the Government for their programmes, of between £100 and £400 per annum. In addition, adults could study through a myriad of private schools which mushroom in the urban areas or take advantage of courses organised by larger private commercial concerns like the British Tutorial College. The Extra Mural Department of the University College also ran a programme which was oriented to secondary examinations.

In the formal education field the new policy of the Division of Adult Education which controlled the grants to the local authorities, envisaged a self-financing programme from which the local authorities could not be excluded and it was the intention to gradually withdraw the government grants in favour of literacy classes. With its own formal education programme, the Division proposed the development of a

new syllabus which would include: agriculture, home economics, civics and social study related to Kenya, as well as the traditional subjects of English and arithmetic. These subjects would be examinable and students would receive an adult CPE. Planning began for the structuring of an Adult School movement which would be built up through self-help and a pilot scheme was started in the Kangundo area of the Machakos district during 1970. It was intended that the adult schools would be linked with the local District Training Centre which during 1969 was made the responsibility of the local Adult Education Officer in place of the Community Development Officer. It was suggested that the Adult School could either make use of existing school premises or build separate premises as was done by the local people in the Kangundo area which was to be the prototype. During 1970 some twenty adult schools had been established.

Regarded in absolute terms, the period between 1945 and 1970 saw a great increase in attention paid to the eradication of illiteracy and the development of continuation programmes. The significant build-up of self-help classes had begun in the early 1950s under the guidance of community development staff and had expanded from Independence and the President's call of Harambee! as a spur to self-help. From 1965 onwards the establishment of a cadre of field staff for literacy and adult education provided a strong focus for literacy work and the decision by government to provide increasing sums of money, albeit

1. Formal Adult Education Programme: Division of Adult Education, policy paper AE 2/2/FE/1, Nov. 1969, appendix i.
small in total, reflected a national commitment to the ultimate eradication of illiteracy. The development of literacy work has undoubtedly suffered from a lack of continuity in departmental responsibility. Between 1945 and 1970 responsibility changed seven times and led to the creation of bad relationships between community development and education field staff. From the Kenyan experience, one may conclude that literacy finds a more favourable home in the Community Development Department than in an Education Department. It can never be overlooked that in a developing country where child education provision raises so many problems and always requires more resources than can be provided, that adult literacy is always likely to suffer in the allocation of those resources. Also, one can never assume that a trained formal educator will see literacy other than as a first step on a primary education ladder and this attitude in the Education Department in Kenya undoubtedly retarded the development of a functional and work-oriented literacy approach which is generally recognised as being the most successful. On the other hand, Departments of Community Development are regarded as part of a government structure responsible for social services, always the least well endowed with finance and it was not until after 1967 in Kenya that the Department was able to attract increasing funds.

By 1970 there were full-time adult education staff supervising literacy work in 35 of the 41 districts. Government subsidy for paying teachers went largely into work-oriented projects whilst other classes were self-financing. The Churches continued independently with their individual literacy classes coordinated with government work through district adult education committees. A few of the larger commercial firms and municipalities were organising small programmes.
However, the sum total of this effort did not touch more than 50,000 adult illiterates. There was still a paucity of materials which could be used as literacy primers and follow-up readers. There was inadequate finance available to pay teachers. Training of supervisors and literacy teachers was both inadequate and badly carried out. There was a shortage of staff to supervise literacy classes below the level of the adult education officer and a great shortage of transport to ensure the best possible use of the staff that were in the field responsible for supervision and encouragement. There was still no attempt at evaluation or in researching into the methodological problems that existed. Finally, there remains still little general understanding of the concept of work-oriented literacy. The adult education field staff have a rudimentary idea but understanding amongst other government officers working in the relevant fields of agriculture, health, cooperatives and trade is negligible. Worst of all, the total national programme is nowhere near keeping pace with the needs of the country.

Resources to combat illiteracy have to be acquired in competition with resources required for other objectives. In Kenya, priority accorded to the eradication of illiteracy, in terms of what government is prepared to spend on this, is higher than it was, but still remains very low. There are those who hold that the acquisition of the skills of reading and writing are not essential to rapid economic and social development. One may ask: Can one learn to be a good farmer and still remain illiterate? Of course, one can. Can a nation build up a strong viable agricultural economy quickly and still remain illiterate? The question is less easy to answer. Should one agree with Professor Carlo Cipolla who discussed the effect of widespread literacy on the development of the
Industrial Revolution in Western Europe?

Widespread literacy meant not only an elastic supply of literate workers but also a more rational and receptive approach to life on the part of the population... Had literacy remained the well guarded monopoly of one or two mandarins, European society would hardly have developed in the way that it did.¹

Statistics are scanty but it is useful to hazard a guess as to the scale of the problem of illiteracy in Kenya. The latest estimate of the total population for Kenya puts the figure at well over 10,000,000 of which at least 6,000,000 are under the age of 15 years. Of the total adult population some 4,000,000 or around 70-75 per cent are illiterate. There is therefore, a backlog of 2,500,000 adults approximately to be made literate. At the same time, only half the number of children who are eligible to be at school are actually at school which means that at present there are 3,000,000 children who are potential adult illiterates. As a rough calculation, and assuming that there is an even population spread of children between the ages of 1 - 15 years, some 200,000 children will enter adulthood each year to swell the total illiterate population. This is a low estimate since it does not take into account the fact that Kenya has one of the highest population growth rates at around 3.1 per cent which is causing the population to double every twenty years.

At present, the total estimated attendance at literacy classes is 40,000 and at best not more than half of these will achieve a reasonable standard of

literacy when one takes into consideration drop-out and possible relapsing into illiteracy. The implication of this is that the present effort to eradicate illiteracy is nowhere near enough. It would be necessary to intensify the present programme at least ten times in order to keep the total illiterate adult population at its present level without making any inroads into the 2,500,000 adult backlog. Even if the aim of reaching a target of 75 per cent of children attending primary school is reached during 1974, the problem of growing illiteracy still remains enormous.
I have found little understanding anywhere of the essential relation between high-level extra-mural education and the education of the mass, and there is little evidence that the success which has attended efforts in the former has been balanced by any corresponding success in the solution of the large problem. I ought to say, however, that my experience has been necessarily limited...

Before going on to consider what different forms of adult education are necessary, I must examine the obstacles to be overcome, which at first glance appear to be insuperable. I want to suggest that the very nature of the obstacles indicates the right approach to the problem. I can do no more than enumerate these obstacles, and that is perhaps all that is necessary in a Conference such as this. They are as follows:

(i) The persistence of primitive methods of production, which have little relation to new conditions and growing needs. This involves the population in constant labour for little reward and leaves them with little energy or disposition for other interests.

(ii) The persistence of low standards of living including deficient dietaries and appalling conditions of housing. Again, these conditions are not favourable to educational development.

(iii) The maintenance of high birth rates and the difficulty of absorbing new population. This causes instability and a situation which is unfavourable to effort of any kind.

I agree with Mr. Kimble that it is not the business of Extra Mural Departments or of adult education generally to solve these problems; but it is their business to plan their work with these background conditions
constantly in mind, and above all to realise that, if such conditions continue, their own work in the long run will be ineffectual or come to an end.¹

The involvement of the University in extra mural work had not begun in East Africa when Professor Peers made his plea and warning to the London Conference on Adult Education.² Makerere College in Kampala, Uganda, had been singled out as the institution for higher learning which was to serve the East African territories. In 1949 Makerere College entered into a special relationship with the University of London, to provide degree courses for students throughout East Africa. Adult education through extra mural work was planned as an intrinsic element of the new colonial universities and the provision of adult education facilities was one of the important recommendations recorded by the Asquith Commission Report which blue-printed colonial university development. It had been stated quite specifically that new universities should develop extra mural departments and should take a leading part in adult education activities in the areas that they covered. The prime reason for this was to help to prevent an elitist graduate group being created within a colony. The report stated that the extra mural centres should be established in regions linked to the main university and that refresher courses and summer

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1. R. Peers, 'Adult Education for Community Development - more especially the work of the Extra Mural Departments to mass or fundamental education' in Record of the Conference on Adult Education in the Colonies, Cambridge, 18 Aug. - 24 Aug. 1951, Col. no.DB 4735/1, pp. 21-22.
schools should be organised. Education departments should carry out research and play a large role in extra mural activities.¹

The findings of the Asquith Commission were embodied in a Circular Despatch of A. Creech Jones Secretary of State for the Colonies, who urged that the new universities should become 'centres of adult education and of community education and be available for short and long term courses and vacation schools'.²

The conference at which Professor Peers spoke had been organised by the Colonial Office, the Universities Council for Adult Education and the Cambridge Board of Extra Mural Studies. The conference passed a resolution that Makerere University College should begin extra mural work and that Colonial Development and Welfare Funds should be made available for this.³

Sir Andrew Cohen, the Governor of Uganda, was in full sympathy with the development of extra mural work as was Bernard de Bunsen, the Principal of Makerere College, and both were to prove strong supporters of the extra mural programme. The Uganda government made available £4,000 from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds for a two year period and in 1953, a tutor was appointed to the staff of Makerere College to develop extra mural activities.

The new tutor, W.J.A. Harris, took up his post in October 1953 and was responsible for establishing extra mural work in Uganda in the first years. The programme developed in Uganda was in no sense radical. It was based firmly on the British extra mural tradition and was similar to those already established at other colonial universities. The weekly tutorial evening class was the backbone of the programme:

Without rejecting considerations or any suggestions for other kinds of activity, our main concern must be with more advanced education in non-vocational work. The Department will not itself attempt to range over the whole field of general adult education. It will exist mainly, though not exclusively, to serve those adults already with some education, to help them to deepen and consolidate their understanding and culture. The emphasis will be on regular and disciplined class-work in classes opened to any (whatever their formal education) who who think they can profit by them.

The classes, held in the evenings, were mainly in the town and were conducted in English, which placed a natural limit on the potential student body. Tutors were recruited from among university staff or from professional people outside the university who were university graduates. Courses ranged from 3 - 15 weeks with a 1½ hour period per week. As far as was compatible with the availability of tutors, the students chose their own subjects to study. Classes were organised with a locally elected secretary and

a class librarian, who looked after a box of books
loaned to the class for the duration of the course.
Most of the students were clerks and school teachers.
Besides the weekly classes, public lectures were
arranged in Kampala and Entebbe and a residential
course was held on 'Education and Society', which
lasted a week. An experiment was tried in teaching a
class in Luganda through an interpreter but with no
notable success.

Harris moved quickly around Uganda stimulating
interest in extra mural studies and forming class groups
in the major centres of the country. The pattern he
set was to be the one that was to be continued, and
the traditions which he developed in Uganda were also
those which formed the basis for the subsequent
development of extra mural work in Kenya and
Tanganyika.

The British extra mural tradition was to be
the basis of the pattern to be established:

The work of such a new Department must be
very largely of an experimental nature, but it
is hoped to follow as closely as is practic-
able the principles and general lines of
Extra Mural Departments both in Great Britain
and Colonies.1

In late 1954 Harris detailed his policy:

(i) At least in the early stages, the Department
will be concerned mainly with non-technical
and non-vocational subjects, and will not be
concerned with preparation for any examina-
tions or with the issue of any certificates
or diplomas.

1. Harris to Invitees of the Advisory Committee on
Extra Mural Studies, 6 Feb. 1954, MCCE file Board
of Extra Mural Studies.
At present the main emphasis will be on classes where the student will be encouraged to undertake regular and systematic study of a subject with reading and written work. There will also be the arrangement of public lectures on subjects of University interest, and talks on adult education both to public gatherings and private groups.

Courses are being arranged in as wide an area as possible, both to avoid any charge or impression of regional favouritism and to gain experience of extra mural both in populous areas and in small towns.

It has been felt important to emphasise the inter-racial nature of the Department's work both in the classes and on the tutors' panel.

The Entebbe series of public lectures were arranged in order to publicise the work of the Department, particularly amongst government officers.

It is felt that residential courses of study held probably at Makerere Hill must be an important part of the Department's work.

It is hoped that both Government Departments and non-Government associations will develop the practice of calling upon the Extra Mural Department to co-operate with courses of lectures which the former have initiated.

Extra Mural Classes and Civic Education 1954-1963

While these developments were taking place in Uganda, news of the work spread to Kenya. Kenya students returning to Kenya encouraged the belief that extra

mural work should be established there. B.B.C. radio announcements broadcasted the opening of extra mural work based on Makerere College. The East African Standard carried a feature article on the spread of extra mural work in Uganda. Early in 1954, a few months after his Uganda programme had begun, enquiries began to reach Harris about the establishment of extra mural classes in Kenya. Replying to a Miss. B. Pilbeam, who had offered to take an extra mural class in Nairobi, Harris wrote:

I am already in touch with certain ex-students from Makerere and with one or two others who are, as far as I know, living in the Nairobi area.

I hope that it will not be long before the Kenya government takes a practical interest in helping to finance Extra Mural work in Nairobi, as it is the intention for the Extra Mural Department at Makerere to function over all East African territories.

I feel that one of the ways in which we can try and influence official quarters in Nairobi to take an interest in such an extension of the Extra Mural work would be for some kind of informal and unpaid Extra Mural work to start immediately in Nairobi: perhaps along the lines of W.E.A.

Though in Uganda, Makerere College had part of its campus sited just outside Nairobi, at Kabete, at the Makerere College Veterinary School. The Head of the School had suggested running extension lectures for the local people around Kabete. Harris wrote: 'I hope that as many people as possible living in Kenya will write to the Department of Education or direct to the Kenya Secretariat urging that their government should in fact

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support extra mural work'.

The first record of a Kenyan extra mural class taking place was in Kisumu in September 1954. The class was taken by a research student of Makerere Institute of Social Research, whilst he was working in Kisumu. The course lasted twelve weeks on 'An Introduction to Economics'. Harris approved the class with caution:

It should be emphasised to anybody to whom you are talking that the class is an unofficial arrangement and not officially organised by the Extra Mural Department. This is to avoid any trouble which may blow up from the Kenya Government if they think that a Makerere academic department is introducing Extra Mural work without previously having obtained their sanction.

The Kisumu class was given documents and books with Makerere's name carefully removed.

The growing build-up of interest in extra mural work in Kenya, pressure from Makerere and finally, the possibility of financial support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, induced the Kenya Government to consider the development of extra mural work. As a beginning, the government chose Nyanza rather than Nairobi:

Our plan was to begin a programme of extra mural work in Nyanza Province from an officer based on Kisumu on Lake Victoria. This would have certain advantages in that the area is unaffected by Mau Mau and therefore there are no restrictions on travel or evening meetings.

1. Harris to M. Barrett, 13 July 1954, MCCE file Correspondence from Kenya.
2. Harris to Hugh Fairn, 9 Sep. 1954, MCCE file Correspondence from Kenya.
Nyanza is moreover within fairly easy distance of Makerere College, and would provide a useful training ground where experience could be gained before the programme was extended to the more difficult areas of Nairobi and the Central Province.¹

The Carnegie Corporation agreed to provide £1,700 per annum for three years commencing July 1955, to cover a tutor's salary. The Kenya Government agreed to provide £1,500 per annum for housing, office, travel and materials.

In the meantime, Harris went ahead making contacts in Nyanza. In April 1955 he wrote an article for the Baluhya Makerere Students' Union on the 'University in North Nyanza' explaining the intention of developing extra mural work there. He was in touch with L.S. Colchester, the Education Officer (Adult Education), based in Kisii, who was anxious to liaise with the proposed university tutor and to integrate the programmes.

The beginning of an official programme was, however, delayed due to the difficulty of recruiting a suitable person as tutor. At one stage, it was suggested that Colchester should be seconded for the job. Finally, help was forthcoming from Manchester's Extra Mural Department and it was agreed that one of their staff, Ieuan Hughes, should be seconded for a period of two years.

During the time that these developments were taking place in Kenya, extra mural work had taken firm root in Uganda and a second Resident Tutor had been appointed in late 1955. At the same time a post

of Director for the Department had been created and was filled from July 1956 by John Colman who had been a Warden of one of the Makerere Halls of Residence.

The prolonged search for a resident tutor to go to Nyanza caused a time lapse during which the security situation in Kenya had changed considerably for the better. This was sufficient for Colman to press for the new tutor to be based in Nairobi rather than in Kisumu:

We discussed to which part of Kenya Hughes should go. I outlined the advantages of his going to Nairobi (centre of government, concentration of population, good supply of part-time tutors, help in resettling disturbed areas) and the advantages of his going to Nyanza (public promises already made to Nyanza, housing less difficult). Coutts thought there were three great difficulties in beginning in Nairobi:

(i) The public promises made (e.g. radio) to people in Nyanza Province, which would lead them to feel if Hughes were to go to Nairobi, that they were once more being deprived of services to the undue advantage of Nairobi.

(ii) Housing in Kisumu should be easier than in Nairobi.

(iii) While the relationship between the University College and the Royal Technical College was still undefined, it is possible that the tutor in Nairobi would come up against embarrassments and touchiness which he should not have to contend with when he is beginning to develop the area.1

In spite of the reservations of the Minister of Education, Colman's argument won the day and when Hughes arrived in November 1956 he was allowed to establish his base in Nairobi.

Hughes arrived in a Nairobi full of political activity and excitement. Emergency conditions were drawing to a close; African representation in the Legislative Council was firmly entrenched; the Capricorn Africa Society was active; European political ascendancy was still paramount. It was, therefore, not surprising that university activities in adult education should be viewed with suspicion. Government officers were as suspicious of Hughes as were settlers. 'In general the prevailing ignorance of, and suspicion about, Makerere, is a handicap which affects more than my own work'.

Hughes found T.G. Askwith, Commissioner of Community Development, sympathetic and discussed with him the suspicion of his activities shown by the Police Special Branch. Colman noted: 'Hughes tells me that you have had a chat with him about the best ways to deal with Special Branch advice on how to conduct our work'.

Hughes, however, moved carefully and whilst identifying himself with the more liberal elements in Nairobi, was cautious not to alienate the government. For the first six months, Hughes concentrated on establishing class centres in the African residential areas in Nairobi, though he also started classes north of Nairobi, in Nakuru and Machakos and Fort Hall. The classes, which followed the pattern established in Uganda, were primarily on English and Economics, while he, himself, lectured - curiously as it now appears -

2. Colman to Askwith, 7 Feb. 1957, MCCE file Kenya General/K2
on the 'British Way of Life' and 'Post-war Britain'.

Hughes formed a temporary Advisory Committee on Extra Mural Studies in February 1957, to advise him on the development of extra mural work and following the regulation drawn up by Makerere College. This included W.J.D. Wadley, the Director of Education; Charles Njonjo, then in the Registrar- General's Department; John Mark Muchura, then in the Ministry of Labour; G.S. Amar, a prominent Asian Headmaster; A.M. Sadruddin and P. Starr.

But amongst government staff, extra mural work was still regarded with suspicion. A demonstration of the difficulty in establishing extra mural work came into evidence when the Department of Extra Mural Studies decided to organise a week's residential course at Makerere College. This was to be the first Annual Study Vacation (ASV) which brought together adult students from all the East African territories pursuing various short residential courses of study: an East African Summer School. To begin with there was concern as who should lecture and who should be invited to participate by the Ministry of Education, which feared political involvement:

R.E. Luyt, (Kenya Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education, Labour and Lands) raised the question of invitations to various bodies to attend the ASV. I said that I felt that when Cartland at the meeting with the Minister in May had said that he would like to see no invitations addressed to any bodies whatsoever, but reliance placed entirely upon newspapers and wireless advertisements he was putting an

2. Ibid., p. 8.
extreme case which I hoped that he would not press on the Board. If it would help matters I would be prepared to give an assurance not to issue invitations to any political parties, but to continue to issue invitations to other bodies e.g. Churches, voluntary organisations... Luyt welcomed this suggestion warmly... I said that it might also be possible to give a list of tutors whom it was proposed to invite. Luyt said that this, if it could be achieved, would be most welcome to the Ministers, because they would thereby be given a chance to offer advice to the College on any proposed tutor who was suspect to governments, not because he held opinions critical of governments, but because of seditious inclinations...

He said that Ministers would not always be able to give reasons before the Board for their objections to a tutor, since sometimes information against a person (including government servants) was sent confidentially to Ministers by the Special Branch organisations of other countries including countries outside East Africa, and this confidential information was often accompanied by a requirement that it be not divulged.¹

These reservations on the part of 'authority' did not diminish the success of Hughes' approach to the development of extra mural work. While the programme was building up in the central part of Kenya, pressure was applied to get a resident tutor for Nyanza. Nathan Munoke, one of the first Africans to be appointed as a Clerk to an African District Council, had been at the ASV in April 1957, at Makerere College and he urged Colman to extend the work of the Resident Tutor, Eastern Uganda, into his district, Elgon Nyanza which neighbours Uganda.² This was not attempted but W. Coutts, the Minister of Education, proved sympathetic to the idea of providing another resident tutor.

Support was also enlisted from the Provincial Commissioner for Nyanza Province, A. Swann, who 'expressed himself firmly in support of the scheme to have a Resident Tutor in Nyanza and thinks that more advanced people in the Province very much need this kind of work'.

Attempts were made through Askwith to get American ICA money to finance the post of a second resident tutor but those proved abortive and government financial difficulties negated the proposal for the time being:

The Carnegie grant comes to an end on 30.9.1959, and in the present position of the Colony, we may well not be in a position to make up the balance from Kenya funds. Indeed we must face the possibility of doing without extra mural studies in Kenya.

Colman did not give up and he wrote to Askwith:

In order to bring pressure to bear, (and knowing that I am strongly supported by Tony Swann) I am arranging for a number of African friends in Nyanza to produce public signs of support (e.g. through the African District Councils and the Abaluya and Luo Makerere Students' Unions). So we are not giving in without a struggle.

Askwith's reply throws an interesting light on his reasons for supporting extra mural studies:

I feel particularly strongly that his (Hughes) work should be expanded to Nyanza Province in particular. I was very struck with the contrast in the attitude among the

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1. Memorandum Colman, Nov. 1957, MCCE file 'Proposed Nyanza Resident Tutor'.
2. Director of Education to Colman, 23 Mar 1957, MCCE file 'Kenya Finance'.
3. Colman to Askwith, 2 Dec. 1957, MCCE file 'Proposed Nyanza Resident Tutor'.
'intelligentsia' in Kakamega township and that prevailing in the country area... Not only was the general tone aggressive but it was also extremely ill-informed. My own view is that the two frequently go together... My own feeling is that through neglect of what might be called the 'Educated Boma Group' we are permitting an Achilles Heel to develop. Our rural development programme combined with community development can only be expected to achieve contented progress in the rural areas. This has been sabotaged by ignorance and malevolent politicians. Wide measures in my view are required to deal with this section of the population if we are not to court further obstruction or worse in the future.¹

Between 1957 and 1958 Hughes developed a firmly based programme.² Nearly forty class centres had been established, running courses ranging from 5 to 20 weeks. There was also a programme of public lectures and week-end schools run from Nairobi at centres as far afield as Kapsabet and Nyeri. Subjects relating to the nature of government and political science were becoming more important and reflected the interest of the students as national political agitation increased. Dr. Gikonyo Kiano and Duncan Ndegwa, later to be prominent Government figures, were part-time tutors as were a few European government officers sympathetic to the African political cause and business men and politicians like Sir Ernest Vasey, the then Minister for Finance.

Hughes' programme was activity-oriented and not simply educational. Parties of students came down

1. Askwith to Colman, 11 Dec. 1957, MCCE file 'Proposed Nyanza Resident Tutor'.
to Nairobi from 'up-country' to visit places like, for example, Parliament and local museums. Tutors were encouraged to develop social activities as part of their class programme.

An extra mural rally of students was held in March 1958 which helped bind the student body together:

On March 29th, a rally of classes in Kenya was held for the first time (at the Royal Technical College, Nairobi). This proved to be a good and inspiring occasion. Nearly 350 people, including representatives from every class and supported by the part-time tutors concerned, attended. Each class together with its tutors and officers, stood up to be identified and received spontaneous applause. This was especially marked for the Nakuru class, 11 of whom had made the journey of 100 miles at their own expense (20/-.). Greetings and good wishes were announced from fellow extra mural and adult education groups in Uganda, Central and South Africa, India, Great Britain, Scandinavia, Austria and Australia. The students were particularly pleased to renew acquaintances with Mr. Colman and to realise something of the greater whole to which they belonged. Both guest speakers responded excellently to the occasion. Vasey speaking in a forthright way about the practical economic difficulties facing Kenya as a whole, while Kiano dealt with the challenge to the individual, his theme being that Africans must do more to help themselves and that leadership was required in all walks of life not merely in politics alone. The rally confirmed a feeling which has been gradually gaining strength through this term that our work is really beginning to take hold and to have more than a passing significance for both students and tutors. A great deal of course remains to be done before one can consider that the foundations are really laid, but now one feels far more confident as to the future so far as the public is concerned.

In August 1958 the old temporary Advisory Committee was dissolved and a new official Advisory Committee was appointed which had its first meeting on 20 March 1959. The new Committee included prominent leaders: Dr. Kiano; J. Muchura, African M.L.C.; Humphrey Slade, a European M.L.C.; G.S. Amar, Asian Educationalist; Professor David Walker, from Makerere College; and the Director of Education.

As the movement was spreading, so the problems of administration were increasing and becoming difficult to solve. 'General administration within the classes is very slack. Interim reports, registers, syllabuses, books all have to be changed interminably. Fees are always methodically and efficiently accounted for once collected'.¹ Another difficulty which had to be overcome was the difficulty of the movement of Kikuyu, Embu and Meru students resulting from the Emergency restrictions. Groups from these areas were unable to move without special passes but in spite of this a great deal of class organisations and visiting, both to Kampala for the ASV and to Nairobi, seems to have taken place. The difficulty of class organisation, the maintaining of a momentum as a basis for an adult education movement, and the building up of a corporate student spirit had to an extent been overcome by getting students to help themselves and the formation of an adult student association was a natural way of helping surmount these. In the U.K., the Workers' Educational Association, a completely autonomous and independent organisation helped extra mural tutors to organise and run their programmes. In Ghana, a

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successful Peoples' Educational Association had been set up. As far back as 1954, it had been on the mind of Harris to form a Uganda Extra Mural Association on the lines of the W.E.A. Nothing was done immediately but it remained in the minds of those who followed him. Lalage Bown, the second resident tutor in Uganda, having previously worked in Ghana, was familiar with the development of the P.E.A. there and it was agreed that the matter should be raised amongst the East African students at the first ASV in 1958. The suggestion for the formation of such an association received warm support from the extra mural student body and it was agreed that a draft constitution should be presented at the ASV in the following year. Before the next ASV, Colman brought the matter up at the Board of Extra Mural Studies on which the Ministers of Education of the three territories were represented. In the paper which he presented at the meeting, Colman pointed out the need and benefits which could accrue from such an association, he listed precedents from Singapore, Ghana and the U.K., and he warned the Ministers:

The Makerere proposal tries to preserve the essential of local voluntary help in the organisation of classes, together with the general mutual support of people who share similar aims in further education without opening the door to attempt to use the Association politically by people who join it for ulterior purposes. It is perhaps worth noticing that voices proposing the formation of a more independent type of organisation

1. Meeting of the Uganda Advisory Committee on Extra Mural Work, 31 Mar, 1954, min. 2(e), MCCE file 'Minutes of the Advisory Committee'.
are beginning to be heard in East Africa. At a meeting of the Uganda TUC the representatives of one Union proposed the formation of the Workers' Educational Association and similar thoughts are sometimes expressed by Trade Unionists in Kenya. If the College does not step in soon with its Extra Mural Association it is likely that bodies of the other type will spring up, resulting in a far more complicated situation than would follow from the institution of the body now being proposed.¹

A draft constitution was prepared for the next ASV and, after legal advice had been taken on such matters as registration, it was agreed to go ahead with the formation of the Association. The Association was founded on 22 January 1959, with a printed constitution and set of rules, the Principal of Makerere College was named President and the Director of Extra Mural Studies became Secretary of the Association.²

Membership of the Association however was low. The Association had not been founded through the extra mural classes but rather through the ASV. It came from the top rather than from below. There was no real benefit to be gained by students which induced them to join and to pay their fee and subscription. To make matters worse, the Registrar-General in Kenya proved difficult:

I have this afternoon had it confirmed by the Registrar-General Kenya, that under the Societies Ordinance, 1952, it will be necessary for each Branch of the Makerere Extra Mural Association which we establish in Kenya to apply separately for registration or exemption from registration.³

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¹ Meeting of the Board of Extra Mural Studies, 13 Feb. 1958, min. 2, MCCE file BEMS 58/1.
² Notice on the formation of the Makerere Extra Mural Association, MCCE file.
³ Colman to Hughes, 10 Mar. 1959, MCCE file Hughes Correspondence.
This made it a cumbersome business to register each individual class group which wished to form a branch. By the end of the year just seven branches had been formed in Kenya: Machakos, Nairobi, Kikuyu, Fort Hall, Karatina, Nyeri and Nakuru.¹ There is little evidence that these were very strong or that other branches were formed. However, the Association continued to exist and was to prove very useful later when an attempt was made to increase the staff of the Extra Mural Department working in Kenya.

Continuity was broken when Colman left the Department in June 1959. The new Director, Gerald Moore, did not take up his post until the following February. Hughes had to act as Director during the hiatus as well as to oversee the Kenya programme.

Colman built on the tradition that had first been developed by Harris. He had steered the development of the department through particularly difficult political waters. An administrative structure had been set up. He had laid the foundation for the development of extra mural work in Kenya, but was not happy with the extra mural programme:

My conclusion is that our classes, short or long, can in no way compare in academic standard with the general run of extra mural classes in the U.K. The difference is so great as to make one quickly aware that one is dealing with quite a different problem here. Our classes do not even approximate to WEA classes. The main impression that I have of our work is that of a very varied body of tutors struggling with the same difficulties - an immense lack of knowledge: a great

¹. Advisory Committee on Extra Mural Studies, 28 Mar. 1959, min. 21/59, MCCE file Minutes of Advisory Committee. The Association was stronger in Uganda but even there its membership ran down until it ceased to exist in 1963.
limitation in their imagination; widespread serious deficiencies in capacity to understand English and express thoughts in it; a peculiarly disorganised general psychology, as of people made to live physically in one world and psychologically in another. Thus teaching our classes is a formidable task and most of our tutors fail in it... We have hardly a class that would satisfy Her Majesty's Inspectors (in U.K.) as being worthy of a University's time and money. It must be emphasised that the difference is not a slight one - the difference is immense. One is in fact dealing with a different order of work.

But having said that, what is it like to visit our classes? There are a few that are so dull that one sees that what is being attempted is a failure. Most give me different feelings - of being deeply moved by having witnessed a struggle to understand each other, by tutor and students, which has full meaning only in terms of the rise of African peoples to a new way of life, and the determination of different degrees of some Europeans to help them... Such emotions are fundamental to an understanding of what our classes are. They are not just 'lower level' to something else somewhere else. They are vital activities in a great historical process, and valid therefore in themselves. They do not derive value from a better form of them elsewhere, towards which they may be taken to be progressing.¹

He found insuperable the general difficulty 'that the closer one attempts to get to the African, the more Authority is alarmed'.²

The pressure that Colman and Hughes had built up to increase the number of tutors in Kenya was maintained by Colman's successor. Moore wrote to the

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1. Taken from manuscript notes of a talk to the Extra Mural tutors, undated but clearly around the beginning of 1959, file MCCE.
2. loc cit.
Carnegie Corporation soliciting financial help for new posts. As a precaution, a second tutor's post for Kenya was included in the University's quinquennial financial estimates which were to operate from 1962. At the ASV during April 1960, the Kenya students met together under the auspices of the Makerere Extra Mural Students' Association and passed a strong resolution to try and force a breakthrough in staffing:

We, the Kenya students from Kenya attending the Fourth Annual Study Vacation of the Department of Extra Mural Studies at Makerere wish to record our profound appreciation of the part played by the Government of Kenya in developing and financing the invaluable work of the Department of Extra Mural Studies. However, in view of the fundamental political economic and social changes which are crowding in on Kenya and which affect most of its adult population, we feel most strongly and urgently that the present provision of one resident tutor in Kenya serving only in Nairobi area on a restricted budget is not only inadequate but quite unrealistic. We feel therefore that it is imperative that two further resident tutors be appointed at the earliest possible moment to extend the work to Nyanza and the Coast regions in which we know from our own experience that there is a very real demand for this most urgent need. We wish therefore to urge the Kenya Government in the strongest possible terms to do all in its power to establish two such resident tutors within the present financial year, that is 1960/61. We note that in the Budget now before the Legislative Council, the proposed vote for education is £6,166,700. Of this only £4,012 goes towards the extra mural work in Kenya. We understand that a further £3,620 would be sufficient to cover the total cost of two resident tutors and their work for the six months from 1st January, 1961, which is probably the earliest date by which someone could be appointed.1

The resolution was sent to T. Mathieson, the Minister for Education and it was brought to his attention. During the same month, Mathieson, with T.J. Mboya, addressed the Kenya Extra Mural Rally in Nairobi which gave Mathieson an insight into the extra mural momentum that had been created. On the basis of the student resolution, using his personal contact and with the tacit support of Mathieson, Hughes canvassed for support within the Legislative Council:

Re the students' resolution. I took this up immediately with Mathieson, Slade, Kiano, Muchura and others and Sir Christopher Cox on getting back from Makerere, Mathieson began to nibble straight away and the others promised support and to lobby him. I suggested to Mathieson that this resolution would not involve any recurrent cost on Kenya Government and would enable him to go out in a blaze of glory, having set up two more tutors for Kenya. Humphrey Slade has just told me in confidence that Mathieson is in favour of implementing the resolution and wishes to say so in response to a question during the debate on education. Slade has agreed to ask the question and Tom Mboya tells me he has got a question down as a result of the resolution.

In introducing the Educational Estimates in Legislative Council, Mathieson gave a favourable review of extra mural work:

One aspect of higher education in East Africa to which increased importance has been given by the pace of recent events is the work of the Extra Mural Department of Makerere College in Kenya. I had the privilege of addressing a rally of extra mural students in Nairobi a few weeks ago, and I was very much struck by their enthusiasm and by what I learnt of the value of the work being done by a single resident tutor, Mr. Hughes, and his mainly

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1. Hughes to Moore, 12 May 1960, MCCE file 'R.T. Kenya 1959/60 Correspondence'.
voluntary helpers, whom we have hitherto been able to employ in Kenya. This work has been given enormous impetus and inspiration by Mr. Hughes and I am very sorry that he is due to leave Kenya shortly on promotion to similar activities in Hong Kong. I would like to congratulate him on his promotion and I am sure the House will join me in thanking him for the work he has done and initiated in Kenya.

I do not think we have given sufficient emphasis to this work in the past. Hitherto it has been separately financed by the individual governments, in relation to the activities carried on within the territories, but it has been agreed that as from the beginning of the quinquennium, which starts in 1961, the financing of this work throughout East Africa will be covered within the general estimates of Makerere College. In the meantime I am giving further thought to the possibility of some expansion of the work in Kenya in the coming financial year...

During the ensuing debate strong support for the expansion of extra mural studies came from African Members and a few Europeans: Masinde Muliro, Bernard Mate, F. Khamisi, Major Day, and Michael Blundell. A long speech was delivered by J. Muchura reviewing the work of the department, quoting the student resolution and pressing for immediate action. Mathieson announced at the end of the debate that he would go ahead with the appointment of two more tutors from 1 January 1961.2

The statement of the Minister of Education and the support in the House was followed a few months later by the welcome news that the Carnegie Corporation had made a grant of $63,000 to finance two new posts:

one to be financed until mid 1962 after which the financing would be taken over by the University, and the other to cover the costs of a second resident tutor for a complete five year period.¹

Hughes left Kenya in October 1960, having completed four years devoted to building up a national extra mural programme. He had succeeded in creating a pattern of classes throughout central Kenya. He had had to overcome difficulties resulting from the Emergency and prejudices coming from racial tension. The time however was ripe for a programme of this kind based on the British tutorial and discussion class. The steady progress toward the complete political enfranchisement of African adults and the gradual move toward self-government and African majority rule meant that there was a ready clientele for classes, rallies and weekend schools which had a bearing on the burning national political and economic issues. Hughes made full use of this motivation and it undoubtedly provided the cause for the rapid expansion of extra mural work throughout the country. This, however, was not a typical period in Kenya's history and once the momentum engendered by political interest slowed down, the character of extra mural work was to be forced to undergo a change. Between 1956 and 1963, the most popular subjects were those concerned with political science and economics.

There was a gap of four months before a replacement for Hughes arrived in Nairobi to supervise central Kenya. A year was to elapse before Resident Tutors arrived in Kapsabet to cover Western Kenya (September 1961) and Mombasa to cover the Coast (October 1961).

By the end of 1961 groups of extra mural students had been established throughout the main centres of population in Western and Central Kenya and in Mombasa. Regular class attendances were interrupted by election fevers and political activities of the day which accounted for the drop in student registrations during 1960 and 1961. However, in spite of these factors, regular courses became longer in length and the norm became 10 - 20 meeting classes rather than those of the shorter kind. There was an increase in public lectures, rallies and weekend schools and enrollment in classes leapt from 407 in 1960/61 to 1,076 in 1961/62, though there was also a trend toward examination-oriented class becoming discernable.

The introduction of the mature-aged entry scheme to the University was a further development arising from the extra mural programme. During 1962 it was agreed that a limited number of adult students who did not have the normal entry qualifications for direct entry to the university could, through a special selection procedure and a written examination, gain entry to the University. These candidates who had recommendations from extra mural tutors were entitled to sit the entry examination. The whole scheme of special entry was under the Chairmanship of the Director of Extra Mural Studies. 24 students were admitted to the University under this scheme in July 1963, and the majority of these were former extra mural students.

1. See Appendix III.
2. See Appendix III.
4. ibid., p. 6.
During 1962 the planning of two new university colleges was well underway; one in Nairobi and one in Dar-es-Salaam. With the projected opening of the Royal College, Nairobi, it was planned that the responsibility for extra mural studies in Kenya should be transferred to the Royal College. There was to be a new Institute of Adult Studies at the Royal College which would embrace Makerere extra mural work and the privately financed College of Social Studies.

Whilst the backbone of extra mural work in Kenya was the regular weekly tutorial class, the tradition of rallies and the provision of a public platform to further the general development of adult education continued. In May 1962, for example, a Rally was held in the Social Centre at Kisumu which was addressed by prominent politicians such as T. arap Towett, Oginga Odinga and Sam Ayodo which criticised the lack of government priority for adult education.\(^1\) The Department also reckoned on helping the creation of an informed public opinion on national issues of importance and during 1963, for example, a series of public addresses on 'Kenya - the Road Ahead' through central Kenya gave prominence to the new Government Constitution which had just been introduced and the World Bank report on Economic Development.

The transfer of responsibilities to the Royal College was facilitated by a further grant from the Carnegie Corporation in May 1963, of $158,000. This provided for the cost of a Director's post, a fourth Resident Tutor and an Organiser over a three year period. Thus when the Institute of Adult Studies came

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into being in July 1963, the extra mural establishment comprised already a Director's post, posts for four resident tutors, and one for an organiser.

The Extra Mural programme and University involvement in adult education was an expression of British traditions. It was in no way related to the mass programmes of fundamental education in agriculture, health, community development or literacy work being undertaken by government. It was an attempt to provide civic education of a liberal kind for the small but growing English-speaking community. It derived its momentum from its timeliness in that its growth coincided with the peak of the national debate on public, constitutional, political and economic issues. The African community had suddenly found itself in a position of responsibility for the first time ever and it was passionately interested in any activity which satisfied its avid need for informed information or argument which had a bearing on the direction of the road to Independence. The programme was aimed, and found its support from, the potential African middle and upper leadership group.1 It was influential and was supported by the new African and Liberal Asian and European leadership. In the form in which it was devised, it met in a limited way the special needs of a particular time. After Independence those special needs became less important and the challenge to the extra mural programme was its ability to adapt to the longer term educational needs of the literate and semi-

1. For a discussion on the effects of extra mural work in Uganda which was essentially the same as those in Kenya see A.T. Slee, 'Adult Education and the Middle Leadership Group' in C.G. Witstrand (ed.), Development and Adult Education in Africa (Stockholm, 1965), pp. 57-67.
literate masses as Professor Peers had foreseen ten years before.


One of the more important influences at work in Kenya during the late 1950s were the political principles of the Capricorn Africa Society. These principles were based on the concepts of multi-racialism and racial partnership. They represented at that time a liberal viewpoint in the face of entrenched European opposition to African participation in national affairs. The Society supported the idea of a common voting role though not immediate universal franchise, preferring a qualified right to vote based on, among other criteria, educational attainment. The Capricorn Contract had been signed in 1956 and the Society's founder, Colonel David Sterling, had been concerned with the acceptance of the Society's ideas in Africa, mainly Rhodesia and Kenya, where racial problems were most acute. Sterling found liberal allies amongst Europeans, politicians and civil servants, and amongst the more moderate African leaders who toyed temporarily with Capricorn ideas. If educational attainment was to be a pre-condition for a right to vote then the Society had to be seen to support educational development and, in particular, adult education. Education was also a means by which the Society could spread its ideas. Sterling moved quickly and in October 1957 could report in Kenya:
The challenge to the Society has been how to contrive that our concept permeates throughout the peoples of those territories. From the start, we knew that the key must lie in education, but it was only two months ago that a scheme comprehensive enough for our purposes suggested itself.¹

That scheme was to result in the College of Social Studies.

Early in 1957 Sterling had been in Kenya and had visited the Jeanes School to speak to students on the work of the Society. John Porter, the Principal, had recently returned from a Scandinavian study tour of the Folk High Schools. Sterling and Porter discussed ways in which the Capricorn ideas could be disseminated and:

came to the exciting conclusion that the marriage of the Capricorn idea with the Folk High School educational technique could bring about the revolution in people's thinking that we all know to be vital to Africa's future.²

Following the discussion with Porter, further meetings were held with Dr. Michael Wood, the Chairman of the Kenya Capricorn branch and other branch members. A formal meeting of the Branch was held at Limuru on 20 September 1957, and a memorandum was drawn up and agreed on as to how the Society could best enter the adult educational field.

It was agreed at Limuru that adult educational residential schools would provide the most satisfactory answer to the Capricorn problem. These had to be residential since:

2. ibid., p. 2.
Only by living together in the social and informal atmosphere of the home, with all students – regardless of their background – and all members of the faculty sharing together many of the responsibilities and the chores and recreations of the school can the reality of community life in Africa be achieved.

Night classes and every form of extra mural activity are techniques of which our programme of adult education must make full use, but it will be the students who have undergone the six weeks or three months course in residence in the school who will, with their true understanding of the 'Good Life', civics and the national purpose provide the yeast to leaven our common citizenship. We must recognise that students attending daily or night classes and returning to their individual homes would each day be in danger of renewing, in the atmosphere of their homes, racial prejudice.

The main purpose of the schools were described:

(i) to establish that in our Capricorn territories, peoples with different colours, religions, cultures, from country and urban areas, and of different social classes can by a fuller understanding of their spiritual as well as material interdependence achieve a sense of common national purpose, and live together as a community.

(ii) to give Africans, Asians and the Coloureds, men and women, full self-confidence in social and cultural contact with each other to make them feel they belong and have a stake in the economy of their country and are indispensable to it, and to give them a sense of civic ambition and the will and ability to participate at every level of government, from rural councils to central government.

(iii) to give the Europeans and Asians a real understanding of the frustrations at present driving the Africans towards racial nationalism; and

to give them a sense of responsibility for the removing of these frustrations and a knowledge of how they can help to do so.

(iv) to give the more backward people of any race the will and the knowledge of how to conquer physical and health disabilities through hygiene, diet and exercise; and to foster their will to increase productivity and purchasing power and thus enrich their country and their own standard of living and way of life.

To achieve our purpose, the schools must be for adults; they must be residential, and their syllabus must emphasise the spiritual and civic rather than the vocational or technical. Sterling had in mind the ultimate development of some thirty-five schools but in the first instance, to commence with a main one on the outskirts of Nairobi, and a smaller one in a rural area. It was further agreed that the schools should be independent of government assistance.

Armed with the support of the members of the Limuru meeting, Sterling undertook to tour the Capricorn committees established in Kenya. After visiting Northern and Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa, he consulted the Foundations in Canada and U.S.A. for financial assistance. He met the Society's consultants in London and then returned to Kenya to organise a full convention for the development of an adult college.

2. Dr. J.H. Oldham who had been concerned with the Phelps-Stokes Commissions in the mid-Twenties and had been concerned with the setting up of the Jeanes School was Chairman of the Consultants Committee to the Society.
The conference was duly held under the auspices of the Capricorn Africa Society at a conference with the general heading of 'Education for Nationhood', held at the Royal Technical College from 8 - 12 April 1958. The conference mustered together a number of Kenyan celebrities and was opened by the Chief Secretary, W.F. Coutts. It was addressed by the Minister of Finance, Sir Ernest Vasey. The Minister for Agriculture, M. Blundell; Sir Philip Mitchell, a former Governor; Professor Basil Fletcher, Vice-Principal of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland; and leading Churchmen attended. But the meeting was predominantly European and only one African addressed the conference. There were no Asian speakers.

During the conference great play was made with the achievement of folk high schools in Scandinavia and their role in national development. Many comparisons were made between the situation in Scandinavian countries during the mid-nineteenth century and the situation in Kenya in the late 1950s. At the end of the conference two resolutions were passed:

That the committee of the conference be asked to see how an association of adult education agencies could be established in Kenya. Secondly, that the Committee of the Conference should take active steps to set up an independent College of Citizenship in Kenya.

A draft charter for such a college was adopted by the meeting.

In September 1958 the Kenya College of Citizen-

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1. Jael Ojal, then a teacher at Maseno Secondary School.
ship Association was formed and a Management Committee of the Association was charged with the responsibility for launching the development of the proposed College. The Management Committee consisted of members of the Capricorn Africa Society and a number of independent members who had no affiliation with the Society but who included some African Legislative Council members amongst their number.¹

The Management Committee, as their first task, called in the services of an independent consultant experienced in adult education to advise on the viability of a residential College of Citizenship. The consultant, Guy Hunter, arrived in November 1968, and was able to spend six weeks studying the problem as part of an investigation which covered also the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the costs being carried by the Beit and Dulverton Trusts.

The ensuing report surveyed the development of education in Kenya and noted the current problems arising from the economic and social situation.² Hunter noted the complete isolation of the three separate racial educational systems practiced in Kenya, the need to provide a transition programme to a Western type social technical system without losing the benefits of a tribal education, and the growing problem of the 15 - 16 year age group who are 'a) too young

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for adult work, b) contemptuous of agriculture employment, c) resentful of family and tribal discipline, d) far too numerous for the openings in clerical or urban work, e) without further educational opportunities'. Hunter argued that for the European 'an opportunity to meet the best of his contemporaries among other races might go some way to awaken the European boy to the strength of the competition which he will soon face'. The report recommended courses of at least three to four weeks duration using a problem-oriented teaching approach with groups of students. It mentioned the need for the use of English and that there should be a degree of common experience and of equality between all students so that no question of patronage could arise. Hunter argued against the adult college being part of the University extra mural programme, feeling that the university approach was primarily subject oriented whilst the proposed college would have an objective interest in the promotion of race relations on a personal basis. 'The College should be independent, with a widely representative governing body. No application should be made for government money either now or in the future'.

It was recommended that the college be established within fifteen miles of Nairobi and that similar colleges should be built throughout the country with a second unit in the Lake Province and a third in Mombasa.

2. ibid., p. 16.
The report concluded:

We are convinced that there is a real and urgent need... for a residential college concerned with the problems of common citizenship. The students should be drawn from the emerging middle class of African and Asians and from the younger Europeans... We have taken care to estimate whether this group is large enough to maintain a college, and we are convinced that it is amply big enough in Kenya... We are also convinced that such a college, while it might arouse some initial hostile comment, would be acceptable in the present situation. We believe that the most practicable method of establishing such a college is through the nomination of students, at least in the main courses, by employers, to form groups with common interest and experience; such groups could be found in the fields of agriculture, rural affairs, industry, local government, education, medical and welfare services. A minimum qualification would be eight years education followed by special vocational training and experience.1

In March 1959 the Dulverton Trust held a meeting in London to consider the Hunter Report which it had received with favour. In April, Lord Dulverton, Chairman of the Trust, paid a visit to Kenya and he recommended that a grant of £20,000 be voted towards the cost of the first College. The sum was donated on the following conditions:

(i) that a Board of Governors should be immediately appointed who would exercise all the executive powers normally exercised by a Board of Governors of an educational establishment.

(ii) that the following should be members of the Board of Governors:

W. J. Wadley, Esq., CMG.
Mrs. Michael Wood
J. L. Porter
Sir Donald MacGillivray, CMG.
Hon. P. J. Rogers, MLC., CBE.

The Board together with the Management Committee were to select to join the Board one member of the African community and one member of the Asian community.

(iii) that Sir Donald MacGillivray and Philip Rogers were to act as 'local trustees' on behalf of the Trust.

The Board met on 7 May 1959, and agreed to make a request for aid to ICA and to take steps to raise funds locally. Musa Amelemba had already been appointed as a member of the Board and in June 1959, Jeremiah Nyagah and Kirpul Sing Sagoo were added. Steps were then taken to appoint a Principal and to seek suitable premises for the College.

During July and August 1959, some disagreement began to become apparent between the hard-core Capricornists and the rest of the Board over the relationship between the Society and the new College. The general feeling of Wadley, Rogers, Porter and the Dulverton Trust was that the College should be seen to have no connections with the Capricorn Africa Society.

Mrs. Wood and R. Hughes, ardent Capricornists, wished to see a link between the two. Wadley wrote to MacGillivray:

I shall give credit to Capricorn for what they have done, but insist on the complete independence of the Association which must not merely be a fact but be seen to be a fact, and this will be impossible if the Capricorn Charter is to be adopted verbatim. I realise that this

1. Lord Dulverton to Dulverton Trust and the Committee of Management, 12 Apr. 1959, NASC file 10 Ex Wadley General Correspondence to 26 Oct. 1960.
will make me unpopular with the hard-core Capricornists and may well cause strained relations, but I think that it has to be done so that the situation can be clarified and the public know that the project is to be carried through independently of Capricorn. I was all the more convinced of the need for a show-down by the conduct last Friday, at the Management Committee meeting, of Mrs. Wood and Hughes who both attacked me most violently on the very question of the Charter. There is no doubt that Capricorn wants to keep a firm hold on this thing - a view which is confirmed by Lord Kilmainel.

Meanwhile the request to ICA for additional aid was finding little support in government circles. Separate requests were made through Mathieson, the Minister of Education, who was unable to give it a high priority, and through the Ministry of African Affairs which had responsibility for Community Development. The Permanent Secretary, African Affairs, stated categorically:

While the aims of the proposed College of Citizenship are admirable and have my full support, I find myself in the same position as Mathieson, in that I already have under my wing the two Jeanes Schools, the main purpose of which is to train adults to be better citizens and, if funds were available, I should like to see Jeanes Schools established in every province to spread this training over a wider field, and would necessarily give such a scheme priority over an independent enterprise like the Kenya College of Citizenship.

In July the Dulverton Trust again came to the rescue with an offer to increase its original grant from £20,000 to £35,000 which, with the expected

£5,000 to be collected from local sources, made a total available of £40,000. Attempts to obtain a site for the college also ran into difficulty. A site had been found at Karen, a fashionable suburb of Nairobi, but it was found that privately introduced covenants affecting the use of this site excluded from purchase or use of the property anyone not of pure European descent. Investigations were made for Crown land at Karura and an offer of land at Athi River was turned down by the Board as being too far from Nairobi. It was not until early January 1960 that Wadley, as a Governor of the Teacher Training College at Thogoto, learned that there was a site available nearby at Kikuyu which could be leased from the Presbyterian Church of East Africa.

By the end of February 1960, however, there was still no definite site and no Principal and the Dulverton Trust was getting impatient.

Reports have reached us here of a growing dissatisfaction in certain quarters in Kenya at the continued delay in making any kind of start with the college. I know full well the difficulties you have encountered, but I must admit that as time goes on and the Governors have nothing to show, there is growing justification for grievance in that the Dulverton Trust snatched the College away from the organisation which had first conceived the idea of it, on the ground that that organisation was incompetent to translate the idea into action, and the Trust would set up an organisation which could do it better. It is not surprising that when after a year, there are no visible results, these people should be getting restive. We fear that these views may soon be openly expressed in Kenya, thus

bringing into controversy, the Governors themselves, Lord Dulverton and the Dulverton Trust.

During March, however, agreement on the use of the site at Kikuyu was reached and a Principal was appointed. H.C. Wiltshire, on secondment from the post of Director of the Extra Mural Department of the University of Nottingham, was able for two weeks in the early part of May, to make a preliminary visit to Kenya which helped to crystallise thinking on the way that the college should develop:

The 'Capricorn' associations must be expunged as quickly and completely as possible. I had not realised how strong the objection was, not only among European businessmen (who tend to regard Capricorn supporters as impractical visionaries) but also among African leaders (who would certainly boycott the college) if it remained or seemed to remain under Capricorn auspices.

Wiltshire was also concerned with the attitude of Africans to the college and the relationship between the college and the existing Makerere extra mural programme:

The words 'multi-racial' and 'Citizenship' should also disappear from the title and description of the College. I am persuaded that to African ears 'College of Citizenship' must sound very much like 'College of Obedience' of 'College of Good Behaviour'; and any institution with such a name, sponsored and financed by Europeans must suggest an attempt to impose upon Africans those concepts of citizenship which are convenient to the European minority.

3. ibid., p. 1.
And again:

I cannot state too strongly my conviction - confirmed by everyone with whom I talked - of the importance of securing the confidence and support of African leaders. Without this the college cannot have any future; with it, it may. All the associations of the College were from this point of view unfavourable, and it was a great disappointment when Dr. Kiano who was due to speak at the public meeting wrote to say that he could not give his support to the project. Towards the end of my stay I had a long talk with Dr. Kiano and with Mr. Mate. I found that they were much concerned about the 'Capricorn' and 'Citizenship' associations and about possible conflict with the work of the Makerere Extra Mural Department (in which Kiano himself takes part), and generally doubtful of the academic bona fides of the College.

From the outset, Wiltshire saw the need for some kind of relationship between the proposed College and the University:

Very soon - possibly, I am told within two years - the Royal Technical College, will become the University College of Kenya and will then (one presumes) take over the extra mural classes at present conducted by Makerere. By then the College should be in a strong position and it should be taken for granted that we have a particular and important part to play alongside - or even as part of - the general provision of extra mural adult education. But if we are to be so accepted then we must establish good working relations both with Makerere and with the Royal Technical College now.

Wiltshire left to return to the U.K. after his preliminary visit and returned to take up his full-time duties in September 1960.

2. ibid., p. 3.
And again:

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². ibid., p. 3.
With the appointment of a Principal and the acquisition of a site, the Dulverton Trust made ready to pay its first financial installment to the College. In order to facilitate payment and to meet the needs for formal registration as a charitable organisation, a limited company was formed. 'The College of Citizenship Corporation of Kenya' registered under the Companies Ordinance on the 28 July 1960.1

Building began at Kikuyu in August and the College was ready to accept its first students, a year later in June 1961. Discussion on a suitable name for the College continued - the name College of Cultural Studies was discarded - and finally 'College of Social Studies' was accepted as appropriate 'since we have pretty well made up our minds that some mention of academic studies in the name would be of some considerable benefit; it has an irresistible attraction to our African friends'.2

The provision of recurrent finances was also an important preoccupation for the Directors:

The more down-to-earth Governors have always been particularly concerned in regard to recurrent expenditure and had decided that the College could not continue longer than eighteen months or two years without a grant-in-aid from the Kenya Government or funds from elsewhere (most unlikely) and, indeed, the figures make this only too evident. We had, however,

1. The first Directors were: Musa Amalemba, Minister of Housing; Kirpal Singh Sagoo, Managing Director, British Furnishing House; Philip Rogers, Chairman, East African Tobacco Co. Ltd.; John Porter, Education Officer, Retired; Sir Donald MacGillivary, Farmer; W. Wadley, Deputy General Manager, East African Tourist Travel Association; and Susan Wood, Housewife.

decided that we would postpone an approach to Government until we had been running say, six months and had proved ourselves. We had decided this for we felt we would have a better chance of success if we had not only some solid achievement behind us but also the backing of African opinion in the same way Wiltshire found Hughes of Extra Mural, Makerere has for his courses. I then received your letter expressing Wiltshire’s alarm in regard to the position of recurrent expenditure and the view that we should approach at once. Wadley and I saw His Excellency the Governor, and Mathieson, (Minister of Education) on Monday. The reaction we received was frankly not favourable as we had anticipated. The matter will be discussed at the next Council of Ministers’ meeting and I will advise you of the position at once.

Attempts to obtain money from the Government were at first unsuccessful then a guarantee was obtained that the government would over a three year period, beginning in 1961/62, meet any shortfall up to a maximum of £10,000 in any one year. In January 1961, another £5,000 was received from the Dulverton Trust to help in the building of staff houses. Staff salaries were facilitated by aid from the Leverhulme Trust Fund which agreed to pay £3,000 per year for three years for a Lecturer in Economics and a Lecturer in Political Science and Public Administration. From local sources some £3,600 had been raised through appeals. The two lecturers were appointed in April 1961.

The College was officially opened by Lord Dulverton.

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1. Rogers to Kilmaine, 10 June 1960, NASC file Ex-Wadley General Correspondence to 26 Oct. 1960.
The new College had accommodation for thirty students and sixteen students were recruited for the first course which lasted from 5 - 24 June 1961. Five of the students were sponsored by employers and paid a full fee of ten guineas per week, and the remaining eleven were unsponsored and paid fifteen shillings per week. All the students were African. Wiltshire reported:

He had received well over 200 enquiries for attendance at future courses... He was still receiving an average of ten to fifteen a day... He expected some sixty government nominees in three blocks of twenty... He had received applications from Africans and ninety-seven from Asians but so far none from Europeans... He was expecting applications from the Army, Gailey and Roberts, Caltex etc. and in his opinion the general information so far as filling the courses was concerned was healthy.

The course was advertised throughout East Africa and a steady flow of students came from Uganda. The second course had seventeen students making a total of 31 Africans and 2 Asians. Wiltshire noted the excessive docility of the students and commented that it usually took a week of hard work to persuade students that they were not there merely to absorb information but that they must question what they read or heard. He noted the suspicion of students:

We are thought of as a vaguely government institution in which teaching is probably mixed with indoctrination and which probably reports on students' opinions.

1. Meeting of Directors, 26 June 1961, min. 140.
2. Meeting of Directors, 26 June 1961, min. 141.
He encouraged the recruitment of as many Africans as possible since:

this is important for I am only now realising how strong was the prejudice against the College by politically conscious Africans. ¹

He recognised the problem of follow-up:

We have not given this the thought that it deserves... individual students will keep in touch with us and we shall put as many students as we can in touch with extra mural classes. But these are few and we shall have to consider, later on, a refresher course for selected students.²

Most students who had attended the college had had about eight years of education. The recruitment qualifications were 'a competence in English, an interest in public affairs and a few years of employment since leaving full-time education'.³ Wiltshire also began thinking of a long course for exceptional students recruited from the short courses, twenty-two places being kept for short courses and eight for the long course. He considered exploring ways in which the College students could be admitted to the university as mature students.⁴

Whilst Wiltshire was generally pleased with the progress of the College, the Directors were beginning to show concern over the lack of Europeans attending the courses at the College:

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⁴ 4. The College of Social Studies Development Plan, op. cit.
The Governors have said at meeting after meeting that we must establish the fact that the College is for all races. Furthermore I have repeatedly offered my help to find some Europeans and indeed, have firmly promised some from my own Company. Despite this nothing has happened and I am wondering whether, in fact, you disagree with the policy of the Governors? If so, I feel this should be a matter for discussion at once.  

Wiltshire denied that he disagreed with the policy of the Governors:

I do not think that there is any doubt in anyone's mind that the College is for all races. This has brought expressions of interest (e.g. from Gailey and Roberts) but so far no European students. I know that you are willing to send us some, but as I have said, I don't want to call on you until I have someone else to match your offer. Then I will.

During the second half of the year, Wiltshire pressed on with his double-pronged programme: first, to institute a long course which would be geared to some kind of university entrance; and secondly, to develop a formal link between the College of Social Studies and the proposed Royal College, Nairobi.

The development of the College found favour in influential circles and in March 1962, the Ford Foundation approved a grant of $53,000 to help finance the long course, to appoint an extra tutor, to build tutors' houses, and to construct a new reading room. A similar request for bursaries for the short courses had been made to the Carnegie Trust. To facilitate these plans, Dr. J. Hyslop, the Principal of the Royal

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College, had been made a member of the Board of Governors of the College and he had pledged himself to find a way to incorporate the College of Social Studies into the University when the Royal College took responsibility for extra mural work. An academic committee for the courses had been established which consisted of members of the College of Social Studies, the Royal College and the local Makerere Extra Mural Tutor.¹ During May 1962, the Carnegie Corporation voted $43,000 to cover bursaries for the short courses over a four year period.

Wiltshire's secondment came to an end in July 1962, but preparations for the appointment of a new Principal were made well in advance of his departure. An offer of appointment was made to P. Fordham who was then Resident Tutor of the Makerere Extra Mural Department in Uganda, and who had previously been on Wiltshire's staff at Nottingham University.

Planning for the 'long course' began. It would run from November to June 1963, and the basic subjects included: History, Economic Geography, Political Science, International Relations and English, to be taught by five tutors.

Informal steps also proceeded toward the integration of the College into the University. By April 1963 the arrangements had been formalised and it was agreed that an Institute of Adult Studies in the University should be founded from July 1963. The Institute was to consist of two departments:

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Department of Residential Adult Education to be centred on the College of Social Studies, Kikuyu, and an Extra Mural Department based on Makerere's work. An Adult Studies Committee of the Royal College Council to deal with policy was to be created to consist in essence of an amalgamation of the Kikuyu Board of Governors and the old Extra Mural Studies Committee. A Board of Studies for the Institute of the Academic Board was created with a large outside membership to deal with the academic affairs of the new Institute.

Meanwhile recruitment for the short course kept them continuously over subscribed and the long course commenced with seven students (four Ugandan and three Kenyan). The long course was geared to the passing of the University Mature Aged Entrance examination and six of the first seven students were able to sit the examination. Of these, three passed the examination outright and a fourth was admitted to Makerere for a course leading to a Diploma in Social Science. A fifth went to Rusking College to read for a Diploma in Public Administration.

Shortage of accommodation precluded an increase of students for the long course and Fordham began to seek ways of doubling the size of the College. At the same time he put forward proposals for a College certificate examination for which all long course students would sit and he used the East African manpower training needs, caused by rapid Africanisation in government and commercial posts, as an argument in

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in favour of the increase in size of the College.¹
For the short courses, Fordham proposed a diversification with a decrease in the number of general citizenship courses and a move towards intensive short course training more closely related to manpower needs: courses for extra mural students, courses for adult education techniques for teachers, trades union officials and members of county councils.

The proposal for a Certificate of Adult Studies passed successfully through the Board of Adult Studies in November 1963,² and through the Academic Board in April 1964. It was decided that the first examination would be in June 1965 taken by twelve students then in residence at Kikuyu. The examination took the form of 3 three hour papers: a general paper to include an essay and two papers to be chosen from subjects which included:-- the Development of the Modern World, Economics, Political Science, African History and Sociology. Ambitiously, the intended future subject offering included:-- English Literature, Industrial Relations, The African Environment, East African Society, Introduction to Law, International Relations, Comparative Religion, Local Government and Book-keeping.³ Six of the students gained the Certificate and it is interesting to note that one student who gained the certificate failed the Mature Aged Entrance examination whilst one who gained the Mature Aged Entrance examination failed the Certificate.⁴ However, the launching of

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² Meeting of Board of Adult Studies, 1 Nov. 1963, min. 1/1/63.
³ Minutes of Board of Adult Studies, 22 Feb. 1965.
the Certificate through the University College gave it no official public recognition and students who took it expected some concrete reward for having passed it:

Students cannot be expected to work for such a certificate unless there is to be a more tangible reward at the end of their studies than a piece of paper and a word of praise. It is suggested that we initiate discussions now with Government to pave the way for recognition of the certificate by all employers.

The Principal of the University College added his voice in support of the certificates:

As it is shown by the recent Manpower Survey, we face serious shortages in personnel who have reached the standard of School or Higher School Certificates or their equivalents and for whom these are the termination of their full-time studies. The Manpower Survey notes a probable shortage in 1970 of nearly 5,000 in professional occupations where a university degree is not mandatory and more than 20,000 in the skilled technical and clerical posts which usually require at least a Form IV education. We believe that a small but insignificant part of this shortage of middle and high level manpower can be made up by raising the general educational level of talented adults. For such people the present school examinations with their overseas orientation and school bound curricula are quite unsuitable. This is why we have devised a new Certificate of Adult Studies - to give the same opportunities of advancement as are open to secondary school children to the able adults in our working population, while at the same time writing syllabuses for this certificate which have been carefully designed to meet adult needs.

1. Minutes of Board of Adult Studies, 10 Nov. 1965.
2. Dr. A. Porter, Principal, University College, Nairobi, at the ceremony for the awarding of the first certificates, NASC file D/75.
Discussions over the recognition of the certificate began in April 1966. The Ministry of Education agreed to send an observer to sit on the examination panel in order to judge the standard of Certificate examination. The Ministry of Education duly participated and after the observer had submitted a satisfactory report on the examination the Ministry agreed to recognise the Certificate of Adult Studies as equivalent in general educational standards to the General Certificate of Education 'A' level and Higher School Certificate for employment purposes. However, it soon became clear that whilst the Ministry of Education accorded this recognition, which meant that for the teacher upgrading purposes it had value for the holder, it did not follow that other Government Ministries were prepared to agree to this recognition. The certificate remained without this full government recognition and therefore the necessary lead by Government was not given to the rest of the national employing bodies in the private and public sector.

While the idea of the certificate was still young and fresh, the plans for the expansion of facilities at Kikuyu met with approval. During 1964 additional aid was forthcoming from the trusts which had originally endowed Kikuyu. The Dulverton Trust and the Ford Foundation both agreed to provide £30,000 each to allow the size of the College to double and the Leverhulme Trust provided an additional £15,000 to help toward the employment of two more staff members. The new buildings were officially opened on September 1966.

Added help in staffing came from Nottingham University when it was agreed in February 1965 to begin a system for the secondment of a staff member from Nottingham over a six year period, the basic salary being met from the Institute's funds.

During 1964 an attempt was made to diversify the kind of short courses which were run at Kikuyu. Only three general courses were run but a two week course for county councillors was held, and one one week course was held by the Kenya Federation of Labour and another by the International Press Institute. A five week course was held for successful mature age entrants to the university as a pre-university orientation course.

The College of Social Studies had been conceived as a select adult college for the purpose of furthering the multi-racial ideas of the Capricorn Africa Society. Its courses were to have been aimed at the top and middle leadership of the newly emerging Kenyan society. Whilst it had been expected that most of the students would be Africans, it was always intended that Europeans and Asians would participate as students in the courses. Indeed, the idea of members of all races living and studying together for short periods was to be part of the process of furthering multi-racial understanding. The College was designed and run on standards that met European requirements with a minimal regard to expense in order to facilitate European attendance. The basic purpose of courses deliberately designed to foster racial understanding was never met. By the time the first Principal arrived, Capricornist ideas were well in decline and it is clear that Wiltshire, the first Principal, had little sympathy for these. Political change had established an African ascendancy and African leadership no longer
found it expedient to play with Capricornist ideas; the pendulum had swung in the opposite direction and anything associated with Capricorn was suspect. Wiltshire found that he had to reassure the African leadership that his courses were in no way intended to further Capricorn ideas. This he managed to do. Wiltshire saw the College developing as a residential centre running short courses in liberal studies designed in the best British University tradition and in the tradition of the British Colleges of Adult Education. It would provide, using the Socratic method, factual information and encourage informed objective discussion relevant to the understanding of contemporary political, economic and social problems. It was hoped that attendance at a course would give a greater measure of self-confidence to the new leadership group in government service and in the public and commercial sectors. Wiltshire saw that the financial future of the College was by no means secure and that the most expeditious way of ensuring long term aims was by integrating the College with the University. This was timely since the new University College was already planning ways in which it would assume responsibility for Makerere's extra mural work. Wiltshire was again successful. His successor was responsible for a greater degree of formalisation of the programme. The long course was a natural step in the process of providing for the best short-course students a more academic education which could result in an educational qualification. This, it could reasonably be argued, was appropriate to a University institution and met a chronic need of the potential students. The Mature-aged Entry Scheme dovetailed conveniently into the long course programme. The introduction of an official certificate of a pre-university educational equivalence was also a natural step. This, however,
proved unacceptable to employing bodies except for purposes of teacher up-grading.

The College of Social Studies never aspired to involve itself in any of the national government programmes of mass education. Although the Jeanes School had closed in the same year that the College of Social Studies opened, the College never attempted to assume the role of the former Jeanes School. In fact, it evolved as a very expensive Sixth Form College of Education catering for the elite under the wing of the University. The justification for its development in this way was that it provided an opportunity for the educational improvement and maturity of some of the new African middle leadership group at a time when this was a national priority.


In July 1963, the Institute of Adult Studies came into being as part of the University as an administrative device for linking the Extra Mural Department and the College of Social Studies. It was not, however, until July 1966, that a complete amalgamation of the two took place under one Director for the Institute. Between 1963 and 1966, the two units continued to act as independent entities with both Heads being represented, for example, on the Academic Board of the University. During this period, The College of Social Studies was concerned primarily with developing its long courses geared to university entrance and the Certificate of Adult Studies with
periodic short courses of a more liberal nature. The Extra Mural Department was concerned with establishing itself administratively; strengthening its quality through research and preparation of teaching aids for part-time teachers; and, the development of extra-mural centres in the four major towns: Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru and Kisumu. The addition of an extra-mural tutor in 1964 had made it possible to split Western Kenya into two, one to cover Nyanza Province and the other the Rift Valley Province.

In August 1964 the first Director of Extra Mural Studies, who had been appointed in March 1964, issued a policy statement for extra mural work elaborating on the development of extra mural centres and regional programmes and specifying the use of radio, television and correspondence methods as a means of spreading extra mural education more widely. There were also to be 'special facilities for students such as: local government workers, cooperative workers and trade unionists, and others such as teachers who find it impossible to attend weekly classes owing to distance'.¹ Another feature of the policy was 'the building up, in conformity with the Government's adult education plan which the department will support to a maximum, of a countrywide net-work of adult education committees'² since the Director had been responsible - at the request of the Minister of Labour and Social Services³ - for a survey recommending the way in which a national adult education programme might be developed. The core of the extra mural work was to remain the weekly sessional class radiating

¹. Departmental Policy and Administrative Notes: Department of Extra Mural Studies, Aug. 1964, p. 4.
². loc. cit.
from an urban extra mural centre under the direction of a Resident Tutor and the tutors were encouraged to experiment with classes using Kiswahili as a medium of instruction.\(^1\) Though records show two of these classes being organised successfully, an extension of classes teaching in Kiswahili could not be funded on the scale that would have been necessary for a national programme.

In February 1965 it became possible, under the College's triennial development plan, to appoint a tutor for radio and television work. The new tutor began programming an experimental fifteen week television course integrated with a correspondence course. He also developed a course of regular weekly radio talks on current affairs. The television-correspondence course, the 'A.B.C. of Economics'\(^2\) was the first correspondence course to be organised by the Institute of Adult Studies and it helped to demonstrate within the University that 'the enthusiasm engendered was more than sufficient to prove that this will be a fruitful way of reaching many more students'.\(^3\)

The following year, another television-correspondence course was organised on 'An Introduction to Law' with

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1. It was also specified that 'more classes using Kiswahili should be held and that it is intended that all staff should be Swahili speaking'. Departmental Policy and Administrative Notes: 1964, op. cit., p. 5.


3. The experiment was based on a similar one organised by the University of Nottingham and was programmed in conjunction with the Department of Economics of the University College and the College of Social Studies, Extra Mural Department Annual Report 1963/64 and 1964/65, p. 7.
viewing groups in forty-two centres throughout the country with 850 registered students under class tutors.

These experiments and the support of the Principal of the College of Social Studies who, in 1963, had arranged with seven universities in the U.S.A. to provide scholarships for selected students of the College of Social Studies,¹ led to more careful consideration being given to the long term use of these forms of mass media.

During 1965, approaches were made to the Ministry of Education to elicit support for an international financial aid request for the development of correspondence education. There was at first little enthusiasm from the Ministry where the impression was that education by correspondence was very much a second best educational technique. However, the Ministry faced with the enormous shortage of trained teachers which was aggravated by the rapidly spreading Harambee Secondary Schools had a change of heart.² It was put to the Ministry of Education that correspondence techniques could be used for a crash programme of teacher training in Harambee Schools and the Ministry, with a training problem which had strong political implications, agreed.

During 1965 informal contact had already been made with Wisconsin University when a delegation from that University passed through Nairobi after a visit

¹. The Universities were those of Iowa, Washington, Texas, Georgia, Illinois, Utah and Nebraska. College of Social Studies Annual Report 1963/64.
². Information gained whilst Director of Extra Mural Studies, University College Nairobi.
to Tanzania, where abortive discussions on teacher training by correspondence had been held. Kenya appeared more favourable. In October 1965 the Heads of the two Departments of the Institute of Adult Studies were able to put forward concrete proposals for a Correspondence Course Department which would produce courses for the Certificate of Adult Studies; secondary school courses for the staff 'in particular, some of the Harambee Schools for which adequate staff cannot be provided even on the most optimistic assumptions';¹ and courses for departments of the University College who were thinking of running correspondence courses in the near future. The long term objective was to be 'the provision of degree and diploma courses'.²

In November 1965 it was suggested that Wisconsin University might send an exploratory team. In January 1966 a draft agreement was prepared with the United States Agency for International Development to develop radio-correspondence courses at secondary level for use in schools and by adults. The first courses were to be: English, Swahili, Mathematics, History and Geography at Form I level, with Form II courses being provided later. These courses were to be used also in up-grading P3 primary teachers; for use in Harambee Schools; and for use by adults who passed the Kenya Preliminary Examination in earlier years but for whom no further educational opportunities...

¹. R.C. Prosser, Director of Extra Mural Studies and P. Fordham, Principal of the College of Social Studies, 'Correspondence Courses', 11 Oct. 1965, NASC file As.AD.CC.
². loc. cit.
were available. The United States Agency for International Development was to provide three technical experts: A senior Correspondence specialist, a radio-television instruction specialist and a specialist Office Manager. The Kenya Government was to provide local counterpart staff.

During March 1966, Wisconsin made a favourable survey and in April 1966 the Ministry of Education agreed that the correspondence courses should cover the newly introduced Kenya Junior Leaving Certificate syllabus which corresponded with the first two years of secondary education. The Ministry also agreed to second five suitable teachers for writing the courses. Organisationally, it was proposed that the Correspondence Course Unit should be a servicing unit within the Institute of Adult Studies, servicing courses which might originate from the University or from the Ministry of Education or any other approved agency.

Whilst the programme for finalising the structure of the Correspondence Course Unit was in its final phase, a further reorganisation of the Institute of Adult Studies became possible with the resignation of the Director of the Extra Mural Department. In August 1966 the Principal of the College of Social Studies became the Director of the Institute of Adult Studies with a Senior Tutor in charge of the College of Social Studies which had been renamed the Adult Studies Centre and it became possible to have a completely

2. P. Fordham, A Correspondence Instruction-Radio Unit, Some notes on policy control and coordination, 1 May 1965, NASC file As.AD.CC.
integrated programme for the Institute as a whole.

The departure of the Director of the Extra Mural Department was accompanied by the departure of the Resident Tutors for Nairobi and Kisumu; the post at Mombasa had been vacant since the beginning of 1965; the Resident Tutor at Nakuru had been combining the work of Staff Tutor in Teaching Methods with that of supervising extra mural work in the Rift Valley. The staffing situation for extra mural work was therefore very unsatisfactory. After mid-1966, the cornerstone of the Institute's work became formal education1 as contrasted with the informal tutorial classes which had been previously the mainstay of the extra mural programme. The extra mural policy gave way to the extraordinary demand from students for examinable courses leading to the School Certificate and to professional examinations. The Adult Studies Centre was developing its Adult Studies Certificate and the proposed Correspondence Course Unit was to be geared to the production of Secondary School courses. By 1967 there still existed a remnant of the former liberal extra mural class programme; there was still a feeling that training and support for government adult education programmes should be a function of the Institute; there was still a feeling that the Institute had an obligation to help in organising courses for professional workers - but all these were overwhelmed by formal school courses for adults.

The following table gives an idea of the popularity of subjects for courses in the two periods 1956 - 1963 and 1964 - 1969 in the Nairobi area:

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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government or Political Science</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Language</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathematics</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accounting/ Book-keeping</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>33</td>
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Problem oriented subjects like Government and Economics which threw light on local problems predominated from 1956 - 1963 whilst formal examination and professional classes dominated the later programme.

On 1 January 1967 an agreement was signed between the Government of Kenya and the U.S. Agency for International Development to establish the Correspondence Course Unit.\(^1\) USAID, through the University of Wisconsin, was to provide three specialists and $158,000 over a two year period;\(^2\) the Kenya government provided five course writers, counter-part staff, and $50,000. The Wisconsin Team arrived in March 1967. A year later in March 1968 there were 550 students enrolled.

The Director of the Institute resigned in March 1968, and handed over to E. Bjerre, seconded for two years from the Rural Development College, Denmark.

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1. USAID Project 615-11-650-129, Radio-Correspondence Education.
Bjerre inherited an embryonic Correspondence Course Unit, an extra mural programme which had suffered from a heavy turnover of staff and was heavily oriented toward examinations; an Adult Studies Centre which had been without a Principal and was committed to the Certificate of Adult Studies which as yet had no recognition from government for employment purposes; and a severe financial situation, since grants from various trusts were rapidly coming to an end.

For the two years that Bjerre headed the Institute, there was no significant basic change of programme. However, the basis was laid for a new policy, which it is intended should completely change the orientation of the Institute's programme. Through the Board of Adult Education, Bjerre was able to build up important informal relationships which helped to provide guidance in the drawing up of a policy which would fit the Institute's programme into the general development of a national education programme. It was clear that if the Institute was to get the finance to meet its deficit of around £40,000 per year then the Government would have to see clearly the national gain to be derived from its programme.

The Board of Adult Education encouraged the Institute to pursue a programme which would further training and research in adult education. In the field of adult education training, the Board supported the implementation of a three month's training course for field workers in adult education: Adult Education Officers, staff of adult training centres, Health Education workers and workers from voluntary agencies. The first course began in April 1969. Leading from the three month course, planning began for a Diploma course in Adult Education lasting a year. In the field of research, the Board was able to commission the Institute's staff for research projects in adult
education. These included District field surveys, a survey into formal education and a survey in the financing of adult education.

Bjerre, concerned about a clear policy for the Institute, decided in late 1969, to set up a working party to advise on the formalisation of a new policy. The members of the working party included representatives from the Board of Adult Education, relevant government ministries, the Directorate of Personnel, the Kenya Institute of Administration, and the University. In November 1969, the working party produced its report. The working party organised itself into three committees concerned with: Adult Education training and research; the Certificate of Adult Studies and Extra Mural activities; and radio-correspondence education.

The main recommendations of the working party were: that the Institute should be prepared to act as a servicing agency in support of other adult education programmes especially in the field of research and training. The proposed diploma course was endorsed and the Institute was asked to collaborate in introducing adult education as a subject in teacher training colleges and in undergraduate courses in education. On extra mural work it was recommended that more extra mural centres should be established but that emphasis should be given to liberal type education and that examination classes 'should not be the main line of work'. Extra mural tutors should develop adult

2. ibid., p. 3.
3. ibid., p. 9.
education training courses in the regions and work in close collaboration with government departments in their areas. On the Certificate of Adult Studies, the working party recommended that 'it should be discontinued as a one-year residential course and introduced as a 2 - 3 year correspondence course'.

It was recognised that 'the course is too expensive per student under the present financial constraints of Kenya'. It was suggested that the Adult Studies Centre should be used for short term courses: adult education, trade unionism, local government, cooperative education, youth leadership and women's organisations along with residential courses for correspondence students and seminars and conferences. On radio-correspondence education, the working party suggested that the Kenya Junior Secondary Education course might more appropriately be offered by other bodies and that the Correspondence Course Unit should develop correspondence courses for adult educators, trade unionists and cooperative workers and that 'the introduction of first degree courses should be speeded up'.

The working party report was accepted by the Institute and incorporated in the Institute's development plan for the triennium 1970 - 1973. Bjerre left the Institute in March 1970.

The Report of the Working Party on the Institute of Adult Studies provides a frame-work for

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2. ibid., p. 11.
a completely new orientation of its programme. The total budget of the Institute has reached around £90,000 per annum of which only half is assured. Government has shown itself reluctant to meet the shortfall. The cost of maintaining an adult student at Kikuyu in residence was, during 1968, over £1,000 per year and it became doubtful whether the cost could be justified. The long courses leading to the Certificate of Adult Studies was questioned especially since the Certificate had not gained general recognition either as a qualification for admission to the University which sponsored it or as an employment qualification. The extra mural programme had similarly become oriented to courses leading to formal examinations. The student enrollment at weekly classes in 1967 - 1968 had stabilised at around 2,000 per year of which less than half were classified as effective students, that is, students having attended two thirds of the meetings of the course. The Correspondence Course Unit had registered 2,600 students taking courses which covered the first two years of a school secondary course, all except 3 per cent of the registrations were from teachers.

The Institute of Adult Studies has yet to find its most useful role within the national adult education structure. It has had to face the dilemma of deciding between a role appropriate to a University with its insistence on the maintenance of academic standards and a natural inclination to the higher levels of formal educational needs and a role which made a direct contribution to mass fundamental needs in a situation where the national educational level is extremely low. The control of policy by staff familiar with the British University extra mural and adult education system made the choice of the former role understandable. Indeed, no conscious choice was
made since it was automatically assumed that the path chosen was the natural and correct one. In any case, involvement in mass education would have presupposed a familiarity with at least Kiswahili if not other tribal languages, and few of the Institute's staff acquired this facility. There is no doubt that it was easier to sustain a traditional British type programme during the early years in view of the passionate interest of English-speaking Africans in the pressing problems relating to the achievement of self-government and the 'crash' programmes of Africanisation which took place. Once this phase had passed, however, after 1963, the former tutorial type discussion class gave way to classes leading to secondary school examinations. At that stage, it became possible to argue that this kind of work was not appropriate to a University and more seriously that there was no justification for subsidising through the University this particular section of the community when the needs in fundamental education of the mass of people was so enormous.

The existence of this dilemma is now clearly seen. The choice of paths has been appreciated and a new path chosen. The main task of the Institute will be to work in support of the total adult education effort of the country. Already the Institute has organised training courses for adult educators of all kinds and during 1970 it will mount a professional Diploma course in Adult Education. It has already taken the step of involving itself in research work that is clearly so badly needed. No longer will the Institute staff be able to separate themselves from mass education. If they are to train staff to work in these fields they must themselves be familiar with the problems existing in these fields and the techniques that may be best able to solve them. If they do
research, the research findings must throw light on the existing problems and point ways to their solution. Literacy, farmer training, health education, education meeting the special needs of women and youth, as well as the needs of the better educated, must all form part of the Institute's brief. Whilst the University may keep an extra mural programme of its own, it can no longer avoid involvement in mass education for the adult population since, as Professor Peers asked in 1951 an understanding must be found, 'of the essential relationship between the high level extra mural work and the education of the masses'.
Chapter Eight

The Coordination of Adult Education

and

The Board of Adult Education

The provision of adult education in Kenya has been piecemeal and haphazard. There has never been a clear statement of national objectives which has taken into account all fields of adult education at any one time. National planning in modern nation-states is considered an essential prerequisite to the achievement of national goals and a statement of national goals is part of the planning process. Where a severe scarcity of resources exists; where standards of living are low; where rapid economic and social development are vital to the very existence of the State, planning which aims at the avoidance of a wasteful use of resources, the elimination of duplication of effort and which sets out clear national targets and indicates an ordering of priorities, takes on an especially important significance. The education of adults as a means of inducing economic and social change is a function of many different national development agencies. National planning for adult education is as important, therefore, as it is for any other national activity.

Attempts to plan nationally for the whole complex of adult education encounter the same problems as those met in planning any national activity where a number of different agencies are involved. As well as
these, however, the adult education field has to face problems which are peculiar to itself. Problems applying to all attempts in planning include the establishment of satisfactory planning machinery, the collection of factual information, the drawing of conclusions, the statement of general objectives and the preparation of a policy, the creation of a programme to meet the objectives, the establishment of priorities amongst the objectives, the allocation of functions within the programme, the allocation of resources according to the established priorities, the institution of review procedure and evaluation processes. When the complete procedure is a sole responsibility of one organisation, the more easily the problems can be solved; the more complex the organisation the more difficult the problems. Where different autonomous or semi-autonomous organisations are concerned in the development of one programme, the problems multiply and become more intricate. The organisations have to be prepared, from a planning level to the lowest operational level, to accept common objectives, to sink their individual identities for the achievement of a common cause, and to transfer essential portions of their sovereignty to a super or supra-national institution. These are a few of the complexities involved in the implementation of any programme and they are as relevant to the adult education field as they are to any other.

Adult education has been controlled by three major groups of agencies: government departments, public bodies and voluntary agencies. The minimum effect that national planning can be expected to achieve if it is to be considered successful is a coordination of effort. Yet the coordination of adult education programmes in the government sector alone has proved impossible, though the effort in recent years has not been without its successes. However,
if coordination is difficult in the government sector, the extension of a coordinatory principle to embrace two other groups of agencies becomes even less likely to be successful.

The government departments which have been or are directly involved in major adult education provision are: Community Development, Agriculture, Health, Cooperative Development, Trade and Supplies, and Education. A cursory glance at the way their programmes have developed is sufficient to show the lack of coordination that exists between them. A few examples will suffice. A clear differentiation does not exist between the roles of community development staff and the staff of the other government departments. In adult education, overlapping occurs or has occurred in literacy work, where community development staff have come into conflict with education staff; in nutrition where community development staff, agricultural staff and health staff have developed separate programmes. One would suppose that better coordination and a greater degree of mutual understanding could have brought about an earlier and more widely understood acceptance of the concept of functional literacy, which requires an interdisciplinary approach. The multiplicity of rural training centres would not have occurred with better coordination. The national health programme could have been more successful if staff of other departments had been familiar with its objectives and had been willing to support it. The cooperative movement could have been more firmly established if, for example, community development and agricultural staff had participated more closely in its spread. The neglect of mass civic education would have been less likely to have occurred if there had been a coordinatory body with a comprehensive view of the development of adult education in
all its forms. The all-important farmer training programme could have been more effective if an integrated approach to rural development had been introduced. Agricultural training could have gained a greater impetus as part of an integrated rural education programme aimed at comprehensive and total development.

If comprehensive planning and the implementation of an integrated and coordinated programme of adult education have proved difficult within the government machinery, the addition of schemes run by public authorities and voluntary agencies contributes further severe complications. In Kenya, the major adult education providing bodies include amongst the public bodies, the University programme and the work undertaken through the local authorities. The voluntary agencies include the Churches, and the Women's movement, though one could add the potential contributions of organisations like the cooperative societies, the trade unions and K.A.N.U., the national political party. To achieve complete coverage, however, not only must the major providing organisations agree to accept a degree of coordination of their activities but other bodies which can work in support of adult education must be included. In Kenya, the East African Literature Bureau receives sponsorship and subsidy from the three governments of East Africa through the East African Community Organisation. It can, therefore, produce reading material relevant to adult education at cost price or less than the cost price. But it requires to know what is needed and what the national priorities are. The Kenyan radio and television service operated by the Voice of Kenya as part of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting has organised adult educational programmes through its own staff, but reckons rather to give support in the provision of air and viewing
time on its media and in the offer of technical advice to other providing bodies who make use of their media. There are also three important government ministries which have roles vital to the development of adult education, though they are themselves not operating programmes. These are the Ministry of Local Government, which is influential in determining the finances and functions of the local authorities; the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, which is responsible for all national planning and has control over all national and local development projects; and, the most important Ministry of Finance, which is the ultimate source of all funds and therefore the final arbiter on priorities and programme development in the public sector. As the number of bodies grows, so the problems of planning and coordination multiply, as they do wherever harmony has to be brought into the programmes of independent organisations.

Beside the normal problems of organisation, however, adult education has some special problems of its own which further complicate planning. These difficulties have been discussed elsewhere, so only a recapitulation is needed here. Adult education, though by no means a new activity, is in a professional sense a comparatively recent vocational field with a discipline and language of its own. A satisfactory definition of its aims and scope still eludes even the practitioners in the field. There is a broad diversity in the sponsorship of adult education programmes. Most of the sponsoring bodies organise their programmes to achieve primary aims which are not in themselves adult educational. For example, an Agricultural Department may be primarily concerned with raising farming productivity; an educational programme may be one of the ways in which this objective is achieved. The programme will most frequently be viewed as an
exercise in raising farming productivity and not as an exercise in adult education. The importance of adult education is often therefore obscured or ignored to the detriment of the programme. The diversity of sponsorship and the failure to identify adult education programmes are two reasons why the field has remained desultory and disarranged. One may add other causes. The language of adult education is still confused and imprecise. There is as yet only the rudiments of an adult education tradition on which to draw. There is no well-developed professional system of training and research to provide a common base for the wide variety of adult education programmes. Since the discipline is still in its youth and there is lack of clarity in the purpose, forms and expressions of adult education, the problem of comprehensive planning becomes even more intractable. In spite of these perplexities, the search for satisfactory ways to clarify and achieve a general acceptance of the discipline of adult education gathers momentum. The requirements for planning and coordination, as much as any other cause, have led to the urgency of the need for clarity.

Coordination of Adult Education: 1945-1963

Those responsible for education and social development in the metropolitan Colonial Office had, during the late 1930s, shown themselves aware of the need for coordination of field work between various government departments working in these fields. The immediate problem which crystallised the issue of coordination was that of nutrition. The Colonial Secretary's Circular Despatch of 1936 on the subject
of nutrition emphasised the need for cooperative effort between the Provincial Administration, and the Agriculture, Veterinary, Medical and Education Departments. It was appreciated that if there was to be national campaigns to improve nutrition, then all these departments would have to combine their efforts. The Colonial Secretary's Circular Despatch of 1939 was even more emphatic about the need for coordination and made reference to nutrition in terms of programmes of social and economic welfare. The despatch urged the formation of local committees to help in the process of coordination. The Circular Despatches had little effect in Kenya though a Native Welfare Committee was brought into being with a short and ineffectual life during the early war years.

The basis of the system of administration in Kenya was a vertical development of specialised field technical staff owing allegiance to and following policies determined within a departmental headquarters in Nairobi. At each stratum of the administrative structure, coordination of the work of the technical staff was the responsibility of officers of the Provincial Administration. For operational purposes, the main geographical unit of administration was the district, though within the district there were subdivisions into locations and sub-locations. Districts for administrative purposes were under the control of

2. **Nutrition Policy in the Colonies**, Circular Despatch, 8 Jul. 1939, Col. no. 854/113.
3. See ch. ii, pp. 77-78.
District Commissioners. Groups of districts formed a Province where the work of senior technical officers was coordinated by a Provincial Commissioner. District Commissioners were responsible for all aspects of life in the district and had control over development programmes.

At the end of the Second World War, a new interest was taken by government, and encouragement was given to the view that government was no longer just to maintain law and order but had a duty to play a positive and more constructive role in the development of the African reserves.1 After 1945 it became the practice to formalise irregular meetings of government staff in the District by the establishment of District Teams.2 The District Team, under the Chairmanship of the District Commissioner, included the Medical Officer, the Agricultural Officer, the Education Officer and where they existed, the Cooperative Officer and the Community Development Officer. This committee was expected to meet at regular intervals, to discuss departmental technical programmes, to devise and plan Betterment Schemes which for best effect usually involved more than one government department and generally to provide a channel of communication leading to greater coordination of effort. The most powerful member of the District Team was the District Commissioner and the way that developments occurred in the district depended to a large extent on his

personality. He could adopt an authoritarian and coercive approach to the development of the district or he could use persuasive methods. He could use a judicious combination of both. He could be himself an initiator of projects or he could remain a coordinator of the technical programmes that were put forward. He could also remain indifferent within bounds set by his immediate superiors at provincial level. However much, or however little was done within the district could only be carried out with the knowledge and approval of the District Commissioner. There is little evidence to show that the officers of the Provincial Administration were in any way concerned with having special attention to programmes of adult education and rural training in their districts whilst there is no evidence to show that the technical staff appreciated that their role was in any way adult educational. They were primarily agriculturalists, doctors, administrators of schools, organisers of cooperative societies. Administrative Officers of the Colonial Service were recruited for the most part from the British Public Schools and adult education as a concept would have played little part in their experience. Adult education was thought of as a pseudonym for literacy work or evening classes to be treated as a social service and as such with a low priority. It was even considered as undesirable, resulting at best in a disturbance of the status quo and at worst in political agitation and discontent. One could talk about farmer training or health education but the term 'adult education' smacked too much of radicalism. The District Team meetings facilitated the spread of information but they showed little sign of having resulted in integrated planning or execution of coordinated programmes for development least of all in the fields of adult education and rural training.
Adult education becomes an important agent of change when change is brought about by persuasion. When change is brought about by coercion adult education becomes less important. Until the late 1950s, coercion was the main instrument of change in the rural areas. Agricultural practices were enforced by law, some sanitary and health measures such as, for example, the construction of latrines on homesteads were enforced through local government by-laws though one could not legislate on their use. The effect of this was that departments did not rely on education as a prime means of introducing new ideas and getting them put into practice and since therefore adult education had a low priority it tended to remain overlooked and uncoordinated.

One must beware of being overcritical of the lack of coordination of effort at local levels when there was so little at the top. The Native Welfare Committee could have developed into an effective agency for the coordination of adult education since it consisted of the heads of the most important departments. The minutes of the meetings, however, show that it increased interdepartmental rivalry when dealing with major issues or else dealt with trivia. It was no loss when it ceased to meet, and it had in any case little to say on adult education.

The first serious attempt to bring government adult education departments together was in 1953, when the Medical Department tried to form a national committee to get support for its new Health Education Unit which had been formed in 1952. At that time, there was little enthusiasm for such a committee and the attempt was abortive. Another attempt was made to form a Health Education Committee six years later, this time with more success though the Committee was never
intended to do more than ascertain the needs of other departments for visual aids which could be produced by the Health Education Unit; to enlist the support of other departments in the development of health education; and, to institute interdepartmental training in adult education methods. It had no real success in any of these endeavours.¹

The first effort to organise a national body, with overall responsibility for adult education came about partly because some organisations felt this was necessary and partly because the Ministry of Education saw this as a possible way out of the embarrassing situation that it found itself in regard to adult literacy. By 1959, the Department of Community Development had begun to appreciate the need for formal liaison in adult education. The Department had responsibility for rural training centres, women's education, the Jeanes Schools, and it was supervising self-help literacy classes whilst the official formal responsibility for adult education was with the Ministry of Education. Its educational work also overlapped with the Ministries of Agriculture and Health. As early as 1957, the Director of Community Development was reporting:

There is at present no formally developed channel of communication between the government departments concerned and between government and private sponsors of this type of educational activity.²

John Porter, the former Principal of the Jeanes School, appreciated the need for a coordinating

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¹ See ch. v, pp. 206-208.
body and took a broad view of adult education. Although he had left government service he had involved himself in the political scene and in 1960 was a member of the Legislative Assembly, from this position he was able to canvas support for adult education both formally and informally. It was largely due to his influence that 'adult education' was included as part of the title of a Minister in the 'Caretaker' government of 1960/1961. He propagated the idea of a national committee on adult education from his parliamentary position. The Ministry of Education had tried to transfer the adult education portfolio to Community Development and with it the corpse of its literacy programme. The attempt met with only partial success.

In the 'Caretaker' government, policy for adult education went to the Minister for Labour, Social Security and Adult Education. The adult education work of the community development staff went with these to the Chief Secretary's Office, and the Ministry of Education remained with its literacy programme for which the Chief Secretary refused to take responsibility, though in June 1960 he reluctantly agreed. In the meantime, J. Dames was trying to change the Literacy Section into a private body to be financed from funds of the Laubach Literacy Fund and he needed to show at least government moral support for the idea to encourage the Laubach directors. He canvassed the idea of a government literacy committee through the Nairobi City Council Literacy Committee which had been formed to advise on Miss E. Mooney's literacy programme sponsored by the Ministry of Education. John Porter and the Director of Community Development wanted a larger adult education coordinating body and pioneered the idea during
The Ministry of Education was prepared to support anything that got it out of the embarrassing situation that had arisen from its literacy programme. J. Dames, the man most immediately affected by the cuts in the literacy programme took the initiative and called a meeting sponsored by the Nairobi Literacy Committee to discuss literacy and adult education. The Permanent Secretary, Labour, Social Security and Adult Education was invited to chair the meeting; others invited included the Commissioner for Social Services, the Nairobi City Education Officer, the Nairobi Director of Social Services, Alderman J. Kasyoka from the Nairobi City Council, and representatives from the Churches, the East African Literature Bureau, and John Porter. The unfortunate Permanent Secretary from Labour, Social Security and Adult Education was perplexed:

I should be grateful for some guidance on this committee which seems to have sprung from a limited beginning i.e. as a sub-committee of the Nairobi Education Board which has nothing to do with us to become an Advisory Board on Kenya as a whole.

The meeting, however, took place on 21 March 1961 under his chairmanship and minuted the need for a permanent coordinating body for adult literacy and adult education under the aegis of the Ministry of

2. Nairobi City Education Board Committee on Literacy, 24 June 1960, min. 78, HQCD file AE/1/31.
On 30 June 1961, responsibility for adult education reverted once more to the Ministry of Education. The Ministry took up the proposals for a coordinating body as a way of attracting overseas finance for adult literacy. But the Ministry was confused between adult literacy and adult education. Thus a request to the U.S.A. for aid was worded:

The Ministry of Education now proposes to set up an Adult Education Committee to formulate policies to be carried out by a non-government statutory body which would be empowered to administer grants-in-aid received from the Kenya Government or from other sources, or by the Kenya Government on behalf of adult literacy.2

At that time the idea was being mooted that a statutory body could be formed which would run adult education programmes and would be responsible for its own funds. In this way, government could from time to time donate money for particular programmes without having any direct commitment. At one time the Ministry of Education proposed setting up two Councils, one for adult education and one for adult literacy:

Although it has not been possible to foresee the time when this Ministry would be able to make any financial contribution to the adult literacy exercise, the importance of such work has been appreciated and it was thought that the most suitable assistance that Government could give would be the establishment of a Statutory Board for Adult Literacy. This Board would, it was hoped, enjoy a status which would attract external aid and would be capable of administering a programme serviced

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from funds from any source. It was further thought that this Board could best be established as a result of recommendations from the proposed Advisory Council on Adult Education.  

On 18 August 1961, the Permanent Secretary for Education called a meeting of a potential Committee on Adult Education. The committee discussed the problems of literacy and formed a sub-committee to draw up a possible official membership for the proposed Council on Adult Education. The sub-committee met under the chairmanship of John Porter and put forward nominations on 11 October 1961. The Permanent Secretary, Education, accepted the nominations for four members of the Legislative Council: J. Porter, M.J.T. Seroney, S. Ayodo, R.C. Matano; four Africans who were involved in adult education work; the Association of Local Government Authorities; the Kenya National Union of Teachers; the Kenya Federation of Labour; the Nairobi Chamber of Commerce; the East African Literature Bureau; the University Department of Extra Mural Studies; the Ministry of Education; the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs. He refused to accept the nominations of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Defence and J. Dames. Dames was not acceptable since he had troubled the Ministry over the literacy negotiations and one can only surmise that the two Ministries were excluded because the farmer training role of the Ministry of Agriculture and the role of adult education in the Army and Police Force were not appreciated.

1. Permanent Secretary Education to Permanent Secretary Health and Social Affairs, 5 Aug. 1961, HQCD file MCD 13/1/3/2/21.
2. The sub-committee included J. Porter and representatives from the East African Literature Bureau, the Churches and KNUT.
It was found that the Minister of Education could himself set up the Council without reference to the Legislative Council under the Education Ordinance, no. 8, of 1952. So, on 5 March 1962, the Education (Advisory Council on Adult Education) Order, 1962, was signed by the Minister. The loose and wide terms of reference for the new Council were:

To advise the Chief Education Officer in all matters affecting the education of adults generally, other than matters which are the subject of advice from any other Advisory Council appointed under section 6 of the Education Ordinance, 1952.¹

The following month, with the formation of the new Coalition government, the portfolio for adult education went back to the Ministry of Social Services. This invalidated the Minister of Education's order setting up the Advisory Council since it specifically made reference to the Council advising the Chief Education Officer who no longer had any responsibility for adult education. Legal advice was sought and it was found possible to redesignate the Council as 'an unofficial committee under the auspices of the Minister for Social Services'.² This may have been convenient and expedient but it removed the legal basis of the Council, and the Council reverted to a Committee.

Meanwhile Porter had been designated Chairman and discussions continued on the final membership of the Council, now a Committee. To those members already agreed by the Permanent Secretary for Education were

2. Permanent Secretary Social Services to Permanent Secretary Treasury, 1 Jun. 1962, HQCD file 13/1/3/2/22.
added: representatives from the Ministries of Agriculture and Defence; representatives from the Provincial Administration and the Kenya Farmers and Traders Union; another Legislative Council member, A. Anjawalla; the Kenya Broadcasting Service; and J. Dames from the Nairobi Literacy Centre. It was anticipated that the Committee would meet in Nairobi about twice a year coinciding with Legislative Council meetings and that the every day work would be done by an executive committee. An Assistant Secretary from the Ministry of Social Services would be Executive Officer to the main Committee. Porter had ambitions for the Committee which he still continued to call an Advisory Council and he elaborated on his views to the Minister of Social Services:

The Adult Education Advisory Council of which I am Chairman will be responsible to you. The Adult Education Council is attempting to coordinate the work of all agencies in the field of adult education and I am sincerely hoping that, as far as possible, all adult education activities will be brought under your Ministry. I realise that this may not be immediately possible with regard to the Farmer Training Schools, which are under the Ministry of Agriculture, although, looking further ahead, I believe that it would be to their benefit to be under the Ministry which is concerned with adult education. I am hoping that other fields of adult education therefore will come under your Ministry, whether as a direct responsibility or indirect. For example, I mean the Adult Literacy organisation, the Makerere Extra Mural Department, Evening classes, the East African Literature Bureau, Homecraft classes, Jeanes School, Naendeleo clubs, rural clubs and such other adult schools as are managed by the various

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1. Ministry of Social Services, noted of a meeting on adult education, 25 May 1962, HQCD file MCD 13/2/3/2/33.
churches. There are numerous other adult education activities with which it is the intention of the Advisory Council to be in liaison, such as the education in prisons, the army, the police, the Forest Department and the Farmer Training Centres mentioned above. I do not know what relationship your Ministry will have with all of these but the Advisory Council will be, as I see it, in consultation with them.¹

The first full meeting of the Advisory Committee took place on 6 July 1962. Three African M.L.C.s attended together with representatives from the Provincial Administration, the Ministries of Education, Agriculture, Social Services, the Catholic Church, the National Christian Council of Kenya, the Kenya Federation of Employers, the Kenya National Union of Teachers, the Farmers and Traders Union, the Maendeleo ya Wanawake, the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation and the East African Literature Bureau. The Committee drew up its own terms of reference:

(i) To be advisory to the Minister for Social Services
(ii) To be advisory to other Ministries through the Ministry of Social Services
(iii) To promote interest in and give publicity to adult education
(iv) To supply advice and assistance within its powers and if so requested by organisations concerned with adult education
(v) To review the position of adult education in Kenya and to compile information on adult education to be collected from all agencies working in adult education in Kenya.²

¹. J. Porter to Hon. B. Mate, Minister for Social Services, 7 May 1962, HQCD file MCD 13/1/3/2/22.
². Meeting of the Advisory Committee on Adult Education, 6 Jul. 1962, min. 4/62, HQCD file MCD 13/1/3/2/a.
An executive committee was formed which consisted of Porter and representatives from the Churches, the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, the Nairobi Literacy Centre, KNUT and with the Ministry of Social Services represented by the Executive Officer. A Literacy Sub-committee was formed to deal with the immediate problems of these programmes. The Committee was endowed with advisory powers only and had no bite. It discussed the development of a national training centre for adult education; the registration of training centres since the rule of registering all adult education classes with the Ministry of Education was proving a hindrance; it discussed the use of television in adult education. But it could do nothing. The Committee had little status and to try to correct this, it was reentitled a Council in September 1962. It had no permanent staff or secretariat and the curious situation arose where Mrs. E. Wilson, the Assistant Secretary for Social Services as Executive Officer for the Committee found her writing to herself and replying to her own queries since most correspondence of the Committee went through the Ministry.¹

The Council had no means of keeping itself informed of field problems and as a way of overcoming this deficiency and on the suggestion of the Extra Mural Department, an abortive attempt was made at establishing district adult education committees. It was suggested that:

These committees would meet as often as possible and would provide the basic foundation of an adult education coordinating structure with a minimum of cost. The fact that there would be in each district a body specifically charged

¹. See, for example, letters for Sep. 1962, in HQCD file MCD 13/1/3/2/c.
with adult education would do much to stimulate active work.¹

It was expected that the committees could help develop courses in rural training centres and supervise small libraries. The Council adopted the idea and a circular was sent out under the signature of the Permanent Secretary Social Services in January 1963, to all other Permanent Secretaries, Provincial and District Commissioners, and community development staff. The only district, however, in which a committee met was Kisii.²

The Council and Executive Committee meetings were sporadic and never gathered momentum. The African members of Legislative Council never attended after the first meeting. Other members quickly dropped out as the powers of the Council were seen to be of no consequence and the affairs of the Council were conducted by a small group consisting of Porter, Mrs. E. Wilson from Social Affairs with occasional attendance from representatives from the churches, the Nairobi Literacy Centre, the Ministry of Health, the Extra Mural Department and the East African Literature Bureau. But the level of representation of those few who did attend was too low to make any kind of policy making effective or to achieve any kind of coordination. The Council was a piece of window-dressing.

The Extra Mural Department tried to breathe some life into the Advisory Council and continued to

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press for a greater degree of coordination of work. On 15 April 1963, a four day conference was held on Adult Education at the Royal College, Nairobi. This was to be the first time that a conference of this kind had been organised and it brought together representatives from the main government ministries and voluntary organisations. Lectures were given on literacy, health education and agricultural education. Discussions were held on adult education techniques and the educational needs of adult students from the illiterate to the more highly educated. The Conference closed with an outline of the needs of adult education in Kenya and the resolution that there should be a national adult education programme.1

In July 1964, John Porter attempted to produce a plan for a national adult education programme, which he presented first to the Council and then, in August, to the Minister for Labour and Social Services. His plan was based on the use of school teachers to teach 'a half to one million people into specially prepared courses of instruction at an adult level in the essential subjects for national development: modern farming, health, diet, and civic and social studies'.2 He suggested the expansion of the adult residential training centres as a basis for the adult education plan which would also include teaching in the evenings, at weekends and during school vacations on a non-residential basis. He calculated that the cost of

reaching his target of between a half to one million people to be near £200,000 per year, though he suggested to begin with that a useful limited programme could be mounted for £50,000 per year. Porter tried to capture some of the enthusiasm generated by Independence for his proposals. He related them to African Socialism and nation building. He wrote to the Minister for Labour and Social Services:

Every man and woman should and could have access to the necessary knowledge to enable them, over the next few vital years, to play a part in nation building. They must be taught new techniques of urban and rural life; of modern farming and animal husbandry; of diet and hygiene and childcare; of artisan skills in masonry and carpentry; all must have access to civic studies explaining the structure, function and financing of the government and local government; of social studies to explain how to adapt family and personal life to modern ways of living; the modern history of their own country up to the present day; and its geography and economy.²

Porter's proposals suggested what needed to be done but failed to indicate realistically how it could be achieved. The programme called for an integrated approach but did not take into account the singular lack of coordinatory machinery. It called for the large-scale use of school teachers without indicating how this would affect the child education programme or how the teachers would be trained to carry out the programme assuming that they had the will and ability to do so. At any rate, no action resulted from Porter's

2. J.L. Porter to E.N. Mwendar, Minister for Labour and Social Services, 27 Aug. 1963, HQCD file MCD 13/1/5/2/c/194.
proposals. He was no longer a member of the Legislative Council and had no influence within KANU on which he could call. Instead, the Ministry of Labour and Social Services asked one of the staff members of the Extra Mural Department to prepare proposals for the development of adult education. The terms of reference given included:

To prepare:

(i) An initial survey of adult education giving the objectives and showing the present position

(ii) An analysis to the types of adult education which should be expanded

(iii) An analysis of the work in relation to a national community development programme

(iv) The levels of programme required

(v) The supporting aids i.e. the institutions and teaching aids

(vi) The proposed organisation

(vii) Costing and finance

The report was presented in November 1963 to the Advisory Council and was transmitted to the Minister. This was the first document which surveyed the work of the whole field of adult education in Kenya and it defined adult education in broad terms. It covered all the forms of formal, fundamental, liberal and vocational adult education. It covered the work of the supporting bodies. It reviewed the structure of adult education. The report noted that adult education provision was 'in the main, uncoordinated, sporadic and therefore uneconomic'.

1. Permanent Secretary, Labour and Social Services to R.C. Prosser, 12 Sep. 1963, HQCD file MOD 13/1/3/2/c/100.
3. Ibid., p. 19.
that 'adequate advisory services were required'\textsuperscript{1} to support the work of the voluntary agencies. It regretted the lack of staff and finance in all fields of adult education and that nowhere was there any provision for formal training on adult education techniques or in research. It emphasised the inadequate use of radio as an educational medium and the shortage of reading materials. But the report primarily concentrated on the solution of organisational problems. It was critical of the way the Advisory Council had developed, noting in particular that the Council was 'illsuited to carry out what should be its major function of coordination'\textsuperscript{2} since it had no formal constitution and no funds or staff.

The report proposed that a full Statutory Board of Adult Education should be established. The Board would have statutory responsibilities in the coordination and development of adult education which would enable it to sponsor programmes which involved more than one adult education agency, and which gave a measure of ability to enforce any major recommendations relating to coordination. The report specifically referred to the coordination of adult training centres in the districts, training of staff in all fields of adult education and research programmes, the licensing of adult education classes, the development of radio, television services, and the production of adult education materials.\textsuperscript{3}

\begin{flushleft}
\textbf{2.} Ibid., p. 17.
\textbf{3.} Ibid., pp. 20-28.
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It was proposed that the Board should have a full-time Secretariat and some funds of its own. Organisationally, the report mentioned that there must be official channels of communication between the Board headquarters and the districts and proposed district adult education committees to keep the Board in touch with fieldwork and local needs. At the Headquarters, the Board was to operate through a series of specialist committees covering the major kinds of adult education.¹

The report made recommendations on the roles of some of the agencies in adult education. It suggested that civic education should be included as part of the curriculum of all adult training centres irrespective of who supervised them. It considered that the prime role of the Institute of Adult Studies should be in research and training and that there should be close liaison between extra mural staff of the University and community development staff. It suggested that the Kenya Institute of Administration should develop training in adult education as part of its community development training programme. It considered that as a matter of urgency that Ministries and voluntary agencies running district training centres should find ways of combining their efforts to reduce the overlapping and duplication of facilities.

The report was not concerned directly with the preparation of a national plan but it was hoped that by suggesting ways of developing efficient machinery for administering a national programme that a necessary first step in devising a national plan had been taken.

The report was accepted and approved by the Minister for Labour and Social Services on 27 April 1964 who, in the meantime, had had it redrafted as a formal statement of government policy. The Memorandum stated the Minister's intention of setting up a Statutory Board with a full-time staffing and finance and the development of a programme of multi-purpose training centres, a national literacy programme and research and training in adult education. At the same time, the Minister took the opportunity of dissolving the old Advisory Council.

By 1964 there had still been no effective coordination of the field of adult education. But by that time the idea had become acceptably to many of the main agencies running adult education programmes. Until 1957, there is no evidence that the idea of coordination in or outside government was given any serious consideration. It was after 1957 when the need for coordinating literacy work made the coordination in this field a matter of urgency, that national machinery was seriously discussed though it is clear that even at this time there were staff, especially those who had had association with the Jeanes School who saw advantages in a wide interpretation of adult education and wanted close liaison between the main adult education agencies. The formation of the advisory committee which became later the advisory council demonstrated the ineffectiveness of an ad-hoc body which has no formal existence, no staff and no

2. E.N. Mwendar, Minister for Labour and Social Services to all members of the Advisory Council on Adult Education, 27 Apr. 1964, HQCD file AE1/1/57.
money. Yet, in view of the prevailing climate of opinion that gave no high priority to coordination and since there was no voice which could with justification speak for adult education as a whole, the Advisory Council stage was a necessary one which had to be experienced before a stronger institution could be created on the basis of a more commonly held view that saw adult education embracing all educational and training activities as a viable entity in its own right.

The Board of Adult Education 1964-1970

During 1964, the Ministry for Labour and Social Services began the legal drafting of a bill which would be put before Parliament. The new post for a Secretary to the Board, designated as an Assistant Secretary (Adult Education), was negotiated and included in the personnel establishment of the Ministry. Before anything concrete had occurred, however, there was another reshuffle of government portfolios and on 1 January 1965, adult education reverted back to the Ministry of Education.1 This appeared to come as much as a complete surprise to the staff of the Ministry of Labour and Social Services as it was to the staff of the Ministry of Education. The decision could either have been made without forethought taken during a complete reorganisation of portfolios or possibly a decision

taken at the request of the Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Education, J. Njeroge, who had a particular interest in adult education and sufficient influence to be able to get this decision taken. To the Ministry of Education went responsibility for the adult education policy paper, the proposals for the Board, its agreed establishment and its financial provision.

The change of responsibility brought a delay in the drafting of the bill but, on 29 June 1965, the bill was published and began to wind its way through the parliamentary channels. In the meantime, pressure continued to keep the Ministry of Education active in adult education. John Porter wrote to Mbiyu Koinange, Minister of Education:

I do sincerely hope that you can see your way to setting up an interim Council as there are many urgent matters to be considered such as the building up of adult education through radio and television; and the work in adult education being undertaken by the University College; and the setting up of district adult education committees; and the preliminary work in setting out study assignments for the use of teachers in evening classes; and the coordination of work already in hand and being planned by various authorities such as Community Development, Agriculture, the Christian Council of Kenya and the Voice of Kenya - and perhaps the setting up of a new central establishment (a re-born Jeanes School) to give more advanced courses to students coming from the rural adult schools.

Koinange whilst introducing the bill to the House of Representatives made out a strong case for the Board. He surveyed the previous policy and action

1. Porter to Koinange, 6 Apr. 1965, HQCD file AEI/1/121.
which made the development of a coordinating Board necessary and reassured the members of the House:

The Board is not meant to interfere with the content of courses organised by the Departments... At present, the characteristics of adult education at County levels reveal the rigid departmentalism of government and, even where voluntary agencies are active, there is often a lack of coordination of effort... Adult education at this level (County and district) must engender a team approach.

The bill passed without mishap through the House of Representatives and then moved to the Senate.

In the Senate, the bill had a less easy time. The members of the Senate took the opportunity to debate the situation in regard to adult literacy. Senator J. Mathenge who introduced the bill, related his case closely to coordination in adult literacy rather than the broader spectrum of adult education. Senator M. Jilo called for Members of Parliament to be included on the Board. Senator J. Muthamia thought that a Board of 28 members was too unwieldy. Senator C. Lubembe:

regretted that the Minister was empowered to appoint the Chairman but had no powers to remove him. This was serious since because there was precedent in the case of the Kenya Meat Commission where a senior official challenged the right of the Minister of Agriculture to dismiss him.

On 6 November 1965 the senate disapproving the lack of apparent power of the Minister to remove Board members, referred the bill back to the House of

Representatives for amendment. This had the effect of 'dying' it since the Parliamentary session had come to an end. However, the Board was considered of sufficient importance by the Minister and it was introduced in the following session and passed on 24 February 1966.¹

The Act was broadly drawn, interpreting adult education as any education or instruction provided for people over sixteen years of age not at full-time attendance at a formal school or college. Its terms of reference were wide:

(i) to advise the Minister on any matter relating to adult education, including the formation of courses and syllabuses, the establishment of residential and non-residential institutions, the use of museums, libraries and the media of mass communication, and the provision and method of award of scholarships and bursaries.

(ii) to advise with respect to the coordination of the work in connection with adult education of Ministries and Departments of Government and agencies.

(iii) to identify and assess the need for new developments in adult education.

(iv) to stimulate and encourage activities in adult education; and

(v) to report annually to the Minister on the progress and development of adult education.

The Board was to consist of a Chairman, ten government members and twelve non-government members appointed by the Minister. The Board could co-opt five more members. The members were appointed for three years though there was provision for one third retiring each year to make for rotational representation. The Act allowed for the establishment of specialist panels and an executive committee. It approved the formation in provinces and districts of local adult education

¹. Board of Adult Education Act, 1966, 1 Mar. 1966
committees.1

The new Board could now be set up. In the middle of the previous year, the post of the Secretary to the Board had already been filled by the Ministry of Education. The Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education was anxious not simply to bring a coordinating body for adult education into being but to establish an adult literacy programme. He had made provision for the recruitment of a cadre of Assistant Education Officers (Adult Education) as part of a new Adult Education Section. The person recruited as Education Officer (Adult Education), who was originally intended to be Secretary to the Board, was already in charge of this section and a literacy programme and he was expected to combine this with the work of the Secretary to the Board since there was only one post.

On 28 March 1966, the Permanent Secretary called an informal meeting of potential Board members.2 The meeting was attended by representatives from: Information and Broadcasting, Health and Social Services, Agriculture, Finance, Economic Planning and Development, the Directorate of Personnel, the Kenya Institute of Administration, the Literacy Centre of Kenya, Nairobi Evening Continuation Classes, UNESCO, the University College, East African Literature Bureau, Kenya Red Cross, the Kenya Civil Servants Union, the National Council for Social Services, the FAO Consultant on Farmer Training and John Porter. The meeting was not very productive. The time was spent discussing at what age could a person be considered an adult, and a

1. See Appendix IV.
list of Ministries from which the Minister could select the Board members.

It is apparent that neither the Permanent Secretary nor the new Secretary to the Board had any clear idea of the role of the Board. In any case the latter was busy, with the help of the UNESCO staff, organising his Adult Education Section and launching his new literacy programme. It was to be another six months before the Board met. The officer who was both Head of Adult Education and Secretary to the Board conceived his prime role as that of an executive head of an adult education section. By combining this function of the Secretary to a new Board, it is clear that the Permanent Secretary did not feel that the Secretaryship to the Board was a full-time task.

The Secretary used the Board as an aid almost solely for the launching of his literacy campaign which was to be inaugurated by the President in the coming October 1966:

According to the Board of Adult Education Act there shall be established Adult Education committees at Provincial and District level. The functions of the District Committees shall be to organise training and refresher courses for literacy teaching; advise and arrange literacy examinations and tests; prepare and supply suitable reading materials including visual aids and follow-up books; guide and advise village committees. The Provincial Committees shall be answerable to the Board of Adult Education whose functions shall be to coordinate all literacy efforts in the country, harness manpower and financial support and mobilise public support and

participation to help attain the objectives of the Literacy Campaign.1

The first meeting of the Board of Adult Education took place in the Ministry of Education on 8 September 1966 with the Assistant Minister of Education as Chairman.

The membership was: 2

a. Government Ministries

Education
Agriculture
Labour
Information and Broadcasting
Local Government
Cooperatives and Social Services
Economic Planning and Development
President's Office
Health
Finance

b. Non Government Bodies

Christian Council of Kenya
Catholic Secretariat
East African Literature Bureau
Evening Continuation Classes, Nairobi
Literacy Centre of Kenya
National Council of Social Services
Kenya National Union of Teachers
Kenya National Chamber of Commerce
Kenya African National Union
National Council of Women
Central Organisation of Trade Unions
University College, Nairobi

The Minister of Education, with his Permanent Secretary opened the meeting and it was made clear that 'the Board was advisory and that one of its main

functions was coordination'. By making his own Assistant Minister Chairman of the Board and continuously emphasising the advisory nature of the Board's functions, it was clear that the Permanent Secretary was in no hurry to give the Board any autonomy. At the first meeting three panels: Literacy and Language; Formal, Liberal and In-service training and Foundation education; and the executive committee were established. The remainder of the business was concerned with the National Literacy Campaign, the policy and the lines for which had already been established.

Before a second meeting of the Board could be called, another reshuffle of government portfolios took place and adult education was once more transferred back to the Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services. The transfer appeared again to have come unexpectedly though it undoubtedly arose because two Ministries each dealing with adult literacy had caused confusion. The Community Development Officers were still administering the self-help classes throughout the country whilst the Ministry of Education was developing a nationwide programme of financially aided classes.

The transfer of responsibility was not simply a paper transfer. This time bodies, financial votes and organisations had to be transferred. The Adult Education Section, which was the brain child of the Ministry of Education, moved to the Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services along with the Board.

1. First Meeting of the Board of Adult Education, 8 Sep. 1966, min. 3/66.
of Adult Education which had been conceived originally in the latter Ministry. The return of the Board, however, brought no immediate improvement in its development and, during 1967 and the first half of 1968, it gathered little momentum.

Between September 1966 and June 1968, the Board met just six times, the Executive Committee five times, the Literacy Panel once and the other panels never met at all. Of the 55 recorded items of the six Board meetings, 18 were concerned with the Board administrative procedure and 23 with the literacy work of the Division of Adult Education. Over three-quarters of the work of the Board had been concerned either with procedure or with the operational activities of the Division of Adult Education. Attendance was erratic. Some extremely important organisations were conspicuously absent: the Ministry of Agriculture attended none of the meetings except the first; the Ministry of Health; Central Organisation for Trade Unions; Kenya African National Union; the Catholic Secretariat; the National Council of Women attended rarely. 1 The Secretary used the Board to remove the government grant to the Nairobi Literacy Centre, 2 and the preoccupation of the Board's business with literacy and the work of the Secretary's adult education programme tended to project the impression that the Board was simply a rubber stamping machine for the work of the Division of Adult Education. The Board had no premises or offices of its own, it had no organisation of its own. Its neutrality was in doubt

since it operated as a completely integral arm of first the Ministry of Education and then the Division of Adult Education. Relations with the Ministry of Agriculture were strained when the Board chose to misinterpret a recommendation of the Weir Commission on Agriculture Education. The Commission had noted:

25. The Commission was somewhat surprised to discover that the Ministry of Education is no longer responsible for academic adult education. The Adult Education Board which controls this important operation, was recently transferred to the Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services. The Ministry of Agriculture and its associates in the field of farmer training account for a significant proportion of Kenya's total effort in adult education. In supporting the programmes of the Adult Education Board, we recommend that these programmes should be closely associated with the farmer training programmes supported by the Ministry of Agriculture.1

Missing an opportunity to attract the Ministry of Agriculture into its work the Secretary recorded:

It is not the function of the Board to take over or control the work of existing department or agency. The report is therefore misleading when it recommends support for the programmes for the Adult Education Board and recommends 'that these programmes should be closely associated with the farmer training programmes sponsored by the Ministry of Agriculture'. 2

What is, perhaps, surprising is that between 1966 and 1968 there was no attempt to use the Board for the affairs which had earlier been proposed for it in the Department of Community Development and

Social Services. It functioned more to accentuate differences between the agencies than to coordinate. Important opportunities were missed. The Kericho Conference on Education, Employment and Rural Development which was vitally concerned with adult education and rural training passed the Board by without note. The Board was known to the Conference:

70. It may be unusual to treat adult education before the formal educational system and youth services, but the conference adopted this order because, in its opinion, a more significant contribution to rural development can be made by a strengthened, more clearly thought-out and effectively coordinated educational service to adults, than by alteration in or expansion of the existing system of primary and secondary schools. In future, greater emphasis should be given to out-of-school education relative to formal education that has been true before.

71. Adult Education is defined in the terms of the 'Board of Adult Education Act, 1966' to include all educational activities for adults, whether undertaken by various Ministries or by private organisations and as including community development so far as it is educational, and the all-important education of the farmer.

72. The Conference recognised that the activities include not only instruction in new techniques and skills but also, more importantly, the development of new or enlarged values in social and economic life - such as new forms of cooperation. These new or adapted ideals, attitudes and motivations are needed for a modern society to function satisfactorily.

73. Present adult education programmes suffer from the low priority which they are accorded and from an indiscriminate plethora of uncoordinated courses, often unrelated to any development objectives. The Conference welcomed the establishment of the new Board of Adult Education, as a major step towards rationalising and developing these activities.

A session of the conference had been devoted to adult education and the conference recommendations, which were accepted by the Kenya Government, included many of vital importance for adult education such as the formation of multi-purpose rural training centres for adults. Planning began for the implementation of the recommendations in a plan that became known as the Special Rural Development Programme. Yet there had been no discussion of any of these significant developments at any of the Board meetings.

However, the Board had been established and it was back in a Ministry that was anxious to make it work. It was not without support and was becoming known as the Kericho Conference witnessed. Indeed, the Board was not completely without achievement. It had given some guidance to the development of the National Literacy Campaign. It had drawn attention to the closure by the Ministry of Education, of some urban adult education centres run by voluntary agencies which had been viewed by the Ministry of Education as not conforming to the basic requirements of a school and, through the Board, this decision had been reversed.¹

During 1968 discussions began to obtain the services of an overseas adviser to help in the Board's development and in August 1968 an adviser arrived from the U.K. to spend two years with the Board.

By November 1968, the Director of Community Development and Social Services was able to present to the Minister for Cooperatives and Social Services a review of the working of the Board with recommendations for its improvement.²

1. Meeting of the Board of Adult Education, 29 Mar. 1968, min. 3/68.
The review noted:

That much of the weakness of the work and operations of the Board had arisen from a confusion of the Board of Adult Education with one of its participating organisations, namely, the Division of Adult Education of - in the first instance - the Ministry of Education and latterly of the Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services. The success of the work of the Division of Adult Education in the Ministry and the growth of its activities and staffing in a short period of time is unquestionable and does not come within the terms of this review. But the combination of Board work and Divisional work, both in their infancy and both therefore requiring close supervision, had meant that, inevitably, there has been an overstraining which has had a detrimental effect on the development of the Board. 1

The review noted the narrow range of the Board's business; the low attendance by members; the image which it had confused with that of the Division of Adult Education; the lack of development of the Board's supporting structure of panels and committees; the lack of development of district committees which served solely in an advisory capacity to the local Adult Education Officer's literacy programme. It was noted that the Board had no clear identity, office or Secretariat. It was noted that monies allocated to the Board had been left unspent which had caused the Treasury to withdraw 50 per cent of the allotment in the following year. 2

2. £2,000 had been allocated in 1967/68 of which £1,750 had been unspent and transferred to the Division of Adult Education for use in the literacy programme.
On the positive side the review recommended the need to collect and disseminate information on all types of national adult education activities; the need to survey and evaluate current education programmes; the need to determine short and long term objectives and in relation to these the identification of national priorities. It suggested ways in which support could be given to training programmes and for the development of research activities related to problems in the adult education field. As important, the review emphasised the need for the Board to develop a neutral image:

It is clear that if the Board is to operate effectively in achieving its objectives; it must above all be seen as a neutral organisation with no bias towards or pre-occupation with any one of its institutional members.

In view of the great amount of work involved in the carrying out of its functions at least one Full-time Secretary is required as well as supporting clerical staff... The Secretary should be able to negotiate and confer at all levels but especially with senior Ministerial officers and heads of public bodies and voluntary agencies. He should be skilled in maintaining good public relations and be a first class administrator.¹

Finally the review recommended a reappraisal of membership of the Board, noting that some important bodies, for example the Department of Cooperative Development, were not represented. In November 1968, the Minister for Cooperatives and Social Services approved the recommendations and a new period in the Board's development began.

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The first steps that were taken were to correct the administrative and structural problems of the Board. A new post for a Secretary was created so that the functions of the Secretary and those of the Division of Adult Education could be separated. The previous occupier of the combined posts retained that of Divisional Head and a new Secretary had to be recruited. A small establishment for Secretariat clerical staff was agreed and the provision of separate Board offices accentuated the change of policy which was to follow to allow the Board to develop an identity separate from that of the Department of Community Development and Social Services though that Department continued to provide administrative help and to be an intermediary between the Board and the Minister for Cooperatives and Social Services.\(^1\) The Director of Community Development saw the need for neutrality of the Board's Secretariat and was anxious that the Board should develop in any way that would further its aims.\(^2\) The membership of the Board was revised and regularised and the Assistant Minister for Education remained as Chairman of the Board which reflected the open-mindedness of the Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services and helped in the creation of an image of neutrality since the Ministry of Education was neither responsible for adult education nor a providing body. The representatives from important institutions represented on the Board such as the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, pledged their support for the Board.\(^3\)

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3. Ibid., p. 10.
At the first meeting after the reorganisation, a new Executive Committee was appointed for a new set of statutory panels and committees were elected. The panels covered the three main specialist adult education functions: Literacy and Fundamental Education, Formal and Vocational Education, and Liberal and Civic Education. Three committees which were interdisciplinary were formed for: Research and Training, Finance and Development, and Teaching Materials and Publications. The Chairman for all the Panels and Committees were members of the Executive Committees where coordination could take place. It was intended that the main Board meetings should be held about three times a year and that the meetings would be used for broad matters on policy though all Board meetings would receive detail of proposals through the circulation of the minutes of the Panels and Committees. Steps were taken to recognise the structure of District Adult Education Committees and arrangements were made to instruct the District Adult Education Officers in the functions they would be expected to undertake on behalf of the Board as Secretaries to the local committees.¹

Between 1968 and 1970, the Secretariat was primarily engaged in educating the Board's membership in the role that the Board had to play and in organising and ensuring the smooth running of the new administrative machinery. Panels and committees met regularly around once every three weeks and the functions were specified in guide papers. The Secretariat had to be skilled in guiding without leading, in building up a

momentum of interest, and in providing all the information that members required to arrive at good decisions.

With encouragement from the representative of the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development who saw the Board as a useful instrument for part of the work of his Ministry, the Board involved itself in the new Special Rural Development Programme. This programme was concerned with experimenting with an integrated approach to rural development in, in the first instance, eight districts. In the detailed plans that were drawn up for each district, rural training was one of the emphases. The Board concerned itself with the ways in which adult training centres in the Districts could be strengthened and made more effective. The idea of developing one multi-purpose training centre in each district was adopted and it was agreed to try and find ways in which existing training centres run by such bodies as the Ministry of Agriculture and Local Authorities through the Department of Community Development could be merged. Such an idea had first been put forward in 1964 but had never been taken any further owing to the difficulty of getting agreement from the bodies concerned and because there had been no forum in which such proposals could be discussed. After deliberations that lasted almost a year, a paper was agreed by the main bodies concerned which was presented to Cabinet for ratification.1

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It was agreed that in the first instance two multi-purpose training centres would be developed in two of the Special Rural Development Programme Districts: Embu and Kwale. It was agreed that these centres would have wings for agricultural training, community development and local leadership training, health education, cooperative education and trading and commerce. High level posts would be created for. Principals and Vice-Principals and recruitment to these posts would be by open competition from any person who had the required administrative skill, developmental background and broad adult education experience. The Ministry of Agriculture was to have responsibility for the coordination of the financing of the centres since each Ministry would contribute to the costs whilst the Board of Adult Education was to be responsible for the policy of the centres. The Board Secretariat was charged with the formation of the design and the costing of the centres and determining the commitment of the government ministries concerned. By July 1970, the planning was complete for the first two centres and proposals had been prepared for all other districts in the country,

Another aspect of the Board's work involved both the Special Rural Development Programme and the National Literacy Campaign.\(^1\) The Board sponsored a survey of literacy in Kenya and after the production of the report decided that since there was not enough government money to support all literacy classes that those classes which were functional or work-oriented should have priority. Special consideration was given

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to experimental literacy work in the Special Rural Development Programme districts which were supported by the Division of Adult Education. The Board disapproved the continuation of subsidies to non-literacy programmes which had developed under the aegis of the National Literacy Campaign and suggested that in view of the shortage of finance that these should be self-supporting. It was further agreed that a new syllabus would be drawn up which would provide for an adult-oriented primary examination and certificate recognised by the Ministry of Education. The syllabus included Agriculture, Health, Home Economics, English, Mathematics and Civics, and help in developing the syllabus came from the Ministries and agencies representing these interests. For the first time, the Board had been able to get general acceptance for the idea of a work-oriented literacy programme and develop a programme for its implementation with the support of all government ministries and had turned attention to the problem of the ways in which fundamental and formal adult education could be linked.

The Board was vitally concerned with the development of training facilities for adult educators and urged the University to make provision for this. The Board was represented on the Working Party set up by the University to make recommendations on the future development of its Institute of Adult Studies. The opportunity was taken to emphasise the future role of the Adult Studies Centre, Kikuyu, as a centre for the training of adult educators of middle-level staff,

and for the development of research functions. It was also agreed that the University would introduce from September 1970, a course which would lead to a Diploma in Adult Education for senior staff in the whole field of adult education.¹ It was also agreed that staff of the Institute of Adult Studies should help in field training through their area Resident Tutors.

One of the Board's statutory functions was the development of research in adult education and money was provided by government for this. The Board, in the first instance, used the funds to initiate research projects which related directly to the immediate problems which it had to solve and was able to call on University staff to help in these. A survey on literacy was produced which helped in the development of a new and more rational literacy policy.² A survey was made on the provision of formal adult education for adults which led to the planning of an adult-oriented primary syllabus and to recommendations on the future development of the University's Correspondence Unit.³ A survey on training centres was carried out which served as a basis for the future planning of multipurpose training centres.⁴ The beginning was made for a series of sample district surveys with one on Kwale district in the Coast Province. Similar surveys have been commissioned for other areas.⁵

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¹ Meeting of the Academic Board, University College, Nairobi, min. 9972, Jun. 1969.
⁵ M.G. Moore, Survey of the Broad Field of Fundamental Education in the Coast Province with special reference to the improvement of rural extension services in Kwale District, Jul, 1969, (mimeo).
The Board concerned itself in particular with civic education and noted that this was one area in which provision was particularly neglected. The problem was acute but difficult to solve on a mass scale since there were neither teachers trained to teach civics to adults nor were there teaching materials which could be used. Steps were taken by the Board to commission the writing of simple books that could be used in adult classes and as a beginning the District Adult Education Officers were asked to introduce civics into all courses run at all the different kinds of adult training centres.

The Board of Adult Education is still in its infancy but it is past its teething troubles and it is beginning to develop its personality. It has now the fullest support of all its member organisations and its work is beginning to be appreciated. From the Kenya experience, it is possible to isolate a few of the factors that have led to the present success of the Board. There must be a neutral image. If the Board is seen to be too closely allied to any one government Ministry or agency, there is always the risk of other providing bodies losing confidence and seeing it as a supporting agency of a rival organisation. There is also the risk that too much time will be devoted to the work of one agency with a consequential loss of interest by other organisations. The preoccupation with literacy was clearly one reason why the Board was so unsuccessful between 1966 and 1968. There must be a full-time Secretariat which is seen to be responsible directly to the Board for the Board members to have confidence in it. The Secretary's post is a particularly key one. The Secretary's brief must be able to take a wide view of adult education; he must have a wide knowledge about the provision of adult education; he must have the skills of both a diplomat and an administrator.
Much of his most important work will be done behind the scenes and he must also, therefore, have the rank and stature that allows him to be familiar terms with senior staff of the organisations represented on the Board. Both he and the Chairman must be prepared to spend time in judicious informal discussion with Board members in order to maintain their interest and to find ways in which their particular programmes can be helped by the Board. It is unlikely that a Board of this kind can be anything but advisory since it is dealing with autonomous or semi-autonomous bodies. Yet bodies which are simply advisory often languish because they have no power or real initiating functions. The Kenya Board of Adult Education has found a solution to this. Through practice, it has come to be accepted that the Board should itself be involved directly in projects which are of an experimental nature. It has taken the lead in drawing up the plans for the multipurpose training centres, it has involved itself directly in the pilot phase of the new work-oriented literacy projects, it has involved itself directly in the development of adult schools as part of the new adult-oriented primary education courses. This executive work has placed a heavy strain on the Secretary but it has meant that the Board, as an entity, has provided a valuable service to its members. No advice is given to the Minister for Cooperatives and Social Services until all the avenues have been explored and experiments have been tried. This also has undoubtedly stopped the Board passing general resolutions of no consequence or urging any one particular member organisation to a course of action in which the Board assumes no responsibility of its own. In view of the extra responsibilities placed on the Secretariat of the Kenya Board, from 1971 it has been agreed that there will be an Executive Officer attached to the Board to help in
the detail of follow-up work. A small Adult Education Inspectorate is also to be established to give advice and support in the various kinds of field adult education programmes and to provide more contact between the Board and its district committees. It must be emphasised that the Board in no way provides any adult education of its own but it does expect to help, where it is asked, in the programmes of its member bodies especially where new and experimental programmes are concerned.

The Board still has many problems facing it. Its district committees which provide it with a most important field link have to be strengthened. It has yet to involve itself in the promotion of health education or in the special kinds of adult education related to the needs of urban workers. There is still a great deal to be done in the new projects that have been started with its support. There is still a vast basic problem in the spreading of knowledge and understanding of its own role and of the wide role of adult education. It is too early yet to evaluate its development but when this is done it will always have to be borne in mind that establishing a Board of this kind was pioneering and from the lessons learnt from this experience benefits will accrue not only to the developing countries in circumstances similar to Kenya but also to many of the developed countries.
Chapter Nine

The Kenya Adult Education Experience:
Strategies for and Constraints upon Modernisation

Features of Contemporary Adult Education Provision in Kenya

Whilst appealing for more adult education in the developing countries of the World, Professor W. Arthur Lewis complained that 'adult education languishes as much for want of understanding as it does for lack of funds'. This is true of the Kenya situation. It would be wrong, however, to leave such a broad comment without qualification. There is evidence that Kenyan decision-makers are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of adult education as a vital part of the total modernisation process. As experience and the lessons of experimentation shed increasing light on the most effective means for achieving development so the indispensable role of adult education becomes apparent. Until recently reference to adult education in a statement of public

policy, such as is made in the current national development plan, could not have been made:

Adult Education has a vital role to play in national development. Development implies changes, and physical changes cannot occur without changes of attitude among the people. Such changes are a product of education and where rapid changes are occurring, of adult education in particular. The building of the national infrastructure necessary to a growth of productivity depends to a considerable extent upon training of adults who are already on the job.

This is a post-Independence breakthrough since earlier national development plans show no such insight into the role of adult education in this broad and far-reaching sense. Yet there is still lack of understanding and the wide view of adult education has still to permeate downwards from the few top policy makers to the mass of senior, middle-level and field executive staff who are responsible for turning modernisation policy into effective practice. There is still no specific adult education policy from which priorities may be drawn to guide those providing adult education and which would help in determining the most beneficial allocation of resources and funds. There is no public opinion regarding the nature and functions of adult education and there is no public concern regarding its provision. Terminological confusion bedevils debate and adult education is still used as a synonym for adult literacy or formal adult education. Adult educators are still thought to be restricted to those who are employed, for example, by

the Government's Division of Adult Education or the University's Institute of Adult Studies. Few agricultural workers, health workers, or cooperative workers overtly accept their prime role as adult educators. But a beginning has been made and the work of the Board of Adult Education is one way in which a communality of role and function is steadily gaining credence.

A patent feature of Kenya's adult education provision is that it is sporadic and fragmentary. In spite of an adult education coverage which is wide and significant and which must compare favourably with that of most other developing countries, it is misleading to consider the sectoral components as comprising a national programme. They, in no way, constitute an organised whole. Each organisation engaged in adult education tends to act autonomously and without reference to the programmes of other bodies. The farmer training programme in no way relates to the health education efforts of the Ministry of Health. Literacy teaching has developed independently of farmer training. The University's adult education programme has had little relationship with any of the government programmes. This situation is still a broad feature of overall adult education provision, even though efforts are now being made to encourage cooperation and joint planning. The degree to which success is achieved in joint planning and joint programme implementation will be the primary measure of success of the Board of Adult Education.

Another important feature of adult education provision is the lack of staff training facilities. While it is taken for granted that to be an effective school teacher a teacher should have correct training to make him proficient in the subject he teaches
and in the methods of teaching, the same does not hold true for the teacher of adults. Organisations involved in projects with a high educational content have excellent staff training schemes which ensure that their staff know their subjects but the same attention is not paid to methods of teaching. Few agriculturalists, health workers, cooperative workers, trade staff, literacy teachers or teachers in the University's extension programmes are sufficiently trained as teachers of adults. A beginning has been made to correct this deficiency, but there are still enormous problems in the retraining of field staff to improve their teaching ability. The extent to which this situation can be corrected is bound up with the need for greater awareness of the adult education process, for so long as the senior staff responsible for modernisation programmes fail to appreciate the importance of this process the pedagogic requirements will continue to be neglected.

What is true of training in the methodology of adult education is also true of the provision of teaching materials and the development of curricula and syllabi. Some adult education programmes are better endowed than others. The Ministry of Agriculture produces useful booklets for use in its extension programmes. There are instructive pamphlets for nutrition. But these are exceptions, Curricula and syllabi conceived as stimulating guides to logical and sequential teaching designed to meet the changing needs and interests of the adult learner are rare. One would expect that where adult education is important and where so much adult education is taking place there would be some centralised institution which would have the function of helping in the producing of curricula, syllabi and teaching materials, that would be charged
with keeping these under review, that would be responsible for the evaluation of their effectiveness and for their continuous improvement. Such an institution does not exist, however, and it is left to the unskilled staff of the individual providing bodies to do the best they can.

A further requirement for an improved adult education provision that goes by default is evaluation and research. There is no tradition of evaluating adult education programmes. There is no programme for systematic research into the practical problems of adult education. The need to get projects established and the necessity of dealing with urgent everyday problems of provision have contributed to the neglect of research and evaluation. Those working in the adult education field are pragmatic and sectoral programmes are built up pragmatically, with the effect that much that is fundamental and important is overlooked and lessons are not learned. Little is known about how different kinds of adults learn in Kenya. The comparative effectiveness of different adult teaching methods is unknown. Until an attempt is made to find the answers to such questions, it is unlikely that there will be any fundamental improvement in the overall adult education provision.

These are general observations which are related to the complete adult education field and they provide the background to the problems faced in the individual sectoral programmes.

Agriculture is the main source of wealth in Kenya and agricultural development is a basic requirement in the modernisation process. The main instruments of farmer training are the field educational work of the agricultural staff and the education carried out in the Farmer Training Centres. At the present time, the
Farmer Training Centres are fifty per cent under utilised and the fifty per cent utilisation figure includes courses run by other organisations which are non-agricultural and courses which are for the in-service training of staff. The declining efficiency in the maintenance and running of the Farmer Training Centres is one of the urgent problems which the Ministry of Agriculture has to face. Courses have to be made more attractive; farmer recruitment and follow-up have to be revised; the quality of administrative and teaching staff has to be raised; and there must be the introduction of a reasonable career structure for teaching staff in the centres. The role of a sectoral farmer training centre has to be reviewed in the light of the need for an integrated approach to rural development.

The Health Education programme of the Ministry of Health had foundered on the insuperable problems arising from the chronic demand for curative services. A fundamental rethinking about the ways of promoting health education is essential. The Health Centre and the Health Centre Teams no longer even pretend to foster health education. The belief that it was not necessary to have a small cadre of full-time health educators in the field may have been proved ill-founded.

The organisation and role of the Community Development and Homecraft Centres have to be reviewed. The ability of impoverished local authorities to adequately provide for them is becoming increasingly doubtful. The training centres have to be strengthened in both quality and quantity of staff, and, in most cases their physical facilities have to be improved. Like the Farmer Training Centres the Community Development Centres have to review their functions in the light of the need for integrated rural development.
There must be also be a rational allocation of functions between the Farmer Training Centres, the Community Development Training Centres and the centres organised by voluntary agencies like the Churches.

The adequacy of the national literacy programme has to be evaluated in the knowledge that with the present provision there is every reason to believe that the total number of illiterates is increasing. But not only is there a need to increase the scale of the literacy programme, there is also a need to improve its quality. Sole responsibility cannot be left to a specialist cadre of staff and teachers. If it is reckoned that the eradication of illiteracy is a vital component of a modernisation programme, then the staffs of all other bodies engaged in modernisation in the field have to be prepared to play a constructive role in its eradication. The problem of literacy follow-up remains severe and nowhere near solution. The relationship between follow-up and realistic and relevant formal education for adults satisfying the twin needs for recognised paper qualifications and work proficiency has to be resolved.

The most appropriate role for the University's Institute of Adult Studies has yet to be ascertained. The expensive and elitist programme that it has been running has begun to give way to one that operates more widely in support of mass needs. The change of focus is drastic and creates problems of readjustment in staffing attitudes and skills. Public expectations have to be taken into account. The university tradition of involvement in liberal adult education is a valuable one and any new reorientation of programme which places a high priority on support for fundamental education research and training must not be carried so far as to exclude completely the university's function in the provision of liberal education.
That the problems here described are being increasingly recognised is not simply the first step towards their solution but a tribute to the fact that sufficient adult education is in evidence to create them. They are on the whole problems of provision rather than omission.

**Historical Factors influencing Adult Education Provision**

Taking the long historical view of the evolution of adult educational programmes, it is evident that whilst the roots of the current provision go well back to the 1920s there was no significant emphasis on adult education as a process for modernisation until the mid-1950s. It was then that the nationwide system of farmer training centres and community development training centres began to develop. It was then that health centres began to spread as a focus for health education. It was then that the Ministry of Health organised its health education unit. It was then that the first government-sponsored literacy programme began to operate. It was then that the university extra mural programme was introduced. This was partly the fruition of objectives set at the end of the Second World War but more importantly it was the result of African political unrest and the Mau Mau revolt which put a premium on economic and social development as a means of placating African discontent.

Before the mid-1950s, the attitudes of settler and government official militated against rapid expansion of adult education. Settler attitudes were
conditioned by the fear that African development would precipitate a threat to European hegemony in Kenya. Settlers were prepared to countenance limited programmes which served their interests in the provision of a better qualified labour supply but beyond this they resented having to bear any part of the costs of a programme which, if anything, threatened their interests. Until the early 1960s, settler views had a strong influence in the determination of government policy and they were strongly expressed in the councils of government.

The attitude of government officials to adult education was ambiguous. On the one hand, adult education was considered a social service and therefore had a low priority. It was associated with literacy, formal education and community development. Again, colonial administrators were not recruited from the strata of British society likely to be conversant with adult education traditions and they therefore tended to be unaware of the potential of adult education as an instrument of modernisation. The unduly paternalistic feelings of some administrators caused resentment against a too rapid change in African traditional life, and the more strongly held was a belief in the state of the noble savage, the more likely there was to be opposition to adult education. Other administrators, sympathising with settler attitudes, could also delay adult education provision. On the other hand, the commitment of the British Government to the paramountcy of African interests and later to Kenyan Independence was reinforced by periodic memoranda and circulars encouraging the development of adult education programmes. These recommendations were sometimes ignored, sometimes half-heartedly followed through, and sometimes effectively implemented. They were always an
enabling force and served to support the endeavours of those in government service who appreciated the need for adult education.

Once it became clear that Africans were a political force to be reckoned with, and the Mau Mau revolt drove this home with particular ferocity, and once the pledge was made to ultimate self-government, the impetus for adult education gained strength. Once settler power had been destroyed, adult education became a way in which partnership could be promoted and in which the worst and most extreme excesses of the nationalist movement could be tempered. What had begun in a hesitant and half-hearted manner as an expression of good will after the Second World War, was ten years later lifted on to a new plane of importance. Farmer training, women's education, training in commerce, civic education, literacy work, training for local government, training for top and middle leadership in all aspects of national life became suddenly respectable. Expansions of such programmes were constrained only by funds and expertise.

That so much could be done so quickly was a measure of the steady influence of the Jeanes School on the development of adult education programmes throughout the country during the thirty five years of its existence. Conceived as an adult education training centre with an emphasis on rural development from 1925 until 1961, it pioneered imaginative experiments in all aspects of adult education. It helped determine the development of government extension services; it was directly responsible for early local leadership training; it influenced the pattern of growth of rural training centres; it was a focus for literacy teaching; it was central to community development work; it inspired the creation of a dynamic women's educational and social movement; it provided a home for national
civic education. It experimented with the spectrum of adult education curricula, syllabi, teaching methods and teaching materials. It was the centre on which all adult education programmes converged and it maintained a brief for adult education and rural development which ensured a continuing consideration of these even when amongst policy makers they were held of little importance or positively dangerous. The short-sighted closure of the School in 1961 has left a vacuum and one may sadly speculate on the role that the School could have played as a focus for the current interest in adult education and rural development.

As well as demonstrating the usefulness of an institution like the Jeanes School in the presentation of an interdisciplinarity approach, the post-war history of adult education in Kenya also demonstrates the severe difficulties which arise from changes in responsibility for overall adult educational provision. In the sixteen years between 1954 and 1970 responsibility for the portfolio of adult education changed no less than seven times. The change has always been between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry containing the Department of Community Development and Social Services. The change reflects the confusion of thought on the nature and scope of adult education. Whenever 'adult education' was with the Ministry of Education it coincided with the availability of government funds which could be spent on literacy or formal education for adults. Programmes which have emanated from the Ministry of Education have, without exception, been narrow sectoral programmes permeated with the school-room tradition. The periods when adult education has been part of community development have been times when there has been no government funds allocated for this purpose and any programmes of literacy or follow-
up have had to be financed on a self-help basis by those attending the classes. As a broad observation, a more imaginative approach towards adult education has been taken when it has been combined with community development. The interdisciplinary nature of community development work has facilitated a comprehensive view of adult education and the direct relationship of community development to the process of change has emphasised the relationship of adult education to this process. It is understandable that the idea of a co-ordinator Board of Adult Education should have originated in the Department of Community Development and Social Services and not in the Ministry of Education. Notwithstanding this, there can be no doubt that in principle general responsibility for adult education should rest to the best advantage with a Ministry of Education. The concept of continuous education throughout life covering the needs of children, youth and adults is a sound one, but presupposes that the Ministry understands and acts in conformity with the concept and that all levels of staffing have the necessary imagination, expertise and skills. Where there is any doubt about the ability of a ministry of education to be able to carry out these requirements then adult education will be better off with another ministry. In Kenya, the Department of Community Development and Social Services has been as effective as any.

To the Second World War and the Mau Mau revolt as historical events influencing the spread of adult education must be added the effects of national independence. Independence gave no immediate boost to adult education, though programmes of in-service training designed to enable African staff in government and public service to assume new positions of
responsibility vastly increased. The few years following independence were preoccupied with political activity. KANU sought to consolidate its power. Administrative reorganisation was made necessary by the rise and fall of regional assemblies, and by the needs of civil servants having to familiarise themselves with new responsibilities as expatriate civil servants were replaced by Africans. By 1966 the country was beginning to settle down and serious attention was turned to the problems of rural development. Since that year there has been growing interest in the provision of adult education as it is related to modernisation.

The National Literacy Campaign, the planning of new training centres for farmers, the educational component of the Special Rural Development Programme and the support given to the development of the Board of Adult Education mark the new interest of the government in strengthening adult education provision.

It is evident that in Kenya the future expansion of adult education programmes will depend on the degree to which they can contribute directly to rural development. The government is committed to a programme of rural development and the potential of adult education as a means of supporting it is appreciated. In the expansion of adult education the end of the beginning has passed and the economic and social benefits are largely taken for granted. Questions relate more to the most effective ways of using adult education rather than to whether it should be used at all. The present programmes are substantial but there are still major areas in which adult education has yet to make its effect felt. The chronic problem of rapid population growth will require the attention of adult educators. The pressing problems arising from unemployed youth will be partially solved in an
adult educational context. Problems arising from overcrowding in urban centres will find a partial solution in the attractiveness of the rural areas as places in which to live and work. Adult education can help in the process of modernisation in the rural areas. The peasant farmer and his family provide the focus for the process of modernisation; the bulk of Kenya's adult education is beamed at the family unit. It is therefore essential that the programmes should be carefully planned and integrated to obviate not simply waste but confusion of mind in the family. Those curious changes of attitude which are a prelude to modernisation occur in the mind and it is the sum total of attitudinal changes in the mind of each peasant farmer multiplied throughout the country that will determine the success of the national effort to modernise.
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**Source:** 
Jeannes School Annual Reports
Department of Community Development Annual Reports 1950-1960

**Key:**
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* Courses of less than one week are excluded

**Source:** Department of Community Development Reports 1957-1960

**Key:** T/S (Total no. of students) L/C (Length of each course) N/C (No. of courses)
## APPENDIX II

### RURAL HEALTH UNITS 1968

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NOTES:

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3. MISSION, PRIVATE AND GOVERNMENT UNITS ARE NOT INCLUDED  
4. CENTRAL RIFT CONSISTS OF NAKURU AND BARIINGO, KISUMU AND SIAYA DISTRICTS ARE PUT TOGETHER  
4. NAIROBI AND MOMBASA DISTRICTS AND MUNICIPAL AREAS ARE EXCLUDED

SOURCE: INFORMATION SUPPLIED BY MINISTRY OF HEALTH
### COURSES & STUDENT ATTENDANCE 1956-69

**DEPARTMENT OF EXTRA MURAL STUDIES**

**UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, NAIROBI**

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<td>14 179 138</td>
<td>31 455 297</td>
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<td>8 167 94</td>
<td>33 546 315</td>
<td>44 543 399</td>
<td>1256</td>
<td>806</td>
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<td>1964-5</td>
<td>4 29 17</td>
<td>11 120 84</td>
<td>40 580 400</td>
<td>17 1289 813</td>
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<td>1965-6</td>
<td>2 23 17</td>
<td>20 342 202</td>
<td>65 960 600</td>
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<td>1966-7</td>
<td>4 55 44</td>
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<td>59 806 493</td>
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<td>9 86 23</td>
<td>44 463 289</td>
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<td>9 64 36</td>
<td>4 53 12</td>
<td>66 774 435</td>
<td>73 1570 743</td>
<td>2461</td>
<td>1226</td>
</tr>
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</table>

*1968-9 FIGURES EXCLUDE THOSE FOR THE RIFT VALLEY AREA

**SOURCE:**

Annual Reports of the Department of Extra Mural Studies, Makerere University College

Annual Reports of the Department of Extra Mural Studies, University College, Nairobi

**KEY:**

- No. of C (NUMBER OF COURSES)
- F/E (FORMAL ENROLMENT)
- E/S (EFFECTIVE STUDENTS)
THE BOARD OF ADULT EDUCATION ACT, 1966
No. 1 of 1966

Date of Assent: 24th February 1966

Date of Commencement: 1st March 1966

ARRANGEMENT OF SECTIONS

Section

1—Short title.

2—Interpretation.

3—Establishment of the Board, and functions of Board.

4—Members of the Board.

5—Chairman and Secretary.

6—Period of office of members.

7—Procedure and quorum.

8—Executive Committee.

9—Advisory Panels.

10—Provincial, County and Municipal Committees.

11—Rules.

12—Allowances.

13—Amendment of Cap. 211.

An Act of Parliament to establish a Board of Adult Education to co-ordinate and promote activities in adult education in Kenya and for purposes incidental thereto and connected therewith

ENACTED by the Parliament of Kenya, as follows:—

1. This Act may be cited as the Board of Adult Education Act, 1966.

2. In this Act, except where the context otherwise requires—

"adult education" means the full-time or part-time education or instruction of any kind provided for any person over the age of sixteen who is not in full-time attendance at any primary, intermediate or secondary school or at the Kenya School of Law or at any university or university college (except to the extent that any department, institute or faculty at such university or university college is devoted to adult education) and includes education by correspondence,
3. There is hereby established a Board of Adult Education the functions of which shall be—

(a) to advise the Minister on any matter relating to adult education, including the formulation of courses and syllabuses, the establishment of residential and non-residential institutions, the use of museums, libraries and the media of mass communication, and the provision and method of award of scholarships or bursaries;

(b) to advise with respect to the co-ordination of the work in connexion with adult education of Ministries and Departments of Government and agencies;

(c) to identify and assess the need for new developments in adult education;

(d) to stimulate and encourage activities in adult education; and

(e) to report annually to the Minister on the progress and development of adult education.

4. (1) The Board shall consist of the following members—

(a) a chairman appointed by the Minister;

(b) not more than ten persons appointed by the Minister to represent the activities of the Government in adult education;

(c) not more than twelve persons appointed by the Minister to represent the agencies.
(2) The Board may co-opt not more than five persons who shall for the purposes of this Act be deemed to be members of the Board.

5. (1) The Chairman shall hold office for three years but shall be eligible for reappointment thereafter.

(2) In the absence of the Chairman at any meeting of the Board the members present shall elect one of their number to be chairman for that meeting only.

(3) The Minister may appoint a public officer to be Secretary to the Board, who shall if the Minister so appoints, also be a member of the Board in accordance with the provisions of section 4 (1) (b) of this Act.

6. (1) A member of the Board shall hold office for three years:

Provided that the members first appointed shall, at the Minister's discretion, hold office for one, two or three years to make provisions for rotational termination of office.

(2) Members shall be eligible for reappointment on the termination of their period of office.

(3) Where a person ceases to be a member of the Board before the end of his term of office, the Minister shall in accordance with the provisions of section 4 (1) of this Act, appoint a member for the unexpired term of office.

7. (1) The Board shall regulate its own procedure:

Provided that a quorum at any meeting of the Board shall be one-third of all the members of the Board for the time being appointed or co-opted thereto.

(2) The Board may invite any person who is not a member of the Board to attend any meeting thereof, but such person may only speak at such meetings at the request of the Chairman and may not vote.

8. (1) The Board shall establish an Executive Committee consisting of the Chairman of the Board, who shall be the Chairman of such Committee, the chairman of every Panel and not more than three other persons appointed by the Board from among its members who shall, subject to the termination of their period of office as members of the Board, hold office for one year and shall be eligible for reappointment.
(2) The Board shall regulate the procedure of the Executive Committee.

(3) The Board may vest in or confer on the Executive Committee any of the powers or functions of the Board, but any decision of the Executive Committee relating to any advice proposed to be given by the Board to the Minister on any matter on which the Board is competent to give advice under this Act, shall require the approval of the Board, expressed by a resolution thereof supported by a majority of all the members of the Board for the time being appointed or co-opted thereto.

(4) The proceedings of any meeting of the Executive Committee shall be reported to the Board at the next meeting of the Board.

9. (1) The Board may establish, constitute and appoint such Advisory Panels as it considers necessary to advise the Board on any matter with which the Board is concerned under this Act.

(2) The members of any Advisory Panel shall be appointed by the Board for such period of office as the Board shall determine, and shall include, but need not exclusively consist of, members of the Board.

(3) The Board shall appoint one of its members to be the Chairman of each Advisory Panel, who shall hold office for such period as the Board shall in each case determine.

(4) Each Panel shall regulate its own procedure.

10. (1) Subject to the approval of the Minister in each case, the Board may establish, constitute and appoint Provincial, County and Municipal Committees and the members of each such Committee shall be appointed from among persons representing the Government and agencies in the Province, county or municipality concerned, in such numbers and for such periods of office as the Board shall determine in each case and the Board shall regulate the procedure of each such Committee.

(2) The functions of any Provincial, County or Municipal Committee with respect to the appropriate Province, county or municipality shall be to advise the Board on the conduct and promotion of activities in adult education, to advise on
the development and co-ordination of activities in adult education, and in agreement with the Minister and the agencies concerned to formulate development plans for adult education in such Province, county or municipality.

(3) Each Provincial, County, and Municipal Committee shall report to the Board annually in the month of January, and at such other times as the Board may from time to time direct, on the activities of such Committee.

(4) The secretary of a Provincial, County or Municipal Committee shall be the appropriate Provincial Education Officer or County Education Officer or Municipal Education Officer, as the case may be.

11. The Minister may make rules for the better carrying out of the purposes of this Act.

12. The members of the Board, and of any Panel or Committee established by or under this Act who are not public officers, shall be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament such allowances and expenses as the Minister may prescribe.

13. Section 2 of the Education Act is amended by re-numbering the section as subsection (1) of section 2 and by adding the following new subsection—

(2) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary in this Act, the Minister may in his discretion at any time by notice in the Gazette designate any institution providing education or instruction of any kind or any group or class of such institutions to be a school or schools for the purposes of this Act, or for the purposes of such provisions thereof as he may specify in such notice, and any person receiving education or instruction of any kind at any such institution or group or class of institutions shall be deemed to be a pupil for the purposes of this Act, or of the provisions thereof specified in the aforesaid notice.
THE LOANS (GUARANTEE) ACT, 1966
No. 2 of 1966

Date of Assent: 24th February 1966
Date of Commencement: 1st March 1966

An Act of Parliament to provide for the guarantee by the Government of loans raised by certain bodies and for matters incidental thereto and connected therewith

ENACTED by the Parliament of Kenya, as follows:—

1. This Act may be cited as the Loans (Guarantee) Act, 1966.

2. In this Act, except where the context otherwise requires—

"body corporate" includes a co-operative society registered under the Co-operative Societies Act;

"loan" includes a bank overdraft; and

"local authority" means a municipal council or a county council established under the Local Government Regulations, 1963.

3. (1) The Government may, with the prior approval of the House of Representatives signified by resolution, guarantee in such manner and upon such conditions as it may think fit the due performance of any covenants on the part of a local authority or a body corporate under the terms of any legal instrument to which such local authority or body corporate is a party.

(2) The power conferred by subsection (1) of this section shall include power to guarantee the repayment of the principal money of and the payment of the interest and other charges in respect of any loan raised either within or outside Kenya by a local authority or a body corporate.

(3) Notwithstanding anything hereinbefore contained in this section the extent of the Government’s contingent liability under any guarantee or guarantees given in pursuance of the provisions of this Act shall not exceed the aggregate capital sum of six hundred million shillings in the currency
Sources

A Note on Sources

The most important primary source for this thesis was the closed and working files and miscellaneous reports and papers of the Kenya Government departments involved in adult education and rural training. Closed files in use before 1960 are normally to be found in the Kenya National Archives, Nairobi. After 1960 files of the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Agriculture, and the Department of Community Development and Social Services are to be found in their respective headquarters. Files of the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Education were not available for study but references to adult education affairs which related to the work of these ministries are contained in the files of the Department of Community Development and Social Services. Many of the closed files of the Ministry of Education which date from 1953 and deal with adult education in general and adult literacy in particular are located in the headquarters of the Division of Adult Education in the Department of Community Development and Social Services.

(1) Primary Sources

A. Interviews and Personal Communications

These refer to the period 1967 - 1970.

Askwith, T.C., formerly Director of Community Development and Social Services.


Bengo, L.J., Director of Social Services, Municipality of Mombasa.

Betts, D., Head of Agricultural Education, Ministry of Agriculture and formerly Personal Assistant to the Minister for Agriculture.

Craw, W., I.L.O. Adviser on Cooperatives and formerly District Cooperative Officer in the Office of the Registrar of Cooperative Societies.

Dames, J.J., Director of the Nairobi Literacy Centre and formerly a Literacy Officer in the Education Department.
Dearden, J., formerly Adviser on rural training to the National Christian Council of Kenya and an Agricultural Officer in the Ministry of Agriculture.

Kaggia, Dr. J., Medical Officer in-charge of Karuri National Reference Health Centre.

Kamau, J.C., Secretary, National Christian Council of Kenya.

Mason, H., formerly Principal of the Jeanes School, Kabete.

Matthews, D., Head of rural development, National Christian Council of Kenya.

Maxwell, D., formerly in charge of the Health Education Unit, Ministry of Health, and a District Health Inspector.

Mwandia, D., Head of the Division of Adult Education, Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services.

Njenga, J.G., Director of the Department of Community Development and Social Services.

Njerorge, J., formerly Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education.

Ochieng, D., Head of Training, Department of Trade and Supplies.

Oisebe, M., formerly school teacher in Kisii District.

Omumbwa, J.S., Director of Social Services, Nakuru Municipality.

Onyango, Dr. Z., Assistant Director of Medical Services, Ministry of Health.

Patrick, R., formerly Director of Nairobi Evening Continuation Class programme and Director of Education, Education Department.

Porter, J.L., formerly Chairman of the Advisory Council on Adult Education, and Principal of the Jeanes School, Kabete.


Shepherd, Miss N, formerly head of women's training at the Jeanes School, Kabete, and President of the Maendeleo ya Wanawake.

Thyaka, A.K., Provincial Community Development Officer, formerly in charge of Machakos Literacy Project, and a warrant officer in the Education Corps, K.A.R.

Wiltshire, H., formerly Principal of the College of Social Studies, Kikuyu.

B. Unpublished Archive Material

1. Official

(a) Kenya National Archives: Education Department files contain general correspondence and circulars on the Jeanes School 1925 - 1939; see especially Box 12/528.

(b) The Department of Community Development and Social Services: This is a valuable source of information on the Jeanes Schools, adult literacy, health education and community development training centres. Closed files and miscellaneous papers are located in the headquarters offices and in the offices of the Division of Adult Education.


Division of Adult Education: files are maintained which cover general adult education and adult literacy. They include those which originated in the Education Department. File series H(P) 10/3 cover the period 1953 - 1961; series AE/1 cover the period 1961 - 1970. Literacy campaigns of the 1950s are covered in series Mass Literacy 67/1 and ED/62/1.

(c) Other Government Organisations: Ministry of Agriculture files contain information on farmer training after 1961 in series EDUC/2; information on the Better Living Institute, Kitui in file series EDUC/AG/PRIV/4. Working files of the Department of Trade and Supplies in series Trade and Supplies/C/10 contain information on traders' courses 1966 - 1970. Board of Adult Education working files in series AE/1 contain information on the operations of the Board from 1968.

11. Unofficial

(a) Centre for Continuing Education, University of Makerere, Kampala, Uganda: The centre keeps closed files which relate to the development of university extra mural education in Kenya from 1954 - 1963. Particularly valuable information is in those marked: Correspondence from Kenya 1954/1955; Kenya Interim Reports; Kenya Finance; Makerere Extra Mural Association; Carnegie Corporation; Kenya General; Minutes of Advisory Committee on Extra Mural Studies.

(b) Institute of Adult Studies, University of Nairobi: Files are maintained on the development of extra mural work 1963 - 1970 and the development of the College


(d) Nairobi Evening Continuation Class Organisation:
Closed files, miscellaneous papers, and minutes of meetings of the organisation 1936 - 1970 contain information on the development of adult literacy, formal adult education and community development in the City of Nairobi.

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D. C. Maxwell: Reports and papers concerning the work of a District Health Inspector 1958 - 1966 and the work of the Health Education Unit, Ministry of Health 1963-1970
T. J. Wambua: handwritten logbooks of the Jeanes School Kabete 1932 - 1939, in two vols. These are written in Kiswahili until 1937 and thereafter in English.

C. Pamphlets and Reports.

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(b) Colonial Office

African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa, Oxford, 1953
Education for Citizenship in Africa, Col. no. 216, 1948
Education of Native Communities, Col. no. 103, 1935
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