

**SECONDARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM IMPLEMENTATION AT FRIENDS SCHOOL  
KAMUSINGA AND LUGULU GIRL'S HIGH SCHOOL, 1964-1985**

**BY**

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## DECLARATION

### Declaration by the Candidate

I, declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted to any other institution, college, or University other than Moi University.

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## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to my family for their patience, prayers, and encouragement which were very instrumental in the pursuit of my Ph.D. journey. For my children, “The pace and record have been set for you”. Secondly, for all those who burn the midnight oil to pursue the search for knowledge to solve pertinent issues, transform society, serve the nation, and in the Mission of Our Almighty God by serving humanity on earth mercifully.

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## ABSTRACT

The Ominde and Gachathi education reports commissioned in the first decade of independence in Kenya provide important policy direction on educational developments at the secondary school level, yet scholarly historical accounts on this phenomenon are scanty. This study aimed to examine how Friends School Kamusinga and Lugulu Girls High School implemented the secondary curriculum between 1964 and 1985 in light of the stipulations by these two education commission reports. The study had three specific objectives: to investigate “what” curriculum was implemented, to establish how the curriculum was implemented, and determine the outcomes of curriculum implementation in the two schools. The study adopted Gale’s (2001) critical policy archaeology as its analytical lens. The study used the historical research design. Sources of data were both primary and secondary. Research participants, who included former head teachers, former teachers, and students (alumni), were selected through purposive and snowball sampling techniques. Document analyses and interviews were used for data collection. Analysis of data was done through external and internal historical criticisms. Data interpretation was made using descriptions, logical generalizations. The findings showed that: (i) in the two schools, progressively, both “O” level and “A” level curriculum were offered. For the “O” level, the subjects included Languages (English and Kiswahili), Mathematics, Humanities and Sciences. At “A” level, both Arts and Science subjects and General Paper were offered. Specifically, at the FSK, a boys’ only institution, on offer were the pure science subjects while LGHS, a girls’ school, the science subjects on offer were not pure but general. (ii) In the formative years of these institutions, there was a heavy reliance on foreign teachers from FAM Missions, TEA, BEA, Peace Corps in the implementation of the curriculum. Curriculum materials complemented teacher effort from the KIE and requisite systematic MOE administrative activities through its inspectorate division. (iii) Students performed well in the end of cycle national examinations in the two schools. The implementation of curriculum at the two schools was also influenced curriculum rollout in upcoming neighbouring schools. Overall, findings observed that the enactment of the secondary school curriculum policy in the two schools seemed to reflect the aspirations of both the Ominde and Gachathi Reports. The study recommended that historical studies be carried out to provide comparative historiographical accounts of educational developments in other schools and counties that span Kenya's early periods of independence.

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<b>AGHS</b>	Alliance Girls' High school
<b>AHS</b>	Alliance Boy's High School
<b>AFBFM</b>	American Friends Board of Foreign Missions
<b>AFBM</b>	American Friends Board of Missions
<b>ATS</b>	Approved TeachersScheme
<b>BA</b>	Bachelor ofArts
<b>BC</b>	BritishCouncil
<b>BEAT</b>	British East AfricanTeachers
<b>B.Ed</b>	Bachelor ofEducation
<b>BOG</b>	Board ofGovernors
<b>CBC</b>	Competency-BasedCurriculum
<b>CEE</b>	Common EntranceExaminations
<b>CIS</b>	Chief Inspector ofSchools
<b>CPA</b>	Critical PolicyArchaeology
<b>CPS</b>	Critical Policy Sociology
<b>CPE</b>	Certificate of PrimaryEducation
<b>CPS</b>	Critical PolicySociology
<b>CREDO</b>	Centre for Renewal of Education DevelopmentOverseas
<b>CSC</b>	Cambridge School Certificate
<b>CU</b>	ChristianUnion
<b>DEO</b>	District EducationOfficer
<b>DH/M</b>	Deputy HeadMaster
<b>DN</b>	Daily NationNewspaper
<b>DVC</b>	DeputyVice-Chancellor
<b>EAC</b>	East AfricanCommunity
<b>EACE</b>	East African Advanced Certificate ofExamination
<b>EAEC</b>	East African ExaminationCouncil
<b>EAYM</b>	East African YearlyMeeting
<b>EC</b>	EarlyChildhood
<b>ECD</b>	Early ChildhoodDevelopment
<b>FAM</b>	Friends AfricanMission
<b>FSK</b>	Friends SchoolKamusinga
<b>GAS</b>	Government AfricanSchool
<b>GOK</b>	Government ofKenya
<b>HCSC</b>	Higher Cambridge School Certificate
<b>HELB</b>	Higher Education LoansBoard
<b>HM</b>	Headmaster
<b>HOD</b>	Head ofDepartment
<b>HT</b>	Head Teacher
<b>ICT</b>	Information Communication andTechnology
<b>IDA</b>	International DevelopmentAgency
<b>ILO</b>	International LabourOrganization
<b>IMF</b>	International MonetaryFund
<b>JKF</b>	Jomo KenyaFoundation
<b>JKUAT</b>	Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture andTechnology
<b>KACE</b>	Kenya Advanced CertificateExamination
<b>KANU</b>	Kenya AfricanUnion

<b>KATC</b>	Kenya African Training College
<b>KAU</b>	Kenya African Union
<b>KCE</b>	Kenya Certificate Education
<b>KCSE:</b>	Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education
<b>KDSSC</b>	Kenya Diversified Secondary School Curriculum
<b>KEC</b>	Kenya Education Commission
<b>KICD</b>	Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development
<b>KIE</b>	Kenya Institute of Education
<b>KJSE</b>	Kenya Junior Secondary Examinations
<b>KNA</b>	Kenya National Archives
<b>KNEC</b>	Kenya National Examinations Council
<b>KNUT</b>	Kenya National Union of Teachers
<b>KPE</b>	Kenya Primary Examinations
<b>KPM</b>	Kenya Mathematics Materials
<b>KT1</b>	Kenya Teacher One
<b>LGHS</b>	Lugulu Girls High School
<b>LNC</b>	Local Native Council
<b>MOE</b>	Ministry of Education
<b>MOEST</b>	Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology
<b>NAS</b>	National Assessment Survey
<b>NCEOP</b>	National Committee on Education Objectives and Policies
<b>NGO</b>	Non-Governmental Organization
<b>NPA</b>	New Primary Approach
<b>NITD</b>	Native Industrial Training Depot
<b>OI</b>	Oral Interview
<b>PE</b>	Physical Education
<b>PEO</b>	Provincial Education Officer
<b>PIS</b>	Provincial Inspector of Schools
<b>PS</b>	Permanent Secretary
<b>PTA</b>	Parents Teachers Association
<b>RI</b>	Religious Instruction
<b>S1</b>	Secondary Teacher One
<b>SEPU</b>	Science Education Project Unit
<b>SMEA</b>	School Mathematics of East Africa
<b>SMP</b>	School Mathematics Project
<b>SSP</b>	School Science Project
<b>STD</b>	Standard Newspaper
<b>STU</b>	Student
<b>T1</b>	Teacher 1
<b>T2</b>	Teacher 2
<b>TCH</b>	Teacher
<b>TEA</b>	Teachers for East Africa
<b>TEEA</b>	Teacher Education for East Africa
<b>TOR</b>	Terms of Reference
<b>TSC</b>	Teachers Service Commission
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>UNECA</b>	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
<b>UNESCO</b>	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
<b>UON</b>	University of Nairobi

<b>USA</b>	United States of America
<b>USAID</b>	United States Agency for International Development
<b>U T</b>	Untrained Teacher
<b>V C</b>	Vice-Chancellor
<b>WECO</b>	Western College of Technology
<b>YCS</b>	Young Christian Society

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.0 Introduction**

This chapter introduces the background to the study, statement of the problem, purpose, significance, objectives, questions, and justification. Further, the chapter highlights the scope and limitations, Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks, and operational definitions of terms.

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

In this sub-section, the study contextualizes the problem by giving a brief account of secondary school curriculum reforms and implementation at FSK and LGHS, 1964-1985, focusing on the content of the curriculum, processes of implementing/ ways in which they were enacted, and their outcomes in the target schools. The study intends to fill a gap in the historiography of secondary school curriculum implementation whose loci is the policy analysis of curriculum reforms by excavating/digging the two sites to find out the content of curriculum enacted, how or ways of implementing policy and their outcomes in the elite schools of FSK and LGHS, 1964-1985.

The study, therefore, adopted a theoretical framework of Trevor Gale's (2001) Critical Policy Archaeology as a historical lens to excavate the two sites of FSK and LGHS, 1964-1985, and analyze how actors implemented curriculum policy to reconstruct a narrative that would help inform the historical community, educationists, researchers, and the stakeholders in education to have a better understanding of curriculum review and implementation in Kenya. Why? Currently, Kenya has rolled out a new education reform (CBC) for secondary schools as a paradigm shift from knowledge transmission

to Competency-Based Curriculum or skill-based education policy (Amukoa, 2013; KICD 2018, MOE, 2017, 2018, D N, 2018; Sifuna, 2016).

According to Eshiwani, (1990) the Kenyan education system in the colonial period was so discriminative that the Europeans, Asians, and Africans had separate schools to cater for their interests. This policy was adopted from the Apartheid's Bantustan policy as experienced in South Africa. The policy was discriminative in its approach to educational access, process, and provision. It separated the whites, coloured, and Africans in terms of politics, social or economic organizations (Cashmore, 1965). Africans resisted this oppressive education policy in Kenya up to the eve of independence (Indire & Sifuna, 1974).

With independence looming, Africans agitated for better education like the one accorded to the Europeans. As a result, this study observes that the European academic education model and curriculum was adopted, strengthened, and perpetuated in most secondary schools in Kenya, including FSK and LGHS, from 1964 to 1985.

In 1961 and 1962 two conferences were held in 1961 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, and Tananarive in Madagascar in 1962. These conferences were attended by all African representatives, including Kenya, and aimed to discuss education development in post-independence Africa as a top priority. The conferences noted that the educational content and practice in colonial Africa was not in line with the African countries' pre-existing conditions and developmental needs. It was recommended that African governments should reform their education systems and curriculum to address the physical and social needs of the African people. As a result, a framework that Kenya and other African countries adopted to formulate its educational policy was developed

(Amukoa, 2013; Eshiwani, 1990; Rharade, 1997).

After independence, the government of Kenya invested in education more after developing policies that observed that education was more of an economic pillar than just a social agent hence an equalizing too in a post-independence Kenya. The major aims of the framework of Addis Ababa and Tananarive Madagascar regarding planning educational programmes in Kenya were provision of universal primary education to all; to ensure access in secondary and higher education; having in place an education system that will provide labour market needs (Njoroge, 1972).

Since attaining independence in 1963, the Kenyan Government has endeavoured to reform her educational system to make it more pertinent to the country's needs. This was due to inheriting a moribund education system passed on from the colonizers to the country at independence. However, imbued with faith in education as an instrument of social and economic development, the government has from time to time, appointed education Commissions, Committees, Presidential Working Parties, and Taskforces to review the education system and make practical recommendations aimed at improving the educational system to meet Kenyan needs.

The government's commitment to educational reform was evident in 1964 with the establishment of the Ominde commission 1964 with specific references among them being:

*“To revise the curriculum and give it more relevance to the realities of the labour requirement of the moment; the emphasis be placed on practical subjects; and there should be planning for education with employment opportunities in Kenya” (GOK, 1964).*

Therefore, the main thrust of curriculum reform recommended by the Ominde Report

was to review the curriculum to prepare skilled manpower, replace the expatriate workers/whites, and manage public and private sectors of the economy in Kenya. The first decade after independence, Kenya witnessed tremendous quantitative growth of education, especially at the primary and secondary school level (see Table 4.1 on pp. 127) at the expense of quality and curriculum reform. With time, it became evident that the educational system was far from meeting the needs of the youth.

Secondary education, which was supposed to be terminal by enhancing crucial skills, knowledge, and values that would help students live a productive life in society, was, to say the least examination oriented (Eshiwani, 1993). Inevitably, the public and stakeholders began to question the relevance of education to the needs of the youth in Kenya. The unavoidable consequence was the mass unemployment of secondary school leavers. This and many other problems that beset the educational system lucidly called for a redefinition of the country's educational policies and objectives under the chairmanship of Peter Gachathi in 1976. The committee made several pertinent recommendations which included these among others:

*“The diversification of secondary school curriculum to give it stronger practical orientation; the making of secondary education more prevocational with a view of producing trainable young people” (GOK, 1976).*

However, the challenges facing the education system and society were not solved by the recommendations mentioned above; there was widespread school dropouts, wastage, irrelevance of curriculum, school leaver unemployment continued unabated (GOK, 1972; ILO Report, 1972; GOK, 1976).

On the other hand, Ngau (1990) analyzed the gap between promise and performance: Educational Policy Making and Implementation in Kenya from 1963-1990. Her study

covered a similar period to the current study, 1964-1985. Ngau's study focuses on school structure, curriculum, examinations, and how they resulted in the social stratification and inequalities in Kenya. She finally discussed Kenya's route to policy implementation pointing out that there is a dichotomy between the policymaker and policy implementers in schools. In addition, Ngau (1990) argues that Kenya's policy implementation has adopted instrumentalism, gradualists, and a conservative approach, which denotes building on the past by making marginal changes to current policies. However, this study argues that this is against the philosophy of African socialism and justifies the impact of colonial legacy and neo colonialism to negate education policymaking and implementation. She finally identifies the challenges to policy making and implementation in Kenya, which include incremental policy implementation, colonial legacy, highly competitive examinations, poor evaluation process and political interference.

Claudia Buchmann (2000) conducted a study titled family, structure, parental perceptions, and child labour in Kenya. "What factors determine who enrolls in school" points out that there has been very little empirical research and effectiveness of educational initiatives, policies and reforms that have been implemented in Kenya.

Similarly, Court and Ghai (1974) add that there has been a serious failure of communication between educational planners, educators, and educational implementers. The educational planners are influenced by political pressure and as a result have rushed their decisions and placed emphasis on the development of buildings instead of core issues in education. They add that the Kenyan educational system was not developed with "designed and tested objectives in mind but just grew".

In addition, Buchmann (2000) compared African educational systems in general with other developing countries, such as those in East and Southern Asia, which found distinctive differences in the way families make decisions on schools for children. In most African countries, specifically in Kenya, low levels of economic development create an environment where the educational system is very competitive and where high educational development does not guarantee occupational mobility. The study also revealed that the theories applied in developing educational policies were not consistent with the African-Kenyan values and were misguided. Kenya developed a highly expanded educational system that rivals those in the most industrialized countries in complexity and competitiveness. Yet, the strength of the extended kinship networks, polygamy and dominance of subsistence agriculture is still robust in Kenya. Because of the above indicators, the government in 1981 appointed the Presidential Working Party to establish the second university in Kenya besides the University of Nairobi (UON). The working party according to Jepkemei (2011) overstepped its mandate to recommend the introduction of the 8-4-4 system of education to replace the old 7-4-2-3 education system.

That is, Jepkemei (2011) argued that the Mackay commission did not carry out research; hence, the decision to reform the system, including the curriculum content's suitability, was not empirically based. She further pointed out that although the main TOR was to investigate the logistics of starting a second University, the Mackay team overstepped their mandate to recommend radical reforms in the entire education system. The secondary phase of the new system of education started with the implementation of the new curriculum in form 1 in 1986, with the following subjects taught in the secondary school curriculum since 1985: i) English; ii) Kiswahili; iii)

Foreign languages; iv) Mathematics; v) Physical science/Physics, Chemistry; vi) Biological science, Biology; vii) History and Government; viii) Geography; ix) Religious education; x) Social education and ethics; xi) Agriculture; xii) Industrial education; xiii) Business education; xiv) Home science; xv) Art and Design; xvi) Music; xvii); and Physical Education (GoK, 1981).

From the preceding, the secondary school curriculum implementation has had issues, challenges and a history in Kenya that dates to the colonial period. Therefore, this study using a historical inquiry, examined the secondary school curriculum policy enactment at Friends school Kamusinga and Lugulu Girls High School between 1964 and 1985, focusing on the content of the curriculum, processes of implementing and the outcome in the target schools.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Literature has shown that the historical perspective in curriculum development play a critical component in curriculum development and implementation yet has been lacking or there are scanty studies in literature. In addition, the above studies prove that failure to carryout empirical studies on the previous curriculum policies recommended by education commissions in Kenya, since independence has led to the challenges in the process of curriculum implementation at the school context.

For instance, failure to fully implement curriculum reforms proposed by Ominde (1964) and Gachathi (1976) reports, indicate that curriculum enacted then only turned to be being too academic, narrow, and examination-oriented creating school leaver unemployment between 1970 and 1980's forced the government to, change the manpower and social demand model to a new model that would deal with the

challenges bedeviling the education sector at that time. Hence, reformed the system of education to the self-reliance model in the 1980's through the Mackay Commission, 1981. It proposed a total overhaul of education and curriculum from the 7-4-2-3 to 8-4-4 system. The Mackay Commission proposed to reform the content of curriculum, by making it more vocational and technical from 1985. As noted from the above, the top-down process of curriculum review has failed to yield the intended objectives leading to challenges of curriculum reforms and its rollout including CBC in some African countries and Kenya in particular. Hence, lack of a clear policy in curriculum enactment may result the curriculum developers and planners falling into the trap of the top-down policy implementation process which intimidates, harasses, and forces teachers to implement curriculum reform as government project, proving that the top-down policy implementation process still has weaknesses, issues and challenges from key stakeholders, hence, the need to relook at the top-down process to achieve the desired results in curriculum change in Kenya.

There is a historical gap on how secondary schools such as FSK and LGHS enacted curriculum reforms recommended by Ominde 1964 and Gachathi 1976 Reports in Kenya between 1964 and 1985. That is, no comprehensive study has been done on the history of the curriculum policy implementation at FSK and LGHS from 1964-1985, focusing on the content of the curriculum, how or processes of implementing curriculum, and the outcomes in the target schools.

Further, there is a lacuna in educational, historical accounts of the relationship between policy pronouncements and implementation in secondary schools in Kenya, which is yet to receive scholarly attention. However, debate in research rages on, that there is a

problem between policy statement and what is implemented at the school level in secondary schools in Kenya according to (Buchmann, 1990; Court and Ghai, 1974; Kangethe, 2014; Muthee *et al*, 2013; Ngau, 1990).

Moreover, the implementation of secondary school curriculum content, how they were enacted, and their outcomes in the elite schools such as FSK and LGHS from 1964-1985, have not been a subject of any historical inquiry. Consequently, this study sought to examine how Friends School Kamusinga and Lugulu Girls High School enacted secondary school curriculum policy curriculum proposed by Ominde 1964 and Gachathi 1976 reports, focusing on the content of curriculum, processes of implementing and the outcome from 1964-1985.

### **1.3 Purpose of the Study**

The study examined how Friends School Kamusinga and Lugulu Girls High School enacted the secondary school curriculum from 1964-1985.

### **1.4 Main objective of the Study**

The main objective of this study is to examine the content of curriculum; assess the processes used in implementing and the outcome at FSK and LGHS from 1964 to 1985.

#### **1.4.1 Specific Objectives of the Study.**

The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

1. To find out the content of curriculum enacted at Friends School Kamusinga and Lugulu Girls High School, 1964-1985.
2. To assess the processes used in implementing curriculum in the target schools

between 1964 and 1985.

3. To find out the outcome of curriculum implemented in the target schools from 1964 to 1985.

### **1.5 Research Questions**

This study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What secondary school curriculum did Friends School Kamusinga and Lugulu Girls High School implement between 1964 and 1985?
2. How did Friends School Kamusinga and Lugulu Girls High School implement the secondary school curriculum between 1964 and 1985?
3. What was the outcome of the implemented secondary school curriculum at FSK and LGHS between 1964 and 1985?

### **1.6 Justification of the Study**

Without a detailed historical account of how curriculum has been implemented at the school level, the general historical destiny of curriculum reforms and its implementation cannot be understood, which may confuse the process leading to the failure of the reform at the school level or context of practice. The study of secondary school implementation at FSK and LGHS, 1964-1985, delves into the content of the curriculum, how it was implemented and the outcome.

The findings of this study would help policymakers, curriculum developers, and implementers to gain insights and lessons to inform the future and the current practice on the implementation of the CBC curriculum rolled out in secondary schools in Kenya

since 2018. Again, this study is justified as it discussed major historical trends of curriculum reforms that have been implemented and contextual factors that have influenced policy enactment in secondary schools to gain insights into how to reduce the gap between policy text and policy practice in the school context in Kenya.

Finally, this study points out both the historical and scholarly gaps which would lead to further research on policy enactment in secondary schools to improve future reforms in curriculum in secondary schools in Kenya.

### **1.7 Significance of the Study**

The significance of this study lies to the fact that it would yield a critical empirical analysis and documentation of policies and practices related to curriculum implementation in secondary schools in Kenya and, the factors besides policy, that influence practice in secondary education in Kenya. The study would be an informative record/account linking curriculum policies and practices in secondary education and would be useful in guiding policy makers, researchers, curriculum developers, teachers and teacher educators when designing and implementing curriculum reforms in secondary education in future.

### **1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

The scope of this study was limited to identifying significant themes related to the historical analysis of secondary school curriculum implementation at Friends School Kamusinga and Lugulu Girls High School from 1964-1985, focusing on the content of the curriculum, processes of implementing curriculum (HOW) and outcome in the two schools. The study was confined to a historical study where the data on secondary school curriculum implementation at FSK and LGHS from 1964-1985 focused on the

content of curriculum, processes used to implement and the outcome in the two schools from 1964 to 1985. The period of policy implementation in the two secondary schools was limited to 20 years starting from 1964 when Ominde Commission was established up to 1985 and a new secondary school curriculum was implemented recommended by the Mackay Commission in 1981 (GOK, 1981).

According to Marshall, *et al* (2006) no proposed study is perfect and therefore all including the the current study have limitations. The study's main limitation was that the majority of the former head teachers of FSK and LGHS who were in charge during the period under study had already retired from service and passed on. However, this limitation was minimized using records from school Archives, libraries and education offices from the Counties of Bungoma and Kakamega. Similarly, Former deputies of the target schools were available to provide much needed data in this study.

Secondly, since it was historical, oral interviews were the main primary tools for data collection. But sources may have provided biased information, limiting the validity and reliability of the study; however, this challenge was mitigated when data was corroborated with information from other primary sources such as circulars and inspection reports from MOE and County offices. That is, data from primary sources supported what the former head teachers, teachers, and students of the two schools gave during oral interview sessions. In the same vein, historiographers have established safeguards against bias in historical method, namely: i) many steps of the historical methods are designed for discerning conclusions from data rather than from preconceived notions; ii) the public nature of the data makes it easier to falsify misguided interpretations (Golder, 2000).

The third limitation was the difficulty in accessing participants. For instance, in a few situations, instead of head teachers, their deputies were available in the target schools. The deputies provided the necessary assistance and information required in answering the research questions in this study.

The other limitation was the difficulty in accessing information since many files in the target schools had been destroyed. This limitation was mitigated by accessing similar information from government sources such as Kenya National Archives, Kenya Institute for Curriculum Development, Ministry of Education, and the Kenya National Examinations Council headquarters in Nairobi.

Fourth, there was a limitation of accessing target participants who had retired from active service and were scattered throughout the vast former Western Province or Nyanza, Rift Valley and Nairobi. To mitigate this technology was employed in collecting data from them using emails and phone calls.

### **1.9 Theoretical Framework of the Study**

This study adopted Critical Policy Sociology (CPS) /Critical Policy Archaeology which Trevor Gale postulated in (2001) to dig the sites of FSK and LGHS for data collection to analyse how the content of curriculum, what processes were used in implementing policy (How) and the outcomes in the target schools.

Critical Policy Archaeology deals with conditions that regulate policy formation; why some items are on the policy agenda and not others; why some actors are involved in

the policy and not others; and the conditions which regulate patterns of interaction of the actors involved in policy implementation. In this study, the social actors who engaged and interacted with the policy enactment were the former Head teachers, teachers, and students of the two schools from 1964-1985.

The study was confined to the historical study of secondary school curriculum implementation at FSK and LGHS, 1964-1985, focusing on curriculum content, processes (how) of implementation and the outcomes. The study was underpinned by the policy sociology theory supported by Burawayo (2005). The policy postulates that policy is for public clientele since it defines goals to attain (Burawayo, 2005) for public citizens.

Critical policy analyses (CPA) emerged as a critical approach to educational policy structures by some scholars. They critiqued traditional education policy frameworks seen as top-down, bureaucratic, rational, state-centred, and linear (Ball 1994, Bowe, Ball & Gold, 1992 and Ozga, 2000). Their critique of positivist and rational approaches to analyse educational policy work has been termed critical policy analyses or critical policy sociology.

The term “archaeology” as one of the historical methods of undertaking policy analysis, alongside policy historiography and policy genealogy put forward by Trevor Gale (2001). This study is confined within Critical Policy Archaeology as a historical lens in drawing on an understanding of the methodological approach that was used to produce the Ominde 1964 and Gachathi, 1976 Reports and how they were implemented in the two schools, 1964-1985.

Ball (1993) distinguishes between policy as a text and policy as a discourse, a difference that has attracted comments and criticisms from others such as (Bowe *et al.*, 1992; Gale, 2001 & Ozga, 1987). Even with these criticisms, this study found Ball's categorization to be relevant to this study because it underlines the general view of post-modernist social analysts. The post-modernist analysts argue that policy intentions are not necessarily translated as developers intended them at the micro-schools (Baach, 2008). Spillane (2002) claims that the implementation of policy involves critical analysis. This involves its interpretation and its application to the implementers' specific context.

Policy sociology provides a perspective that can be used to solve or help a specific case in the social world. Ozga (1987) characterizes policy sociology as having roots in the social science, informed by history, and drawing on qualitative and illuminative techniques. Similarly, Ball (1990) stresses that, for one to conceptualize policy making correctly, it is crucial to consider the social tradition and the history of society. The historical part is crucial because it helps in clarifying the basic structural changes that have shaped the modern world. These changes are responsible for creating the framework within which policymaking and policies occur in any given society.

Policy sociology as a tool of policy analysis has been a popular tool for analysing educational policies. For example, Ball (1990) traced ideologies that influenced education in England in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. He discussed how public educators argued for democratic education in the UK to industrialists who defined education in terms of future adult duties, over to humanists who considered education for the purpose of specialized skills. Similarly, Ball (1990) posits that in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in the UK,

public educators' ideas of the old humanist principles found way in the curriculum.

Troyna (1994) criticizes policy sociology as limited in its theoretical, disciplinary, and strategic concerns on the ground that it turns a blind eye to issues arising from cognate theoretical and disciplinary sources that can illuminate the policy process. Specifically, he feels that policy sociology ignores conceptualization and empirical research that feature in feminist and antiracist discourses especially those influenced by critical social research.

Similarly, Lakomski (2005) criticizes post-modernist approaches like policy sociology as a stance that overemphasizes discourse, abstract symbolic interaction and eschews consideration of actual behaviour. Lakomski (op.cit) concludes that they must adequately connect the opaque to the concrete towards the end of helping identify new avenues for practice rather than continually laying blame.

On the other hand, Gale (2001) criticizes policy sociology as a research tool because of its reflexivity and self-appraisal. He argues that policy sociology has focused a heavy tendency of pondering on matters related to its own research activity. To address this, he proposes three methodological approaches to explore and explain matters of policy, each generating its own view of policy issues worthy looking for, their location, and how to search for them. These are policy historiography, policy genealogy and policy archaeology.

Without claiming clear distinctions between their aims, Gale (2001) couples policy historiography with the substantive issues of policy at hegemonic moments, policy genealogy with social actor's engagement with policy and policy archaeology with

conditions that regulate policy formations. He brought up his ideas in a study of the Australian Higher Education entry policy in the late 1980's and early 1990's.

This study adopted CPA as a historical study method or Historical approach as guided by Brewer, (2008) and Gale (2001; 2007).

In this case, the central area of concern for critical policy research is to interrogate the policy process; its roots; players involved in the process and constructions; contextual nuances and complexities; and how complexities impact on what we know to be real or true. Further, it analyses how policy process has subjective value, complex and messy; (multiple arguments and viewpoints); questions policy process; interrogate power and voice in the process e.g. what is the role of power in making knowledge? Similarly, it addresses power imbalances in policy formulation and implementation. Lastly, CPA addresses what voices are included and not included? Inequities, loss of opportunity or lack of opportunity; looking at silences, who are represented and who are not and why not? (Manifield, 2014).

The main purpose of conducting policy analysis adopted in this research is to bridge the gap between policy statement or text and practice. Emphasis is on the context of policy practice and collaboration in the process of policy implementation at school level. That is, to communicate effectively with other stakeholders in the educational context of implementing the curriculum at FSK and LGHS from 1964-1985.

In the same vein, first, educational policy making represents a struggle over competing claims; second, educational policies are a technology of government control; third,

policy is susceptible to interpretation and translation; fourth, policies have implications towards social justice.

The strength of CPA theory adopted in this study was as follows: First, the theory incorporates multiple viewpoints to be integrated in the data analysis and interpretation. Hence, this study adopted an Eclectic conceptual framework drawing from the critical viewpoints, enactment perspectives and historical views in the data analyses, synthesis and interpretation as indicated in the conceptual framework and then presented findings in chapters 4, 5, and 6 in this study.

A second strength of CPA was that my research drew together Critical Policy Analysis of data from policy documents, primary sources and interviews of the survivals of policy enactment in the two schools from 1964 and 1985. Lincoln and Guba (1985) support drawing on multiple research approaches, in this way since it provides a meaning of triangulation and supports the trustworthiness of the data. The eclectic conceptual framework was adopted to increase the strength of CPA theoretical framework used in the study.

Furthermore, applying Policy Archaeology as a tool of policy analysis, Gale (2001) came up with three key questions:

- i) What I am I looking to produce by way of analysis?
  - ii) Where and how will I find the policy and information to analyse?
  - iii) How will I present what I find?
- The relevance of this theory to this study is anchored on the similarity of these questions. Thus, this study examined similar questions as follows: (1) what were the curriculum reforms that FSK and LGHS enacted from 1964-1985; (2) how did FSK and LGHS enact curriculum

reforms from 1964-1985? (3) What was the outcome of policy enactment at FSK and LGHS from 1964-1985?

The choice of policy archaeology for policy analysis in this study was due to the following reasons;-First, Critical Policy analysis examines data from interviews and documents by their conviction that “things especially, policy discourse must be pulled apart” (Troyna, 1994 a: 71) to determine whose interest they serve, since policy making is a site of struggle by competing interests of various stake holders. That is, education policy or reform is handled in messy, problematic, contested and as a site of struggle (Ball, 1994), hence requires critical research theory such as Critical Policy Archaeology as guided by Trevor Gale(2001) adopted in this study to find out whose interests do these policies address.

Secondly, applying critical policy archaeology as a tool of analysis, Gale (2001) came up with three questions as indicated above. These questions provides the current study, with what data to collect, sources of data and how to analyze data in answering the three research questions of the study.

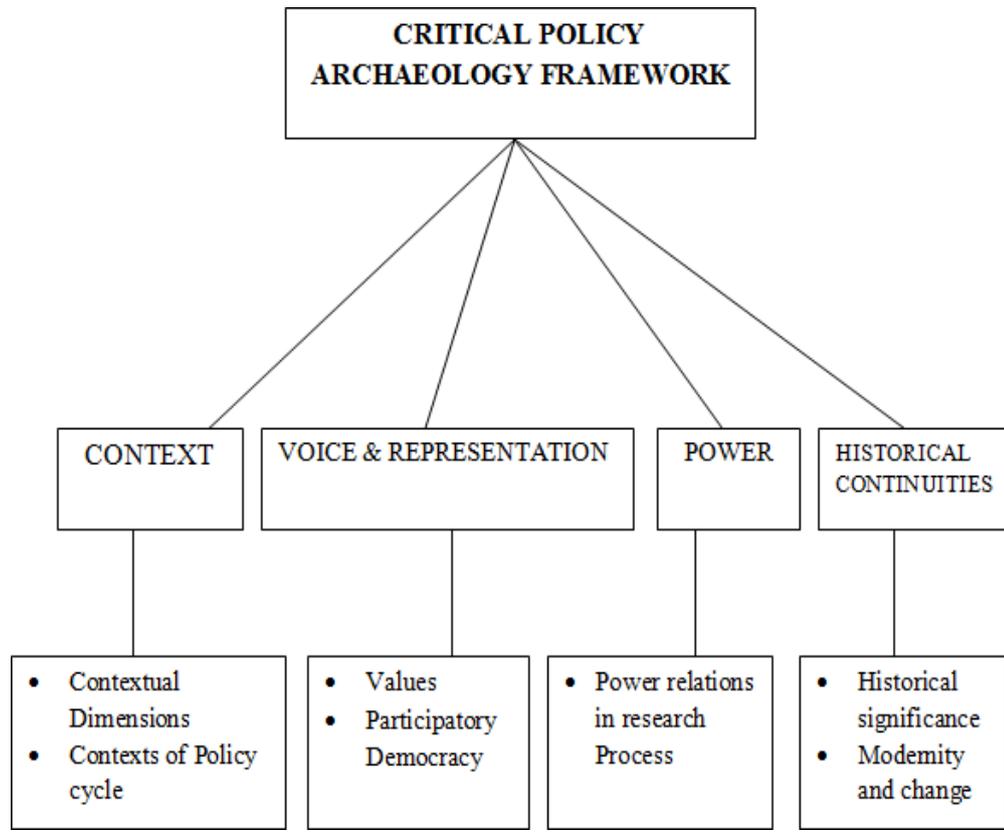
Lastly, critical policy analysis will be looking at where and how will I find or produce it?

Thus, policy making or policy stems from “where” and “how” data about the policy would be formed, produced or collected. In this study data was collected from primary documents from KNA and school archives with sources of information on curriculum implementation and survivals of the past as participants at FSK and LGHS schools from 1964 to 1985. They included: former head teachers, teachers and students of the two schools.

### **1.10 Conceptual Framework**

This sub-section discusses the Conceptual Framework adopted in this study. This study aims to examine how two schools implemented curriculum and the outcome from 1964 to 1985. The goal was to make relevant policy recommendations on the improvement of the process in the context of a developing country. This study focused on the content of curriculum, processes used in the implementation of the enacted curriculum and the outcome at FSK and LGHS between 1964 and 1985.

In this study, an eclectic Conceptual Framework focused on the analysis of policy-practice in school contexts. It adopted the Historical Thinking Conceptual Framework, postulated by Peter Seixas, (2006) because our study is historical. The historical conceptual framework was adopted in this study because some historical concepts were used in the historical analysis and interpretation. They included: Historical significance, primary sources, historical perspective, causes and consequences, continuity and change. These concepts enabled the researcher to collect, synthesize and interpret historical data, because history seeks to understand what human action happened in the past, when it happened, how it happened and why (Barzun *et al.*, 1972). The concepts provided a means of analysing and interpreting data as presented in Chapters: 4, 5 and 6 in this study.



**Figure 1: Eclectic Conceptual Framework**

**Source:** (Adapted and modified by the researcher from Mcknight, 1997; Ball,

1997; Gale, 2001; Hightower, 2008; Taylor, 1997; Vidovich, 2002; Dale, 1989; Bove et al, 1992).

The Framework argues that Historical Significance (HS) is what makes people care about certain events, trends, and issues today. The aspects of HS result in a change in the development of people, institutions, or events. This makes it prudent for the researcher to use the same conceptual argument to address the historical analysis of secondary education at FSK and LGHS, 1964-1985 in terms of contents of curriculum, ways in which they were enacted, and the outcomes in the target schools. This would be geared towards revealing the turn of events, changes, and dynamics in the enactment of education policy, challenges, and opportunities at the two sites.

The concept of using primary sources to corroborate evidence with secondary sources to establish historical occurrences and truths. This helps to contextualize historical truth and assesses what has changed and what has remained the same over time.

The other concern addressed is the concept of change and continuity. This approach compares issues in the past and the present between the two eras, thus the content of curriculum implemented at the target schools between 1964 to 1974 and those enacted between 1975 and 1985, or content of curriculum recommended by Ominde 1964 and those recommended by Gachathi, reports 1976.

In this regard, the conceptual framework adopted in this study, enabled the researcher to compare the content of curriculum, how (processes) they were enacted and their outcomes in the target schools between, 1895 and 1963; 1964 and 1973; and 1974-1985. These were content of curriculum, processes of enactment, and outcome at two schools in the colonial and the post-independent Kenya and curriculum enacted in schools between 1964-1973 and 1974 to 1985. This periodization helped this study to organize and analyze data to understand continuity and change (Seixas, 2006).

Similarly, the framework enabled the researcher to compare sources of data from the two Education Commissions chaired by Ominde (1964) and Gachathi (1976) in Kenya. This was an aspect of continuity and change in the implementation of curriculum; processes and outcome at FSK and LGHS.

Moreover, the framework highlights the importance of recognizing and responding to continuities between the past and the present. Such continuities result from macro and

micro-level influences of curriculum reforms. That is, from a modernist perspective/top-down process, individual institutions reveal the interconnectedness of history. In this case, historical influences affected local practices of curriculum reforms by feeding into policy input and outcome at FSK and LGHS between 1964 and 1985.

In view of the above, Kenya inherited education and curriculum from Britain, hence, foreign curriculum reforms brought in foreign values, interests, models, power and ideas (Lillis, 1985; Kay, 1975). For these reason, historical concepts provided a basis for shaping, interpreting, and analyzing the existing curriculum implementation in the two secondary schools from 1964-1985.

### **1.11 Operational Definitions of Key Terms**

The following terms are definitions that are specific to this study:

**Processes of implementing curriculum:** Strategies, Methods, Models, Modes used by the policy maker /actors and implementers to enact curriculum policy in the target schools.

**Content of curriculum:** refers to the subjects that were taught at FSK and LGHS between 1964 and 1985.

**Learning Outcomes:** it means the results or performance of students in the national examinations such as: CSC, HCSC, KJSE, E.A.E.C, E.A.A.C.E, KCE, KACE results.

**Secondary school:** refers to an institution where the second level/cycle of formal education takes place. It is education which ran from form one to form six, and is divided into three blocks; Junior secondary (Form 1&2); senior secondary (F111-FIV); and advanced level (FV & FVI) which leads to higher education or the world of work.

### **1.12 Summary**

This chapter focused on the background and reasons for undertaking the study. The research problem, questions, and objectives of the study have been outlined. The significance, purpose, and justification have also been highlighted. Further, the Critical Policy Archaeology as a theoretical framework and Historical Thinking Concepts put forward by Peter Seixas (2006) have been evaluated as common themes of Critical Policy Analysis and enactment. The Critical Policy Archaeology and historical thinking concepts such as historical significance, primary sources, historical interpretation, moral dimension, modernity, and change would guide the analysis and interpretation of policy process and the findings. The study focused on the contents of curriculum, how (process) of enactment, and their outcomes at FSK and LGHS, 1964 - 1985. Finally operational definitions of terms have been outlined. The next chapter focuses on the literature review of the study.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter examines the existing literature related to the study based on sub themes as follows: Policy Implementation, Critical Policy Sociology, Analysis and Enactment; Pioneer / history of secondary school curriculum implemented in secondary schools before independence in Kenya; studies focusing on the content of curriculum; process of implementing curriculum and the outcome in the target schools from 1964-1985. In addition, some studies focusing on the implementation of secondary school curriculum was also examined. The overall aim was to bring out the existing knowledge gaps in the historical analysis of secondary school curriculum implementation at FSK and LGHS from 1964-1985.

#### **2.2 Policy Implementation, Critical Policy Sociology, Policy Analysis and Enactment**

Whereas there is existence of a vast body of literature around the general themes of policy implementation, critical policy sociology, Policy analysis and enactment, there is very little that addresses the situation in Kenya. The literature review in this chapter is an analysis of the studies and ideas that are Africa based. Where available, I not only draw on examples from East Africa and the rest of the Sub Saharan Africa, but also look more widely at literature from elsewhere in the world to position the literature in a global context.

A number of scholars focus on what happens in practice and on the nature and extent of actual change, as well as on the factors and processes that influence how and what

changes are achieved when policy is implemented (Fullan, 1992). In some studies, implementation is referred to as the process of carrying out a course of action that links decisions with actions (Meyer and Scott, 1992: 134). There is a tendency to assume that implementation is an essentially top-down administrative and hierarchical follow on process (Barret, 2004). Under this assumption, policy once formulated and legitimated at the top or centre, is handed to the administrative system for execution (Dale, 1989; Bowe et.al, 1992). Subsequently, this policy is successively refined and translated into operating instructions such as Curriculum Guides, Circulars, Memos, Letters used in the study by the policy maker, as it moves down the hierarchy to operatives at the 'bottom' of the pyramid (Barret, 2004: 252).

This was the process which the Government used to direct teachers to implement curriculum recommendations made by Ominde, 1964 and Gachathi, 1976 in secondary schools in Kenya. This is in tandem with what (Bowe *et .al.*1992; Dale, 1989; Trevor Gale, 2001, 2007) assert that “policy formulation is the domain of the state or the policy maker and the implementers only get directives through written instructions to put it in practice without question”. Two former teachers of FSK and LGHS corroborate this by stating that, 8.4.4 curriculum reform was pushed on teachers to implement without question because it was the Government policy in Kenya between 1981 and 1985 in secondary school, as shown below:

Former deputy head teacher of LGHS noted:

“Curriculum reforms in secondary education in Kenya were pushed down teachers’ throats as MOE stated that 8-4-4 education system must succeed since it was a presidential system. There was no Head teacher or teachers who were involved in the process of curriculum reform. There was no public participation but MOE and inspectorate stated that the 8-4-4 education system and its curriculum must succeed by all means” (O. I, Kisembe DH/T, LGHS, Kimilili, 05/04/19).

Other two teachers of FSK added:

On the issue of Curriculum reforms in the country, they added that since independence, reforms have been pushed on teachers “as a government projects, hence, it was a must to implement without question (Saisi, Sirisia, 06/03/2019; Mbarara, Kimilili, 02/03/2019).

### **2.2.1 Critical Policy Analysis**

Critical Policy Analysis is a critical approach to education policy studies. C.P.A came up as a result of education policies which surfaced over 30 years, the growing number of scholars were not satisfied with traditional education policy frameworks seen as bureaucratic, state-centered and linear (Ball, 1994, Bowe, Ball & Gold 1992; Ozga, 2000 Watt, 1993). Their critics of the positivist, rational approaches to analyzing educational policy work has been termed Critical Policy Analysis (CPA) or critical policy sociology.

Ball (2006) opines that “policies embody claims to speak with authority; they legitimate and initiate practice (Ball, 2006:26).

From the CPA point of view, policy is defined as the practice of power and governance (Levinson, Sutton & Winstead 2012; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). There are a range of different conceptual directions and perspectives in analyzing policy. In CPA, some policy scholars focus on analyzing social reproduction and political reproduction; others critique the global orientation of education policy; others focus on policy practice and values while the recent ones focus on global and international policies and how they are enacted in the local settings (Levinson, Sutton & Winstead, 2009; Prunty, 1985; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Ball 2000; 2012; Ozga, 2000; Lodger, Vidovich & O’Donoghue, 2014). However Ozga (2000) opines that researchers should

develop alternative ways to critique policy, question and challenge discourses in policy making and implementation to make it democratic, reform education, and profession, engage and inform education professionals. This study is anchored to the perspectives of Critical Policy Analysis as advanced by Trevor Gale( 2001).That is, critical policy archaeology.

### **2.2.2 Policy Enactment**

Policy enactment according to Ball, Maguire and Braun (2012) is a dual process of policy interpretation and translation by diverse range of policy actors across a wide variety of situations and practices. Thus, the dual process is interpretation which signifies an initial reading and making sense or meaning of texts. The second process is translation which suggests reading, re-reading of policy, “literally enacting policy” in and through talk, school plans, meetings, classrooms lessons, data walls, school websites (Ball, Maguire and Braun 2011).In the practice of policy, there will be creativity of responses and multiple interpreters of policy enactment (Crotty,1998) which are not necessarily determined by the policy text.

Policy enactment as a critical approach to studying policy is concerned with how policies are practiced at the school setting such as FSK and LSHS from 1964-1985 in this study. Values transmitted during enactment of policies are not those of local settings since international policies are embedded in the former colonial countries like Kenya. Braun *et al* (2010, 2011) emphasize that policies enacted within localized contexts, illustrate the multi-level dynamics of policy and social educational values of society. Educational policies have values embedded in them to perpetuate power dynamics that are evident in written policies and the deliverables such as curriculum

guides, circulars, syllabuses, memos and letters used in this study. Braun *et al* (2010) argue that throughout the analysis of policy enactment, attention is paid to power dynamics, acknowledging priorities that are negotiated, bargained and compromised over.

Policy enactment model also depicts power dynamics inherited from the colonized system. Thus from CPA/Critical Policy view, Policy Enactment evaluates where policies are contested and resisted, suppressed or enforced as well as examining the particular context of the policy implementation (Braun et al, 2011). In this vein, power and values are central to the study of policy enactment in the post-colonial setting like Kenya a former colony of Britain 1895 to 1963 (Sorenson, 1968 Anderson, 1970; Cashmore, 1965).

### **2.2.3 Policy Implementation/ Policy -as -written and policy- as -practice**

This study reflects on the emphasis of enactment or the practice of policy, focusing on the ability of teachers to interpret policies rather than simply executing them. Policy – as- written approach focuses on documents such as commission reports, Syllabuses, Curriculum Guides, Memos, Circulars, Inspection Reports that were used in this study or other formal texts in which policy makers communicate their intent (Sutton & Levinson, 2001).

On the other hand, policy as practice is defined as the interpretive and decision making process that take place daily in schools and classrooms by teachers like those of FSK and LGHS in this study , and the result in sets of standards or patterns at a particular site (Sutton et al, 2001).

CPA research such as this study focus on enactment. It views policy as practice at the target schools (FSK and LGHS). In the context of curriculum policy research, policy may entail ideas of national mandates and regulations; however, the actual curriculum implementation in two schools (LGHS and FSK) would be the main focus in this study.

According to Ball, Maguire and Braun (2012) policy- as- written has to be translated from text to action, that is, put into practice in relation to history, context and with the resources available”(Ball *et al*,2012:3).

This study focuses on policy practice, understanding and documenting the many ways in which curriculum policies were enacted in the two schools of FSK and LGH from 1964-1985. That is, what policies did teachers attend to, which policies did teachers work hard to mandate; or most valuable to them, hence putting into practice?

In order to broaden the scope of policy enactment and aim to comprehensively examine the curriculum implementation practices of teachers in the two secondary schools of FSK and LGHS, this study integrated Gale’s (2001) critical policy archeology to policy analysis which provided a useful framework that embodies the practices within schools. That is, teachers and head teachers are viewed as policy makers both in construction and interpretation phase of policy cycle. This approach is suitable since it is practical and leads to better understanding of the policy process of curriculum implementation at the target schools.

The differences between the formulation and implementation phases of policy are highlighted, but the main attention is given to the capacity of practioners in interpreting policy, which is important to re-making the policy in practice at the school level.

Drawing from various critical policy researchers (Ball,1977;Cibulka,1994;Scriber Reyes & Fusarelli,1994;Taylor,1997;Vidovich, 2002; Ozga,2000; Gale,2001; Ball, Magure & Braun ,2012),this study synthesizes various policy views/thoughts, resulting to a combination of theoretical perspectives in the conceptual framework as indicated in chapter1, to include both state centered (modernist – oriented) and policy cycle (post-modernist- oriented) viewpoints.The later aligns with the critical policy archaeology framework informing this study.

While Critical scholars questions power relationships that exists in society and view them within social, historical and economic contexts, there is need to go further to call into question the very nature of these contexts in which we view our society (Ozga,2000).

According to critical theorists, researchers should seek ways of ensuring the effective delivery of social policies and solutions to policy problems (Ozga, 2000).

An outcome based approach to policy intensifies the function and preview of government. Thus, what governments do why they do it and what difference it makes in the policy process?

However, the theoretical framework created in this research moved away from the static and rational view. That is, this study moved away from government's domination to include other players in the policy process. Policy in this study is viewed as a process involving dynamic interaction between different groups, many of whom are not formally involved in the policy process (Ozga, 2002).This study singled out and given

the voice the implementers, or teachers( key actors), students and parents who are crucial at the school contexts of FSK and LGHS.

On the other hand, Henry (1993) notes that the state is one of the players amongst many players and also emphasizes the discursive context within which policies emerge (Bowe *et al*, 1992:23).

From the above evidence of empirical studies analyzed in this study, the enactment construct has not been sufficiently used in policy research that particularly relate to curriculum policy implementation in Kenya. Instead policy research, analysis and practice of curriculum implementation have been widely examined through the fidelity perspective/implementation model. The implementation mode is a perspective that portrays policy adoption as hierarchical, top-down and formal transfer of the text into action without attending to the policy's contextual dimensions namely the social, organizational and cultural dimensions that are highly significant in context of policy practice and research (Ball *et al*, 2012), In view of the above weaknesses of implementation model,this study did not apply the implementation model, rather applied the Critical Policy Analysis inorder to address the limitations of rational approach to policy process.

In this study,the curriculum reform policy under examination was the secondary school curriculum or content of curriculum which was recommended by Ominde (1964) and Gachathi (1976) reports 1976 respectively.The reform came to the schools as a package designed and developed within the ministry of education (MOE) at the central level.The package comprised of 12 subjects which were introduced into the existing colonial

academic curriculum in secondary schools in Kenya from 1964 to 1985. It is in the light of this approach to the implementation process that the problem under investigation is to be understood.

### **2.3 Historical studies of secondary education and curriculum implemented before independence from in Kenya**

Various scholars have documented the history of secondary education in Kenya for both boys and girls before independence. The literature revealed that most of these studies focused on the institutional history of schools focusing on the following: Christian missions which established secondary schools for both boys and girls, factors which influenced the establishment of schools, the locational conditions, transfer of schools, initial challenges, factors that boosted the growth and educational development of secondary schools, general education programmes and the impact of the schools in the Kenyan communities.

The Christian mission's main aim was to establish secondary schools to spread the gospel and win souls for Christ, hence provided boys and girls in Kenya with mainly vocational, technical, religious with limited literacy education since they used schools for ecclesiastical purposes as discussed below:

Generally, the study of Strayer (1973) documented the origin of mission secondary schools in Kenya focusing on freed slave Buxton schools which CMS sponsored along the coast of Kenya. The study points out that CMS and other missions such as HGF, MHM, SDA, FAM took education as a means of converting Africans into Christianity and an effective tool for assisting the establishment of a self-supporting African church. Strayer argued that Africans were not passive recipients to missionary education but

participated fully in directing its course through partnership, collaboration and resistance or agitation. Of importance to the current study is when the local community demanded that a boy's and a girls' secondary schools be established in North Nyanza district after establishing secondary school at Kaimosi by FAM in 1952. This led to the birth of FSK and LGHS, the target schools in this study. Moreover, this study has shown how the local community reacted to curriculum that was implemented in the two schools of FSK and LGHS from 1964-1985. Indeed the local communities around the target schools were enthusiastic when FSK and Lugulu were established in 1957 and 1962 for boys and girls in the region. They send their children to school, gave food, building materials, provided staff and ensured safe environment for the two schools to thrive, grow and develop from a one single stream to four streams by 1985.

While Stayer's study demonstrates that Christian missionaries especially Protestant missions(CMS) pioneered secondary schools for both girls and boys in Kenya, the study gap is that Stayer's study is limited to the work of CMS and its early school at Mombasa. Further, Stayer does, not show that besides CMS school Buxton, other Protestant schools such as FAM schools of FSK and LGHS enacted curriculum that has positively impacted on the local community and the country at large.

Odwako (1975) showed that CMS together with other missionaries such as FAM, MHM, C.G, SDA, and SA evangelized western Kenya, did a lot in laying the foundation on which the countries education system was later built. After CMS established themselves at Maseno and Butere in 1906 and 1912 respectively, the missionaries took education as one of the most important tool in their evangelical activities. They established CMS Maseno School in 1939 as the first boys' secondary school and Butere in 1957 as the first girls' secondary school in the region (Karani,

1974; Odwako, 1975). Thus, Odwako analyzed the role of CMS in the development of primary, secondary and teacher education in western Kenya from 1905-1963. He argued that in an attempt to protect African converts in the missions from contaminated African environment, mission villages and lines were created in western Kenya. FAM's mission central boarding schools such as FSK and LGHS were established to serve this aim. He showed that education is an agent of change which is the positive impact of education in the African social cultural set up in the period. The same applies to FSK and LGHS were established by FAM at Lugulu and Kamusinga as boarding schools to protect the African students from contaminated home environments and as agents of change in the local community. Odwako (1975) tends to concentrate on how CMS through the evangelical activities and establishment of primary, secondary and teacher educational programmes in western Kenya, at the expense of other missions schools as FSK and LGHS of FAM in the development of education in the region. Similarly, Odwako was mainly concerned with CMS missionary activities in evangelization establishment of schools, factors and impact. The study's scope of 1905-1963, never discussed the content of curriculum, how it was implemented and the outcome. The current study goes beyond the scope of Odwako's study to document how FSK and LGHS enacted curriculum from 1964-1985.

Studies on Roman Catholic (MHM/HGF) another missionary group that evangelized Kenyan societies (Gale, 1959); Ogutu (1981); Burgman (1990); Wanyama.P. Muricho (2012) in analyzing the history of this Mission group, points out that their coming from Mill Hill England to East Africa was caused by the religious rivalry between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants (Anglicans) CMS in Uganda at that time. The French White Fathers (Roman Catholics (W.F) and the Protestants (Anglicans) CMS from

England (British). They quarreled over Uganda from 1890-1895, caused the battle of Mengo in Uganda in 1894. Supported by the British colonial rulers, Anglicans won the war. The Vatican (Roman Catholic Headquarters in Rome) brought in Roman Catholics of Mill Hill Fathers from England and Netherlands to kill the notion that Protestant was British while Catholics was French.

There were two Catholic Missionary groups that evangelized Kenya, thus, HGF who entered the country from the coast as early as 1880s and MHM penetrated Kenya from Uganda as early as 1900 (Burgman 1990; Baur 1994). The area served by HGF was known as the vicariate of North Zanguebar. HGF established missions and schools such as Kabaa, 1913, St. Austins 1899, Mangu 1940, Nyeri, and Kiambu and Nairobi areas.

MHM area of operation was known as Upper Nile Vicariate stretching from Kampala, Sudan and Kijabe (Gale 1959; Burgman, 1990, Baur 1994; Wanyama, 2012). These mission groups were concerned with evangelical and educational activities in their Vicariates. Just like other missions HGF and MHM took education as a tool to spread their influence in the area (North and South Kavirondo) as well as central and Nairobi areas (Burgman 1990). They also opened stations and schools in western Kenya such as St. Marys Yala, Nyabururu, Mukumu, Mumias and Kibabii (Wanyama, 2012).

It appears that before Kabaa was opened, Roman Catholics had no central Secondary school in Kenya. HGF opened Kabaa School in 1925 Fr. Witte as a head teacher, the school acted as training institute for catechists. Protestants were ahead since by 1928, they had a seminary with their students studying theology in third year and fifty in other classes. They had some in philosophy and a novitiate that trained nuns (Burgman 1990: 143).

Osogo(1970) looks at the role of the Holy Ghost Fathers(HGF) in the development of secondary education in Kenya by documenting the history of Kabaa-Mang'u. The pioneer Catholic Secondary School in the country. HGF Kabaa-Mang'u (school) as an agent of civilizing, Christianizing an African and developing the country through alumni/elites. This is similar to FSK and LGHS under FAM, the two schools had the same roles as those of Kabaa.

For Osogo (1970), Kabaa was opened in January 1930, with the student enrolment of 27 pupils/boys as the pioneer class. The government and the Director of education Mr. Scott failed to register the school on time, and it was denied grants-in-aid. The Government and Directors office was dominated by the Protestants, argued that better secondary education was being offered at Alliance High School Kikuyu (Burgman, 1990), hence no need for Roman Catholic secondary school at Kabaa.

The initial curriculum at Kabaa was singing and manual work. The first students signed to learn for 3 years course and work for the station (Kabaa) without salary for 5 years. The initial challenge was desertion and absenteeism of students at the school. Average roll for 1925 was 45 pupils, 1926, 80 pupils, 1927 there were 120 and 1928 were 145 official pupils at Kabaa.

The pioneer teachers of Kabaa were: Fr. Witte, catechist Beda and a Mkamba with no training or teaching experience but a veteran soldier of WWI (for drilling the boys). The first European teacher was Egidius Schisphorst of Amsterdam, Holland. He was a carpenter. There were two European and African drill teachers at Kabaa up to 1927, another European teacher arrived and in 1928 known as Fr. Florian teaching carpentry

making them 4, layman/European teacher, Mr Oomen came to Kabaa to teach agriculture and to take care of the farm. Fr Micheal Marren arrived October 1928 with qualification to start a high school, 1929, another teacher brother Savinus, took over building projects at Kabaa.

From the above, the pioneer curriculum of Kabaa was: singing, drilling, agriculture, carpentry and related work with four European teachers and drill African teacher. It was simple learning. Initial challenges were: desertion, absenteeism, indiscipline and lack of food. Walking long distances to reach the school, poorly trained teachers, catechists teaching pupils, lack of interest, lack of funds, non-registration and no grants-in-aid after registration in 1931 up to 1932(Osogo,1970;Burgman,1990).

The pioneer curriculum at Kabaa in 1930, the school embarked on an ambitious curriculum of academic, technical and vocational programmes, as follows:

- i) **Academic subjects:** religion (Old Testament, catechism and prayers), Arithmetic, Swahili (grammar, reading and composition), English (drill), singing, music (theory and instrumental), general knowledge including History, games and manners.
- ii) **Technical subjects:** agriculture(theoretical and practical, building, masonry, brickmaking, carpentry, ironwork, pottery, local crafts, engineering, shoemaking, tailoring and drawing, typing and bookbinding, spinning and weaving.
- iii) **Vocational programmes:** teacher training and training of catechist, Novitiate for training lay brothers and a junior seminary for teaching priests. The medium of instruction was Swahili (official policy). History was taught

as general knowledge and mainly took the form of “lives of great men” (Osogo, 1970; 55-57).

The curriculum of Kabaa clearly shows that as a nascent school, it was too huge and maybe could not have been implemented effectively. It also created new challenges and demands on the mission and the management. Some subjects were not taught as this assertion shows. Technical subjects were gradually introduced in school when teachers became available, but agriculture and local crafts (rope making, mat making and basketry) were taught at Kabaa since inception. Building, masonry, brickmaking and other technical subjects were introduced when Bro Egidius and Bro Florian arrived at Kabaa in 1927 respectively. Catechist taught religion and vocational training.

Initial/pioneer challenges at Kabaa School:

- i) Desertion of students, lack of food and supplies, inadequate funds, poor transportation, used porters/caravan, poorly trained teachers and poor equipment
- ii) Lack of support from colonial government in terms of registration and grants-in-aid scheme
- iii) Opposition from protestants since Alliance high school had been opened
- iv) Focus on using school for religious conversion rather than developing literacy and perennial land problem (5 Acres only)
- v) Expansive forest cover and wild animals scared parents, pupils and teachers coming to school (Burgman, 1990; Baur, 1994). These challenges to any young and new school were too heavy at Kabaa.

Osogo points out that the 1<sup>st</sup> Inspection Report of 1934 at Kabaa, enrolment was:

secondary, 111 pupils and 189 primary totals being 300 pupils. The headteacher was Fr Witte, and the tribal composition of the school: 124 Kikuyu, 87 Kamba, 31 Jalu, 17 Bantu (Kavirondo) or (Baluhya), 11 Giriama, 10, Taita, 4 Nandi, Suk, Meru, Ndia, Tanganyika and Uganda.

This study argues that the use of tribal composition was not good categorization, better could have been regional but since it served the colonial ideology of adaptation and the divide and rule philosophy (Amukoa, 2013; Anderson, 1970) in Kenya, they saw it fit to apply the idea in school setting. Nevertheless, the composition was across Kenya.

In 1934 Kabaa's curriculum was as follows: Swahili, English, Mathematics, Agriculture and Latin, History, Geography, Music and typewriting. The medium of instruction for secondary school was English but for primary school was Swahili. There were some changes in curriculum at Kabaa, but it was still huge with meagre resources and the young/new school like Kabaa. The Inspection Report argued that the curriculum was restricted although it was taught thoroughly. This study argues that due to Government policy, they included new subjects at Kabaa. The African teachers at Kabaa were: Mr Francis Khamis, Mr Paul Njoroge, Mr Stefan Kimani, Mr Atanas Gachanga, Mr M Petri Mwai, Mr Roki Kiberere, Mr Alois Obunga (Osogo, Ibid).

From the above, it was evident that at Kabaa, there were enormous challenges which affected the school since inception. This negated curriculum implementation and stiff competition from the Protestant group at Alliance. At first it produced catechists and teachers p4 and p3 for primary schools. When Alliance high school refused to admit catholic students, Osogo points out that the Catholic Bishops worked hard to ensure

they establish a high school from 1930 at Kabaa and later on in 1940 at Mang'u hence the school became Kabaa-Mang'u secondary school.

**Kabaa Teaching Staff, 1935-1936 were as follows:**

- i)Fr.A.Longman(principal)- Arithmetic, Biology, Drawing and teachers class
- ii)Fr.John Reidy (deputy) - Teacher training, English, History, Geography, Scripture
- iii)Fr .Thomas McGuire- English
- iv)Fr .Whelan – Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Bookkeeping.
- v)Fr. Austin Lynch- Religion, Art and Craft
- vi)Fr .P. Kelly- History, Geography and Holy scripture
- vii)Brother .Fr. Nievelle - building and carpentry
- viii) Brother Kuniber – Instructor

**African Staff,Kabaa, 1935-1936 were as follows:**

- i)Mr Francis Khamisi – BB, writing and teacher training, clerical work in the principal's office
- ii)Mr Paul Njoroge – Swahili, Agriculture and Teacher training
- iii)Mr Alois Obunga – Hygiene
- iv)Mr Joseph Gathenji – Swahili, history, agriculture and music
- v)Mr Julius Thuo and Mr Onesfas Karugo (Source; Osogo, 1970)

Drawing from the list of teaching staff at Kabaa, 1935-1936,the European teachers who implemented curriculum in the secondary school were the priests while the African teachers taught in the primary school of Kabaa.

Secondly, the curriculum at Kabaa was as follows: Arithmetic, Biology, Drawing and teachers class; Teacher training, English, History, Geography, Scriptures; Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Book keeping; Religion, Art and Craft; History, Geography and Holy scripture; building and carpentry; B B, writing ,teacher training; Swahili, Agriculture Teacher training; Hygiene; Swahili, history, agriculture and music. Thirdly, it is evident that European Priests /Teachers taught academic and secondary school section while Africans taught primary and technical education at Kabaa-Mang'u in the initial stages.

In 1939, senior secondary was transferred to Mang'u with School enrolment as follows: FI-19, FII-22, FIII-6, and FIV-2. Senior examinations were done in 1947(Osogo, 1970).

Osogo further point out the staff and their subjects at the school in 1940(for senior secondary school) were:

- i) Fr. O'Meara, taught Mathematics and Science;
- ii) Fr. Foley- English, History, Geography ,Agriculture, Biology and Music;
- iii) Fr. Mkok- Swahili and mathematics (Osogo 1bid)

In view of the above, it was evident that European priests were the main teachers teaching in high school of Kabaa. Curriculum was academic with minimal technical subject as indicated above.

Inspection team reported the following challenges/issues

- i) Timetable challenges
- ii) Teacher education vs. secondary education at Kabaa, school leaning towards teacher education rather than academic education.
- iii) Too much time given to the study of Swahili on the timetable

- iv) FII's and FIV's were taught in one room leading to overcrowding and poor content delivery for FII or FIV?(Biology, History, Geography And Sciences)
- v) There was lack of general knowledge on the timetable
- vi) Literature books were seen to be racist and Mathematics was too general
- vii) Poor teaching strategies in Geography, Sciences and Biology. In addition, learners never understood sciences due to lack of equipment in school (Osogo, 1970).

It is clear that the teaching or implementation of curriculum at Mang'u high was poorly done, with punching up several classes in one room, poor teaching methods. Some subjects were lacking on the timetable, focused on teacher education rather than general education. Similarly, focus was on catechism and vocational education to sustain the church not provide academic education for the community, curriculum delivery was not good leading to poor education provided by Roman Catholic schools, a foundation laid at Kabaa-Mang'u. This is in tandem with the findings of (Wasike, 1999; Wanyama, 2012). This is was opposite to what happened at A.HS, Maseno, Butere (Smith, 1973; Karani, 1974; Khanani, 2015) and later own FSK and LGHS.

On the performance in both primary and secondary school at Kabaa-Mang'u, Osogo argues that Junior Examinations were poorly due to the challenges as indicated above, but the Cambridge classes were good in 1941 because the two students entered passed meaning it was 100% success.

In view of the above, it is clear that since they were only two students, thus small number of candidates, hence all of them passed. But junior classes having many students they failed, the opposite is true with the Protestant schools.

In 1944-1945, the teachers of Mang'u who implemented curriculum were: Fr JJ.O Meara was the principal, Fr. O Sullivian, Fr. James, B lynch and and Fr Cyrillus Ojoo.

In 1955-1965, the teachers of Mang'u were: Fr. James Griffin-principal, Fr O'shea, Fr. Roche, Fr. Clement, Fr. N Killian, Fr. Mel Bennon and Fr Paul Gunnigham were the European teachers. African teachers were Mr David, Irungu, Joseph Karanja, Mr Paul Erulu, Mr Daniel Owino, and Mr Namwamba John. Other European teachers were Fr. C. O Naullan, Fr. J.C .O Connor and Fr. D. O Leary.

From the foregoing, it was evident that, there were a lot of changes of principals and teachers at Mang'u, leading to poor performance as opposed to Alliance High School and Maseno, in the period, hence, Smith (1973) argues at Lancaster conferences AHS produced so many participants than Mang'u. Secondly, both the European and African teachers continued implementing curriculum at Mang'u from 1940-1965 which was the similar to the professional culture of AHS, AGHS, Maseno, Butere and later on FSK and LGHS from 1964-1974(Bradley,1973:96-98).

**Table 2.1 showing timetable for Kabaa, 1930**

Subject	FIII	FIV	FV	FVI
Religious knowledge	3	3	3	3
English	5	5	5	5
Swahili	5	5	5	5
Mathematics	—	—	5	5
Geometric & algebra	5	5	—	—
Arithmetic	5	5	—	—
Science; Biology	3	5	7	5
Physics & Chemistry	3	3	3	3
Geography and History	—	5	5	5
History	2	—	—	—
Geography	3	—	—	—
Singing	2	2	—	—
Latin	2	—	—	—
Total	38	38	31	39

(Source, Osogo, 1970)

Drawing from the above Table, 2.1, Kiswahili and English were given same allocation of time, unlike at FSK and LGHS, reverse is true. That, English was given more time on the timetable than Swahili. Secondly, Arts and Handwork were missing on the timetable which was similar to FSK and LGHS, cultural subjects were missing on the timetable of the target schools from 1964 to 1974. The curriculum implemented was similar of subjects for LGHS and FSK before independence in Kenya (Inspection Report, 1963; Nabiswa, 1999 and Bradley, 1973).

Mathematics was not offered in the lower secondary school in the colonial period, it was taught as geometry and algebra, arithmetic, similar to mathematics components at FSK and LGHS in the colonial period. Other areas of analysed by Osogo's study were: HGF and Girls' schools under HGF their enrolments and the impact of Kabaa Mang'u in the local community and the country at large.

The scope and focus of Osogo's study was HGF School Kabaa- Mang'u under HGF missions between 1905 and 1965 and not FAM schools of FSK and LGHS and how they implemented curriculum from 1964-1985. Moreover, this study goes beyond the scope of Osogo's study period to document how FAM schools FSK and LGHS implemented curriculum from 1964 to 1985.

Similarly, Osogo's work was wide and general covering all the evangelical activities of HGF in Ukambani and Central regions of Kenya, the study did not give a detailed account of FAM schools in western Kenya such as FSK and LGHS and how they enacted curriculum policy. He mentions curriculum, curriculum content, teachers who taught and the passes in examination, without showing ways of implementing the

curriculum content at Kabaa-Mang'u from 1930-1965. A gap this study filled by examining how FSK and LGHS implemented curriculum from 1964-1985 focusing on the curriculum content, ways of implementing curriculum and the outcome.

Ogotu(1981) analysed the origin and the growth of Roman Catholic, the Mill Hill Mission in western Kenya from 1900 to 1952. He discussed mainly the evangelical activities in the area dominated by of Mill Hill Missions, church related activities and the establishment of schools. He discussed mainly the origin, development of St Marys' Yala, a M.H.M school in western Kenya. He points out that St Mary;s Yala was a central school for M.H.M schools such as Mumias and Kibabii(Wanyama,2012) feeding the central school of St Marys' Yala, which was similar to FSK as a central school where other FAM schools fed FSK, schools such as Teremi, Chesamisi and Butonge from 1957-1985.

He pointed out that:"We shall not discuss the role of the products of St Marys' Yala in the transformation of western Kenya." A gap this study filled by showing how the implementation of curriculum at FSK and LGHS transformed western Kenya and the country from 1964-1985. Further, this study went beyond the scope of Ogotu's period of study (1900-1952) to analyse how the two schools implemented curriculum from 1964-1985.

Kipkorir (1969) states the earliest study on the first/pioneer secondary school in Kenya. He carried out a study on Alliance High school. Thus, there was an alliance of protestant Mission groups who partnered to start the first secondary school in Kenya in 1926 at Alliance Kikuyu. This was the centre of various Protestant Missionary groups in Kenya. The school offered the first academic curriculum for secondary schools in Kenya.

The school became a tool of evangelization, an instrument of change and transforming local community and the country at large. He pointed out that in 1926 Alliance High School was established as the first secondary school in Kenya. Being the pioneer secondary school, many mission schools such as FSK and LGHS were modeled on the same.

The academic prowess of A.H.S since its inception influenced and ignited other schools such as FSK which was established as the first secondary school in North Kavirondo/North Nyanza District in 1957( Nabiswa, 1999) to aspire to perform well and compete with Alliance High School. Indeed FSK was regarded as the Alliance of Western Kenya because of the academic performance as a top school in the area from 1957-1970's (Inspection Report, 1968; Nabiswa, 1999; Bradley, 1973).

Alliance High School produced a sizeable group of educated elite which laid the foundation of the first Kenyan Government after attaining independence in 1963. The products of Alliance High School transformed the local community and served the country in various capacities: Nationalists who fought for independence in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Lancaster conferences, 1st cabinet (Smith, 1973) and administration, engineers, medical, banking, education and other professions which is similar to LGHS and FSK in Bungoma County Kenya.

The work of Kipkorir ignited other studies on the educational activities of other mission schools such as FAM schools of Kamusinga and Lugulu girls. By virtue of its objectives, the study focused on the history of AHS, its general educational activities including curriculum, subject's undertaken in passing, thus, subjects, enrolment and student performance. He does not show how Alliance High School enacted curriculum

to produce the elites. A gap this study filled by documenting how FSK and LGHS implemented curriculum from 1964 to 1985 to produce the elites who transformed the local community and served the country in different capacities. This study goes beyond the scope of Kipkorir's period of 1962 up to 1985 to study how FSK and LGHS enacted curriculum policy to produce Elites who served and transformed the local community and the country at large, from 1964 to 1985.

Stephen Smith (1973), a former deputy principal of Alliance High School from 1927-1965, analyzed the history of Alliance High School From 1927-1965. He posits that Alliance High School was opened on March 1<sup>st</sup> 1926 with Grieve as the first principal and the only teacher seconded to AHS by CMS Mission from London. His first task was to enroll the first pupils for the new school. Unfortunately there were no passes in junior secondary examination certificate in 1925 in the whole of Kenya which was the basic admission standard.

Grieve selected the first 27 pupils some with very low qualifications. Thus, 14 pupils held elementary certificates awarded after seven years of school while eleven had reached form one and two. Their English was poor and ages ranged from 19 to 22 years. Some of the pioneer students of AHS were a daughter and niece of the founding father of the nation Mzee Jomo Kenyatta (Smith, 1973:26).

Smith observes that the first curriculum and syllabus of AHS was received on the 24<sup>th</sup> March 1926 from the Director of Education Mr. J.R Orr and timetable based on the curriculum No. 62/26 dated the 6<sup>th</sup> March, 1926 with the following courses:

### **A) Cultural courses of 2 years**

i) Religious knowledge; ii) Biology; iii) P.T and Gymnastics; iv) Experimental Science; v) Agriculture; vi) Art; vii) English; viii) History and Geography; ix) Bantu Studies and Civics; x) Mathematics

### **B. Teachers training course-1 year**

Theoretical

i) Simple Psychology; ii) Education and School Management; iii) Methodology

Practical included

i) Experimental Psychology; ii) Practice teaching; demonstration and criticism; iii) School records, register syllabi, timetable, and schemes; iv) Elementary book keeping.

### **C. Agriculture course-1 year**

i) Dairying: poultry keeping, pig keeping; ii.) Farm management and treatment of disease; iii.) Surveying; IV) Agricultural book keeping.

### **D. Commercial course-1 year**

i.) Commercial arithmetic; ii.) Book keeping; iii.) Short hand and typewriting; iv.) Office routine and correspondence (Smith, 1973:28-29).

Drawing from the pioneer curriculum of A.H.S, it is observed that course A was compulsory and preliminary to course B, C and D. No student would be allowed to proceed until he has successfully passed course A. Therefore, this meant that course A was compulsory and mandatory to all secondary schools in Kenya. The programmes were loaded to a nascent school like AHS, with minimal resources such as learning materials, teachers and funds. There were also challenges of a new education and

African reaction to formal secondary education at the school.

The programme provided wide ranging knowledge, ideas, attitudes, skills and talents which Christian formed and served their communities and the country with distinction. No wonder Alliance High School was the cradle and the pinnacle of the pioneer elites in Kenya, who took up many roles at independence. Furthermore, with these programmes, Alliance influenced the mood and development of secondary education, starting with the Roman Catholic school Kabaa-Mang'u, a role it plays to date through its curriculum, products who passed through such curriculum at the school.

Smith added that the daily school routine was as follows:

*Prayers; physical exercises and occupied classwork. The afternoon was taken up by supervised practical agriculture in the school garden, games, evening prayers and supervised study.*

In January 1927, junior secondary School Certificate Examinations (J.S.E) was done. All twenty four students entered, three had left and fourteen (14) passed (Smith, 1973). Also, in December 1926, there was also a junior secondary examination at four centres; Nairobi, Tumutumu, Mombasa and Maseno, students passed.

Alliance High School examinations were taken on a new syllabus at a higher academic level in the following subjects: Two compulsory subjects: English and Arithmetic and optional subjects were: Religious knowledge, History and Geography, Geometry, Algebra, Biology, Art and Agriculture with Hygiene.

A pass was required in the three optional subjects and no candidate was allowed to take more than five. 12 students passed. (See pp. 35). This was first public examination taken by A.H.S; the invigilator was R.H Wisdom, Chief Inspector of schools in Kenya.

The pioneer teachers of A.H.S were three Europeans namely:

i) Mr. Grieve- Principal; ii)Mr. Stephen Smith, the deputy principal; and iii) Mr L.T. Beecher, BSc-(London). No African teacher (Smith, 1973). All pioneer teachers of Alliance High School in 1926 were graduates without African representation.

Pioneer challenges at A.H.S were: inadequate staff and lack of African teachers negated curriculum review which was similar to LGHS a high school in this study during the colonial period (Inspection Report, 1963). This is the most indicators of all Mission Schools established in Kenya including FSK and LGHS.

Some of the results of the best pioneer students of AHS in subject performance were:

- |       |                         |                                 |
|-------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| i.    | Bible knowledge:        | E.W Mathu                       |
| ii.   | Arithmetic :            | D. Ngariuiya                    |
| iii.  | English :               | D. Muinamia                     |
| iv.   | Biology :               | L. Warobi                       |
| v.    | History and Geography : | W. Wamagata                     |
| vi.   | Algebra :               | Mbiyu Koinange                  |
| vii.  | Geometry :              | B. Kabiru                       |
| viii. | Music                   | M. Waweru                       |
| ix.   | Art :                   | S. Nguru                        |
| x.    | Conduct :               | J. Gathoga(J. S, Smith 1973:40) |

From the list of performance, there was high standard of academic excellence at the pioneer /cradle of secondary education in Kenya from the onset. One of the best students was Mbiyu Koinange, a relative of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, the founding father of the nation. Similarly, Mbiyu Koinange left A.H.S for further studies in U.S.A. This was similar to FSK when two students Benard Lugh'ao and Everett Sitanda from FSK went for further studies in USA.

In addition, in 1923, two examinations were held for junior secondary teacher's examination and the exit examination. The BOG of A.H.S had recommended for a leaving certificate for a three year course, but a letter showing attendance of AHS was granted to those who sat exit examinations. This according to Smith was a problem because after two years, the letter of attendance at AHS was used to secure employment in Kenya, which was not the intention.

The results of the two examinations were as follows: of the thirteen (13) candidates for the junior secondary teachers' certificate, ten passed; of the fourteen who took the exit examination, twelve passed. This shows how the performance at AHS was high, complete and of quality.

**Table 2.2: A.H.S examination results, 1923**

Examination	Entered	Passed
Senior secondary	6	5
Junior secondary	19	7
Junior secondary teachers	7	4
Elementary 'C' teachers <sup>3</sup>	1	
Junior secondary clerks	4	3

(Source, Osogo, 1970)

Drawing from table 2.2, of results at AHS, 1923, performance of the high school was excellent while of the junior secondary and elementary teachers' results were not good. This means that initial challenges of teacher supply, wide curriculum took a heavy toll on the outcome of the school which was similar to initial results of LGHS at inception in this study.

Similarly, the 1930 results of AHS still show excellent results at senior secondary, fair

performance at junior secondary for junior teachers, excellent for senior teachers and above average for junior clerks as results as shown in the Table below:

**Table 2.3: Examination results of AHS, 1930**

Examination	Entered	Passed
Junior secondary	38	23
Senior secondary	2	2
Junior teachers	14	7
Senior teachers	1	1
Junior clerks	14	10

(Source; J. S Smith 1973; 630)

The curriculum No 62/26 of March 1926 continued at AHS until 1935 when it was revised due to the government policy of education reorganization and consolidation of African education to relieve schools like AHS; the role of training teachers and artisans since the cost was high and schools could not manage. The government builds two teachers training colleges for the Catholics and Protestants in the country. The policy revised curriculum in January 1935, subjects were in these groups for examination purposes

**Group A.** Mathematics, Geography, Nature Study with Hygiene

**Group B.** Agriculture, Arts And Crafts, and Domestic Science (for girls)

**Group C.** Swahili, English, history (Smith, 1973: 79)

The course covered three years through standards IV to VI. For those wishing to enter secondary school was to offer at least six subjects including English and Swahili.

From the above, it was clear that the school was gearing towards secondary education at AHS. The teacher training and artisan courses ceased to operate at AHS.

Smith (1973) adds that the teachers of AHS then were as follows: G. A. Grieve

(M.A.Ed. Principal); J.S.Smith (Bsc, N.D.D, and Dip. Ed. Deputy, Principal); F.G.Sellwood M.A; Rev.H.F.Hogde; M.A; E.W Mathu; J.S.Gichuru, Teachers Certificate and E. Kinyanjui, Carpentry Instructor (A.H.S, Inspection Report, 1935).

Drawing from the list of teachers, there were Europeans with masters and graduates/degrees teaching at AHS. The African teachers were still in teacher training, while others had acquired teacher certificate (p3 and p4). This was the same with the pioneer teachers LGHS in this study.

From 1937 Smith reports that there was the New Primary and Secondary Examinations Regulations were revised. For Junior Secondary Examinations were revised as follows:

**Compulsory:** English Composition, Arithmetic

**Group A:** English; dictation, oral test, grammar and set books.

**Group B:** Mathematics; Algebra, Geometry, Physics and Chemistry

**Group C:** History, Geography and Religious Knowledge

**Group D:** Drawing, Handcrafts, Music, Physics and Chemistry, Agriculture and Biology (Smith 1973:91).

For a student to qualify, a candidate was to pass compulsory subjects and five optional subjects from all groups. Pass in Physics and Chemistry or Agriculture and Biology could satisfy requirements for B or D. Not more than eight subjects including compulsory subjects. In Handicraft, Physics and Chemistry has practical test while for agriculture, school garden was required, for senior secondary school or Makerere. Critical analysis of the revised curriculum and examinations regulations, this study

argues that it was done to strengthen the academic curriculum/subject for secondary schools like AHS in the period.

From 1940-1947, English language took a lion's share of the examinations/testing, which was compulsory and group A subjects. It was to determine the grade the student gets in the final examinations. The main aim of this curriculum was to ensure students pass junior secondary to join senior schools at AHS, Makerere, Kabaa-Mangu, Maseno and St. Yala in the colony and later on other mission schools such as FSK and LGHS the focus of the current study.

Smith highlights the teachers of A.H.S in the period as follows: G.A.Grieve and his deputy J.S. Smith (author), E.W.Mathu, F.G.Sellwood, J.S.Gichuru, E.Cooper, J.D.Otiende, Miss J.B Rosie, Miss Hood, Rev.J.Jones, A.Cege, E.Kinyanjui and N. Mbogua. The same staff as the previous with new additions. Grieve retired and E.Carey Francis took over A.H.S after leaving Maseno in 1940.

In 1947, there were three girls attending A. H.S. These girls were: Margret Kenyatta (F3), Isabella Muthoni, Form 4 and Joan. W. Gitau (Form 6) (1973; 187).

In 1947 at AHS there was renaming classes and examinations in Kenya. Primary examinations was renamed the Kenya African Preliminary Examinations (KAPE). Junior secondary renamed FI and FII while senior secondary renamed F3, F4, F5 and F6 up to 1956. At AHS school composition:

F3A and B	F4A and B	F5	F6
54	54	24	20

The teachers in the period were as follows:

i) Headmaster: Mr Carey Francis

ii) Deputy: Mr J.S.Smith

Mr Dollimore

Mr A. Kilelu

Mr Welch

Mrs .J. Magesia

Mr Oades

Mr .J.Thiani

Mr Martin

Mr .Dr. Mlamba

Mrs Welch

Mr Kingsnorth (Smith, 1973).

Drawing from the above list, shows that Carey Francis took over from G.A.Grieve as the head teacher, otherwise the deputy and some the teachers remained intact with new ones coming to AHS from 1940 to 1962.

**From 1956-1962, the staff members were:**

Headmaster. Carey Francis; Deputy H/M:J.S.Smith; Mr F.W. Dollimore; Mr Kingsnorth; A.C.E Sanders; J.S.Swift; R.H Hood; I Omondi; B.E Ogutu; L. Munuve; D.Odongo; M. K.Woolman; P.T.C.Lewin; W.G.Schermbrucker; R.R.Wells; D.Masinde; D.C. Mlamba; S.Oriyo(Clerk &Tailor); N.Mbogua(Carpenter); T.J.Quayle (Bursar) (Smith,1973:222).

Drawing from the list of teachers of AHS, the common denominator has been J.S.Smith as a deputy principal of AHS since inception 1926 to 1965; some of the teachers have been on the staff for quite some time making curriculum implementation, easy and

better. In addition the number of teachers increased from 12 to 17. With these high numbers of teachers, AHS was able to produce quality and the best results in Kenya since 1926 to 1960(Smith, 1973).

In 1961, higher school certificate at AHS. From 5(Arts and Science) with 410 pupils. Carey Francis was replaced by Campbell as the headmaster of A.H.S in 1962.

Smith's work highlights the general history of Alliance High School on yearly basis from 1926 to 1962, which was general and wide, covering a whole range of issues such as school routine, events of the year, staff, curriculum, results, entry or admission, foreign friends of the school. In addition, the focus of the Smith's study was how AHS educational activities transformed the local community and the country most specifically through the elites of A.H.S. The study focuses on the administrative aspects of two principals of the school since inception to 1962, thus, A. Grieve and E.C.Francis and how their administrative skills developed the school in period.

The study further gives the historical perspective of the school curriculum, reforms or revisions from curriculum No. 62/26 in 1926 to higher school certificate at AHS in 1961. Also the study focuses on the old boys or alumni and their impact, those who went for further studies and the world of work, their influence in the governance of the country since independence to date.

This is wide and a general piece of institutional history of the AHS from 1926 to 1965. This study gives the insights to the later development of Mission secondary education and curriculum implementation later in secondary schools such as FSK and LGHS in

this study. Smith's work highlights the curriculum development at AHS but never analysed and examined how (the school/teachers) enacted curriculum to produce the results and the alumni/elites that have shaped the history of this country since independence. This is the gap, this study sought to fill by examining/documenting how FSK and LGHS enacted curriculum from 1964 to 1985 focusing on the content of curriculum, how it was implemented and the outcome following the recommendations of Ominde from 1964 and Gachathi 1976 Reports respectively.

Karani (1974) discusses the history of the Maseno School 1906-1962, its alumni and the local society. The study focuses on the initial factors that led to the establishment of the school to the site, factors influencing its growth from 1906 to 1928, 1928-1940 and 1940-1962. Its focus also deals with Maseno alumni and its impact on the local society.

On the issue of the site Karani says of CMS Maseno school was situated in the current location due to the following factors: Anglican policy on education of establishing academic schools which was greatly needed in Nyanza and Western Kenya. Secondly, Kisumu, Nyanza and western was not far from Uganda, the origin of CMS Missions. Uganda influenced its establishment because many missionaries came to Kenya from Uganda. Nyanza and western mission schools were modeled based on CMS schools in Uganda and the pioneer teachers of Maseno came from Uganda. Third, distance of majority students was far, hence, CMS established Maseno as boarding school.

The factors which enabled its growth from 1906 to 1962 were both internal and external (Karani 1974). These factors included: response of the local community to the Missionary activities, colonial government policies, educational situation among the black people outside Africa (Negro plan in the USA), and CMS education policy, which

focused on academic rather than industrial education; and lastly, the action of missionary teachers on the spot. These were the same factors that attracted the location of schools established in Kenya during the colonial period including FSK and LGHS in this research.

However, there was variation between the Protestants and Roman Catholic education policies. Almost all the Protestant missions established academic schools whereas the Roman Catholic schools such as Kabaa Mang'u, St Mary Yala, Mukumu, Mumias and Kibabii (Wanyama, 2012). Their focus of educational policy was basically evangelistic and industrial education. Catholic missions and schools were only pressured by competition from Protestant Missions and the Government policies (Wanyama, 2012) for example Kabaa Mang'u, (Osogo 1970) to provide better, academic and more secondary places for African students in Kenya (nabiswa, 1999; Wanyama, 2012) . Hence, this study argues that the curriculum of Alliance Boys (Kipkorir 1969; J Smith, 1973), FSK and LGHS were similar because these schools were established by Protestant missions as academic schools while Kabaa Mang'u the focus was catechism and industrial education.

Karani 1974 notes that Maseno schools' growth was in three phases and since the focus of this study was curriculum implementation in the two schools, the curriculum that was implemented and the outcome in the three phases at Maseno was as follows:

According to Karani the pioneer curriculum at Maseno had three parts:

- i) Industrial education;
- ii) Literacy education; and
- iii) Teacher education.

Karani points out that at Maseno, curriculum of pioneer years was the basics of: carpentry, masonry, construction, brick making, agriculture, type writing, printing, telegraphy and book making. These subjects were implemented at Maseno up to 1924 when Phelps Stokes Commission visited Africa and Kenya. They recommended the opening up of N.I.T.D at Kabete in 1926 as the only institution to train artisans in Kenya. Industrial education was negatively affected hence these subjects were taught as extra curriculum at Maseno. The Commission further recommended that African education should be purely technical and industrial, however, industrial education ended at Maseno in 1928.

To Karani, Industrial education was important to Maseno for three aspects: First, it was to enable the mission to be self-sufficient in producing food, materials, equipment for the mission. Second, it was to enable Africans to gain various skills/trades for their own survival after school. Third, after acquiring knowledge skills and attitude, Africans would exploit and transform their environment to make the Christian religion thrive in Africa.

In view of the above, it's evident that the missionaries and the colonial government by design, hook and crook ensured that industrial subjects were provided to the Africans to mould their character and to spread the gospel of their fellow Africans or to plant Christianity in Africa and Kenya in particular.

On the side of literacy/ academic education, Karani (1974) notes that Africans were taught how to read and write from 1906 onwards. The pioneer curriculum was: Religion, reading, writing, arithmetic, religious knowledge and hygiene but only the basics were taught. English was introduced at Maseno in 1910. By 1925 Maseno became a central primary school in Nyanza and western Kenya hence students

competed to be admitted in the school. However, with the establishment of Alliance Boys High School in 1926, led to the end of the literacy education at Maseno School from 1926. Thus, the government policy stated that it was only Alliance High School was to cater for the boys limited needs of secondary education in Kenya for the protestant mission while Kabaa Mang'u was to cater for catholic boys the whole of Kenya.

According to Karani the government and Missions realized the needs of academic education for African boys but there was need to regulate these developments through the government policy. But this study argues that the colonial government was not interested in providing Africans with secondary education in Kenya in the period (Anderson 1970, Kay, 1975; Lillis, 1985) and this is why they curtailed secondary education at Maseno. Indeed this policy closed the doors for Maseno to develop to secondary school. It continued with primary school to feed Alliance with its bright students.

iii) Teacher training at Maseno 1906-1962. There was need for teachers in the village schools from 1920 in Nyanza and western Kenya. These challenges forced CMS at Maseno to start training teachers for one year course. The first teacher trainees at Maseno included: Ezekiel Apindi, Jeremiah Awori, Esau Oswaya and Shadrack Osewe (Karani, 1974). These were the first certified African teachers in the country. From the above it was clear that all schools that existed majored in industrial education and teachers training to secure the mission to be self-sufficient. Later on started crash teacher training programme to provide P3 or P4 teachers to village/bush schools in the country.

From 1928 to 1940, Karani notes that Carey Francis, a mathematician from Cambridge became the principal of CMS school Maseno. He came in when the school was almost collapsing but his new vision, plan and new reforms resuscitated the school to the path of great developments. He faced opposition from the school community with his reforms because his vision and plan was academic education against industrial education previously established at Maseno.

Karani argues that industrial education at Maseno was giving them funds through grants-in-aid, hence, if Carey Francis was to do away with it, the status of the school would lose grants from the government. But the author gives reasons for replacing industrial education at Maseno: as when NITD was established at Kabete in 1926 (Anderson, 1970) as a training institution for African artisans in Kenya, schools were denied a chance to continue teaching industrial education. They were only allowed to teach the first two years then they transit to N.I.T.D for further studies. That was government policy, not the Head teacher. Secondly, after establishing Alliance High School at Kikuyu, the local community in Nyanza and western also demanded an academic school not industrial education; third, the previous principal Stansfield was not strict disciplinarian like Carey Francis who was a strict academically oriented principal. That is, the previous principal was consulting African head teachers and prefects on decision making, they held a lot of power. But Carey Francis was strict disciplinarian, goal getter, strict disciplinarian, and controller of school activities.

Karani adds that Carey Francis encountered two key problems; powerful African Head teachers and prefect system that were complacent and powerful too. Carey Francis abolished the two, became strict, and supervised everybody including teachers teaching

in class. African teachers headed dormitories supervised by the principal. He also abolished the prefect system to initiate a new one controlled by the principal.

Carey Francis' new reforms put Maseno on the path of literacy/academic education.

This study argues that being a CMS academician; he was putting in place the CMS academic policy at Maseno which was similar to academic education at both FAM schools of FSK and LGHS from 1964 to 1985.

On teachers' training, he instituted reforms after realizing that if he was to improve academic education at Maseno School, to train and feed village schools with better qualified teachers in the period. The Reforms in the TTC at Maseno School included: Francis encouraged bright students of Maseno to take up teaching interests, developed teaching not industrial education at Maseno; it became a centre for training teachers. He reformed TTC course/programme to 2 year course compared to original vernacular teachers' certificate course which lasted for one year. A teacher was in-charge of the TTC.

BA Ohanga an old boy of Maseno (1928-1930) went to Alliance in 1931-1932 then returned to teach at Maseno from 1933-1945. Another reform was that he (Francis) also taught TTC class the following subjects: i) Nature study; ii) Hygiene; iii) Methods; iv) English; v) Map work; BB work and Physical Education (Karani, 1974).

Karani argues that TTC was important because teaching profession became important and recognized, there were proper ways of training teachers for village schools and Maseno was well organized in 1948 as an important TTC in our country.

ii) Literacy education at Maseno under Carey Francis 1928-1940.

He realized that literacy education had so many challenges which included poor programmes for TTC; teachers did not have records, lack of text books.

His reforms included:

a) He became a teacher of primary school, wrote notes for some subjects, produced textbooks and supervised his teachers closely.

b) Francis taught the following subjects; Mathematics; hygiene; Geography; English and bible

c) He produced books in the following subjects;

d) Hygiene; Geography and teaching methods and mathematics for Maseno and other schools in the country

e) He ensured teachers made schemes of work and drew lesson plans in all subjects at the schools. African teachers took schemes and plans for him to check and criticize for improvement. The question is why check only African teachers and schemes. This led to discontent with African teachers. This study poses that this measure could have been interpreted to mean Carey Francis being a racist against the African community at Maseno 1928-1940.

The outcome of these reforms was great academic achievements and Maseno became a central school for Nyanza and western Kenya. Many students in the village schools competed for admission at Maseno School. These increased student enrollments. Literacy education was permanently entrenched at the school but industrial education was relegated as an extra-curricular area of study at Maseno. Literacy education at

Maseno was good because students passed and were admitted at Alliance High School for senior secondary school course. These academic activities transformed the community.

Karani points out that there were two factors that led to the establishment of Maseno as a high school. These included: First, the aspiration and agitation of Africans for higher education at Maseno because boys were competing for positions at Alliance and Kabaa Mang'u by both Protestant and Catholic boys. Second the Local Native Councils of North and South Kavirondo agitated for a secondary school to build as an independent secondary school in 1938 following the government policy of the colonial government to expand higher education in the colony.

There was no literacy record for Maseno School from 1940-1962. However, Karani mention the following high schools established in Kenya in the period:

i) Yala 1939; ii) Kakamega School 1946, iii) Kisii 1949 iv) Kaimosi 1952 transferred To Kamusinga in 1956. Maseno high school did not receive cream students like Alliance but received all sorts of students from Nyanza and Western region. The outcome of junior secondary school at Maseno, a good number of students passed junior Kenya secondary school examinations and the performance was good. From 1949-1962, Maseno school had a course, Cambridge school certificate, boys passed KASSE examination in 1947, but they were not sent to Alliance, they were kept in school in 1948 and formed the first form 3 class at the school.

In 1949 Beecher report made recommendations to re organize education in the colony, primary school course was phased out in 1953 and pure CMS Maseno High School was started in 1954. It prepared boys for Cambridge secondary school certificate. Their

performance was good and the school sent students to Alliance High School and Royal Technical College when it was started in 1956 in Kenya.

From the works of Karani (1974) the study makes the following observations. First, the study focused on the establishment, factors influencing the growth of the school, head teachers, evangelical activities and general education at the school, thus, primary school; junior secondary school; TTC; and senior or High school. The study also focused on enrolment, types of examinations and passes of students in the school and the influence of the school alumni in the local society and the country at large.

Secondly, the study focused on the education in general, administration, challenges, reforms and results of the reforms in the school. Thirdly, the study discusses the types of exams, students' passes without showing how the school implemented curriculum to produce the elites, gaps this study sought to fill. Moreover the study's scope was before independence, hence, this shows that all secondary schools by design or omission provided primary education to the Africans up to F2 apart from four secondary schools in the colonial era: Alliance, Mang'u, Maseno and St Mary's Yala (Anderson 1970).

From these highlights, the study did not specifically discuss how Maseno High School implemented curriculum to produce elites that served the local society and the country, which is the gap this study sought to fill by documenting how FSK and LGHS implemented curriculum from 1964 to 1985.

On AGHS, Smith (1999) analyzing the history of the Alliance High School, 1927-1965, points out that in 1944 at AHS, the idea to start girl's secondary school/ education was planned. He records: "From 1938-1948, the only girls receiving secondary education were

taught side by side with boys at the Alliance High School. Those only five girls were learning side by side with boys at Alliance High School doing the same subjects boys of thirteen who attended AHS, in this period only two took school certificate and one passed which was too low. By the end of 1943, there development plans in the air by the AHS BOG (Smith,1973).

The BOG of AHS gave three options to fulfill the plans for a girls' secondary school as follows: A co-educational school at AHS; ii) A separate school for girls; iii) A school partly separate, partly co-educational (Smith, 1973; 144).

The BOG of AHS recommended to the government for a separate school as the best for the girls but maintain liaison between the two. Plans were slow until 1948 when the first African girls' high school was officially opened in one of the buildings on the Scotland mission land at Kikuyu. Secondary education for African girls in Kenya began. Smith adds that in the same year 1948, a Loreto Limuru girl for Catholics was also opened.

From the foregoing, girls' secondary education started at AHS where girls and boys learned side by side doing the same subjects with boys. In addition, smith points out that in February 1948, the first African secondary school for girls was started with Miss Jean Ewan as head teacher. The pioneer girls in the school were (11) eleven of whom one was Margaret Kenyatta. The first teachers of AGHS were three and the Head teacher:

- i) Mr Crispus Kiongo (Swahili)
- ii) Miss Joan .W Gitau (History and Geography)
- iii) Miss Brownlie (Domestic Science)
- iv) Miss Ewan taught other subjects and English (Smith, 1973).

For Sciences, thus, Mathematics, Biology, Chemistry and Physics, girls at AGHS went across to AHS. Senior girls continued with their education at AHS.

In view of the above, the pioneer curriculum of AGHS included: Mathematics, English, History, Geography, Domestic Science, Biology, Chemistry and Physics. Thus, secondary education for girls was not well planned, had a lot of challenges at AGHS just like LGHS when it started in 1962.

Analysis of primary sources /documents collected at KNA about Alliance Girls High School, corroborate and show the following curriculum for the school in the years 1948/1949. According to KNA/MSS/762; *Girls Education; African Girls High School kikuyu, Curriculum 1948/1949*,

Stated: “The course at AGHS and its syllabus will follow in general what is laid down for boys preparing for the Kenya African secondary examination and will prepare girls for that certificate. Staff should lay stress on religious instruction, character training and endeavour to give the course a definite Christian character” (KNA/MSS/762, 1948/1949).

It further stated that pending the erection of the Alliance Girls’ High School for African girls, Scotland Mission arranged with the education department to run form 3 and 4 for girls at their kikuyu station in 1949. This was a temporary arrangement in the hope that the new school can begin on a site near the Mission in 1950 under its BOG (KNA|MSS|3|762, 1949).

Term dates to follow those of AHS and education department lent Miss J.Mckillop, M.A to be the acting principal. From the above assertions and statements, AGHS

curriculum and term dates were similar to that of AHS, as shown below:

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Thursday	January	20 <sup>th</sup>	Thursday, April	-	21
Thursday	May	12 <sup>th</sup>	August-		11
Thursday	September.	15 <sup>th</sup>	December.	-	11

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(KNA.MSS/762, 1948/1949)

From the primary sources, AGHS was built in the same model of AHS because the two schools were influenced by the CSM education policy. The statement stressed teaching of religious instruction and character training as an endeavour to give the course a definite Christian character. These were the main principles of the Protestant and English traditions. This is why the leaders were disciplinarian, strict and controlled school activities. This is with special reference to E. Carey Francis of Maseno 1928-1940 and AHS from 1940-1962. The curriculum was implemented to pass exams and move to the next class or higher level at the school.

Based on the KNA primary documents, corroborate that the pioneer curriculum of AGHS included the following subjects; i) English language and literature; ii) Geography and Religious Knowledge; iii) Swahili iv) Mathematics and General Science; v) House Craft (KNA/MSS/3/762, 1948/1949).

This was the pioneer curriculum for the girls' secondary school and was similar to that of Alliance High School (Smith, 1973). They were similar because girls went to Alliance High School to learn sciences from 1948.

In 1949, the document further show that the curriculum of AGHS composed of the following subjects:

- i) English language ii)Literature iii)Geography iv)History v)Religious
  - vi) Instruction Mathematics vii) General Scienceviii) Domestic Science
- (letter no 5/58/vol. 11/89) dated 1<sup>st</sup> of June 1949

From the Foregoing, this study makes the following observations: First, pioneer girls' in high school started learning in boys' schools before moving out after the girls' schools were established next to the boys' schools. This is shown at AHS when AGHS were established by the CSM at Alliance Kikuyu. This means that both the Protestants groups did not have a definite policy to establish secondary schools for girls, they emanated from the boys' secondary schools when the pioneer groups attended secondary education in boys' schools of AHS before moving to their new erected schools in their sites. Girls' education development, this study argues was relative to boys' education. This means that Protestant Missions though earliest to provide secondary education for Africans, did not have a definite policy for girls' secondary education in Kenya.

Secondly, both boys and girls did the same curriculum before moving to new girls' schools. Even after moving to their schools they continued sharing learning and handling examinations together. After one to two years, curriculum contents changed when girls moved to their stations. Their new curriculum varied in subjects of general and domestic sciences for girls and pure sciences for boys at AHS and FSK. This further means that boy's curriculum influenced the curriculum content, ways of teaching and outcome in girl's secondary schools. Pioneer curriculum before

independence for boys was pure sciences of Biology, Physics and Chemistry while girl schools like AGHS and LGHS did general and domestic sciences. They varied in the performance of Sciences, Mathematics, Languages and Humanities. Thus, boys did well in pure sciences while girls did well in languages and humanities. This meant that curriculum by design and omission prepared boys for careers in sciences while girls were prepared for social work, languages and humanities related jobs.

Third, there was liaison and co-operation between boys and girls schools since they shared buildings, class, Church service, and learning, doing practicals, challenges, BOGs and solutions to the pioneer problems. They also shared teachers, facilities and teachers especially in areas of deficit sciences, girls from AGHS studied sciences at AHS (Smith, 1973) and the girls of LGHS were assisted at FSK (Bradley, 1973:120). In addition, the pioneer female European teachers were transferred from AHS and FSK to establish and teach girls when they established girls' schools. They both had European and African teachers but the findings in this study, show that boys had more foreign/European teachers while the girls of AHS and LGHS had more African teachers who were not well trained and qualified according to documents such as circulars, letters and memos for AHS, Kikuyu. 1948-1963.

The first principal in 1948-1949 was J.F.Ewan, from letter written by principal to the education department dated; 2<sup>nd</sup> of December, 1948 corroborate this. The second principal was for TTC at AGHS-Kikuyu was Miss Mackillop in charge of teacher training and teaching ordinary classwork in forms 3 and 4. On the issue of national examinations in 1956, there were 11 boys' schools and two African girls' schools offering candidates for school certificate, the results were as follows:

**Table 2.4: National Examinations School Certificate Results, 1956.**

School	Entered	Passed	FI	FII	FIII
A.H.S Kikuyu	49	48	27	26	1
H.G.M Mangu	51	38	3	22	1
C.M.S Maseno	57	44	4	24	13
GAS Kagumo	25	21	8	8	5
St Marys Yala	14	11	2	6	3
Kanguru in Embu	25	22	2	13	7
GAS Kakamega	42	27	4	8	15
GAS Kisii	31	20	-	10	10
Shimo la tewa	26	10	1	3	6
CCM Nyeri	23	22	13	8	1
GAS Machakos	25	20	1	13	6
AGHS-Kikuyu	10	10	4	6	-
Loreto Convent Limuru	6	6	-	3	3

(Source; Smith, 1973:203)

Drawing from the above table, this study deduces as follows:

- i) Protestant schools admitted higher number of students than Catholic Schools.
- ii) Protestant schools with their policy provided quality academic education while the Roman Catholic low quality hence lower passes were high.
- iii) GAS schools admitted high numbers with high passes and moderate passes.
- iv) Shimo La Tewa continues to perform dismally.
- v) Girls' schools had least or low number of students with high qualifications.
- vi) Protestants Girls' School AGHS performed well, all passes with no poor passes emulating AHS.

From the above, it was clear that the Protestant education policy for secondary schools was basically academic following the home traditions as opposed to Roman Catholics policy which was basically for catechumenates and industrial education, hence, low

passes in their schools. Secondly, GAS schools government policy was on admission than quality, a policy that might continue up to the eve of independence and post independent period in Kenya. Third, Protestant girls' schools started on the high note sharing with their brother boy's schools hence high results/performance. Fourth, academic discipline and processes of Protestant schools were well thought of, articulated and implemented by able leadership in schools.

Khanani (2015) reiterated that Butere Girls' High School was the first girls' secondary school in Western Kenya. It developed into an important centre for women education in the region. She observed that its role in giving the early girls in Western Kenya formal education was enormous. This kind of teaching emphasized literacy, how to read and write to be able to read the Bible. Education originally took place in the catechetical classes, which later turned to normal classrooms. Girls who were converted to Christianity were also taught in girls dormitories, a common sleeping place developed for girls in the Christian villages. This was a common strategy used by missions in the continent to help those who had been converted escape the negative influences of their surroundings, and establish a Christian culture (Ogutu, 1981, Odwako, 1990).

In the initial stages the school curriculum was simple and straightforward, and reading and writing dominated the timetable. In time, more classes were added: sewing, drawing, hymn singing, drills, music, catechism, and Bible lessons. The curriculum also included training in sports and athletics (Chadwick Library Archives).

On Sunday's school, girls were prepared for baptism classes. Apart from this, they also learnt basic literacy skills and hygiene. By 1950, they were very keen on Butere being developed as a centre for higher girls' education. At this time, two High Schools were

known for African girls who made it; African Girls High School Kikuyu (Alliance Girls) and Loreto Convent Limuru (Popularly known as the Catholic Girls High School). It is this demand for higher education for girls, the implementation of the Beecher Report which had recommended establishment of a girls' secondary school in this region and the state of emergency in the country in the early 1950s among other factors that saw the development of Butere Girls School to a secondary school in 1957. Khanani points out that the curriculum of the school, 1957 to 1963 included: Swahili, English, mathematics, history, geography biology scripture, physical science, art, agriculture, home science and Physical Education. Apart from these, the girls also excelled in co – curricular activities which included debates and games like netball, hockey, volleyball, athletics and country dancing.

In 1961, Butere Girls High School received African teachers from Makerere University, Uganda who were on teaching practice. These teachers supplemented the ones from England and assisted the girls greatly. Some girls even aspired to take up teaching in the future to emulate the Makerere students.

The impact of the school was that Butere Girls School has produced various professionals as well. She attributed the successes of some of the former students, 69 both in their public and private lives, to the impact of the school in the development of the Kenyan nation and the world in general. Some of these students included Salome Apondi Anyangu who was awarded Head of State Commendation in 2004, Professor Florida Amakobe Karani who made history as Kenya's first female Chancellor of a Public University and Lady Justice Effie Awuor the Judge of the ICC court at the Hague Netherlands (Khanani, 2015).

Khanani's work, focused on the establishment of Butere High school, factors for its growth and development and its impact on the local community the country. Khanani's study did not analyse how Butere High School implemented curriculum, a gap this study sought to fill by examining how FSK and LGHS implemented curriculum from 1964 to 1985 following the recommendations of Ominde, 1964 and Gachathi Reports, 1976 respectively.

Omukoli (2011) emphasizes the role of Elizabeth Chadwick, a C.M.S. missionary, in setting up Butere Girls Primary School. He describes Butere as having been the second best ranked African Girls High School in Kenya in early 1957 to the Alliance Girls' High School Kikuyu. According to Omukoli, Chadwick laid the foundation of the pioneer Girls' school at Butere in western Kenya.

The pioneer curriculum was simple and straight forward, reading, and writing dominated the timetable. Later on more subjects were included: sewing, hymn singing, drills, and music, catechism, and bible studies. Sewing and tailoring became so popular and measures were taken to regulate it so as not to overshadow other aspects of the school programmes.

He points out that Chadwick opened Butere and after two weeks, the school received 50 fifty students and the school had for teachers, thus, Chadwick, two Ugandan teachers: Labeka and Damali and the two local pupil teacher trainees: Mapesa and Kitandi(Khanani,2015; Omukoli,2011).

The four teachers assisted her to implement curriculum at the school, from 1912-1940.

For many years its alumni distinguished themselves by consistently reaching the highest levels in their chosen careers. He goes ahead to highlight that even by the standards of the early 19th century, those who learnt at Butere Girls High School were adjudged to be the most advanced girls in the whole of Western Kenya at that time.

Omulokoli's work, focused on The Biographical work of Jane Elizabeth Chadwick from 1869 to 1940 and how she laid the foundation of the establishment of Butere girls primary on which the high school was later built in 1957. He mentions the initial or pioneer curriculum and teachers who assisted Chadwick at Butere but did not show how they implemented the pioneer curriculum at Butere High School. A gap this study sought to fill. Furthermore, Omulokoli's study scope was between 1869 and 1940, but my study goes beyond 1940, to examine how FSK and LGHS implemented curriculum from 1964 to 1985 following the recommendations of Ominde, 1964 and Gachathi Reports, 1976 respectively.

Wasike (1999) documented the history of FSK (1950-2000) argues that FSK was first established at Kaimosi in 1952. The school was later transferred to the current site around Kimilili in 1957. In discussing the history of the school before independence from 1952 to 1962, Wasike asserts that there were some factors which forced FAM and the Government to relocate the school from Kaimosi to the current site around Kimilili in 1957. He pointed out that the school was opened at Kaimosi in January 1952 to pioneer the form III students, housed in the Junior school in line with the Beecher Report of 1949, hence referred to as an intermediate school.

The curriculum for intermediate school system was based on English, elementary mathematics and appropriate combination of practical subjects (GOK, 1949). In the

period, the primary school curriculum was to concentrate on literacy in the vernacular, simple arithmetic, elementary practical skills and fundamental discipline (KNA/K.270.967). The mission plan was to phase out the intermediate school by the end of 1953 to give room to the secondary school.

However, Wasike (1999) posit that, there were a number of factors which led to the relocation of the school to the current site as follows: First, in the Southern and Central Nyanza Districts as they were named, had four secondary schools for their convert's, thus, Maseno, Yala, Kisii and Kakamega. North Nyanza had no secondary school for African children. He argues that to reduce imbalances of secondary schools for Africans in the region, forced the church (FAM) and the government to relocate it to North Nyanza district.

Second, Kaimosi was overcrowded and congested with educational institutions: evangelical and industrial departments, bible institute, and teacher training, secondary school, hospital and girls boarding school. Hence the southern and central Nyanza districts were self-sufficient, while North Nyanza had only an intermediate school at Lugulu. The northern Nyanza people/ Friends pressured FAM to build more educational facilities in the north to compete favourably with their counterparts.

Thirdly, there was 'Dini Ya Musambwa' sect in the North Nyanza under Elijah Masinde. He told the followers to reject FAM religious activities in the district. They became arrogant, violent and attacked European houses, homes, churches officials and schools (Nabiswa, 1999, 130-135). Hence, in view of the activities of 'Dini Ya Musambwa' in the North, the government was forced to relocate the school to the north

to appease the Bukusu. The government decided to transfer the school to the current site to placate 'Dini Ya Musambwa' not to become political and join KAU. Hence, it was transferred to the current site in 1957.

In this case, it was LNC's activities, local people's agitation and religious conviction, wish for religious freedom and the war of Chetambe in 1895 (Makila, 1967) when the British fought Bukusu that drove the government to relocate FSK to the current site.

Wasike Nabiswa, records initial challenges at FSK: lack of teaching staff, unqualified staff, limited facilities, unqualified principal, and congestion. That is Staff establishment at Kaimosi was not pleasing. Thus, the founding missionary and teacher was Ohni Ruaha, a qualified scientist but not a professional teacher (Bradley, 1987:56). He waited for qualified principal but delayed until 1955 when Allan Bradley arrived.

Wasike records that the founding teachers were Ruaha- principal; mission failed to hire teachers hence there was heavy reliance on African teachers who included: Fred Kamidi, Mathew Mwenesi, Moses Simani and Geoffrey Mugoheli, Nathanil Siganga (1<sup>st</sup> African graduate who came to Kaimosi in 1953). Later own other African teachers included T.Muhombe, J.Adede, J.Wago, H.Makachela, J.Inyanya, James Mwaura, Geoffrey Awimbo and Wesa (KNA/E.A.Y.M.F.81/80; E.A.Y.M.F, 266/80).

In view of the above, the African teachers were not professional trained; some had not gone to any teacher training which negatively influenced curriculum implementation was one of the problems which precipitated the relocation of the school to Kimilili. Wasike notes that the teachers were highly motivated and dedicate to their work which laid a firm foundation for the school.

School performance during the pioneer/initial period was good. The school entered pioneer students in Kenya African Secondary School Examination (KASE) in 1953, 30 students were entered, 21 passed with, 9 qualifying for further secondary education (form 5 and 6) in other school. In 1954, 22 passed with only 8 failing and 12 were selected to join F5 (KNA, E.A.Y.M.F 260/80).

From the foregoing, even with the low professional culture at FSK School at Kaimosi in the initial stages, staff worked with dedication and hard work to produce results as indicated. In administration, school principal Ruaha, continued up to the end of 1955 when Allan Bradley arrived at Kaimosi in September 1955. He took one year acquainting with FAM traditions and visited intermediate schools to select those to join FSK later. He took over the school in 1956. He opened FSK, 1957 at Kimilili with his staff of seven teachers and Miss Estelle Hollinshead joined the school later (Bradley, 1973:96).

Initial challenges for pioneer students were: too much wilderness around the school; lack of infrastructure; unfinished buildings; students slept on the floor; poor conditions prevailed at FSK for one term (Bradley, 1973: 82-83). Teachers were also affected, lack of houses, hence, they slept in the learners houses that were incomplete, conducted classes from dormitories, under trees... it was pathetic (KNA/E.M.F.97/80).

Teachers overcame these challenges and frustrations because of their strong determination and commitment to the school. They adjusted and settled down to academic work. This means that all schools were established with a hell of challenges frustrating both learners and staff but due to their curiosity, determination and faith to

the church and school, they were able to move on. FAM was the colloid to school activities.

School curriculum at FSK 1957-1963 was purely academic meant to meet the requirements of school certificate and prepare students for tasks that lay ahead. Accordingly therefore, the curriculum included; English language and literature, Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry and Trigonometry, history, geography, agriculture, Biology, Physics- with- Chemistry and Swahili (Bradley, 1987: 88-89).

Religious instruction became important subject but in the curriculum it was not examinable, it enabled learners to be exposed to bible teachings, Quakers' doctrines and history of the church to be convenient with Quaker traditions. Quaker students at FSK wanted religion to be examined but the request was rejected the principal (Bradley, 1973:156).The principal argued that religious studies was beyond passing examinations, hence, there was no need to examine Religious Instruction at FSK(Bradley, 1973).

The teachers/professional and material culture supported the academic nature of curriculum, strict discipline and hard work as a reflection of Protestant curriculum policy and the traditions at Home (Britain) curriculum. After establishment in 1958, form 4 students prepared for the Cambridge School Certificate for the first time, the school-results. Out of 33 candidates entered, 24 passed with 2 in division II, 12 division III and 10 in division IV. Out of these proceeded to Makerere University, 5 KTI courses and 1 for agricultural course (KNA. E. A.Y.M.F.40/80).These results laid the foundation for good performance at FSK. The school posted good performance in music, thus, school (choir) – attained provincial champions in 1957 and national champions in 1958 on its first appearance. George Maleya, form3 student in 1957

conductor of songs and a staff member Mr Owour assisted with African compositions. School choir recorded songs with KBC, while on trip to England, Bradley took tapes to England broadcasted songs with the British Broadcasting Corporation on 5<sup>th</sup> November 1958. These co-curricular exploits at the school, put the school on the map both national and international. It became a flagship school in Western and Kenya in the league of AHS in the period.

FSK pioneer teachers were well qualified and trained as follows:

1. Bradley; MA from Cambridge university
2. Ezekiel Minjo- Masters African teacher of time with mathematics from Cambridge University
3. John Coughy- graduate- American teacher
4. Estelle Hollinshead- graduate
5. Filomena Indere, Henry Owuor and William Oketch were all Teachers from Makerere (Bradley. 1987; 33-37, KNA, E.A.Y.M.F 18/80). Most of the teachers were from England recruited to school by The Friends' Service Council (FSC) in London.

Another procedure of selecting teachers was through the TEA, thus, teachers for East Africa, performance corps from USA. The teachers were given orientation at Makerere College before forwarded for approval by AFBM (KNA, E.A.Y.M.F 38/80). Richmond imposed some stringent regulations on the recruits to confirm to Quaker evangelical beliefs. English teachers were warned against smoking, drinking beer and dancing while at FSK, these conditions caused tensions between British and American Quakers at FSK (Kaimosi and FSK).

From the above, it was clear that teachers at FSK were well trained, qualified, experienced and competent. As early 1964 writes Wasike. FSK boasted of 17 teachers out of these, 13 were full time graduates while two other graduates assisted the school on part time (Bradley, 1987: 93).

In addition, FSK recruited well qualified staff through TEA, FSC, and BEAT and forwarded AFBM for selection. External context assisted FSK on material, finance and professional culture which enabled FSK to produce very good results before independence in secondary education in the country.

From the works of Wasike Nabiswa (1999), this study makes the following observations: First, the study focused on the establishment, factors influencing the growth of the school, head teachers, evangelical activities and general education of FAM educational activities in Western region, Bungoma District and the History of FSK from 1950-1985. The study also focused on enrolment, examinations and passes of students in the school and the influence of the school alumni in the local society and the country at large. Secondly, the study focused on the education in general, administration, challenges, reforms and results of the reforms in the school. Thirdly, Wasike's study discusses examinations, students' passes without showing how the school implemented curriculum to produce the elites. Moreover, the study's scope was within post-independence period to 1985. Which is similar to the current study.

From these highlights, Wasike Nabiswa's (1999) study did not examine how FSK implemented curriculum to produce elites that served the local society and the country, the gap this study sought to fill by examining how FSK and LGHS implemented curriculum from 1964 to 1985.

On LGHS, Nabiswa (1999) claim that it was due to the demand for advanced education at FAM school Kaimosi between 1940-1949, that FAM and the government established two junior secondary schools in 1945 at Musingu and Lugulu to absorb the number of pupils qualifying from FAM primary schools in western Kenya. Thus, by 1948, a number of schools offering Juniouir secondary education in North Nyanza increased to eleven (8 for boys and 3 for girls). These were: Kaimosi, Musingu, Lugulu, Kolanya and Nyangori (KNA, DC/NN.1/30), whose students could join Kaimosi in Kakamega. All the above were ran by Protestants while 3 remaining Mukumu, Mumias and Kibabii (Wanyama, 2012) were under M.H.M Catholics.

The above is corroborated by Primary documents collected from school (LGHS), KNA and PEO's office, provides a brief history of Lugulu Girls High School as thus: the genesis of the school dates to the year 1913 when Quaker missionaries landed in Lugulu with early converts being taught to read cloth charts (Lugulu Girls Strategic Plan, 2013-2017:3-4; FI Parents Induction Meeting, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> February, 2019). Later on the school developed into a full-fledged primary school under Friends Sponsorship and Management (FAM). The school went up to standard five leading to Common Entrance Competitive Examinations (CEE).

In 1945 LGHS became intermediate went up to standard VI, VII and VIII leading to Kenya African Preliminary Examinations (KAPE)(Lugulu Girls Strategic Plan, 2013-2017:3-4; FI Parents Induction Meeting, dated 2<sup>nd</sup> February, 2019).

At this time the school was mixed up to standard V, upper section was boarding but reserved for boys until 1954, when the first girls were admitted to make the upper section mixed but girls were day scholars. The main purpose was to (provide secondary

education for Bungoma District girls who failed to get a chance into the only friends' girls' boarding school Kaimosi.

In 1953, a girl's school was established at Lugulu where the community felt that the school deserved to be elevated to a secondary school. But since FSK friends school had been established in the area in 1957 (Nabiswa, 1999), the authorities felt it was not ideal to grant another boys secondary school. It was for this reason that the community requested for and was granted a girls secondary school.

A girls boarding primary school was started in 1955 under Estelle Hollinshead, was transferred to the school farm across the road when The Girls High School started in 1962/1963 with Barrett.L.H as it first head teacher in October 1963 was replaced by Esther Bower (1963-1967) , Hurrison/Hunter. D.C.(1968-1969);Nolega.S.D(1969-1978); Wena J.A(Mrs) 1978-1991 (Lugulu Girls High School Strategic Plan 2013-2017; PTA FI Induction Meeting Dated 2<sup>nd</sup> February, 2019).

Another undated primary document titled 'History of LGHS' corroborate the above, by pointing out that LGHS was opened in 1963 on the request of the local community with 30 girls under the headship of Miss Estelle Hollinshead, who was in charge the girls intermediate boarding school opened in 1945 opposite site of the main road. The government did not provide funds for construction of the school as it did with the boy's school at FSK.

The document adds that in august 1963, Miss Hollinshead went on leave and the two schools were managed together by Mr Leslie Barret and Mr Ben Wegesa. Two, new streams with 75 new girls were admitted in 1964, only 35 being recognized for

government's grant-in-aid while 40 were to pay fees tuition, accommodation (Inspection Report LGHS, 1965).

Mr Leslie Barrett returned to USA in early 1965, Mrs Esther. K. Bower had taken over from Mr Barrett in October 1964. The report further adds that; continual changes and shortage of staff, facilities, lack of female teachers hampered the progress of the school from the beginning (undated document found at PEO'S official Kakamega.) AGHS which started on a positive note, the governments' positive will and support for AGHS, but starting point of LGHS lacked Government support, faced huge hurdles ,challenges and issues that hampered its initial progress including curriculum implementation. There were some subjects like Domestic Science, were abolished due to lack of female teachers, matron and female head teacher.

From the primary sources/literature, the origin/genesis or beginning of LGHS was not smooth because of several challenges included; lack of funds, lack of dormitories, classes, government support as it did with FSK, workshops, teachers in various subjects, and lack of women teachers. All these problems hampered the growth and development of the school. The school was founded by the local community who forced the government and FAM to establish LGHS. Being a girl's school it was expected to be headed by a female headteacher.

From the document, female teachers to teach domestic science at LGHS could not be easily sourced from England therefore, it was due to lack of female teachers at the school, that forced the church (FAM) and government to allow a male graduate from USA to lead the school from 1963-1965 when he went back home.

Lack of infrastructure like dormitories/accommodation led to late admission of grant-

in-aid classes and poor curriculum implementation in the school at this pioneer phase/stage hampered school development in the later years. Corroboration was from LGHS Inspection Report, 1963 pointed out that school's pioneer curriculum consisted of nine subjects leading to the syllabuses of the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Examination and classes in physical education and craft were included when suitable teachers could be found. The pioneer curriculum of the school, in 1963, included: English language, General Science, History, Geography, Swahili, Mathematics, Domestic Science, Religious Instruction (R.I) and Physical Education (P.E) (LGHS Inspection Report, 1963).

The curriculum was wide but some subjects were missing due to lack of teachers, majority teachers were unqualified and T3 and T4 teachers who were expected to be primary teachers but they were teaching in secondary school. Indents sent for domestic science teachers in Europe for LGHS, failed to yield fruits hence the subject was abolished from the curriculum, same with physical education, Arts and crafts at the beginning of the school.

In addition, the MOE through a letter dated 17<sup>th</sup> April 1963, was concerned with male American graduate teacher as headmaster of LGHS in 1963. Secondly, the proposed curriculum or School Certificate Subjects would rule out students in the course, the fact that English literature is not included is a great disadvantage to the girls. (MOE letter dated 17<sup>th</sup> April 1963).

This clearly demonstrates lack of focus and policy for the providers of education in Kenya on the issue of a girl child education in the period. This is why almost all Girls' secondary schools were established relative to the site of boy schools and the pioneer

stage of girl schools had so many challenges. For instance the pioneer/beginning of LGHS had challenges because MOE was not happy with male teacher becoming a head teacher of a girl's school. Meaning it was against the government/MOE policy at that time. FAM mission did not have a policy on girl schools, which was the same with other missions like CSM and the Government which was different (Karani, 1974; Khanani, 2015; Smith, 1973). Similarly, the curriculum could not propel girls' for higher education because English literature was missing in the initial subjects in the curriculum. That is the pioneer curriculum was shaky though wide but needed reform at LGHS.

Further corroboration, on Pioneer teachers of LGHS, Qualification and Teaching Subjects, 1963-1965.

- i) Miss Holinshead (Mission) BCMSH/M, Intermediate School 2 years Course. Ag. H/M Secondary School Teaches: English Lessons
- ii) Mr Julius Wafula KTI/1959 RCB; Teaches: Algebra and General Science R.I (11 lessons)
- iii.) Mr Alfred Kimunguyi, KTI/1962 REB: teaches: Geometry, History, Arithmetic, Geography, Current Affairs P.E (13)
- iv.) Mr Benjamin Wekesa, KTI/1960 Intermediate, Swahili (3)
- v.) Miss Velma Asiko, T2/1962 Intermediate School: Domestic Science
- vi.) Mr L.Barrette, American graduate to join the school as headmaster in July 1963(undated primary source, Inspection Report, 1963).

Drawing from the above, most pioneer teachers of secondary schools including LGHS were foreign and local ones. Thus, they were expatriates and African teachers availed to schools like FSK and Lugulu through Mission Councils of Quakers from USA, Britain and other European countries through FAM, AFBM, TEA and BEA programmes

(Bogonko, 1991). The African teachers through MOEST, PEO's Office and the Kenya government (Bradley, 1973:93-96).

In addition, corroboration of Pioneer teachers of Lugulu Girls High School 1963-1964:

- i) Alfred .N.Kimunguyi, S.1 (probation) ATS appointed 1963 ;  
Teaches: History, Geography, Kiswahili and Mathematics
- ii) Cohnie Prismo (BA) a graduate from College Pennsylvania.  
Teaches; Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics
- iii) Ester Bower; graduate (B.A) headmistress of LGHS,  
Teaches: Biology, Scriptures, Mathematics; Mathematics and Natural Sciences
- iv) Alice .W. Barasa appointed June 1963; Temporary ATS form 6 learns at Kenya High girls' school. Teaches; Biology, Physics with Chemistry, Mathematics, Scriptures, Physics Education, Games, Library.
- v) Zebedayo E.R.Mwanzo on probation in Jan 1965; crash programme and trained for S.1. Teaches; History, Geography, English, Scriptures.
- vi) Mary.W.Oser appointed May 1965, volunteer 2<sup>nd</sup> term only 2<sup>nd</sup> year (Pennyslavania)-vacation in Kenya. Teaches: English, Craft, P.E ,Geography(LGHS Inspection Report, 1963-65)

From the foregoing the teachers who implemented curriculum at LGHS were both foreign/expatriates and the local African teachers. The European teachers were sourced by the mission group, TEA Peace Corps, BEA (Bogonko, 1992). Teachers were seconded to the school through FAM'S organization and PEO's office to schools. Although a number of staff had only stayed at the school for one year or two before

proceeding for further training. This clearly proves that professionalism at the pioneer point of Girls secondary schools was low, poor and shaky.

Similarly, the following subjects were missing graduate teachers as well as female ones: History, Science, Domestic Science and Mathematics. Miss Barasa was intended to be employed for unaided stream privately, and other six teachers to be recruited permanently at LGHS. Domestic science was later on abandoned in 1964 due to lack of qualified teacher for the subject. There was another problem of female teachers lacking at LGHS.

From various studies as presented above, the following observations are important: First, community agitation for a girl secondary school forced the government and FAM to agree on starting LGHS in 1963. The ministry/stated that it was not happy with the male graduate teacher to lead a girl school. FAM mission groups and Government did not have definite a policy on establishment of girls' schools.

Education providers did not have a definite policy on a girl child in Kenya; hence, they were forced by the local community to establish girl schools including LGHS. The pioneer curriculum was a wide but faced various challenges: lack of graduate teachers, staff changes and no teachers for some subjects. Lack of teachers forced the school to abolish domestic science in the school curriculum. Staff composed mainly KTI, T3, T4 and unqualified teacher training and UTS in the pioneer/initials stages of LGHS (1963-1964).

From the literature review in the colonial period, it is evident that most studies focused on the general history of schools, their establishment, factors for growth and

development, educational activities, administration, reforms, entry/admissions, types of examination and results of the school products. Education for Africans was low at inception in the mid 1920's improved from 1935 and well developed from 1945-1963 through the government policy and African agitation (LNCs, armed struggle and nationalists in the Legco) from 1957-1963.

Second, the main aim of missionary educational activities was evangelization and industrial education at first, teacher training, primary, junior secondary and senior secondary educational activities and later own higher school certificate. Some studies focused mainly to school administration and their administrative skills, reforms and the performance in the school. Moreover, secondary education which was being provided in the so called secondary school was indeed primary education later on developed to secondary towards independence time.

All the above studies focused on factors that led to establishment of the school, growth, development, educational activities and the impact of these activities to the local and the country through their elites or products (institutional history). The studies have recorded categories of examinations, performance tables for KJSE, CSC, HCSC and KAPE. The studies never analysed how schools implemented curriculum but discussed results in the schools such as AHS, AGHS, Maseno, Butere and Yala.

Four, there are limited or scanty historical accounts of the pioneer girl secondary schools such as AGHS, Limuru Convent Girls High School, LGHS just to mention a few.

Moreover, E .Carey Francis and his educational ideas, principles, philosophy and administrative skills at Maseno and Alliance High School have shaped education and careers for many individuals in Kenya since independence. He has shaped the destiny of very many politicians that have had a great impact on majority of Kenyans since his time to date in Kenya. All the studies reviewed above provided background information, pioneer curriculum, teachers and teaching strategies adopted by pioneer boys' and girls' secondary schools in Kenya in the pre independence period. In addition, they provided insights and the rationale that provided impetus and boost to the current study.

#### **2.4 Literature Review based on the objectives of the study**

This section is a review of the literature in consideration of the objectives of the study. About this, the main focus is on the content of the curriculum, processes/ways in which they were enacted, and their outcomes in the target schools as discussed below:

##### **2.4.1 Content of curriculum enacted in the Target schools, 1964-1985**

Singh, Heinmans, and Kathythrin (2014) discuss policy enactment based on context by claiming that, "The analytic toolkit developed by Ball, 2003, 2005 and his colleagues aims to provide a theoretical lens to analyze the interrelated and interdependent policy technologies" of the education reform package in England. They argue that the toolkit has been widely adopted and used by several scholars to explain policy enactment in a wide variety of national contexts (Koyama, 2011). This indicates the instances of curriculum reform in England, which is perhaps the genesis of curriculum approaches in many parts of developing countries including Kenya.

McKnight (2017), in Jamaica, analyzed a central question on how leadership was

enacted in Jamaican early childhood education. Critical Policy Analysis and Policy Enactment Theory were used to guide the study. It found out that, although principals were trained, they had challenges handling EC children in schools. It further found out that Principals got a lot of support from the government, schools, communities, and donors among other stakeholders. But still, they had a lot of challenges in their leadership roles. In sum, since the study was based on enactment and context-based, it was enriching and fruitful to our study. It provided the background work for policy enactment such as the current study of policy enactment in the target secondary schools, from 1964 to 1985.

Yishak and Gumbo (2014) analyzed the indigenization of curriculum planning and implementation in Ethiopia. The case study was on the Gamo ethnic group and focused on how they planned and implemented curriculum indigenization policies. It involved educational administrators at the central education ministry in Addis Ababa as well as participants from the Gamo tribe. The findings showed that indigenization of curriculum had been implemented but not comprehensively. There were still provisions aligned to national standards which militated against ethnic indigenization of curriculum in Ethiopia.

The policy cycle proved to be the powerful heuristic model to question the centrality of the state in curriculum policies, challenging a vertical conception of power that supports such centrality. The policy enactment model moved away from the concept of practice as a place of implementation to a dual simplicity of frontal resistance, or submissive acceptance (Keddie, 2013, Lopes, 2007; Lopes & Mecedo, 2009). Thus, educational policies had a political agenda, which focused on performance, standards of the national

curriculum which were produced through a top-down process of curriculum implementation in Kenya (Shiundu & Omulando, 1994).

However, the top-down policymaking process is challenged in this study to have failed in achieving the intended results. Theorists such as Bernstein (2000), Barthes and Ball, (1990, 1994, 2012), constructed the model of policy enactment, as a new perspective to challenge the vertical conception of policy by the state which excluded the practitioners and school contexts. Curriculum reforms recommended in the reports by Ominde, 1964 introduced subjects such as English, Literature in English, Mathematics, Swahili, Biology, Physics, History, Geography, Chemistry, Religious instruction, Physics-with-Chemistry and Physical Education in the secondary education curriculum (Gok, 1964/65).

The context of curriculum enactment was based on an eclectic enactment conceptual framework Ball, et al., (2012). This was in a bid to understand policy enactment as a grounded account of the diverse variables and the dynamics of context. These theorists offered a framework that takes into account a set of the objective conditions of context, concerning a set of subjective interpretation dynamics of actors. Ball, et al, (2012:21) further suggested four overlapping and interrelated contextual dimensions as school histories, professional cultures, values, and teachers' commitment. External context such as degree and quality of local and support of authority were also key policy contexts in curriculum implementation.

Again, Ball, et al, (2012) suggested that contexts were always specific, dynamic, and could shift in and outside schools. In this case, this study analyzed the contexts of the

two schools and their contextual dimensions as follows: situated and material context; their specific professional resources and challenges; and their different external pressures and supports in the policy enactment from 1964 to 1985 as shown in Chapter 4, 5&6 which presents finding.

Bagunywa (1980) analyzed the Post-independence Curriculum Reforms in Uganda, 1965-1975, notes that the first ten years of political independence (1962-1972) there were minor adjustments to the content of school syllabuses, dictated by the requirements of the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Examinations. Besides, curricular reforms would have been preceded by a declaration of some post-independence political ideology, followed by some corresponding educational objectives or philosophy. Neither of the two aspects was forthcoming. As for achieving any measure of intellectual independence, after independence in African countries including Uganda and Kenya, during the period the balance sheet shows a big deficit.

According to Bagunywa (1980), the secondary school syllabus in Uganda, 1962-1975 had the following subjects: i)English; ii), Maths; iii)Biology; iv)Physics–with-Chemistry; v) Geography; vi)History; vii)Religious knowledge; viii)English literature; ix)Art ;x) Music(Bagunywa,1980). These findings have a bearing on the current study with the similarity of the subject enacted between the two countries in the period. Mugiri (1981) analyzed factors that affected the implementation of secondary school science curricula programmes in Kenya. His study identified challenges faced by the school administration and science teachers as follows: a large number of science syllabuses/reform projects from donors like presently there were as many as ten syllabuses offered to schools in one subject area. This only made institutional curriculum policy formulation unnecessarily cumbersome and confusing, high cost of

implementing science programme; those identified by teachers, and by the researcher: were (1) purchase of equipment (2) inadequate preparation of teachers and (3) poor learning environments. Other factors were: Lack of laboratory facilities; Lack of funds/cash for buying equipment apparatus, materials, and maintenance; and inadequate time allocation to cover the content in the prescribed programme. All the above factors were similar to the findings of this study, given that one of the schools covered by Mugiri's study was LGHS. Similarly, Mugiri's work outlines the origin of science curriculum reforms such as SMEA, SSP projects, and the support the schools got from the international agencies such as CREDO, BC Ford Foundation, Nuffield... to enact the above reforms. Nevertheless, they all failed at the school level, as the finding of this study show in chapter 4.

Finally, although his study covered secondary schools implementing science subjects in one of the target schools of the current study, 1964-1985, the study did not discuss the historical antecedents that influenced the implementation of other secondary school subjects at FSK and LGHS between 1964 and 1985. Mugiri's study never discussed how secondary schools (FSK & LGHS) enacted secondary school curriculum, processes of their enactment, and their outcomes between 1964 and 1985.

Sifuna (1974) analyzed the impact of the New Primary Approach (NPA) curriculum on the quality of teaching in primary schools in Kenya. The aim was a problem of quality teaching in the light of a pupil-centered lesson (NPA) as opposed to the traditional teacher-dominance in Kenyan primary schools. The study sampled 138 primary school teachers in Kenya, 70 tutors of teachers' training colleges (TTC's), and 210 students of teacher training colleges of Kaimosi, Eregi, Siriba, Mosoriot, Kericho, Kisii, and

Thogoto. Sifuna (1974) found out that curriculum reform lacked uniformity in implementation and this could not be avoided, whether the developed or developing countries like Kenya. In contrast, our study examined how teachers in secondary schools enacted the policy in the target secondary schools focusing on secondary school subjects, processes of their enactment, and their outcomes FSK&LGHS, 1964-1985.

The studies above focused on the content of curriculum, toolkit of policy enactment, indigenization of curriculum planning, policy cycle in the curriculum review. In addition, the studies contend that some African countries like Kenya lacked ideological orientation in curriculum planning after independence. This forced them to adopt the curriculum sanctioned by the local Cambridge syndicate of UK. Further, some studies focused on the content of a single subject like science curriculum and single reform project such as NPA, SMP and SMEA in Kenya. The current study sought to examine how FSK and LGHS implemented secondary school curriculum focusing on the content, processes of implementing and the outcome from 1964 to 1985

#### **2.4.2 Processes of implementing curriculum in the Target schools, 1964-1985**

The concern of curriculum implementation in this study is necessary since it focuses on the context of the school environment. Century and Cassata (2016) reported that curriculum implementation was one of the interventions to improve education in the world. Scholars such as Berman (1981), Fullan (2000), Fullan and Pomfret, (1977) have researched curriculum implementation at different times. Collaboration is also important in the implementation of the curriculum. This is emphasized by Olson (2002) who argues that such support contributes to the overcoming of teacher isolation and boredom (Hargreaves, 1994; Huberman & Miles, 1984). The need for concerted

collaboration has also been echoed as important for teachers (Fernandez, 1991; Fullan, 1991; Hargreaves, 1994 & McGee, 1997). Involving facilitators and resource persons could also be an important aspect of collaboration in the implementation of curriculum (Lee 2000; Olson, James & Lang, 1999). On the same understanding, Fullan (1999) sees collaboration within the school and the community as support for curriculum implementation. In our study, the findings indicated that one school had a positive collaboration with the community and other stakeholders. This enabled the enactment of policy effectively as demonstrated in Chapters 4, 5 & 6 of this study.

Freire's (1970) book, "Pedagogy of the oppressed" provides an invaluable reading on the establishment of schools and teaching methods in post-colonial Africa. Freire puts forth a pedagogy in which the individual learns to cultivate his/her growth through one's daily life that provides useful learning experiences. He, therefore, argues that the student should build his reality from the circumstances that give rise to the daily events of his/her life. The texts that the individual creates permit his/her to reflect upon and analyze the world in which he/she lives not to adapt himself/herself to this world, but rather as part of an effort to reform it and to make it conform to his/her historical demands. Freire's method of learning requires students to do more than simply reproduce the words that already exist. He argues that students should create their own words, words that allow them to become aware of the reality to fight for their emancipation.

Based on the above summary, there are five main points that Freire stressed. First, is the importance of dialogue? For dialogue to be effective, Freire insists that it should be done with respect. The need to work with each other instead of against each other is

crucial in making dialogue a success. The second point of contention is praxis or informed action. Dialogue, being the basic requirement for understanding is best manifested by an informed action. Third, the pedagogy of the oppressed or the pedagogy of hope is comprised of educators who work with the oppressed. To advance the cause of the oppressed, there is a need for conscientization or consciousness that can change reality. Fourth, educational activities must occur in the experience of the participants. Stressing the importance of words that can influence changes in the world is an example of this aspect. Fifth, Freire believes that metaphors are based on Christian teachings. For instance, teachers and students should transcend divisions and learn from each other. The book thus shows that every day is a learning experience the learning does not stop in the classroom, but instruction goes on in the real world. Freire's argument is relevant to this study because, the current study focuses on how teachers and learners interact with curriculum policy in the classrooms of FSK&LGHS, 1964 and 1985.

Tabulawa (1997), in Botswana, conducted a study within pedagogical classroom practice and social context, it aimed to establish the nature of learning and teaching patterns in schools and to determine how teachers and students made sense of the observed patterns. The study intended to examine the implication of the teachers' and students' understanding of the observed patterns in terms of pedagogical change in education for Kogisano. This is a term in the Tswana language which means social harmony as an education policy (Tabulawa, 1997). Kogisano intended to make education available to a much wider section of the population, to break away from the pre-independence education system inherited from the country's colonial past.

The process of implementation becomes a function of educational administrators since the policy is the main concern of the Ministry of Education (Rogers & Shoemaker, 1971). This study analyzed how the two groups supplemented each other in policy implementation at the two schools. Again, it analyzed how community, families, parents, and school contexts may have been excluded in decision making during the policy process and the impact of such exclusion. The community and families sent children to the schools with positive expectations but if excluded, it creates challenges to the process. This proved how social activities and social factors such as the community, families, and parents influenced the policy implementation process.

Ball, Maguire, and Braun (2012) pointed out another factor in the sphere of influence. This, they referred to as, “material context of policy enactment at the school setting”. This involved setting a goal for the innovation, determining the budget, providing material and financial support, training/ supply of teachers as well as providing necessary resources. But such activities/ functions ought to be done in full consultation among the central administrators and the school level. The policymakers play a critical and broader role as catalysts of change since they participate in the implementation process.

Teacher development or training is another key element in the process of successful implementation (Nicholls, 1983; Fullan, 1989). When change is introduced, there is a need to build new skills, develop understanding and positive attitudes towards the reform. In this case, all groups involved in the policy enactment require capacity building or skills development in the policy process. The implementers require new skills, initiatives, and new attitudes to push the curriculum agenda forward and as

effectively as intended. The approach to curriculum implementation is done in stages. These involve the following steps;-planning, securing resources, initial implementation, skilled implementation, and routine practice. This study sought to find out how the two schools were enabled by MOE/KIE, to follow the steps, as indicated above, to implement curriculum policy from 1964 to 1985.

In this study, a school is an area where policy text and practice converge. Implementation takes place over a lengthy period. Accordingly, the curriculum policy recommended by Ominde, 1964 and Gachathi 1976 reports was implemented in secondary schools in Kenya for two decades, from 1964-1985 (20 years).

It was a policy enactment that had two/ dual processes of policy interpretation and translation (Ball et al., 2012, Braun et al., 2011). Thus, the dual process of policy enactment namely, interpretation signified an initial reading and making sense of the meaning of texts. The second being translation involved re- reading of policy, literally enacting policy in classrooms through talk, school plans, chalkboards, schemes and so on.. Hence, this study emphasized the need to converge the two domains to effectively implement policy in schools. But it also identified the problems of the contest, struggle, and bargained interests in the policy process. Therefore; there was the need to examine policy analysis through adaptation and enactment in target schools from 1964 to 1985.

Literature demonstrates that the policy context is the school setting where policy is put into practice or where policy enactment takes place, collaboration, and pedagogy of the oppressed through dialogue, informed action, lifelong learning, and hope for the oppressed in the policy process are the core processes of policy enactment. Some studies have analysed the enactment of the policy of 'Kogisano' i.e Policy of social

harmony, how social factors influence policy implementation, spheres of influence, material context and teacher development. Moreover, interpretation and translation as important ways of enacting policy in classroom by teachers.

This research sought to examine how FSK and LGHS applied similar processes in implementing curriculum proposed by Ominde (1964) and Gachathi (1976) reports, focusing on the content of curriculum, processes of implementing and the outcomes in the two schools from 1964 to 1985.

### **2.4.3 Outcome of implementing curriculum in the Target schools, 1964-1985**

McKnight's (2017) study focused on school Principals and enactment of early childhood policies in Jamaica. McKnight's (2017) study used the Principals only as participants in Jamaica, our study selected former Headteachers, teachers, and former students of the two secondary schools who interacted with the curriculum in schools and classrooms from 1964 to 1985. McKnight used post-colonial critical policy analysis and enactment, but this study adopted Trevor Gale's (2001) Critical Policy Archeology and Ball, Maguire, and Braun (2012) Policy Enactment Model. McKnight (2017) used qualitative and mixed methods of data collection, but our study adopted a historical method blended with case studies; involving tools of documentary review and interviewing participants.

Lopes (2016) argued that Ball's work (2012) in policy cycle enactment has analytic power and also the power of contestation. He questioned the centrality of performance processes of policy and the way education was reduced to instructional excesses to challenge the cultural dimension. Ball, Maguire, and Braun (2012) questioned the verticality of policy and overcome the role of origin of curriculum given to the context

of global influence in the policy cycle approach (Lopes & Macedo, 2011). Ball, et al (2012) asserts that policy starts at different points/trajectories. It can be formulated in schools, local authorities, centralized system of power (Ball, et al, 2012). That is, the dynamics of interpretation and translation (Ball, et al., 2012) are key constructs of policy enactment in our study.

Roy (2005) and White (2004) noted that reforming school curriculum was not new because developed nations have done it over time. For instance, curriculum reforms aimed at achieving excellence in Scotland, the education reform in England and South Africa in 1994,1997, and 2005 (Jansen, 1997). In Kenya, curriculum reforms started in 1964(Ojiambo, 2009; Rharade, 1997, Amukoa, 2013). Education reform addressed gaps in different aspects of the education systems. These included meeting national goals of education, for example, quality, relevance, access and the gap between policy text and policy in practice at school setting of LGHS and FSK in this study.

Also, Roy (2005) pointed out that curriculum reforms improved education, particularly in areas where the enactment was effective. Thus, any meaningful improvements in education rested with how teachers viewed the curriculum and their work in classrooms. Teachers were the immediate implementers of the curriculum. Therefore, at the implementation stage, curriculum developers and the government might not do much, apart from funding and monitoring the implementation process. Several other scholars shared this view and supported this view (McClaughlin, 1987; Carl, 2005; Donnelly, 2001; Maguire & Braun, 2012).

The view that schools and school curricula could solve societal problems has been contested. Barker (2011) pointed out that although England has a sustained large-scale

effectiveness campaign on education reforms, not much difference had been realized to the English society about results. He claimed that the system had been too obsessed with tests and examinations which perpetuated inequality and injustice in society. As a result, curriculum reforms failed to achieve the intended objectives in the school system.

Gandhi (1956) argued that India's post-independence reconstruction of the educational curriculum was rooted in an understanding of the effects of colonialism on the country's education system to reform its new education (Gandhi, 1956). Gandhi opined that independence reflected on the imposition of western ideas and values over India in education as offered by the British in the colonial period. He condemned the British education policy in India which emphasized mechanical learning instead of character development, unlike the traditional Indian education. Colonial education focused on producing people for British-style living and did not encourage the building of an authentic progressive Indian society. For example, Baroda, a rural agrarian area was subjected to British colonial education in reading and writing for 50 years at the elementary level. Nevertheless, there was no improvement in the productivity and the standards of living of the farmers. On national education in India, Gandhi stated that curriculum and pedagogic ideas that formed the fabric of modern education were imported from Oxford and Cambridge, Edinburgh, and London. It was foreign and until they were reformed, they could never be national education (Gandhi 1956). He rejected entrenched British education, which had replaced the ancient educational system in India founded on the tradition of pride and service. To be sound, education should ensure continuity from one generation to another generation. British education, Gandhi argued, has succeeded in breaking the continuity of India's existence.

Culture transmits world imagery through the spoken and written languages. Thiong'o (1987) on language policy for Africa asserted that: English "Became the main determinant of a child's progress up the ladder of formal education in Kenya" (Ngugi wa Thiong'o 1987:12). Moreover, Ngugi (2003) explained that culture was central to society's progress and that language was a significant vehicle. That is, a language shared the consciousness of individuals who made society. Hence, colonists ensured that their language and culture remained in Africa/ Kenya to shape African consciousness, which depended on the former colonial masters.

Obanya (1980) and Fanon (1963) concurred with Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1987) on the issue of how colonialism impacted language and culture. However, the Phelps-Stokes Commission 1924-1925 recommended using indigenous languages for instruction in African schools. Contrary to these recommendations, Africans rejected the use of their mother tongue and resisted the policy fiercely, since they thought that it served to perpetuate the racial arrogance of the colonial powers by depicting Africans as incapable of acquiring knowledge packaged in the English language.

On culture, education, and dependency, Chika, Ezeanya-Osiubo (2019) summarizes the views of African leaders, who saw no need to transform curriculum after independence or overhaul the education process particularly in the area of content to reflect the independent thought and the spirit of African masses. In other words, Africans rejected the system that was tailored to their local needs and demanded to be educated to the same standards as Europeans (Brock-Utre, 2000). Thus, Africans determined what was implemented in secondary schools in Africa and Kenya. In independent Africa, colonial

education still molds the African identity with foreign concepts, knowledge, by the so-called (foreign experts and consultants). This devalues the indigenous, homegrown knowledge and demeans more qualified experts on the continent.

Chika, Ezeanya- Osiubo (2019) argues that several decades after the end of colonialism in Africa, the continent has not done much to liberate the education process from the yoke of imperialism and dependency on the former colonial masters. In contrast, post-colonial India was involved in the massive transformation of the education sector through the visionary Mahatma Gandhi and other protégé of his, leading to India's great strides in innovative and creative education in the contemporary global economy. Marginal strides have been made, such as increased enrollment rate, expanded infrastructure, training and recruitment of teachers, and improvements that are peripheral to the core issue of curriculum transformation.

Also, reference was made to a treatise on "education pedagogy of the oppressed". In this system, Freire (1970) illustrates education as boiled down to the banking concept, in which the teacher is the depositor of knowledge and the students are the depositories. There is no comprehension or digestion of the material, only memorization. This system leaves the students with a view that knowledge and the world are somehow static, that there is no interaction or critical discourse with the reality they learn. The authoritative teacher's role in which the teacher holds all knowledge, projects ignorance onto the pupils, stifles inquiry and undermines academic self-esteem. Freire noted that this characteristic of oppression made learners passive and unquestioning.

Curriculum indigenization was an Ethiopian government policy declared in 1991 as a strategy of implementing a macro policy of ethnic federalism (Yishack & Gumbo,

2014). In 1991, reforms were introduced in basic education regarding the medium of instruction, textbooks, and the process of curriculum planning to enhance national unity. These were, however, opposed by some tribal groups who thought that they had been subjugated. This opposition grew into movements that later turned into armed conflict (Kassam, 2002). In this regard, indigenization of curriculum, therefore, came as a way of normalizing the situation after the change of Government in 1991. But the language that would be used as a medium of instruction was the first challenge in Ethiopia with more than 80 languages (Keller & Omwami, 2007).

Monyenye (2005) investigated education for the development of national unity and nationhood in Kenya. The study concluded that education had failed to achieve this goal because the wrong institution had been mandated to solve nationhood and national unity issues. Yet these issues rested in other institutions such as mass media, language, family, and ethnic groups outside the school system. This proved that what was taught in schools and how it was taught in classrooms could not solve societal problems in some parts of the world.

Dinavo (1990) analyzed educational policy change in post-independence Kenya, a case of Harambee and Government secondary schools. The primary purpose was to address a central question: "what factors necessitated a change in Kenya's education system overhaul from 7-4-2-3 to 8-4-4 education? It also assessed problems that Kenya's government envisioned as a result of this educational change". This was a qualitative and historical study. It was done to compare how Harambee and Government secondary schools implemented policy and its impact on Kenya's two types of school systems from 1963-1990. The result was that most government secondary schools had enhanced curricula due to better funding. Therefore, the result of curriculum implementation in

the two categories of schools was biased.

Njoroge Ng'ang'a (1972) analysed some historical forces and movements that led to the development of primary education in Kenya from 1844 to 1970. Chronologically, Njoroge analysed the development of education focusing on the following periods: Pre-colonial period, 1844-1883; Colonial period 1889-1963; and post-colonial period 1964-1970. The historical method based on the primary and secondary sources was applied to examine the forces that affected education in Kenya. These forces included: 1) Exploration (2) the Missionary movements, (3) the colonization process, (4) the European settlements, (5) the building of the Kenya –Uganda Railway and (6) the availability of Indian people.

Njoroge's study benefits the current study as follows (i) provide the background information to this study (ii) identifies the historical forces/factors that have influenced the development of secondary education in Kenya including FSK and LGHS, (iii) Analysed the historical period of the development of primary education in the post – independence period of 1964-1970 which forms part of the period of Current study at FSK and LGHS 1964 – 1985; (v) Njoroge uses the historical method of research to analyse the development of primary education in Kenya since 1844 to 1970, which similar method applied to the current study. Further Njoroge's study discusses and analyses the Report of the Kenya Education Commission (Ominde Report, 1964) and how it influenced the curriculum of education especially primary education in Kenya in the post-independent period. His analysis of Ominde report 1964 provides important insights for the current study as this study focuses on how FSK and LGHS curriculum recommended by the two policy from 1964 – 1985.

Njoroge's study makes the following conclusions; 1) Missionaries were the pioneers of education in Kenya since 1844 – 1910. The colonial government showed interest in the African education from 1925 to 1963. The colonial education was based on racial ideology hence benefited missionary activities and colonial administrators in the economic structures of the period. Thus, colonial education never benefited Africans who were the majority.

Njoroge further argues that since independence the Kenya Government has taken steps to cure the deficiencies inculcated from the colonial rule. However, all these are modifications on stop-gap measures because, when critically examined the educational system in Kenya is still largely British oriented.

He adds, presently the curriculum and the syllabuses found in Kenyan schools are geared towards the British examinations and which judge students on how well they learn and present facts on demand. The power to think or reason is discounted. Hence, teachers spent their time going through past examination papers to pick out obvious questions to be asked next time. The students/pupils do the same. The techniques of passing qualifying examinations from primary to secondary and from secondary to university are studied. Njoroge says it should be pointed out that these British standards were developed regardless of the unique problems and needs of Kenya. For instance, Kenya Junior school certificate (KJSE, CSE, EACE, EAACE, KPE which were taken by pupils from private and Government schools were formulated according to Cambridge syllabuses/Syndicate of UK grammar school, with a few changes.

Njoroge poses the following questions for thorough examination of the current inherited colonial educational practice needed to be made by educators in Kenya.

1. What is the purpose of education?
2. What roles is the school supposed to play in national development?
3. Does the school help the people to understand their problems?
4. Does it help the people to solve them?
5. Does it help the people to work together towards common objectives?
6. Does it help promote understanding of and appreciation for other nation's cultures?

He argues that only when educators, government leaders parents and pupils think seriously about these questions can there crystallize in Kenya a system of education designed to serve a potentially the needs of this great society in which at present unfortunately a gap between the rich and the poor, the leaders and followers is widening.

These questions as highlighted by Njoroge gave an impetus on the current study of secondary school education at FSK and LGHS, 1964 – 1985.

Further, Njoroge makes conclusions about the independent schools which interest the current study; that is, the Missionaries' lack of compromise to accommodate African customs led not only to the organized movement of independent schools and church movements in Kenya but also to unnecessary racial antagonism. The independent schools that were closed in 1952 by colonial authorities were neither subversive nor the breeding grounds of Mau Mau nationalists as alleged by the British government, from the conclusion there is need to re-write our own educational history in Kenya not to base on Eurocentric perspectives, hence the need for the current study to enable many understands the history education in Kenya. Njoroge discusses the development of

primary education from 1844 – 1970. Analyses the problems and prospects of primary education in post-independent Kenya but the current study examines how FSK and LGHS implemented curriculum from 1964 to 1985.

Ngau (1990) analyzed the gap between promise and performance: Educational Policy Making and Implementation in Kenya. Ngau analyzed education policy since independence, 1963-1990. Her study covers a similar period to the current study, 1964-1985. Her study's focus was school structure, curriculum, examinations, and how they resulted in the social stratification and inequalities in Kenya. She finally discussed Kenya's route to policy implementation by showing that there is a dichotomy between the policymaker and policy implementers in schools. Also, Ngau (1990) argues that Kenya's policy implementation has adopted instrumentalism, gradualists, and a conservative approach, which denotes building on the past by making marginal changes to current policies. However, this is against the philosophy of African socialism, hence justifies the impact of colonial legacy and neocolonialism to have negated education policy-making and implementation. She finally identifies the challenges to policymaking and implementation in Kenya, which include: incremental policy implementation, colonial legacy, highly competitive examinations, and evaluation process, political interference. This study also identifies key policy implementation challenges in the period similar to the current study. However, Ngau's work was broad and general on policymaking and implementation, but the current study focuses on the historical analysis of secondary education at Friend School Kamusinga and Lugulu Girls High School between 1964 and 1985, focusing on the subjects enacted; how they were enacted; and their outcomes in the target schools.

A study conducted by Claudia Buchman (2000) Titled family, structure, parental perceptions and child labour in Kenya. “What factors determines who enrolls in school” points out that there has been very little empirical research and effectiveness of educational initiatives, policies, reforms that have been implemented in Kenya. Similarly, Court and Ghai (1974) also note that there has been a serious failure of communication between educational planners, educators and educational implementers. The educational planners are influenced by political pressure and as a result have rushed their decisions and placed emphasis on the development of buildings instead of education.

Court and Ghai (1974) also assert that the Kenyan educational system was not developed with “designed and tested objectives in mind but just grew”.Buchmann(2000),comparing African educational systems in general with other developing countries, such as those in East and Southern Asia, found, distinctive differences in the way families make decisions on schools for children. In most African countries, specifically in Kenya, low levels of economic development create an environment where the educational system is very competitive and where high educational development does not guarantee occupational mobility.

From the literature review, most studies confined their works to general analyses of the outcomes aspired/recommended by both Ominde 1964 and Gachathi 1976 Reports to be achieved by curriculum policy implemented in all secondary schools in Kenya in the first two decades of independence. The literature above reveals that curriculum reforms in Kenya have a history from the colonial period to date, they have marginally improved education in terms of infrastructure, enrolment, training of teachers and provision of learning and teaching resources.However, curriculum transformation as a

core issue of schooling has had many problems and hence failed at the school level. That is, education reforms have been undertaken in Africa and Kenya in particular but education has failed to solve societal problems such as national unity, not liberated Africans and Kenyans, education has not led to the development, indigenization has failed and African leaders saw no need to transform education away from Europe. Indeed, the education banking concept has not enabled learners to gain knowledge, instead, it has focused learners to compete for grades.

There are various problems in the implementation of curriculum reforms such as: no empirical research done before a new curriculum is rolled out, non-involvement of critical stakeholders (teachers as implementers) in policy process in Kenya since independence and the dichotomy between policy text and policy practice at the school context. This research sought to examine how FSK and LGHS implemented curriculum proposed by Ominde 1964 and Gachathi 1976 reports and the outcome focused on the curriculum's content, processes of implementing and the outcomes in the two schools from 1964-1985.

## **2.5 Literature Review and the Study Gaps**

From this exposition, evidence of empirical studies analyzed, the enactment construct has not been sufficiently used in policy research that particularly relate to curriculum policy implementation in Kenya. Instead policy research, analysis and practice of curriculum implementation have been widely examined through the fidelity perspective/implementation model. The implementation mode is a perspective that portrays policy adoption as hierarchical, top-down and formal transfer of the text into action without attending to the policy's contextual dimensions namely the social,

organizational and cultural dimensions that are highly significant in context of policy practice and research.

In addition, it must be pointed out from the onset that the literature that appears on the implementation of curriculum following Ominde 1964 and Gachathi 1976 Reports is scanty, and their recommendations are mentioned in passing. In this vein, there is no historical research that has been undertaken on the study of curriculum reforms recommended by the two policy documents at FSK and LGHS from 1964 -1985. That is, most studies confined their works to general analyses of the recommendations by both Ominde 1964 and Gachathi 1976 Reports in the first two decades of independence.

Furthermore, literature reviewed in this study demonstrates that the policy context /school setting where policy is put into practice /policy enactment takes place, collaboration, and pedagogy of the oppressed through dialogue, informed action, lifelong learning, and hope for the oppressed in the policy process are the core processes of policy enactment. Some studies have analysed the enactment of the policy of 'Kogisano' and how social factors influenced policy implementation, the spheres of influence, material context and teacher development in the policy cycle. Moreover, interpretation and translation are important constructs in this study.

Moreover, above literature show that implementation of curriculum reforms in secondary schools have had many challenges such as: lack of empirical research done on the previous curriculum before the roll out of the new one, state control, top down process, non-involvement of critical stakeholders (teachers as implementers) in policy process and the dichotomy between policy text and practice at the school context.

In terms of outcomes from the literature review, education reforms undertaken in the world, Africa and Kenya in particular, failed to solve societal problems such as: not achieving national unity, not liberated Africans, failed to develop African countries, failed in curriculum indigenization and that African leaders saw no need to transform education away from Europe. Indeed, the education banking concept has not enabled learners to gain knowledge, instead, it has focused learners to compete for grades. For instance in Kenya, it failed in the objective of national unity, led to school leaver unemployment, not liberated Kenyans, failed to develop their economy, indigenise curriculum and African leaders saw no need to transform education away from Europe, leading to failure of the implementation of secondary school curriculum failed at the school level. This resulted to the achievement of the intended and unintended outcomes.

Least but not last the other gap is that there are limited or scanty historical accounts/historical studies of the pioneer girl secondary schools such as AGHS, Limuru Convent Girls High School, LGHS just to mention a few.

From the foregoing, the above were the main study gaps that this research sought to fill by examining how FSK and LGHS implemented curriculum proposed by Ominde 1964 and Gachathi 1976 reports focusing on the curriculum content, processes of implementing and the outcome from 1964 to 1985.

## **2.6 Summary**

In this chapter, literature review analysed the genesis of secondary school curriculum in Kenya, analysed the historical analysis of the implementation of curriculum before independence, analysed literature on the content of curriculum, processes of implementing and outcomes of the curriculum implementation at FSK and LGHS,

1964-1985(studies that analyzed specific studies that addressed three research questions) and the study gaps have been highlighted. We now move to chapter three to map out the methodology which was used to answer research questions.

## CHAPTER THREE

### RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses research design and methodology, location of the area of study, data sources, sampling procedures, research instruments, data collection techniques, data evaluation, data analysis, and logistical and ethical considerations.

#### 3.2 Research Design

Hern and Foard (2001) define research design as the strategy of shaping the study. It situates the researcher in the empirical world and connects the research questions to data. Thus, it is a means or a channel through which the researcher will get to the solution being sought by collecting the correct information in the field and proper treatment of data through data analysis. Since this is a historical inquiry, the historical research design was adopted in this study because of its interpretive approach in understanding the entangled past situation between a phenomenon and context (Yin, 2009; Collingwood, 2010; Golder, 2000). Similarly, the study collected Longitudinal and Archival data suited and essential to historical research.

Researchers choose this method when no relevant persons are alive, available, or too difficult to find (Yin, 2009). Investigators of historical research design heavily rely on cultural and physical artefacts, primary documents as the main sources of evidence (Gottschalk, 1969; Golder, 2000; Collingwood, 2010).

Furthermore, this study employed a historical design to examine the historiography of policy enactment at FSK and LGHS, 1964-1985. Historiographers view history as a field of human action and action resulting from individual and collective reasoning (Gottschalk, 1969, Golder, 2000, Rebert, 1996). Their reasoning is mediated through

various circumstances and impacted by a variety of social and cultural influences. The main reason of this study was to reconstruct reasons for the past curriculum implementation at FSK and LGHS from 1964 to 1985. In this case, historical study sought to understand what human actions happened in the past, when it happened, how it happened and why it happened (Barzun, J. and Graff, H, 1972) in terms of 'what' curriculum Ominde and Gachathi reports proposed 'how' it was implemented and 'why' at the target schools from 1964 to 1985.

### **3.3 Research Methodology**

Wellington, Bathmaker, Hunt, McCulloch and Sikes (2005) state that the researcher should construct a theoretically grounded rationale for the research methodology and subsequent investigation. Further, the preceding source differentiates that methods are procedures, whereas methodology concerns the theory of getting and justifying knowledge in a study (Carter & Little, 2007).

Methodology refers to how one answers research questions. It includes data gathering techniques and research design, setting subjects, analysis and reporting (Patel .S. 2015); that is, methodology shows how research questions are aligned with the topic of the study to arrive at credible conclusions. The research results justify the significance of the methodology utilized (Clough & Nutbrown, 2007:29).

This study adopted the historical research method to unearth and classify historical facts and realities of the phenomenon in question. Borg and Gall (1979: 373) define the historical method as 'a systematic search for documents and other sources which contain facts relating to the historians' questions about the past. Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2007) define the same terminology as an act of reconstruction in a spirit of critical inquiry designed to achieve a faithful representation of previous age.

Similarly, Franken and Wallen (2009) observe that the historical research method is the systematic collection and evaluation of data to describe, explain and understand events that occurred sometime in the past. Moreover, Sutter (2006) defines historical research: “as the collection and objective study of documents and artifacts related to past events, often including a description of patterns or trends in an attempt to explain a phenomenon or test a hypothesis with present-day relevance”.

Historical research entails an identification of a worthy topic of study about a past event or events followed by an analysis of the sources of evidence available so that the findings can benefit the present-day circumstances. Besides, Sutter (2006) notes that learning from the past can forecast (future) trends. Historical research provides insights into educational issues that cannot be gained by any other technique (Collingwood, 2010; Golder, 2000). According to Kitainge (2014), historical research is the systematic and objective location, evaluation, and synthesis of evidence to establish facts and draw conclusions about past events. Historical research uses data from personal experiences, observations of others, analysis of documents, records, and artifacts. He adds that historical research is important as follows:

“i) leads to a new understanding of the past and its relevance to the present and the future: ii) enables solutions to contemporary problems to be sought in the past; iii) stresses the relative importance and the effects of various interactions that are found within the cultures: iv) allows for a re-evaluation of data about the selected hypothesis, theories and generalizations that are presently held about the past”.

According to Gottschalk (1969), the historical research method is a process of critically examining and analyzing the records and survivals of the past (Gottschalk, 1969). This

is the definition this study uses to collect, verify, interpret, and present evidence from the past. The application of the historical method is useful in cases in which an understanding of previous events provides insights into the current issue. Furthermore, this method's principles are useful for evaluating and validating all secondary data. Similarly, the historical method provides an approach to uncover and verify data from the distant and recent past that is not readily available from conventional data sources (Golder, 2000:157).

Other methods can be of use, but the historical method on authenticating, establishing the credibility of, and corroborating evidence remains key strength relative to data collection in research. Moreover, the historical method can be used to corroborate findings from existing data or obtain new or more precise measures of constructs in a quantitative study.

Despite the merits of the historical research method discussed above, it remains probably the most difficult type of educational research according to Sifuna (1995) as follows: First, "many problems are not adapted to historical research methods and cannot be adequately treated using this approach; or other problems have little or no chance of producing significant results, either because the problem is a trivial one (Sifuna, 1995:68)

Secondly, it evaluates phenomena in their complex real-world environment, hence, developing and confirming a theory precisely can be difficult. However, even when a single study does generate theory, it can contribute to a new theory (Williamson, 1981) cited by Golder (2000).

Thirdly, the historical method is more capable of descriptions than explanations or predictions of reality. Thus, it can only describe reality than explaining or predicting reality as in positivist model. The researcher considered the reality of these comments and ensured beforehand that source of information was adequate in this study. Similarly, as was demonstrated in the review of literature in chapter two, the research problem is not a trivial one and is important currently for investigation because CBC curriculum reform has been rolled out and is being implemented in secondary schools in Kenya.

The historical method was adopted in this study because it was human action that prompted policy makers to establish Ominde 1964 and Gachathi 1976 reports, made recommendations on the type of curriculum policy, how to implement it, and why it was implemented in the two secondary schools in the two decades after independence in Kenya from 1964-1985.

History is an explanation about the past using empirical and hermeneutical methods to arrive at the truth (Little, D, 1991). Thus, the method that historians use to arrive at the truth is both science and an art, which exposes the causes and effects of phenomenon (Collingwood, 2010; Hacking, 2002; Flavia, 2015).

In this case, historians expose the historical influences that caused the event to happen and they ask: what happened, when and where. Some of the influences that assist in explanation include social factors such as individual and collective actions, social structures, state activity, forms of organizations and social relations (Little, op.cit, 1991).

The art of historical inquiry is the subjective interpretation of factors or conditions discovered by the historian that explains why the event occurred. Interpretation follows

careful critical analyses of evidence, which may yield a logical coherence of data overtime (Little, *ibid*).

Primary data such as interview data from former head teachers , teachers and students of FSK and LGHS, 1964 – 1985, helped to provide explanations about the circumstances of what happened , how it happened and why of the surrounding event. The historian is responsible for the hermeneutical interpretation of historical facts (Howell, M& Prevenier, W (2001).

The historical explanation collates meaning and understanding of human behaviour and social practices. These happens in the frame work of economic, political and social phenomenon that offers understanding and meaning as to why an event such as Ominde 1964 and Gachathi 1976 commissions were established, made curriculum recommendations and why they were enacted / implemented in the two schools of FSK and LGHS from 1964 to 1985.

This study investigated curriculum policy enactment in the two schools using the historical method by examining how the two schools enacted curriculum following Ominde 1964 and Gachathi 1976 Reports from 1964 – 1985; its influencing factors in schools in order to derive understanding and meaning of the past (Poster, M. (1997).

Despite the demerits, the study fitted into the historical method because of the following: first, the study sought to systematically collect and synthesize data from oral and written sources which would provide evidence and facts as guided by Golder (2000) about policy enactment in the target schools. Secondly, the study investigated the activities, events and actions of former head teachers, teachers and students as actors who interacted with policy from 1964 to 1985. Thirdly, this method enabled the

researcher to come up with historical accounts of policy enactment in the target schools from 1964 to 1985. Finally, historiographers are associated with official histories of groups and institutions like FSK and LGHS or periods such as 1964 to 1985 in which events of curriculum implementation in the two schools took place.

The next section shows the philosophical, ontological and epistemological perspectives/frameworks adopted in this study.

### **3.4 Philosophical and Ontological Stances of the Study**

According to Golder (2000), most proponents of the historical method come from scholars in the relativist and interpretivist perspectives. To Marcazzi (2015) history is oriented towards science of speculative reasoning, which combines history and philosophy of science to organize philosophical paradigm's such as historical epistemology and historical ontology (Flavia Marcacci, 2015:232). This means that the philosophical, epistemological, and ontological views of the historical method stem from principles of history, relativist and interpretivist perspectives, as explained below:

Hacking (2002) contend that historical method advocates for a relativist conception of historical reason/truth that is subjective and constructivist. He further acknowledges that historical knowledge is independent of any other method of proof-it is proved internally by historical investigation or falsified through historical study. In this case, this method or style of reasoning determines what counts as truth and falsify in a given period.

Hacking (2002) further argues that historical truth is relativist, hence relativist reasoning/knowledge is related to time and context (time and space). That is, historical truth depend on the analysis of a phenomenon based on subjective experience of a researcher determined by space and time (Hacking, 2002). In this study the researcher,

analyzed data from sources and survivals of the past (participants) of curriculum implementation in the two schools from 1964 to 1985.

Historians develop accurate descriptions of social phenomenon on the basis of a careful consideration of all relevant and available data. Similar to five (5%) percent statistical significance rule (in science) knowledge is accepted when it is highly likely rather than certainly true (Golder, 2000; Collingwood, 2010) A historian generates knowledge that is falsifiable just like scientific knowledge criteria (Golder, 2000).

That is, historical events are contingent and often unique: they have causes which allow studying them scientifically but they cannot be predicted either deterministically or statistically for their causes are too many and complex (Marcazzi, 2015: 231). Similarly, according to Aristotle (historical events are unique, apparently casual and accidental, still have causes- which means can be studied scientifically. The events are contingent, for their causes are contingent; and they seem accidental (ie they cannot be predicted exactly and never happen in the same way) since they depend on plurality of always changing causes. That is, Historical events are peculiar in nature; they are often unique and unrepeatable, totally casual and accidental (Marcazzi, 2015: 239). Nature of proof in history is often compared to legal model where events are established beyond reasonable doubt (Golder, 2000).

This falsification method is common among the historians as Marwick 1970:212) argues “should a researchers work not based on a thorough scholarship, should it not be offered in good faith, the ever ready police battalions of the historical guide will soon die his pretensions into jelly” (Marwick, *ibid*).

Historians are unanimous on what constitutes a historical method (Gottschalk,

1969). Thus, the overriding characteristic is that all evidence is approached critically or skeptically. Thus, any witness, whether living or dead, may have made mistakes or intended to mislead (Salvemini, 1939). In this case applying historical method acts as a defense against distortion, fanciful tale and even honest error (Golder, 2000).

In terms of philosophical stance, this study adopted the “Principles of History” by Collingwood (2010) as a basis of collecting, analyzing, synthesizing and interpreting data as discussed below: First, he argued that History is significantly different from natural science but can be pursued with the same kind of rigor and creativity as traditional science. He adds that the mind transcends humans as biological creatures, which includes politics, ethics, and science, as the main concern of History. Thus, History is about the mind, or man’s thought, autonomous thought that can be discovered and rediscovered, hence, shared among individuals. Collingwood argues that intelligence and ethics would converge but acknowledges that ethics transcends genetics. In this study, the researcher was concerned with the thoughts and views of the stakeholders who interacted with the curriculum in the target schools, 1964-1985 as head teachers, teachers, and students in the period.

Secondly, Collingwood rejected traditional historical scholarship as being scissors and paste as an old view that History is based on the authority of written sources. He argues that a historian craves more by becoming critical –by selecting what sources to believe and consider as an authority. He prefers to talk about evidence, rather than sources because evidence becomes such after interpretation. He even adds, a written source needs to be interpreted. That is, not what it says, but what it means. In this study, the researcher collected data from primary sources and documents, analyzed, interpreted, and evaluated it based on research questions to synthesize the report as findings in chapters 4, 5, 6 & 7.

Thirdly, Collingwood (2010) stresses the importance of unwritten sources, by asserting that most activities of a historian are like an archaeologist, who excavates the sources to reconstruct a narrative of a particular phenomenon, such as policy enactment at FSK and LGHS, 1964-1985. In this study, the researcher used a theory of Critical Policy Archaeology of Trevor Gale (2001) to guide and excavate the two sites for oral interviews and primary sources which formed the core of data, which was collected, analyzed, authenticated/evaluated, interpreted, and synthesized into themes that form findings in chapters 4, 5, 6&7 in this study.

Fourthly, he pointed out that History is defined by its methodology and as such can only be criticized internally never from the outside. That is, a historical fact is established by historical research after being appraised by internal and external criticism as advised by (Gottschalk, 1969; Golder, 2000). Thus, knowledge of History, obtained by other means such as personal memory, (biography) is not historical knowledge. Historical knowledge is only obtained by the process of investigation. One may compare with mathematical knowledge obtained by deductive reasoning, but History differs from mathematics since its logic is not deductive but inductive. He maintains that mathematical knowledge/logic involves comparison, accepting the premise, which forces us to accept the conclusion, but inductive reasoning does not compel us, but only permits us to draw certain conclusions. Historical facts can never be proved, only falsified. Thus, Collingwood (2010) focuses on the provisional nature of all historical knowledge because future discoveries may unearth hitherto unsuspected evidence which may contradict what we so far have been allowed to believe. History is a forensic science that looks for traces of the past in the present. A historian becomes a detective looking for tale-tell clues. He compares how detectives and historical investigation deal with evidence: Thus, a conviction in court is that nobody should be condemned

innocent- thus, everyone is considered innocent unless proven guilty, a responsibility of the prosecutor to follow the leads from evidence. On the other hand, there is no strict structure and no practical need for closure of the definite case, because historical cases are always re-opened. That is, History does not deal with the present; instead, it deals with the past. Hence, History is forensic science, concerned with the traces of the past leaves in the present. It is concerned with people, not their animal part, but their minds and transcending thoughts. Hence, according to Collingwood, History is not a sequence of unrelated events (mere chronology) but is a presentation of related events related to human thoughts. Ultimately it is the thoughts of the actors of History which is the task of the historian to reconstruct. Therefore, in this study, the thoughts of the Head teachers, teachers, and students of FSK and LGHS, 1964-1985 were the concern. Thus, the above actors provided the bulk of oral data which was analyzed based on research objectives to reconstruct this narrative/thesis. In short, History is about human thought. Climate and Geography are themselves not part of human History – only the thoughts they inspire humans are- it is not geographical obstacles that hinder people – it is thoughts about them that obstruct.

Finally, the past does not exist in itself, it is gone, it cannot be observed, and it can only be inferred. All knowledge of the past explains the present. A historian makes a selection out of the past because he is interested in answering a particular question. In this study, the researcher was interested in the past curriculum policy recommended by the Ominde, 1964 and Gachathi, Report, 1976 implemented at FSK and LGHS, from 1964 to 1985 to inform the current CBC curriculum reform and future curriculum reforms in secondary schools in Kenya.

### **3.4.1 Ontological and Epistemological perspectives of the study**

As already alluded to most proponents of historical method come from scholars of the interpretivist and relativist perspectives (Golder, 2000). This implies that the epistemological and ontological views stem from interpretivist and relativist perspectives. Hence, the historical method yields interpretive knowledge/truths as thus:

i) Reality is socially constructed, and that all human knowledge is developed, transmitted, and maintained in social solutions (Berger and Luckman, 1967). Thus, multiple realities exist and these realities are changing. Hence, it is crucial to know the context of behaviour or event because social beings construct reality and give it meaning based on context. Historiographers strive to understand events in their full context (Elton, 1967).

People should not be studied outside context or reduced to variables, but people should be studied based on their frames of reference rather than researchers', hence, a researcher describes multiple realities. In this study, the researcher analyzed and interpreted data based on context from the primary sources/documents, head teachers, teachers, and students who interacted with the curriculum at FSK and LGHS, 1964-1985.

Interpretivists' primary goal in research is to understand behaviour but not to predict it (Golder, 2000; Collingwood, 2010). That is, understanding is more of a process than an end product. In this study, the process adopted is the historical process of study as advised by Golder (2000). Interpretation was based on the hermeneutic procedure and the process of understanding is a never-ending process (hermeneutic circle) is continuous from the past to present and past. In other words, what was interpreted enters into current interpretation as current interpretation will influence future interpretations.

Golder (2000) and Collingwood (2010) claim that in the historical research, new data might come up to disqualify former beliefs or results which could be falsified through data collected in the historical investigation.

This research adopted the epistemological stance of interpretivism. Interpretivism seeks to determine motives, meanings, reasons, and other subjective experiences which are - time and -context-bound. Hence according to Hacking (2002), historical knowledge and historical reasoning are time and context bound. In this sense, therefore, historical research is specific and its truthfulness is dependent on the analysis of a phenomenon based on subjective experience of a researcher determined by space and time.

In the context of historical research, interpretivism uses descriptive analysis of participant's views, motives, reasons and historical documents in their attempt to view entities holistically in the context of political, social, economic, cultural, and other systems.

Adopting the post-modernist view, policymaking and implementation is not rational and straight forward (Ball, 1990, 2010, 1993; Dale, 1989; Gale, 2001, 2007; Bowe, et. al, 1992), it is rather complex, the researcher analyzed policy holistically using the Critical Policy Archaeology of Trevor Gale (2001), to investigate whose values and interests are taken care of and whose values, interests and voices are ignored as it was enacted in the target schools of FSK and LGHS, 1964-1985. Moreover, the researcher used descriptive analysis of oral data and data from primary documents from KNA, schools and County Directors Offices to present the report in chapters, 4, 5, 6 and 7 in this study.

In conclusion, ontology is concerned with what is true or real, and the nature of reality. Ontology asks questions such as what is existence. And what is the nature of existence?

While epistemology is concerned with what is the nature of knowledge and different methods of gaining knowledge. It questions, inter alia, what do you know? And how do you know it?

From the foregoing, there are two types of historical ontologies. The realist ontology and relativist ontology. Realist ontology is where a teacher assumes that there is only one underlying reality for everyone. Hence, all learners need to be exposed to the same type of instruction and time but individual differences and contexts do not matter. In relativist ontology there are multiple and different people who have different realities and teachers are co-participants, collaborators, facilitators of learning, among other sources of knowledge.

Epistemology: Is the study of knowledge, where knowledge is located/counted, and how knowledge increases or how do we know that we know? There are two types of historical epistemologies: Realist epistemology and Relativist epistemology. Realist epistemology: Objective body of knowledge must be acquired. In this case, the curriculum is fixed and permanent, factual, matters of subjects; all learning subjects are derived from one source, that is: KICD/ K.I.E in Kenya. The two institutions dealt with curriculum for secondary schools in Kenya since independence to date.

Collingwood (2010) argued that the past exists independently of us; it is eternal having once occurred. Our ideas of the past may change but the past has not changed; the past imposes bounds on our interpretations of it, but we use the inductive logic in History to understand the past. Thus, the past is far away from us. However, by using historical principles and process, we can gain knowledge of the past (Collingwood, 2010; Golder, 2000). Third, Knowledge of history of education is known through collection, analysis, evaluation, and interpretation of both primary and secondary sources of data (Golder,

2000; Collingwood, 2010).

Relativist epistemology: looks at curriculum as dynamic, ever-changing i.e., learner-centered, inquiry-based, or problem-based. That is, one side feeds all parts, which leads to failure in achieving intended results, as shown by realist epistemology represented by KIE as a source of curriculum knowledge? What about the teachers, parents, and students? Do they contribute to curriculum knowledge creation? The findings in this study show that one source cannot contribute to knowledge creation. Hence, therefore, this study adopted relativist ontology and epistemology to examine how FSK and LGHS implemented curriculum from 1964-1985, focusing on content of curriculum, ways of implementing curriculum and outcomes in the two schools.

### **3.5 The Site of the Study**

This study was carried out in Bungoma County in the larger Western region, which also comprised Kakamega and Busia Counties. Bungoma County was formerly known as North Kavirondo or Elgon Nyanza in the colonial period up to 1956 when it was renamed Bungoma (Bungoma Annual Report, 1964). It is bordered by other regions such as Kakamega in the East, Mt. Elgon in the west, and Trans-Nzoia to the North and Busia to the south and has eight sub- counties (Makila, 1967:30, Wanyama 2012:62).

Administratively, Bungoma County is one of the three Counties that make up the Western region alongside Kakamega and Busia. It has more than 212 secondary schools. Out of these, only two FAM (Quaker) secondary schools were purposely selected to participate in the study. That is, Friends' School Kamusinga (FSK) and Lugulu Girls High School had characteristics for this study in the period of 1964- 1985. FSK and LGHS are located in Bungoma County. Currently, the county has more than

212 secondary schools (BGM County Education Office, 2019). (See figure 3.1). The two schools (FSK & LGHS) were established by FAM Mission. Friends African Mission was the religious group that had a lot of influence in the establishment of secondary education and transformation of the region through its educational activities since 1957 (Nabiswa, 1999; Wanyama, 2012).

The two schools were purposely selected in this study because they had characteristics that were of particular interest in this study as follows: First, the research topic under study has not been documented in the target schools from 1964 to 1985. Secondly, the two schools were the first boy and girl schools in the region established by FAM Missions at FSK in 1957 and LGHS in 1962 (Nabiswa, 1997). That is, the schools were established in the colonial period and have had a lot of impact in the local community through their products and the country at large. Third, the two schools have been flagships in academic performance since their inception to date, in the region. For example, Nabiswa (1999) posit, FSK posted very good “A” Level results in 1970, where out of 62 candidates, who sat for “A” Level examinations, 49 students or 80% attained the minimum university entry requirements. Hence, necessitated the current study to explore how curriculum was implemented at the two schools to produce elites.

Despite numerous studies in the literature review, on the general curriculum implementation analyses of Ominde and Gachathi Reports and the development of education in Kenya, the establishment of schools; top – down curriculum implementation and how schools produced elites that transformed the local community and the country. There was no study carried out on implementation curriculum policy recommended by Ominde 1964 and Gachathi 1976 Reports in the elite schools such as FSK and LGHS in the period, hence the need for a study to focus on the curriculum

policy enactment in the two schools focusing on the content of curriculum, how curriculum was enacted and their outcomes from 1964 to 1985.

Moreover, the historical study of policy enactment at FSK & LGHS 1964 – 1985 was prompted by Nabiswa (1997) who suggested for a study to assess the educational activities of FAM as a major factor that transformed the area and country through their educational activities as another area of study. Thus, the establishment of FSK by FAM in 1957 (the first secondary school in the region) led to the establishment of other schools such as Kibabii, Kimilili Boys, Chwele Girls LGHS, Misiku Girls, Kibuk Girls, Kaimosi and Chavakali boys high schools in the western Kenya and Bungoma county. This created a need for a study to focus on the curriculum policy enactment at the two schools of FSK and LGHS focusing on the content of curriculum, how curriculum was enacted and their outcomes from 1964 to 1985.

Kamusinga (FSK) was established at the present site in 1957 by FAM Missionary Group (Nabiswa, 1999). The school stands on 55 acres of land, 2 ½ Km from Kimilili Town on the slopes of Mount Elgon (Inspection Reports, 1981 and 1973). In the sixties, 1963-1970, it had an excellent reputation for outstanding performance in external examinations, sports, drama, and choir (Inspection Report, 1971; Nabiswa, 1999). It has had a history of excellent academic results since its inception. FSK is celebrated and selected for study as one of the flagship schools both in terms of excellent academic performance and other co-curricular activities in the former Western Province.

Lugulu Girls High School (LGHS) was opened by FAM (Quakers) in 1963 as a community school after FSK had been established. Lugulu Girls is located in Bungoma County along Webuye-Kitale road approximately 1 kilometre from Webuye Town. The

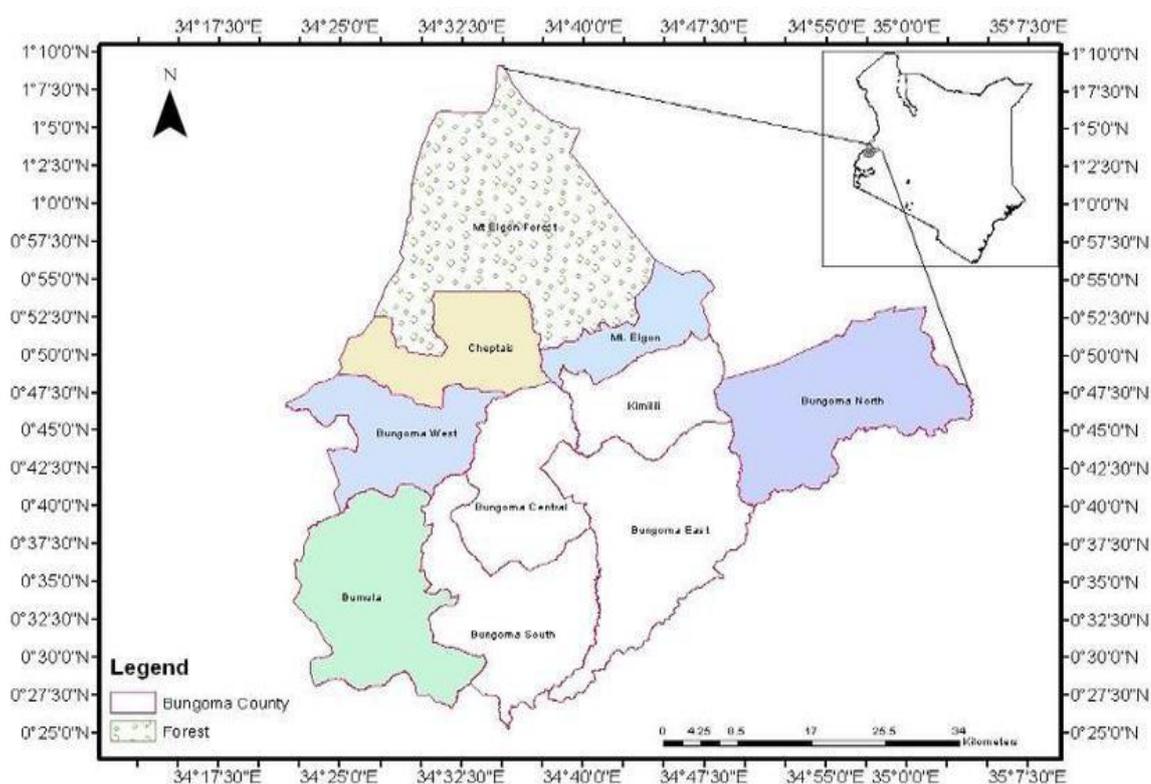
school has 38.5 acres of land on the slopes of Broderick Hills or Chetambe Hills (Wanyama, 2012). It started with low to average results but from 1975 to 1985, the school had excellent results, even surpassing FSK between 1980 and 1985. It has been one of the flagship schools or best performing girls' secondary schools in the former Western Province. That is why they were once referred to as 'Lugusinga' or the Alliance Boys and Girls of Western province according to the interview data of the former students, teachers, and head teachers, of these two schools (O. I, Lusweti, 26/02/2019; Liko, 11/03/2019).

Bungoma County was purposely selected because of the researcher's professional interest in the county based on familiarity, accessibility of schools and participants as guided by Singleton (1993): Ideal setting for any study is where the researcher has an interest in. Similarly, (Mwiria & Wamahiu, 1995) adds "The place selected for research should be the one that allows an immediate rapport of the researcher with the respondents" (Mwiria & Wamahiu, 1995). Secondly it was chosen for this study because the two schools are situated in the county. To enhance much on the study area, further illustrations are shown in the map on Fig. 2:

### **3.6 Sources of Data**

The study depended much on both primary and secondary sources of data because it focused its inquiry into the past. Primary sources refer to those who have had some direct physical contact with the events being reconstructed (Sifuna, 1995). These are first-hand information sources. Similarly, according to Gottschalk (1969), primary sources are eyewitness accounts of an event. They could also be based on video recordings or audio of an event (Gottschalk, 1969).

The choice of these primary sources was influenced by the emphasis of historians on the trustworthiness of information and the accurate description of past events. These included: eye-witnesses; Reports and original documents like educational reports; KIE papers/reports; syllabuses; schemes of work; exam records; official school records; official and private correspondence like letters, memos on curriculum issues, and school inspections reports for the two schools in the period.



**Figure 2: Map of the Study Area: Bungoma County**

Source: Google maps, 2019

These historical documents were found in the archives (KNA), KIE, school archives/libraries, from education institutions like County Directors, sub-county

directors' offices in Bungoma, Kakamega (former PEO's Office Western Province), county Offices in Bungoma, Bungoma East Offices at Webuye as well as Bungoma North and Kimilili Education Offices within Bungoma County. Some of these primary records were obtained at FSK and LGHS schools, especially examination records, admissions, lists of teachers, staff meeting minutes, and student lists. Primary sources also included oral testimonies or interviews with active participants during the research.

The study also employed the use of secondary sources of information. These were those sources that did not bear a direct physical relationship to the events being reconstructed (Borg & Gall, 1983). Secondary sources are testimony from an eyewitness who was not present at the event of interest (Gottschalk, 1969).

These included textbooks, articles, journals, magazines, newspapers as well as electronically stored material on the internet. Secondary sources are not only inaccurate sometimes, but they also tend to dispute some facts. Testimonies of secondary sources are not authentic, but provide corroboration or add moving details that are consistent with the testimony of primary sources (Gottschalk, 1969). Therefore, they were only used to supplement or as a useful check on any errors reported orally. The check was critical since some of the participants had not witnessed the events. Others suffered memory loss of what happened, why, and when it happened.

### **3.7 Population, Sampling Procedures, and Study Sample size**

#### **3.7.1 Target Population**

Leedy and Ormrod (2000) define a sample as a group of subjects or situations selected from a larger population. It is also referred to as the subset of the whole population from which specific generalizations are drawn. McMillan and Schumacher, (2001) assert that

a population is a group of elements or cases whether individuals, objects, or events that conform to specific criteria from which a study intends to generalize. Bless and Achola (1988) state that a population is the entire set of objects, institutions, and events or groups of people which is the object of research and about which the study wishes to determine some characteristics.

Due to the period/ time under study, the participants were not available, were few, scattered and aged, hence, the number was not known. They were selected by purposive and snowball sampling techniques. From the population, the researcher generated the target population for this study, which consisted of former head teachers, teachers and former students of the two schools from 1964 to 1985.

Former head teachers of both FSK and LGHS from 1964 to 1985, provided information about the content of curriculum, subjects they taught and how they managed curriculum implementation in the period. They also provided the names of teachers who taught in the schools. They provided the names of fellow head teachers who took over from them and handed the schools to, provided data on the outcome of curriculum implementation, performance of students, outstanding students and the impact of the two schools in the region and community. Plus any other data as guided by interview schedule in appendix 1-6, pp. 260-261.

Former teachers taught former students, provided useful information on the content of the curriculum, how they taught and experiences in teaching in the two schools, performance of students/results and the impact of the two schools in the local community and the country at large. Plus any other data as guided by interview schedule appendix 1-6, pp. 262-263.

Former students gave information about the content of curriculum, names of former head teachers and teachers who taught them and former students. They also gave data on how the curriculum moulded them, influenced other schools, community and the impact in the country. They gave data about their experiences in the two schools, what subjects they liked and disliked challenges of curriculum implementation and its impact in the neighbouring schools and what they aspired in terms of careers while at the two schools 1964-1985, appendix 1-6, pp. 260-261.

The above categories as indicated were people considered to have had the experience of interacting, recipients, managing or implementing curriculum in the two secondary schools between 1964 and 1985.

### **3.7.2 Sampling Procedures/Techniques**

This part deals with the sampling procedures, sample size and sampling process. White (2005) defines Sampling as a procedure of selecting participating population in a study. Leedy and Ormrod (2000) believe that sampling is the process of choosing a sample from a target population. In this study, purposive and snowball sampling techniques were used to select the target population. In purposive sampling, sampling is done with a purpose in mind (Patton, 1990). The researcher selects units which can enable him/her to make a meaningful comparison in relation to their research questions or theory and the type of explanation they wish to develop. Thus, purposive sample is a sample that is selected to achieve a certain goal. In this study, the purpose was to enable stakeholders to understand curriculum policy enactment better at the two schools including how and why it was done (Patton, 1990).

Participants in this study were identified using purposive and snowballing strategies

(Polkinghorne, 2005; Merriam, 1998; Patton, 1990). Purposive sampling method selected a sample from target population or groups of participants who were judged to be appropriate and knowledgeable for purpose of the study. That is, they had knowledge in curriculum policy implementation at FSK and LGHS, 1964-1985.

The sample was purposely selected from the former Head teachers, Teachers and students of the target schools who interacted with the policy from 1964-1985. The purpose was to provide information that would enable stakeholders to have a better understanding of curriculum policy enactment in the two schools including how and why it was done (Patton, 1990).

At each level of purposive sampling, a critical historical sample was obtained by the snow ball sampling strategy (Polkinghorne, 2005; Merriam, 2002; Patton, 1990). However, before snow ball sampling was done, the researcher obtained names of former Head teachers, Teachers and students of FSK and LGHS who interacted with policy as implementers and recipients between 1964 and 1985, from the historical records /historical sources from KNA, KIE/KICD, school libraries and County Directors Offices. The names constituted the initial participants on the categories identified in the purposive sampling.

Snow balling strategy means that key initial participants from the target population were identified from the historical records at KNA, MOE, and KIE and purposive sampling techniques. The few identified subjects /participants name others with the required characteristics until a researcher gets the number of cases he or she requires for the study (Polkinghorne, 2005; Merriam, 2002; Patton, 1990).

That is, each of the categories identified, interviewed and asked to identify other participants (former Head teachers, Teachers and students) who were knowledgeable about the implementation of curriculum reforms in the target secondary schools from 1964-1985) and possessed the characteristics of the interest to the study.

In this way, it became possible to obtain the required number of participants in each purposive category. Thus, (4 former Head teachers; 8 Teachers & 12 students which made up the sample to 24 participants. For FSK, Two former Head Teachers, Four teachers and six former students. Likewise, LGHS, Two Head Teachers, Four Teachers and Six Former students who interacted with the policy in the target schools, 1964-1985.

### **3.7.3 Sample Size**

There are no rules for sample size in the historical as a qualitative inquiry (Patton.1990:169). He asserts: Sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what is at stake, what will have credibility, and what can be done with available time and resources. Thus, the sample size in the historical study like other qualitative inquiry must be judged in context.

Mason (1998) supports by saying that the sample size should be dictated by the social process under scrutiny and that, the principle of sample size should help a researcher to understand the process, rather than represent (statistically) a population is a good one. This historical study called for an in-depth examination of secondary school curriculum implementation at FSK and LGHS from 1964 to 1985. The historical method enabled the researcher to gather data in order to understand what human actions happened in the past, when it happened, how it happened and why (Barzun, *et al*, 1972) with regard to

the implementation of curriculum policy proposed by Ominde and Gachathi reports at FSK and LGHS, 1964-1985.

Similarly, Creswell (2007) recommends a sample size of four or five participants for a case study research. However, the number varies depending on the aim of the study, time constraints and other challenges. The study targeted former head teachers, former teachers as implementers and former students of the target schools who were the recipients of policy in the two secondary schools of LGHS and FSK, 1964-1985. The study was successful in getting a sample size of 04 former Head teachers, 08 former Teachers and 12 former students making a total of 24 participants who interacted with policy in the two schools. See table 3.1 below.

**Table 3.1 A Table presenting the sample size for the study**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Sample size</b>	<b>Sampling strategy</b>
Former Head teachers	04	Purposive and snowballing
Former teachers	08	Purposive and snowballing
Former students	12	Purposive and snowballing

Source: Researcher, 2019.

All categories in table 3.1 gave data on the content of curriculum, how it was enacted and the outcome from 1964 to 1985. Data from interviews in the two schools prove that they have been flagship schools in the area since the colonial period to date, influenced curriculum of other schools, and provided service to the community and the country at large.

To extrapolate the richness of the actor's practices in the two schools, the researcher interacted directly with each of the 24 participants at their homes, business premises, schools and working stations. The researcher met with participants at any other

convenient locations/place.

### **3.8 Methods of Data Collection**

Data collection is important in day-to-day life. Kombo and Tromp (2006: 389) define this as the gathering of information to serve or prove some facts. Gale (2001) stated “What were important to uncover in any study was what was spoken, what position it was spoken from, and how this was mediated by the responses of others”. He, therefore, advocated for both documentary evidence and interviews as some of the ample sources of data collection. Also, Carter & Little (2007) stated that qualitative data collection methods included the creation and collection of images (photographs and videos) and internet facilitated methods (such as e-mails, interviewing, or inviting participants to creative blogs). This study, therefore, used documentary reviews, interviews, videotaping, and email interviewing as qualitative data collection strategies explained in details below.

#### **3.8.1 Document Analyses**

According to Cohen (2007), documentary analysis informs the study and constitutes “What is included and what is excluded” (Ibid, 116). The critical policy approach and the centrality of curriculum enactment in the analysis, require to show whose values are represented and whose voices are missing in the daily activities in secondary schools in Kenya. Documentary reviews were used to support the interview method which was the main data collection strategy. They involved studying records of events or processes produced in different forms and by individuals or institutions. The policy documents analyzed and reviewed included Commission Reports, MOE documents KIE records, curriculum guides, as indicated in chapter 2 in this study.

Documents such as correspondence letters, memos, press releases for public advertisements, written communication such as letters, memos from different departments, and circulars in files of KNA, MO E, and KIE were analyzed. The main purpose of consulting these documents was to help in corroborating and backing up information availed from other sources. Also, secondary sources were used in this study to: (a) identify primary sources for further examinations (b) provide information on topics for which primary sources no longer existed; and (c) place events in their historical context with other elements of curriculum implementation in secondary schools in Kenya from 1964-1985.

It was important to analyze the contents of documents such as memos, inspection reports, curriculum guidelines, syllabuses, timetables, examination results, and schemes of work, to verify data obtained using oral interviews.

### **3.8.2 Interviews**

Janesick (2004) posits that an interview consists of two persons exchanging information and ideas to construct meaning about a particular topic. Schostak (2002) concurs that interviews provide a means of gaining an insight into experience, concerns, interests, beliefs, values, knowledge, and way of seeing, thinking, and acting. Our study recruited participants via phoning (one-on-one) to initiate the interview data collection phase. Phone calls were followed by personal face-to-face meetings with participants at the workplace, homes, business premises, and places where they would be comfortable. Thus, the researcher arranged with each participant to meet at a convenient time and place. The semi-structured interviews were administered to the participants wherever was convenient with them (see Appendices 1-6, on p.260-266). The interviews were

conducted mostly in the morning hours. Each participant was eager and willing to participate in the study and no resistance was expressed. While each interview was planned to take 60 to 90 minutes, the majority of the interviews lasted one and a half to two and half hours (1 1/2 to 2 1/2 hours) or even more. Overall data collection in the two target schools in Bungoma County for the period 1964 – 1985, lasted for six months (from November 2018 to May 2019).

### **3.9 Overview of the Historical Research process**

The modern approach to historical method was first expounded in the late 1800s by Ernst Bernheim (Goltshalk, 1969; Johnson, 1934; Langlois and Seignobos, 1898). Langlois and Seignobos felt the need to develop an autonomous method because they believed that instinctive methods would become irrational methods. Therefore, historians needed a precise approach to analyzing data (Marwick, 1970). Hence, historiographers came up with five stages/phases as guided by Golder below: (1) select a topic and collect evidence; (2) Critically evaluate the sources of evidence; (3) evaluate the evidence; (4) analyze and interpret the evidence and; (5) present the evidence and conclusions (Golder, 2000:158) these stages were adopted in this study.

According to Gottschalk (1969), historians are unanimous on what constitutes a historical method with the overriding characteristic being that all evidence is approached critically or skeptically. Thus, any witness, whether living or dead, may have made mistakes or intended to mislead (Golder, 2000). In this case, applying the historical method acts as a defense against distortion, and even honest error (Golder, 2000).

### **3.9.1 Historical Research Process**

Before engaging in data collection, the researcher sought a permit from the National Council for Science and Technology. Archives and libraries were visited to search for records. This was done at the Kenya National Archives, MOE Library Archives, KNEC, and KIE/KICD Library archives, University of Nairobi and Kenyatta University Archives in Nairobi, and at the former PEO's Office Library in Kakamega (See appendix, 18-20, pp. 274-282). This was followed by interview sessions with some of the key participants to supplement information extracted from the archival records: This study was done in three phases to achieve the aim of the study as discussed below:

First, secondary sources were explored and analyzed in libraries including: Moi University, University of Nairobi, and Kenyatta University. In these libraries, data was collected, from books, and Journals, together with unpublished thesis and dissertations, conference and seminar papers, and so on. Also, the newspapers, magazines available for the period of our study and relevant to education and curriculum implementation in secondary schools were examined. This was done earlier during the proposal writing and continued up to the time of writing this thesis.

The second phase was the archival study of documents which constitutes the core sources for the study was combed at (KNA) Kenya National Archives, Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development/ KICD/KIE; Kenya Institute of Education/ Ministry of Education (MOE).

In the Archives, relevant documents included: Reports of educational bodies such as Bungoma District Education Board, Provisional Education offices in Nyanza and Western provinces, and the Ministry of Education. Also, the minutes of the Local

Native Councils, the African District Council, and the County Council of Bungoma / North Kavirondo (as the local authority was called/named overtime) were interrogated. Focus here was put on items directly relating to curriculum /educational reforms and education in general. Further, education Reports, Minutes, Inspection Reports, Circulars, seminar and conference papers, and minutes on curriculum implementation in schools were analyzed. Others were letters; diaries, BOG, PTA, and Staff minutes in the two schools were consulted. The emphasis for document analysis was put on items or issues relating to curriculum review in secondary schools in Kenya from 1964-1985.

Private and Church documentary collections formed another source of investigation. They included: FAM Mission and Church records at Lugulu and Kamusinga stations in Bungoma; the Roman Catholic Church, Church Missionary Society, and Anglican Church. In this category, there were elders of Early Missionary Teachers, Head Teachers, and the pioneer educationists at the two schools of FSK and LGHS in 1964-1985. Other private documents were from the British Council in Kisumu, CREDO, Nuffield, Ford Foundation, and personal Biographies of Head teachers, teachers, and some key Alumni and educationists who had a stake in the two schools from 1964-1985.

The final phase of the research process was an exploration into the oral sources /oral History. Fieldwork was conducted for six months from January 2019 to May, 2019. This was conducted in Bungoma, Kakamega, Uasin Gishu, Nairobi, and Trans Nzoia. Counties and in towns like; Kakamega, Kitale, Eldoret, Nairobi; The sub-counties of Kimilili, Kanduyi, Webuye, Bungoma North, and Bungoma South were also covered. In these counties, sub-counties, and towns, former Head teachers', teachers and former students of Friends School of Kamusinga and Lugulu Girls High School were identified

and selected for thorough interviewing. Generally, participants were limited to former Headteachers, teachers, and former students of FSK and LGHS from 1964-1985. The Head teachers, teachers, and students were identified through school and other educational records/documents.

In selecting the informants and participants, the snowball and purposive sampling techniques (Patton, 1990) were used to ensure that their contribution reflected the curriculum implementation experience. Those selected interacted with the curriculum in two schools of FSK & LGHS as students, recipients, and teachers as enactors of the curriculum in the two schools from 1964-1985.

In the fieldwork, the research assistants were utilized to book the interview days, dates, and time, but the researcher collected data by himself, face to face meeting each individual twice or three times depending on the need, probing, validation as shown in appendix 24, pp.288-290. To ensure a systematic approach to the collection of data, sample questions on the interview schedules were formulated covering all major parts of the study (Appendix 1-6 from pages 260-266). The semi- structured interview questions were open-ended using themes outlined under the objectives as a guideline.

In this way, participants were able to talk freely in the course of interviewing as the researcher was probing for the in-depth exposition of events and occurrences. During interviewing, note taking and laptop recording was used, the Laptop video recording was done would be transcribed at the end of each day after the interviews. The collection of oral data period was from January to May 2019.

### **3.10 Historical Data Evaluation /Trustworthiness, Validity and Reliability**

Trustworthiness of sources and data are of paramount concern in the historical method. Genuineness and authenticity along with validity and reliability of document used in this study were established by cross checking and multiple independent sources which provided coherence (Marius & Page, 2002; Christy, 1975).

External and Internal criticism of primary and secondary sources established the validity and reliability of sources by asking who, what, where, when and why. Lusk (1997) describes external and internal criticism as thus:. External criticism is concerned with authenticity of the document (source of information) whether it is what purports to be (Lusk, 1997). Thus, external criticism is the process in which the historical researcher determines the authenticity of the source of data (Christy 1975; Gottschalk, 1969). Moreover, external criticism questions whether a document is authentic (paper, ink, date, writing and typing) are some of the details that are verified by a researcher. This verification may require expert advice from other disciplines such as archaeology, palaeontology and legal expertise (Collingwood, 2010). For written documents/source credibility in this study was determined by bibliographical record of the sources.

External criticism in this study established validity of sources as thus: If the documents are valid, accurately presented the event/ phenomenon being studied were considered genuine. For example the Ominde,1964 ; Gachathi, 1976 and Mackay,1981 Reports ;Inspection Reports ; Memos ; Syllabus; Curriculum guidelines were genuine documents of peoples' testimony from 1964 to 1985. The testimony was concerned with curriculum policy enacted in the target schools. If various sources consistently present the same data/information, then sources are more likely reliable and authentic sources (Christy, 1975. Streubert & Carpenter, 1999). For example in this study ,

archival documents obtained from KNA, MOE, KIE/ KICD were authenticated by cross checks for consistency with paper copies at the Moi, K.U, and UON libraries and district education offices.

Moreover, citations of documents in curriculum/policy textbooks, Articles, Journals with information concerning curriculum implementation at FSK and LGHS , 1964 to 1985 were authenticated at KNA, MOEST/KIE which holds public and government documents in Kenya .

Platt (1981) suggested several ways for historical researchers to uncover historical fraud; for example other related documents were used for comparison of style, content, examining different versions of the same original document. For instance, in this study comparison was done especially different versions of policy documents such as Ominde, Gachathi and Mackay reports, inspection reports with those from KNA,MOE,KIE and those at schools and county directors' offices with information on policy enactment at the two schools in the period.

Platt (op.cit) warns researchers to determine who has had access to documents over the years and their motives. He reminds historical researchers to ascertain if the documents make sense or has obvious errors in it. Guba and Lincoln (1981) posit that the researcher may use oral interviews /oral histories as main sources of evidence may decide to analyze as follows: Corroborate the participants' recollections with the secondary sources; Collect a number of oral histories from several different; participants about the same event; and Incorporate various types of primary sources e.g. written accounts verbatim, excerpts into analyses (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). Thus, it is the process in which accuracy, reliability and credibility of the source is determined

(Shafer, 1974). To assess the sources' accuracy, the researcher considers; the purpose, context and veracity of each source (Ibid, 1974).

In this study, oral interview data from participants (former Head teachers, Teachers and students) were corroborated with data from background literature from secondary sources such as textbooks, unpublished thesis, articles and newspapers, with data on curriculum policy enactment at the two schools.

The study also collected oral interview data from former head teachers, teachers and former students of the two schools and incorporated different types of primary sources such as data from survivals of the past who witnessed events of curriculum policy enactment and written accounts such as syllabus guidelines, inspections reports memos, diaries and letters written to direct how teachers were to enact policy at the two schools. The techniques enabled the researcher to evaluate the level of subjectivity embedded into the accounts by applying the principles of triangulation and strengthened interpretation (Guba & Lincoln, 1981).

In this case, triangulation refers to engaging multiple methods of data collection such as interviews, documentary reviews, archival studies and recordings which lead to more valid, reliable and diverse construction of realities and enriches the data collected. It is a typical strategy used in historical research to improve trustworthiness and authenticity of findings (Guba & Lincoln, 1981). Patton (1990) adds that triangulation is an important methodological issue in the naturalistic and historical approaches. He further adds that researchers should use triangulation since it strengthens a study by combining methods. The researcher engaged multiple methods/ sources of data (Yin, 1984) to improve trustworthiness and authenticity of the findings in chapters, 4, 5 and 6 in this

study. Hence therefore, the researcher used primary documents, interviews, archival and secondary sources with information on curriculum implementation at FSK and LGHS, 1964-1985.

The researcher also used simple statistical tools such as tables and percentages in data analysis and interpretation to enhance the credibility of the results obtained (Golder, 2000; Collingwood, 2010). Thus, information that was obtained through oral testimonies and from documents was evaluated to ascertain credibility. In this regard, the data was exposed to internal and external criticism. In this study after the researcher identified the primary and secondary sources in the archives, as from November 2018 to January 2019.

### **3.10.1 External Criticism**

The sources were evaluated through a process known as historical source criticism. Bloch (1953) called this “the struggle with documents” (Ibid.). Barzun and Graft (2004) crystallized two key elements of source criticism with three questions. These questions are: “is this object or piece of writing genuine? Is its message trustworthy? How do I know?” (Ibid: 120).

According to Gottschalk (1969), the three questions, deal with the problems of authenticity and credibility.

In his view, the main purpose of external criticism is to evaluate the authenticity of documents to exclude all unauthentic evidence. In that case, historical researchers seek to determine who wrote each document, where, when and under what circumstance an account was written (Shafer, 1974). According to Langlois and Seignobos (1898)

methods of external criticism have raised History to the dignity of a science. They have listed three steps in external criticism. First, textual criticism-examination of documents to find out whether they are original or best copy around; i)obtain multiple copies, since a single copy has a lot of errors in the text; ii)investigation of the authorship. Thus, to determine who wrote the document, where it came from, and when it was written” (Langlois and Seignobos, 1898).

To Gottschalk (1969) documents are considered more authentic if they are written with the following characteristics: Close to the event being researched (or rely on records written close to the event); For the sole purpose of making a record- legal or policy documents; For confidential communication; For communicating with a small number of people (personal correspondence); For personal record or memory aid; For making a public record (newspapers and magazines); and By experts with broad knowledge at the events of interest (Gottschalk, 1969).

From the foregoing, external criticism aimed at evaluating the source to establish their originality. In this study, the researcher triangulated data from inspection reports, letters, memos, circulars, and curriculum guides to code themes that answered research questions in this study.

External criticism took into account the scrutiny of the authors’ and former head teachers, teachers and former students’ characteristics and their qualifications, to establish their ability as reporters of events under investigation. The conditions and factors which influenced the production of these documents and the type of materials like paper and ink were also analysed by chemical tests.

### 3.10.2 Internal Criticism

Lusk (1997) describes internal criticism: it is concerned with reliability of the information contained in the documents in terms of ascribed meanings, language and objectivity of the writer. Glass (1989) explains internal criticism as an understanding what the writer meant and evaluating the accuracy of statements or recollections of participants to understand the writers' motives and biases; and why the document was written and saved.

Platt (1981) asserts that events described in passing as unimportant facts might be more reliable than a document's primary focus. Historiographers need to determine the correct meanings of words in the contexts of the time. Dictionaries may helpful (Gottschalk, 1969).

Internal criticism establishes reliability or consistency of the data in the document .That is internal criticism was applied to establish the accuracy and worthiness of the information (Sifuna, 1995).

Lusk (1997) provides guidelines to help historiographers with criticism and validation of data as follows: Search for corroboration of evidence .That is, compare/corroborate the participant's views and statements with secondary sources. In this study, the researcher compared data from former Head teachers, teachers and former students of the two schools and primary data ormemos, inspectionreports, syllabuses, curriculum guidelines and diaries for curriculum implementation in the target secondary schools 1964-1985.

Seek out multiple sources of data from which to view a target event (Tuchman, 1981).

In this study there were multiple sources of data such as primary document from KNA

& KIE, schools and county offices; interview data from participants and secondary sources which were analyzed, interpreted and synthesized into findings in chapters 4, 5, and 6.

Lee (1988) contends that historiographers should enlist the collaboration of experts in a variety of disciplines, when examining context of an event. Platt (1981) advises imagining the events if there are conflicting sources and making an informed judgment about which one has the “fit” Glass (1988) further argues that visiting sites of the event, handling artifacts are ways enveloped in the time / period and the place events are important to analysis of historical data.

In this study, the researcher visited the two schools and collected artifacts within the period 1964-1985. These included syllabuses, curriculum guides, photographs of schools, diaries that had information of curriculum implementation in the two schools.

Furthermore, seeking feedback from others or communicating with expert historians who is familiar with subject matter can assist the researcher to check their influences. In this study the researcher used two supervisors and two historiographers to critic the data and findings before the thesis was finalized by the researcher. Moreover, to increase credibility of historical data, Howell (1997) argued that data from written documents would be supplemented and compared with oral interview data.

In this study data from primary documents such as original documents including government reports, and records, BOG, PTA and staff records of minutes was compared with first hand experiences of former head teachers, teachers and students of both FSK & LGHS 1964-1985 on curriculum implementation.

The main aim of internal criticism is to evaluate the particular contents of the document in order to extract credible testimony from it (Gottschalk, 1969). Many historians refer to this stage as “internal criticism.” In this stage, the researcher, starts with a literal interpretation of the evidence and then considers the context to determine if the real meaning is different from the literal meaning (Shafer, 1974). Documents are evaluated for two types of errors, deliberate and unintentional (Shafer, 1974).

Langlois and Seignobos (1898) provide a useful summary of internal criticism. One step is interpretive criticism which seeks to determine what the author means. Special attention is required if authors are from the outside the researchers’ culture because the determination of intended meaning must be based on the understanding of the author’s culture and the period in which they lived. Semantic misunderstanding can be minimized by using a dictionary from the authors’ culture and time. Witnesses’ testimony must be considered in its context rather than in isolation.

The second step is negative internal criticism in which the veracity/ truth of the author’s or witnesses’ statement is evaluated. What witnesses expressed may not be what they believed because they might have lied: Similarly, what they believed might not have happened because they might have been mistaken. Thus, historians consider objectivity in presenting historical evidence. Similarly, personal interests may distort a report for the witness's benefit. A literary style author may recount hearsay without a proper disclaimer. Ego-centrism may increase the witnesses’ role. Further, a desire to please may cause omission of important details or a less harsh presentation of events. Conditions that promote veracity/ truth include: i) Witnesses being indifferent to the event/subject to witnesses being harmed by their testimony and witnesses relating events that would be common knowledge among their audience and ii) The final stage is

evaluating the independence of observations. Testimony from multiple independent witnesses is preferred.

Evaluating credibility is central, to both Internal and External criticism, (Gottschalk, 1969) Proposes criteria for this critical task:

Competence: is the witness able to report correct information? Important factors here are; nearness to the event and the recording of the event (geographical, temporal, and familiarity with the subject expertness).

Objectivity: Is the witness willing to report correct information? Important factors are; assessing personal interests', biases and desire to please.

Reliability: Is the witness accurately reported? Does the reporter have a reputation for integrity? Does the document lack internal self-contradictions?

Corroboration: Is there confirmatory evidence from equally credible witnesses? Evidence is considered credible if it passes all four criteria. In particular, the final criterion is vital for developing confidence in the data. Conformance with other facts and witnesses is a critical test of evidence. When secondary evidence is evaluated, credibility is determined from the primary evidence on which it was based (Gottschalk, 1969). Doubts occur when secondary evidence lacks a primary source in historical research. The goal of internal criticism is to verify the events on which the historical record will be based.

From the foregoing, evaluation of data gained from documents is referred to as historical criticism. It is categorized into two major categories; external and internal criticism (Good, 1972:169; Golder, 2000; Gottschalk, 1969).

According to Suter (2006), researchers focus on external criticism when evaluating the

authenticity of historical documents and artifacts (whether or not they are genuine). As generally alleged that there are genuine documents, researchers consider their accuracy and use the term internal criticism to explain this concern. Internal criticism, therefore, entails the act of interrogating the correctness of facts of a genuine document.

External criticism seeks to determine whether truly the author of the document as claimed is the one. Focus is on the source of the document and the document itself rather than the content of the document. Once authenticity has been established, further scrutiny is important because a genuine document can still contain erroneous information, or the author lied (Golder, 2000) hence internal criticism is important.

To ensure that the documents are original (external criticism), the researcher in this study considered the author's characteristics and qualifications to establish their capability of reporters of events under investigation. In -addition, the underlying factors and conditions behind the production of the documents e.g., time, place circumstances of composition and type of material used such as papers used, typing materials, copies, or original materials, were also studied by applying chemical tests to determine dates and age, conditions of the document (Golder, 2000). Moreover, matters such as signatures, handwriting, spellings, and language were considered (Sifuna, 1995:74-76). To ensure the accuracy of the data derived from information collected in this study (internal criticism) the researcher looked at the competencies of the reporters, their honesty, and more importantly whether the information given was consistent with other available information on the same topic by different sources and the people who witnessed the same events. Another way of confirming the validity of data was to compare or corroborate with other sources of information that have reported the same phenomenon in the same period in History.

### **3.11 Data Analysis in this study**

Golder (2000) argues that like scientists and unlike fictive artists, historians accept a primary obligation to check their assertions against evidence or data about a world that is or once was “out there”, evidence that is open to public scrutiny and criticism by re-examination of their respective records (Golder, 2000).

Data analyses in this historical research, data are interpreted, thus researcher reviewed the materials he carefully collected and evaluated through historical criticism. Data were sorted and categorized into topical/ themes. Content analysis strategy allowed the researcher to identify patterns within and between sources. Each research question was explained, supported or refuted-if data argued for these positions.

Analysis and synthesis allowed a researcher to return to original literature review-to compare commentaries with researchers’ observation. Thus, analysis of historical research is grounded into data and background literature of the study as indicated in chapter two.

Exposition involved writing a narrative account of resulting patterns, connections and insights uncovered during the process of research after historical criticism to authenticate the source and evidence (Golder, 2000, Gottschalk, 1969). Historiographers view history as a field of human action, and action as the result of individual and collective reasoning (Reborts, 1996). Their reasoning is mediated through various circumstances and impacted by variety of social, political, economic, ideological and cultural influences. Thus, the main reason of historical research is to reconstruct the reasons for past actions. They are accomplished by identifying evidence of the past human thinking/thought established as valid and meaningful data, interpreted with

regard to “how” and “why” decisions and actions occurred (Berg, 2005).

### **3.12 Ethical and Logistical Considerations**

Upholding logistical and ethical issues is of key importance in any research. Cohen, Manion, and Morrison (2000) observed that the developments in social research emphasized moral issues which the researcher should respect and protect during the Study.

Ethical concerns in educational research are often complex, subtle and sometimes bring or place a researcher in a moral predicament that may not be resolved. The researcher sought permission from Moi University to embark on data collection. Also, the permit was obtained from the National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI). Permits were sought from Kenya National Archives; County Directors of Education- Bungoma & Kakamega, Bungoma County Commissioner; Bungoma West Sub-County as well as Kimilili Sub County Education Directors (see appendices 16-21 pp.277-282). The researcher also sought the participants’ consent to participate in the study during face –to- face interactions. They were informed about nature, the purpose of the study, and the need to participate. Confidentiality and privacy were also assured to the respondents. Similarly, the researcher upheld privacy, confidentiality and anonymity during data collection period. Also, the researcher avoided unethical acts such as fabrication, falsification, bribing and harming participants.

### **3.13 Summary**

The study is a historical inquiry and has been conducted within the precincts of historical-related approaches. In this regard, a historical design and method were employed to capture multiple voices to increase the understanding of secondary school teachers’ practices of enacting curriculum at FSK and LGHS 1964-1985. Strategies and

tools utilized in this study included documentary review; semi- structured interviews and analysis of data. Trustworthiness and ethical concerns in the study were discussed. Chapters 4, 5, &6 presents' findings from the data that answered the research questions presented in this study. Finally, chapter seven concludes the study.

**CHAPTER FOUR**

**SECONDARY SCHOOL SUBJECTS IMPLEMENTED AT FRIENDS SCHOOL  
KAMUSINGA AND LUGULU GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL, FOR HUMAN  
RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT, 1964-1985**

**4.0 Introduction**

This Chapter discusses the contents of secondary school curriculum implemented at Friends School Kamusinga and Lugulu Girls' High school between 1964 and 1985. The curriculum reforms were characterized and influenced by the post-independence recommendation by Professor Simeon Ominde in 1964 and Gachathi, 1976 in the two decades after independence in Kenya. It also discusses related findings of the development of secondary education at the two secondary schools.

Before 1950, there were only 50 (GOK, 1949) secondary schools, but due to the Harambee school movement and African agitation for academic curriculum and higher education (GOK, 1964), secondary schools expanded due to high enrolments in primary schools (Dinavo, 1990; Konana, 1990) as shown in Table 4.1:

**Table 4.1: Growth of Secondary Schools in Kenya, 1963-1975**

<b>Year</b>	<b>1963</b>	<b>1973</b>
Secondary Schools	151	964
Enrolment	30,121	174,767
No of Teachers	1530	7,388

**Source: MOE (1994) Statistics**

The rapid increase in the growth and expansion of secondary schools was due to the partnership between government, community, donor agencies, NGO's and private

entrepreneurs. The Government took over existing public secondary schools and established new ones. Communities and private entrepreneurs funded Harambee and private schools. Gradually, some of the Harambee schools received government support (Dinavo, 1990). Such expansion was also experienced in at FSK and LGHS in Bungoma County.

**Table 4.2 Numbers of Secondary Schools in Kenya, 1964-1985**

<b>Year</b>	<b>No of Schools</b>	<b>% Growth</b>
1963	151	6
1964	222	40
1965	336	51
1966	400	19
1967	542	36
1968	601	11
1969	694	15
1970	783	13
1971	-	-
1972	949	17
1973	964	2
1974	1019	6
1975	1160	14

**Source: MOE Annual Reports, 1972-1979**

Table 4.2 indicated that the government was mainly concerned with expanding opportunities for more Kenyans to gain access to secondary education which had been denied during the colonial period. The question of curriculum and its content was not important at independence time in Kenya. Meaning that we started on the wrong footing as far as curriculum review is concerned; hence, it is a continuous cycle that has continued to date in Kenya.

#### 4.1 Teacher Qualification and Availability for Secondary Schools, 1964-1967

**Table 4.3: Trained Teachers in Secondary Schools, 1964-1967**

Grade	1964	1965	1966	1967
Graduate/Equivalent	83	92	93	80
S1	294	282	291	310
P1	1561	1485	1615	1684
P2	2543	2926	3271	3797
P3	11,781	12,531	14,729	16,031
P4	2,667	2546	2884	2821

**Table 4.4: Untrained Teachers, 1964-1975**

Graduate	35	30	19	40
HSC	0	62	73	71
CSC	305	641	774	809
KCPE	6078	8487	7998	8384
Others	2231	1479	1354	1318
Untrainedteachers	8649	10699	10217	10622
<b>Grand totals</b>	<b>27829</b>	<b>30,896</b>	<b>33,522</b>	<b>35,672</b>

**Source :**( Sifuna et al., 2014:280)

Drawing from Tables 4.3 and 4.4 respectively, UT's (untrained teachers) and lowly qualified ones constituted the bulk of the teaching force in secondary schools. Impact of this was poor quality education at both primary and secondary school levels in Kenya from 1964-1967. The categories of teachers in the period, 1964-1967 were as follows: S1-Teachers had basic qualifications of school certificate, plus three years "training or higher school certificate and one-year training". P1: Teachers had a basic qualification of school certificate, plus two years training; P2: Teachers had the basic qualification of at least two years of secondary education, but no school certificate and two-year training. P3: Teachers had the basic qualification of KPE plus two years of training. P4: Teachers had a basic qualification of a complete primary course, but no KPE and two years training (Source: Ministry of Education, Annual Summaries, 1964-1967).

From the list, as shown above, the majority were lowly qualified primary school teachers who taught in secondary schools in Kenya from 1964-1967. This implied that professional culture was of low quality. Hence, results were poor in the target secondary schools in the period 1964-1967 in Kenya.

Secondary school curriculum implemented at Friends School Kamusinga and Lugulu Girls' High School between 1964 and 1985. The interview and documentary evidence is presented in simple statistical forms, such as tabulation and percentages. Besides, interview data is presented in excerpts and verbatim as guided by research question one: "What content of curriculum did Friends School Kamusinga and Lugulu Girls' High School enact between 1964 and 1985?". There were also developments in curriculum reforms about content learned. Two former Head teachers, who participated in this study from the target secondary schools, unanimously agreed that content of curriculum included the following subjects: English Language, Literature in English, Swahili, Physics, Chemistry; Biology; History, Domestic Science, Geography, Religious Instruction, General Science and Physics –with- Chemistry in "O" level implemented between 1964 and 1973 (O. I, Lusweti, 26/02/2019; Liko, 11/03/2019).

Similarly, all the 8 former teachers supported the views of former head teachers that content of curriculum in the two schools. Two teachers said content of curriculum in the two schools, included: English Language, Literature in English, Swahili, Physics, Chemistry; Biology; History, Domestic Science, Geography, Religious Instruction, General Science and Physics –with- Chemistry in "O" level implemented between 1964 and 1973 (O.I, C.Mbarara, 02/03/2019; K.Janet, 11/03/2019).

Moreover, all the 12 former students also supported the views of former teachers of the two schools. Two former students said: the content of curriculum included: English

Language, Literature in English, Swahili, Physics, Chemistry; Biology; History, Domestic Science, Geography, Religious Instruction, General Science and Physics – with- Chemistry in “O” level implemented between 1964 and 1973(O.I, Walumbe, 20/03/2019; Mwolovi, 15/03/2019).

Similarly, the primary sources/ documents analyzed at FSK,the KJSE Result analysis, 1967 and the H/M’s LGHS letter to the PIS, about KJSE 1967, corroborate the above information on the content of curriculum which was implemented in the target schools as follows:

**Tables 4.5 K.J.S.E Subjects at FSK,1967**

	<b>Subjects</b>	<b>No. of Students</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
1	English	10	16.66
2	Swahili	10	16.66
3	Maths	10	16.66
4	General Science	10	16.66
5	Biology	00	00
6	Geography	10	16.66
7	History	10	16.66
	<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: KJSE Result Analysis 1967

**Tables 4.6 KJSE Subjects 1967 at LGHS**

	<b>Subjects</b>	<b>No. of Students</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
1	English	66	14.28
2	Swahili	66	14.28
3	Maths	66	14.28
4	General Science	66	14.28
5	Biology	66	14.28
6	Geography	66	14.28
7	History	66	14.28
	<b>Total</b>	<b>462</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: H/M’s LGHS letter to the PIS, about KJSE 1967 results analysis)

Drawing from the tables 4.11 and 4.12 proves similar subjects as presented above. At FSK, “O” Level /CSC subjects who were implemented from 1964 to 1973 were: English Language, English Literature, History, Geography, Swahili, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, and Physics- with- Chemistry. At LGHS the “O” Level curriculum /CSC subjects were: English Language, Literature, General Science, History; Swahili, Mathematics, Domestic Science, Religious Instruction (R.I), Physical Education (P.E), Current Affairs.

Similarly, the “O” Level curriculum for Alliance Girls High school Kikuyu in 1948/1949 was as follows: English Language, English Literature, Geography, Mathematics, History, Religious Knowledge, and General Science, Swahili, and Home craft (KNA/MSS/3/762/1948/49).

Therefore, there were similarities of the curriculum of LGHS and Alliance Girls’ High School Kikuyu, in 1948/1949. Hence, girls were subjected to similar subjects/curriculum in secondary schools in Kenya, 1964-1985.

The “A” Level Curriculum implemented at FSK between 1964 and 1973 had “A” level classes of both Arts and Science subjects, one former student said the content of curriculum included: Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Geography, History, Swahili and General paper (O.I, Kiveu, 14/03/2019). For LGHS, “A” level curriculum from 1964 to 1973, one former student said that the content of curriculum was as follows: Science, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, and Biology. Arts included: Literature, English, Geography, and History, General paper (O.I, Janet Kiveu, 20/04/201).

The findings as presented above show that, English language and Literature, Swahili, History, Geography, Religious instruction, Physics- with -Chemistry, Biology, Physics,

and Mathematics were implemented. Both at FSK and LGHS curriculum implemented between 1964 and 1973 for “O” level in this period included: “English language; Literature in English, History, Geography, Swahili, Mathematics, Music and Physical Education.

About the content of curriculum/ subjects offered, this finding is contrary to the assertions of Nabiswa (1996). He asserted that when FSK School was established in 1957 subjects that were being offered included, English language and literature/Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, and Trigonometry (Topics in Mathematics), History, Geography, Agriculture, Biology, Physics- with- Chemistry and Swahili (Bradley, 1987:88-89).

Consequently, there was continuity of subjects that were implemented in the colonial period at FSK, 1957-1963 and LGHS (1962-1964), and those that were implemented from 1964 to 1973 in the two secondary schools as was indicated in Theoretical Framework, Chapter 1. The “O” level Curriculum for both boys and girls in secondary schools in Kenya from 1964-1973 served whose interest? (Gale, 2001). Thus, analysis of interview data from teachers and students, indicated that the “Independence education system at secondary school was to formalize European curriculum in independent Kenya” in the disguise of serving African needs of the independent country as Ominde projected in 1964/1965. However, the findings show that they served foreign or British values and interests in secondary schools in independent Kenya.

The curriculum that was enacted at FSK and LGHS was similar from 1962 to 1973 and appears to have borrowed a lot from the “O” level British curriculum of the Grammar school of UK. Therefore, the curriculum implemented in the two secondary schools was an extension and continuation of colonial education in the post-

independence era in Kenya. This proved that there were continuity and change of subjects that were implemented during the colonial period at FSK, 1957-1963, and those that were implemented from 1964 to 1973. Mugiri (1979) argued that for the last fifteen years, curriculum implementation in secondary schools in Kenya was adaptation and adoption of the British curriculum with slight modifications from the colonial curriculum. At LGHS in 1968, Sciences and Mathematics attracted low numbers of students with Health Science (01) 0.23%, Domestic Science (08) 1.90%, Physics-with-Chemistry (15) 3.57% and Mathematics (22) 5.33% ( see Appendix, 7, pp. 259-260).

Nevertheless, Biology was the only science subject that was popular in 1968. Humanity subjects were very popular at LGHS) with English and History leading the pack, followed by literature and Swahili. Apparently, by some design, the policymaker gave more power and dominance to boys at the expense of girls as already indicated, especially in science and mathematics subjects, since girls handled General Science, Domestic and Health Sciences.

At FSK in the earlier years(1964-1973) all subjects attracted a good number of students with English, Literature, Mathematics, and Swahili leading the pack with 62 students, followed by Geography, Biology, History, and Physics- with- Chemistry. However, Religious Knowledge and General Science attracted no students' interests in these subjects. Also, there was slight variation between Physics with Chemistry subjects and Physics subject alone having (55) 10.49% while Chemistry attracting (46) 8.77% at (FSK) (See Appendix 7, pp. 259-260). This implied that there was a poor foundation for teaching science subjects in secondary schools in Kenya.

Appendix 7, (pp. 259-260) show that variation in the interest in the two sciences at FSK shows that the root cause of students' poor performance was the teaching of two science subjects of physics and chemistry as one subject. On the contrary, findings indicated that school tradition and culture influenced students of FSK to be attracted to sciences as well as Arts subjects. The school (FSK) implemented both sciences and humanities subjects to benefit the boys in the community and the country at large. However, General Science and Religious studies attracted no students at the school (FSK) in 1968. Instead, the boys of FSK were attracted to mathematics and sciences at the inception of the secondary school curriculum in Kenya.

Drawing from data in appendix 7, (pp, 259-260) the two schools of FSK and LGHS increased their curriculum to include new subjects in their school curriculum from 1968 to 1973. For instance Table 4.6 representing subjects at (LGHS) in 1968, 11 subjects were being enacted at the school in 1968, but in 1973, there were 18 subjects. Similarly, appendix 7, (pp, 259-260) representing subjects at FSK in 1968, there were 10 subjects in the school curriculum although Religious Studies and General Science did not attract any student in 1973, the subjects increased from 08 to 13 for both "O" and "A" levels.

Data from interviews confirms that examination bodies determined what was taught, how it was taught, assessment and outcomes of the curriculum implementation in secondary schools in Kenya. One former student and teacher at FSK said: In 1964-1969 Cambridge Syndicates, in 1969 Cambridge School Certificate was abolished, then E.A.E.C.(East African Examinations Council) was established by three independent states of East Africa: Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania and also, E.A.C.E Council was to handle secondary education curriculum matters, including evaluation of curriculum from 1969 to 1979(O.I, Buyela, 04/05/2019, Teremi).

East African Community (EAC) was established, following the Arusha Declaration in Tanzania in 1967. When the EAC collapsed in 1977, the EAEC also collapsed. This study found out that even with the creation of the East African Examinations Council, and KNEC in 1980 to replace the Cambridge Syndicate, the British models and methodologies were transferred from Cambridge to the new Examinations Council through training programmes, subjects, courses, Examination questions, and marking schemes ((O.I, Buyela,04/05/2019, Teremi).

This finding concurred with Bagunywa (1980), who argued that in the first ten years in Africa and particularly Uganda, all subjects, courses, examination questions, and assessment were determined by the Cambridge syndicate of the UK in London.

Bagunywa, 1980; Lillis, 1985) supports oral interview by arguing that the curriculum which was implemented in secondary schools between 1964 and 1973 was the formalization of British education curriculum content, models, frameworks, and methodologies determined by the Cambridge syndicate of the UK in London. Thus, Western values were perpetuated implicitly by the neocolonial education system since the first decision-makers in Kenya such as K.I.E, MOE, E.A.E.C, and KNEC showed no radical shift from British values unlike in Tanzania after Arusha Declaration, in 1967 (Lillis, 1985; Bagunywa, 1980).

The curriculum reforms which were implemented in secondary schools in Kenya between 1964-1973, was a replica of the curriculum of English Grammar School which aimed at training a few elites in society while leaving the majority of Kenyan citizens at the base of the pyramid of the education system as shown in Chapter 6 in this study. The content of curriculum implemented in the two secondary schools, according to oral

interviews, primary sources and secondary sources analyzed, reveal that the contents of curriculum were a photocopy or carbon copy of the British curriculum/subjects, values, models, and methods. The findings in Chapter 6 show that the curriculum implemented in secondary schools in Kenya in the period 1964-1973 represented foreign values and interests at the expense of those of Africans.

Similarly, the curriculum/subjects which were implemented in the secondary schools in Kenya between 1974 and 1985 including target schools were as follows: The interviews/data from all teachers and students 12 of them, agreed that the content of curriculum implemented at (FSK) between 1974-1985 were the British education /curriculum, subjects, models, frameworks, and methodologies determined by the Cambridge syndicate of the UK in London:

Two teachers of FSK pointed out that the subjects were as follows: English, literature in English, Kiswahili, History, Geography, Agriculture, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Religious instructions, Music Art (O.I, Buyela; 11/03/19; M.Kisembe, 02/03/2019).

Similarly, the interview data from students of (FSK) show similar subjects as presented above which were implemented at FSK at the the “O” level: were English, History, Geography, Kiswahili, Mathematics, Physics, Biology, Chemistry, Religious instructions, Music and Agriculture. Arts (O.I, Kiveu, 14/03/2019; Saisi, 18/03/19).

From the foregoing, the content of curriculum that was implemented at school FSK between 1974 and 1985 at “O” level was as follows: Form 1 and 2 subjects: English, Mathematics, History, Geography, Biology, Physics, Chemistry, Agriculture, P.E, and Kiswahili. Form 3 and 4 compulsory subjects included: English, Mathematics,

Kiswahili, Geography, Biology, Agriculture, P.E, while the Option subjects in F3 and F4 were: SSP Physics, SSP Chemistry and SSP Physics with chemistry. For F5 and F6 or “A” level curriculum at (FSK) according to two students of FSK were: Mathematics, Physics, Geography, History, Chemistry Swahili and General paper (O.I, Lusweti, 02/03/2019; Kisembe, 05/04/19).

In this regard, “A” level curriculum, at FSK were both Science and Arts subjects which were implemented between 1974 and 1985. That is, the science syllabus in FSK sciences was “N” and “T” science (Physics and Chemistry) at “A” level (KNEC syllabus, 1967-1973). From primary sources/documents analyzed in the period, corroborate the above data, that the content of curriculum/subjects which was implemented at FSK between 1974 and 1985) included: English language, literature in English, Swahili, Mathematics Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Agriculture and Music and Art (HM letter sent to PEO, Western, Kakamega, 1973).

Similarly, the inspection report of 1981 supports the above, showing that the curriculum that was implemented at (FSK) between 1974 and 1985 was as follows: “O” level was: Form 1 and 2: Curriculum: English, Mathematics, History, Geography, Biology, Physics, Chemistry, Agriculture, P.E and Kiswahili. Form 3 and 4 compulsory subjects: English, Mathematics, Kiswahili, Geography, Biology, Agriculture P.E. Options in F3 and F4: History, SSP Physics, SSP Chemistry, and SSP Physics- with- Chemistry (Inspection report, 1981).

Equally, for form 5 and 6 “A” level curriculum at FSK, the subjects were: English, History, Geography, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Swahili, General paper (Inspection Report, 1971). The letter written by the H/M of FSK Letter written to the Chief Inspector of School (CIS) dated 13:07:1978 corroborate the above content of

curriculum at FSK, 1974-1985. See Table 4.5 below:

**Table 4.7: Curriculum of FSK, 1974-1985, "O" Level and "A" Level Subjects**

<b>Subjects</b>	<b>Form</b>
English	1-6
Mathematics	1-6
Biology	1-6 SSP 'O' LEVEL
Kiswahili	1-6
Physics	1-6 SSP 'O' LEVEL
Chemistry	1-6 SSP 'O' LEVEL
Geography	1-6
History	1-6
Agriculture	1-4
Physical science	1-4 – Traditional "O" level

**Source: Letter written to the Chief Inspector of School (CIS) dated 13:07:1978**

Drawing from table 4.5, FSK implemented both ordinary or traditional subjects and SSP "O" Level Subjects, from 1974-1985. This finding is in tandem with the assertions of Bagunywa (1980) who argued that donor agencies implemented SSP Science projects at "O" Level but not at "A" Level at FSK, 1964-1985. At LGHS, the CIS, Inspection Report, 1973 at the school show the content of curriculum LGHS, 1974-1985. See 4.6 below:

**Table 4.8 Curriculum of (LGHS) From 1974-1985  
Subjects of “A” and “O” Level, 1973.**

<b>Subjects</b>	
1	English Language
2	History
3	Current affairs
4	Geography
5	Swahili
6	General paper
7	Mathematics
8	General Science
9	Physical science
10.	Biology
11.	Physics
12.	Chemistry
13.	Domestic science
14.	Physical Education (P.E)
15.	Health science
16.	Art and Craft
17.	Music
18.	English

**Source: CIS, Inspection Report, 1973.**

Drawing from table 4.6 and data from appendix 7, (pp, 259-260) LGHS increased subjects in the curriculum to include new subjects in the school curriculum from 1968 to 1973. For instance appendix 7, (Pp, 259-260) representing subjects at (LGHS) in 1968, 11 subjects were being enacted at the school, but in 1973 there were 18 subjects as indicated in Table 4.6 above.

Analysis, synthesis and interpretation of data from oral interviews from former head teachers, teachers and students primary documents such inspection reports and the H/M's letter dated on 13:07:1978 points out that the curriculum/subjects which were implemented between 1964 and 1985, were as follows: for “O” level, F1-F4: English, History, Geography, Chemistry, General Science, Physical Science, Domestic Science, Health Science, P.E, Swahili, Music, Health Science.

To corroborate the data, primary sources/documents analyzed in the period reveal that the content of curriculum that was implemented at LGHS was: English, History, Geography, Swahili, Mathematics, General Science, Physics Science, Biology, Physics,

Chemistry, Domestic Science, P.E, Health Science, Art and Craft and Music (Inspection Report, 1973).

From the summaries in the documents, interview data from former teachers and students of (LGHS) indicate that the content of curriculum that was implemented between 1974 and 1985 was as follows: Forms 1 and 2 subjects were: Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Mathematics Alternative “S”, Home Science, Geography, History, C.R.E, Kiswahili, English Language.

Forms 3 and 4 were: Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Mathematics “S”, Home Management, Clothing and Textiles, Commerce, Typewriting with Office/Practice, Geography, Additional Mathematics, C.R.E, Kiswahili, English Language, and Literature in English.

Forms 5 and 6 (“A” level) subjects: Mathematics Principal, Mathematics Subsidiary, Economics, Literature, History, Clothes and Textile, Geography, Chemistry, Physics, Biology. This curriculum was similar to that of FSK, however, FSK implemented pure sciences while LGHS implemented general science from 1964 to 1985) (see appendix 7, pgs. 260-262).

Analysis, synthesis and interpretation of evidence from the interview data and documentary evidence in this study, there was an addition of subjects in the secondary school curriculum after the Gachathi Report of 1976. These were vocational and technical subjects such as Agriculture, Music, Art and Craft, Economics, Office Practice, and Typewriting, Clothing and Textile, Home Management, Power Mechanics, Aviation, Electricity, Music, And Woodwork at the target schools.

On the other hand, Mugiri (1979) stated that in the last 15 years in Africa and Kenya in particular, curriculum development has been more of adoption or adaptation of foreign content almost without exception. Lillis (1985) claimed that colonialism has influenced the African education curriculum after independence to date. He added that Western values had been perpetuated in the neo-colonial education system where the curriculum was used as a vehicle for transferring a particular concept of knowledge.

From the interview data, primary documents and secondary data from literature review, it was clear that in the target schools, former colonial curriculum remained the same as those of, 1957, 1962, 1964, and 1973 in Kenya. Hence, there was historical continuity and change of curriculum implemented in the two secondary schools in the colonial period, at independence and post-independence era in Kenya, from 1964 to 1985, as was indicated in the Conceptual Framework in chapter 1 but never served the interests of Africans as indicated from the findings in this study.

All in all, the content of curriculum implemented in the two secondary schools, according to data from oral interviews, primary and secondary sources analyzed, synthesized and interpreted, reveal that the contents of curriculum of the target schools was similar to the British curriculum/subjects, values, models, and methods (Lillis, 1985). The findings in this chapter 4 show that the curriculum implemented in secondary schools in Kenya in the period 1964-1985 just like the content of 1964 to 1973 in the two schools, similarly represented foreign values and interests at the expense of those of Africans.

#### **4.4 School Situational Context and Policy Enactment, 1964-1985**

This section analyzed the historical context and school conditions which influenced

policy enactment in the two schools' curriculum implementation in Kenya within the period. Within this context, it addressed the relationship between school situational context and policy enactment in the two schools.

By interviewing the Head teachers, teachers, and students, the findings revealed that there were contextual conditions that included: school traditions, leadership styles, internal departmental organization, and subject areas. In elaborating this further, the study established that school tradition was very important for curriculum implementation in the two sampled schools.

Similarly, one former student, teacher and Head teacher of FSK expounded on this condition:

“Both my days as a student, the school tradition, was moulded on the ethos of ‘self-drive and the common sense’ where the community members of the school adhered to this tradition, including the taught curriculum was broken down to the basic standards and implemented at House, Class, club/society and individual levels which led to high academic achievement in school (O. I, Lusweti Lugulu; 04/03/2019; Makhese, 13/04/2019).

From the assertion, it was evident that common sense, which was the brainchild of Allan Bradley the first HM of FSK, 1957-1964, was the main ingredient that facilitated effective curriculum implementation that led to good performance at FSK in the period to rival the performance of Alliance Boys (Nabiswa, 1999) hence, dubbed the “Alliance of western province” (O.I, Kisembe, 13/04/2019; Inspection report, 1968);

In this case, the school tradition was instrumental to facilitate academic prowess and curriculum implementation. The headteacher and style of leadership in the management of school affairs were also found to influence curriculum implementation. Where the headteachers were firm, decisive and managed their staff better, there seemed to be a better implementation of the curriculum.

Oral interviews from participants also identified strong internal departmental organization of curriculum content and supervision by Headteacher, Deputy Headteacher, Senior Master, and Head of the department.

Two head teachers added:

“The HOD ensured that the syllabus was adhered to, providing teaching materials, and monitored what happened in the subjects under her/him at school. The HOD ensured teamwork and team teaching, marking, setting exams, and revision of tests. The two participants further added that the ability of learners and the quality of grades they got to join these schools were another factor that had an impact on curriculum implementation (O. I, Lusweti Lugulu, Makhese, 13/04/2019; Kisembe, Kimilili, 20/03/2019).

Similarly, two teachers added; availability of physical facilities like laboratories and libraries for research enhanced successful curriculum implementation. Well-trained staff was also a key ingredient in achieving this since it encouraged teacher professionalism. Apart from well-trained teachers, there was another crucial issue, adequate supply teachers of secondary schools in Kenya in the period (O.I, Kisembe, 05/04/2019; Saisi, 18/03/2019).

Primary source/documents analyzed in this study point out the problem of inadequate teachers or shortage of teachers which had a huge impact on curriculum implementation in the two schools. In view of this, some subjects such as Domestic Science, music Art & Craft were abolished in LGHS between 1964-1966 due to lack of teachers (Inspection Report, LGHS, 1965; Inspection Report, FSK, 1971). Consequently, the teacher shortage brought in foreign teachers in the name of expatriates whose academic qualifications were questionable. The expatriate teachers negatively influenced the implementation of curriculum reforms as a result of not being serious, the mode of pronunciation confused many students. This posed a negative influence on curriculum development and implementation at the two schools. For example, Nabiswa (1999) claim that at FSK in 1962, students of FSK were not satisfied by the way three

American teachers under TEA programme were teaching and handling their lessons at the school. Students thought that the three American teachers were just tourists who had come to enjoying themselves (Bradley, 1987:151).Learners of FSK almost rioted ,but were calmed down when the three were implored by the management to be serious with their teaching and handling their classroom work by the H/M and the BOG.

Lillis (1985) supports the above view by arguing that after independence in 1963 in Kenya, secondary education had a shortfall of teachers because this sector had been neglected during the colonial period since the colonizers did not develop secondary education for Africans. Therefore, at the time of independence and thereafter, there were inadequate teachers to teach in secondary schools in Kenya.

Lugulu Girls High School had challenges in the school context, namely: inadequate dormitories, water, and electric power. These challenges forced the initial Headteachers to search for accommodation for FI and FVs in schools like Misikhu and Butere, Girls' High Schools respectively, between 1962 and 1969. These challenges affected Forms I and Five admissions in 1968 and 1969.

Oral interviews from participants admitted that from 1967 to 1970, accommodation at Lugulu Girls High School between 1968 and 1970, especially FI and FV, was a great challenge due to inadequate dormitories and classrooms (O.I, Liko, , Ndivisi, 14/03/19; 18/03/2019; Pauline Mwolovi, , Teremi, 25/03/2019).

The primary sources/ documents analyzed in this study corroborate the above situation: Thus, the Ministry of Education (MOE) sent a memo to the Headteacher dated 27/02/1969, 17/04/1969, and 30/04/1969, which directed the Headteacher that Form V

(Five) girls be admitted to Lugulu Girls High School be housed at Butere Girls High School until accommodation was improved at the former School. Another Memo from P.E.O Western dated 17/04/1969 asked the Headteacher when form (I) ones were to report. This was the response from the headteacher: “I cannot tell when to admit Form I (ones) due to lack of accommodation facilities, power, and water. May be, at the end of the third term, 1969” (Memo, 17/04/1969). This concurred with KICD (2014) Report that quality and adequacy of resources and physical facilities had a direct bearing on the effectiveness of curriculum implementation. Also, KICD, (2014) reported that the use of teaching aids significantly contributed to learner achievement and that there was a need to enhance teaching and learning resources. This would help the school administration to encourage and support teachers in their quest to develop such resources. However, the primary sources/documents analyzed in this study support the view that FSK in the formative years from 1964 to 1985 had a well-endowed school context that positively influenced curriculum implementation (Inspection Report, 1968).

The findings indicated that the Society of Friends supported the school programmes materially, academically, and spiritually. Material support was given by frequent Quaker donations who visited the school whenever they came to the country and academic support by Friends Social Council in staff recruitment as well as MOE and IDA funds to build and improve infrastructure at LGHS, 1964-1985.

#### **4.4 Subjects Performance and Policy Enactment 1964 to 1985**

The study sought to find out the outcome of teachers' efforts in curriculum implementation. Participants' responses from FSK were recorded in Table 4.10.

**Table 4.10: Best/Worst Subjects of Learners at FSK, 1964- 1985**

The best subjects, why?	The worst subjects, why?
Literature	Swahili
History	English
General Paper	Physics – with- Chemistry
Mathematics	Mathematics
Geography	Chemistry
Biology	

**Source :** ( **O.I,** Kiveu, 14/03/2019; Lusweti, 02/03/2019; Saisi, 18/03/19; Kisembe, 05/04/19; Walumbe, 20/03/2019; C.Buyela, 05/04/2019).

It is clear from Table 4.7, Literature, History, General Paper, Mathematics, Geography, and Biology were the best-performed subjects in the school. When asked to say the possible reason why the student performed better in some subjects than others, one former student of FSK, had this to say “that they were taught by the best 13 foreign and 5 African competent teachers between 1966 and 1973, who were lively and the subject matter was either interesting” (O.I, Jarreti Kiveu, Webuye, 14/06/2019) or practical to the students. This argument was further supported by primary sources of Data such as the Inspection Reports of FSK from 1968, 1971, 1973, and 1974.

However, Swahili, English, Physics-with-Chemistry, Chemistry, and Mathematics were noted as being the worst performed subjects in the school. This poor performance was attributed to Swahili being taught in a foreign language/English (Bessey Report, 1972). English was emphasized at the expense of Swahili which was taught in English. English was said to be performed poorly due to poor preparation from teachers, poor pedagogical approaches, textbooks were written for British audience but not for teaching in secondary schools, and communication barriers because of deep accent from foreign teachers (O.I, Lusweti, 02/03/2019; Saisi, 18/03/19; Walumbe, 20/03/2019);

Bessey, 1972 and Inspection Reports for FSK in, 1969; 1978).

Likewise for LGHS the participants indicated the best and the worst subjects in the curriculum enacted from 1964 to 1985 as follows in table 4.8 below:

**Table 4.11: The Best/Worst Subjects for Students in Lugulu Girls, 1964-1975**

<b>Best (Why?)</b>	<b>Worst (Why?)</b>
Geography and History Literature, English	Mathematics, Physics- with- Chemistry
History, Chemistry Physics; and	Swahili, Physics
Religious Instruction	Biology

**Source:** (O.I, Mwolovi, 15/03/2019; Janet, 20/04/2019; Liko, 18/03/2019; Nangira, 24/04/2019; Muhonja, 26/04/2019; Sitati, 05/05/2019).

The best subjects were attributed to teachers who were interesting and lively in classroom teaching. English was best because it was taught by whites. Literature in English was interesting, because teachers taught through the storytelling method. Geography and History were the best subjects because of interesting teachers while in class (Liko at Ndivisi, 18/03/2019). Lastly, one of the students asserted that “Between 1966 and 1971, the best subjects were English, History, Geography and Religious Instruction” (Sitati, at Nairobi on 05/05/2019).

According to oral interview data from all six (6) former students of (LGHS), the worst subjects were: Mathematics, Physics, Physics- with- Chemistry and Biology. They were not attractive to learners. In the formative years of the school, these subjects were either understaffed or teachers were not well prepared to teach these subjects. Foreign accents affected both teachers and students’ especially non-British teachers from other parts of Europe, the Middle East, or India (O.I, Mwolovi, 15/03/2019; Janet, 20/04/2019; Liko, 18/03/2019; Nangira, 24/04/2019; Muhonja, 26/04/2019; Sitati, 05/05/2019).

Two former students of LGHS stated “Sharma and Singh, their accent and communication style when teaching Biology and Chemistry at Lugulu Girls High School made learners to switch off the subject in the formative years of the school” (Janet Kiveu, webuye, 20/04/2019; Ruth Sitati ,Ndal, 05/05/2019; Liko at Ndivis, 18/03/2019).

Subjects like Physics-with-Chemistry, Mathematics, and Physics were poorly performed due to understaffing and poor teacher preparation leading to the development of negative attitudes from students (O.I, Mwolovi ,Teremi,, 15/03/2019; Janet ,Webuye, 20/04/2019; Nangira ,Eldoret, 24/04/2019; Muhonja Kakamega, 26/04/2019). Swahili was poorly performed because it was taught in English through translation coupled with mother tongue interference in language production (Janet Kiveu ,webuye, 20/04/2019; Ruth Sitati, Ndal, 05/05/2019).

The findings from oral sources, primary documents and secondary sources as indicated that, there were no cultural subjects such as Religious education, music, and industrial education (H/M, FSK letter send to inspectorate Dated, 1978!; Inspection Report, LGHS, 1965).In addition, Teachers enacting curriculum impacted either more attraction or less attraction to the subject in classrooms by learners. Moreover, student performance was either good or bad due to the way teachers handled curriculum delivery in class. It was also evident that the challenges in subject performance caused by the teachers enacting curriculum were similar in the two target schools regarding the best and worst subjects.

### **4.3 Emerging themes on the content of curriculum implemented at LGHS and FSK from 1964 to 1985.**

The findings reveal that the Kenyan education system had its historical part rooted in colonial education which was intended to maintain and reinforce a social structure characterized by a small white elite and large black labouring class (Kwambena, 2006; Amukoa 2013; Ojiambo, 2009).

Eshiwani (1993) stated that as the political aspect shifted after independence, the education system also shifted. Hence, it was modelled from the British colonial education system. Before the 1963 political independence in Kenya, colonial formal education was racially segregated. Plans and adaptation policy in education were based on racial lines/ideology where each race had a separate education system, school curriculum, and opportunities (Rharade, 1997; Eshiwani, 1993 & Ojiambo, 2009).

Oke (2009) asserted that such policies had a role in constructing the historical process. In this case, this study reviewed historical aspects which shaped the teacher's curriculum practices in classrooms in the target schools. As cited in Chapter 1 and historical context in Chapter 2, the Kenyan education system was rooted in British colonialism. That is, Kenya was a British colony from 1895 to 1963 (Sorrenson, 1968; Lillis, 1985; Eshiwani, 1993). As a result, this study concurs that colonialism influenced the education system and curriculum policy in secondary schools in Kenya through the adoption of the British curriculum models and design, teaching, and learning methodologies (Lillis, 1985; Kay, 1975). The curriculum from the British Grammar School system of the UK was more or less the same as Kenya. These were: English, Literature in English, Mathematics, Physics, Biology, Chemistry, Physics-with-

Chemistry, General Science, Domestic Science, History, Geography and P.E. The majority of the participants agreed that there was continuity of British subjects' content/curriculum, values, and language in Kenya.

The participants also indicated that there were still challenges facing secondary school education in Kenya due to colonial legacy. According to Rose (2007), countries regarded as less developed systems of education had great material and ideational agendas. That is, due to dominance and policy transfer in 1963 after independence in Africa and Kenya, less developed/developing countries were under intense external pressure to implement and adopt foreign policies from developed or colonial rulers (Grek, Lawn, Lingard & Varjo, 2009).

Similarly, Hartmann (2007) argued that international agencies such as UNESCO, IMF, WB, BC, Ford Foundation and Nuffield Foundation were empowered regimes, structured to perpetuate globalized/ capitalist ideals, curriculum, and educational policies to serve foreign values and interests at the expense of African or Kenyan interests or values (Rodney, 1972; Gunder, 1959; Freire, 1997, 2000; Woolman, 2001; Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986).

From a critical stance adopted in this study, these arguments cement the view of continued colonization and dominance of the formerly colonized peoples/African ways, only in a different form (Addreoti, 2011; Bailey, 2007; Mignolo, 2000). Hence, the issue of domination, knowledge, and power as indicated in the Theoretical Framework in Chapter 1,

Western ways have dominated African ways even after independence in Africa and Kenya in particular. This was why after independence, the British Grammar School

subjects were implemented in two target secondary schools in Kenya from 1964 to 1985. Ngara (2006) argued that African ways had been denigrated or devalued by western ways of knowing, hence not incorporated into curriculum planning and policies for Africans in their modern-day education systems. This study established that educational planners, MOE, KIE inspectorate, and expatriates, symbiotically and casually used a vacuum of human resource development to implement the curriculum or subjects, British models, strategies, frameworks, from the British Grammar school of UK controlled by Cambridge Syndicate in London.

This study argues that the planners, MOE, KIE, and inspectorate hampered or constraint any move to implement African curriculum reform in the African literature in secondary schools (1972-1974) but allowed European/foreign reforms such as NPA (Sifuna, 1974) SMEA, and SSP reforms (Lillis, 1985; Kay, 1975) simply because their roots were from western ways of knowing.

Ngara (2006) further advances a view that learning and making sense of the world is mediated by one's cultural knowledge, values, and deeply rooted ways of knowing. He further concludes that "if a people's culture and values are not integrated into the communication interchange, their sense of alienation ensues and no development can be expected". He finally argues that the only way for Africans future was to go back to their roots, understand African ways of knowing (thought), and embed these into a re-modernized practice of curriculum change and pedagogy. He further argues that without going back to the African cultural roots, no reforms in education or curriculum in whatever country will achieve the intended objectives.

This means that socio-cultural environment in any given society determines how learning takes place and the uptake of curriculum reforms in secondary schools in Kenya. The policy maker has not identified this problem this why all curriculum reforms in Kenya have not achieved the intended objectives and failed at school level. Hence for Kenya to achieve the intended objectives in Curriculum Reform, then we must adapt the reform to the Kenyan socio-cultural environment. Failure to adapt to our culture, unintended outcomes will persist in the country as the findings in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 indicate.

Similarly, these views were supported by Kay (1975) who argued that foreign reforms such as SMEA, SSP Science, and NPA in Kenya failed to achieve their intended objectives in secondary schools, or failed at the implementation stage, because the MOE/KIE, inspectorate, and expatriates failed to integrate African socio-cultural aspects in the curriculum implementation of NPA, SMP and SMEA in Kenya from 1964 to 1986. During the implementation of Ominde Commission Report 1964, it was seen that the curriculum was highly centralized both in form and content (MOE, 1973). This view was supported by the primary sources analyzed in this study as was used by teachers in the enactment of policy such as: curriculum guides, syllabuses, memos, letters, lesson plans, inspection Reports, and schemes of work directed by inspection teams, PEO & DEO officials, and offices (MOE). This was in tandem with Donnelly (2000) who argued that syllabus provides all content used in the teaching and learning process where all elements are being controlled by the policymaker. This shows that the power to choose the subject, curriculum, and content was in the hands of the state/MOE but not the teachers in the two schools.

The majority of participants expressed a lot of concern for political interference with policy enactment in secondary schools in Kenya. This included two target secondary schools of FSK and LGHS, 1964 to 1985. There were always political dynamics in official schools' curriculum policy construction and implementation. Politics had played a major role in Kenyan society and affected every area of policymaking and implementation. Thus, since independence, education, curriculum reforms, and their implementation had been more political than professional in developing countries including Kenya (Wanyama & Changa'ch, 2013). Politics had also permeated curriculum reforms in developing countries (Mauley, 2001). This meant that politicians influenced education development/curriculum review in a country, either positively or negatively.

Again, Wanyama and Changa'ch (2013) observe that in a democratic country, politicians work with educationists to develop the education sector including curriculum review, management, control, financing, building, and construction.”(ibid).

Thus, politicians ensure that the political goals of education are fulfilled fully in the secondary education sector in Kenya. However, according to Amutabi (2003) politics in Kenya has negated the development of education by interfering with curriculum reform enactment.

From the foregoing, there was an attempt to put into practice a curriculum reform before it was fully developed, prepared, and communicated to stakeholders ready for use by the teachers. But due to political pressure, it was implemented in schools in haste after independence in Kenya.

This was against the advice by Fullan (1989) who suggested that it was helpful to look at implementation as occurring in two phases that were not necessarily linear but somehow parallel to each other. It was argued that this aspect of the implementation was relatively easy to achieve. However, as Kay (1975) observed, providing developmental materials and physical infrastructure to all schools, did not mean that policy enactment in all school settings would be on equal measure or uniform (Kay, 1975).

The more arduous task is developing knowledge and skills and the understanding required of those involved in the enactment of policy (Fullan, 1989). This second aspect requires time and patience to achieve. In this case, both aspects are complementary and dependent on each other. Smooth take-off and effective policy enactment depend on the achievement of both attributes of the policy enactment process (Fullan, 1989). Based on the evidence revealed from interview data supported by the documents consulted and scholars as presented above, it was evident that the process of enacting curriculum reforms in the 7-4-2-3 education system and the roll-out of the curriculum in the 8-4-4 education system was rushed or hasty with a lot of flaws because the policymaker MOE/State emphasized on the structural aspects of the reform process as a chief means of influencing change.

On the other hand Kay (1975) and Lillis(1985) argued that MOE and donor agencies like Nuffield Foundation, Ford Foundation, World Bank; British Council and IDA(Inspection Reports, 1965, 1971, 1968) rushed to put up buildings, supplied materials and equipment especially in the two schools of FSK and LGHS in this study, but did not ensure that progress in teacher training, preparation of curricula materials, resources and professional development of the teachers would match the pace of

development with curriculum enactment at school context. Yet this was the expectation in the Conceptual Framework in Chapter 1 and was explained in Chapter 2, literature review in this study. Hence, policy enactment failed to achieve the expected results as indicated in chapter 6.

Oral interview from the (12) twelve teachers, two former teachers of LGHS confirmed that they “Followed a departmental teaching policy at school, controlled by the Headteacher, Deputy Headteacher, Head of department, class teachers, and subject teachers. But all had to follow what MOE curriculum guide and subject syllabuses prescribed.

They also confirmed that teachers set evaluation tests, both internal and external, as prescribed by KNEC and MOE syllabi. Teachers did not have the power to decide on what to teach but instead followed these guides (O. I, Lusweti, 11/03/2019; Kisembe, 13/04/2019).

This implies that there was unquestionable loyalty to the official Government curriculum instructions and guidelines. In one accord one teacher said:

*“We normally follow what was laid down in the official curriculum guidelines and subject syllabuses from MOE.”* (O. I, Lusweti at Lugulu, 10/03/2019).

That is, teachers were powerless in deciding the content to teach and methodology of teaching since all these were prescribed in the various state-driven subject syllabuses and other official documents or correspondences such as circulars, memos, and letters.

Oral interview data from one Headteacher said:

*“As implementers, we received what to teach from the Ministry of*

*Education (MOE) (O. I, Saisi, 06/03/2019;*

Another teacher concurred:

*Schemes work, lesson plans curriculum guidelines, syllabuses and Circulars ,were the main documents used by the policy maker to as tools of implementing curriculum in schools, from 1964 to 1985 ” (O. I, Kisembe, 13/04/2019.*

The interview data from the (majority) of Headteachers and teachers in this study, expressed a lot of concern due to lack of teachers’ power and voice on the content or what curriculum was to be enacted in secondary schools in Kenya including LGHS &FSK,1964-1985. A sample of their views, one headteacher said:

*When reforming school curriculum, teachers, parents and other Stakeholders should be involved (O. I, Lusweti, 26/02/2019).*

Another headteacher of LGHS said:

*The new Curriculum was pushed on to the teachers because the inspection team argued it was a Presidential system hence no one should raise an issue or question (O. I, Liko, Ndivisi. 11/03/2019).*

Equally, a former teacher of FSK, added:

*“The new curriculum afterOminde and Gachathi, 1964 and 1976 did not involve teachers, we only heard of Ominde and Gachathi, there was no connection with curriculum. If, teachers could have been involved in the process, they would have provided a useful contribution towards effective implementation (O. I, Walumbe, Magemo, 20/03/2019).*

Oral interview data from one student contended that Key stakeholders namely: students, parents and teachers were not involved in the curriculum reform implementation in the two schools (O. I, Buyela; 11/03/19).

It is evident from the findings that curriculum reforms recommended by Ominde 1964 and Gachathi 1976 Reports were designed through, a “Top-down” process. This was in line with the assertions of Gale (2007) who argued that policy formulation was the State

domain and not the implementer's domain, implementers only read off from policy documents” (Gale,2007). The top-down approach detaches the teachers from owning the policy implementation. This makes them lose the authority to talk about anything constructive about the curriculum (Shihundu & Omulando, 2009; Kirk & McDonald, 2001).

This shows that the State excluded teachers in deciding on the content of curriculum taught in secondary schools in Kenya. Hence, this study argues that curriculum implementers should be allowed to participate in curriculum review right from the initiation to implementation phase and not only being given instructions. These views are corroborated with Government circulars used by the state directing teachers of the two schools on the content of the curriculum, processes of implementing and the outcomes in the target schools as they appear in the Appendix 15pp.275.).

Therefore, the teachers who participated in this study implemented curriculum policy without ownership or participation. They were not allowed to deliberate, commend or agree on what they were teaching and how they were teaching as critical stakeholders in the process Hence, their views and perceptions may have been interpreted as questioning the legitimacy of curriculum policy as was recommended by Ominde and Gachathi Reports (1964 & 1976). Further, Kirk and Macdonald (2000) underscored the teacher ownership of school curriculum as public policy: “We contend that the possibilities for teacher ownership of curriculum reforms are circumscribed by the anchoring of their authority to speak on curriculum matters in the local context of implementation. We argue that this anchoring of their authority to speak and their voice provides key understanding of the perennial problem of the transformation of innovative ideas from conception to implementation” (Kirk & Macdonald, 2001).

This study argues that it is critical to allow teachers' voice and ownership in the policy process from initiation to implementation to reduce the gap between policy intent and practice in secondary schools.

The study concludes that the curriculum reforms which were implemented at FSK and LGHS, between 1964 and 1985, had their origin or roots in the British Grammar School of England. The curriculum was irrelevant to the Kenyan needs at independence because the expatriates and former colonial rulers interacted symbiotically (Hightower, 2008) with independent policymakers, KIE, MOE to allow the European/ British curriculum to prevail rather than the African curriculum in the secondary schools even after independence in Kenya.

#### **4.4 Summary**

This Chapter has discussed and analyzed the findings of this study from the policy practices of teachers and policy text of curriculum enactment at LGHS and FSK Context, 1964-1975. It was guided by the question what contents of curriculum did Friends School Kamusinga and Lugulu Girls High School enact between 1964 and 1985?

This study noted that "Top-down" centralized policymaking was out of touch with reality in schools because it excluded the professional input of critical stakeholders. Also, the findings reveal that teachers were trained to translate formal curriculum into formal knowledge hence being treated as mere recipients impacted negatively in the implementation process. This resulted in the achievement of unintended results. The subsequent Chapter presents ways/ how both FSK and LGHS implemented secondary school content of curriculum between 1964 and 1985.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **PROCESSES OF IMPLEMENTING SECONDARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM AT FRIENDS SCHOOL KAMUSINGA AND LUGULU GIRLS' HIGH SCHOOL FOR HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA, 1964-1985**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter analyses how FSK and LGHS enacted secondary school curriculum for human resource development, 1964-1985. Within this period, the recommendations of Ominde and Gachathi in 1964 and 1976 respectively were operationalized in secondary schools in Kenya. The Chapter is guided by the question: "How did FSK and LGHS enact curriculum reforms from 1964 to 1985?" The study highlights the head teachers', teachers', and students' positions as actors who interacted with the policy, specific resource challenges to professional context, constraints and supports in material context, pressures from external context, and conditions of the target secondary schools.

#### **5.2 Professional Culture and Policy Enactment at the target schools, 1964-1985**

These are the dynamics of context (the how) that shape policy enactment, which relate to the interpretative material and the contextual dimensions of the policy process (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012:20). In this case Ball, Maguire & Braun, (2012:21) theorized a set of objective conditions of context about a set of subjective interpretation, dynamics of actors and analyses of four overlapping and interrelated contextual dimensions of the target schools in this study. The four dimensions include: "Situated contexts (for example, school locale, school histories, and intake); Professional cultures (for example values, teachers' commitment, experience and policy management in schools); Material contexts (for example staffing, budgets, buildings, technology, infrastructure); External context ( e.g. degree and quality of local authority support, pressure and expectations

from broader policy context such as Ofsted ratings(MOE or KNEC ratings), league table, positions, legal requirements and responsibilities” (Ball *et al.*,2012). These are the dynamics of context that shape policy enactment. Hence, this study analyzed the contexts of the two schools, their contextual dimensions and how they influenced policy enactment at FSK and LGHS from 1964 to 1985.

## **5.2 Professional Context and Policy Enactment at FSK, 1964-1985**

The participants were asked to identify teachers at FSK and the subjects they taught in the school. All of the twelve former teachers and six former students identified the following teachers: English language: Richard Pettit, Japheth Mahasi, Spivey, Huckbay, Woolman, and William London. Literature in English: Mr. John David Hill; Mr. Burke, Hargreaves, Mrs. Cobbert; History: Mr. John Woods, Mr. David Masinde, Mr. Houston, Mr. Wiliam Wagara Ogutu, Mr. Cameroon; Geography: Mr. Harness, Mr. Anaswa, Mr. Owiti Swahili: Mr. Kinda John; Mr. David Welime; Mr. David Lukorito, Mr. Anaswa Nathan; Mathematics: Mr. John Kinyangi; Mr. Wena Martin, Mrs. Gevons, Mr. Richard Wekesa, Philip Gevons; Physics: Mr. John Spire; Mr. Arthur Arunga; Mr. Richard Wekesa. Chemistry: Brian Nunweek, Mr. Owiti; Biology: Mr. Rodgers, Sturge, Mr. Julius Wasike, Richard Wekesa; Religious Instruction: Mr. John Woods; Music: Mr. Callert; and General Paper: David Welime, Julius Wasike (O.I, J.Kiveu,14/03/2019; R. Lusweti, 02/03/2019 ; J.Saisi, 18/03/19; M.Kisembe, 05/04/19 ;Walumbe, 20/03/2019; C.Buyela, 05/04/2019; O. I, Lusweti, 26/02/2019; Saisi, 06/03/2019;C.Mbarara, 02/03/2019; C.Buyela; 11/03/19; M.Kisembe, 02/03/2019).

At LGHS, the establishment of the teaching staff from 1964 to 1985 was as follows: English Language: Miss Bower, Mrs. Mark, Mr. and Mrs. David Nyongesa; Literature in English: Ms. Bower, Mrs. Nandasaba; Geography: Eliud Simiyu, Mr. Inayo; Biology:

Mr. Soita; Mathematics: Mrs. Kisaka, Mr. Nandasaba; Religious Instruction: Mrs. Newboldt; Physics: Waswa Choseck, Mr. Nandasaba; Chemistry: Waswa Choseck; History: Mrs. Weloba, Mr. Chesori; Geography: Mr. Simiyu.

Other teachers who taught at LGHS between 1964-1973 identified from interview data from former head teachers, teachers and students of LGHS included: Anne Dillingham, Jessica Ngoya, Rosa Mwanzo, Patricio Maskini, Hellen Omoka; Alfred Kimunguyi, Mrs. Susan Oberton, Mrs. Pauline Mark, Beryl Newboldt, Joseph Silikhani, Beatrice Lwosi, Mr. John Kinaro, John Munyasia, Mr. and Mrs. Stine; Ms. Susan Hunter (DH/M) and Esther Bower (H/M 1964- 1966). Furthermore, other teachers were: Alice Barasa; Zebedee Mwanzo; Mrs. Nandasaba; Mrs. Nyongesa (O. I, M.Kisembe, 02/03/2019; S.Liko, 14/03/19; Kiveu Janet, 11/03/2019; Walumbe, 02/03/19; Mwolovi, 15/03/2019; Nangira, 24/04/2019; Muhonja, 26/04/2019; Sitati, 05/05/2019).

It is evident from the findings that the teaching staff at FSK and LGHS in the period was a mixture of African and foreign teachers. The teaching staff taught both “O” and “A” level classes. The PEO office posted the African teaching staff to the school, whereas the expatriate staff was sourced by the FAM Mission, TEA, BEA, MOE, and International Agencies such as BC, FORD Foundation, IDA and Nuffield.

Similarly, primary sources of data/documents analyzed in the period prove that teachers who taught in the two schools as indicated in the Inspection report of LGHS 1965 and FSK 1968, teachers lists for the two schools in 1973 LGHS, 1978 FSK respectively (see appendix 13, pp.272-273) were foreign or expatriate and local African teachers. They were the pioneer teachers in the target schools. For example, between, 1966 and 1971, there were (7) seven expatriate teachers at LGHS (Inspection report, 1965- LGHS)

while at FSK, from 1957 to 1973 were 13 European teachers and 5 local teachers (O.I, Kiveu, former student of FSK, Webuye, 14/03/2019).

Between 1964 and 1973, there were expatriate teachers at both FSK and LGHS. The issue of expatriate teachers, who taught at the two secondary schools, is reinforced by former students of the two schools. That is, the former student of LGHS asserted:

Esther Bower was my European admitting H/M in 1964-1967 (O.I, Ruth Sitati, Ndal, 05/05/2019).

Similarly, another student of FSK claimed:

*We were taught by competent 13 European teachers and 4 African teachers at FSK between 1966 and 1971 (O.I, Kiveu, Webuye, 14/03/2019).*

The expatriate teachers influenced curriculum implementation in the two secondary schools as Head teachers (Bradley and Woods at FSK, 1957-1968, while Bower and Hunter at LGHS between 1962 and 1969). Some were deputy head teachers and HODS who greatly influenced curriculum implementation at FSK and LGHS in 1964-1985. Also, expatriate staff taught classroom subjects and handled games and Drama in the two schools. For example, Pettit at FSK was in charge of Drama (WES/INS/3/120/27; FSK Admission register, 1957-1967).

The findings reveal that professional culture at the two schools had some challenges: teacher professionalism was a major challenge that affected Lugulu Girls between 1964 and 1967. That is, most teachers were untrained or were student teacher trainees, P3's and P4's (primary school teachers, temporary teachers, crash programme teachers, who trained for 2 weeks). Some teachers taught very many subjects they had not been trained in either at F6 or in teacher training colleges. Others were on Peace Corps on vacation in Kenya.

Similarly, the Primary sources of data/documents analyzed in the period such as the Inspection reports of LGHS, 1963 and 1965 support/ corroborate the same views that teachers who taught at LGHS as indicated were untrained or were student teacher trainees, hence, unprofessionalism was rife at LGHS in the initial years (Inspection reports of LGHS, 1963 & 1965).

Moreover, Nabiswa (1999) claims that at FSK in 1962, students were not satisfied by how three American teachers under TEA programme were teaching and handling their lessons at the school. Learners of FSK almost rioted, but were calmed down when the three foreign teachers were implored by the management to be serious with their teaching and handling their classroom work by the H/M and the BOG. Students thought that the three American teachers were just tourists who had come to enjoy themselves (Bradley, 1987:151).

It was evident from oral interviews, primary sources of data and literature review that their effectiveness in teaching in the two schools was questionable.

The second challenge was Africanization/Kenyanization of Civil Service and Public Administration. The expatriate teachers created problems at the two schools regarding Africanization/Kenyanization of Civil Service and Public Administration in Kenya. How could these expatriates fit in the policy enactment in Kenya after independence? To Bogonko (1991), instead of Kenyanising secondary education management and teaching, it was rather Europeanization of secondary education because of the expatriate teacher programmes of TEA, BEA, Peace Corps, Teacher Volunteer Groups, which posted expatriate teachers in the target schools with FSK in particular where European teachers outnumbered African teachers between 1957 and 1973. Nabiswa (1999) notes

that the total number of teachers was 13 European and 5 African teachers in 1957-1973 at FSK.

Thirdly, during interviews, some students pointed out the challenges caused by the foreign/expatriate teachers in the curriculum implementation in both schools:

One student of FSK said:

*“The accent of foreign/expatriate teachers caused a lot of challenges to students in classrooms especially in Science subjects at FSK between, 1976 and 1985”* (O.I, Walumbe at Magemo, 02/03/19).

It was clear that some expatriate teachers had a problem of “accent” since they were unable to teach or transmit ideas, skills, and attitudes effectively to students in classrooms. For example, Miss Anne Lipson, Sharma and Singh expatriate teachers of LGHS between 1977 and 1983, wasted some bright science students.

This was what one of the head teachers of LGHS said:

“European teachers (expatriate teachers) did not assist bright students of Lugulu Girls, especially, Anne Lipson, a Physics teacher with her “Travelling Physics courses” in Western Kenya from 1979 to 1981. She observes that the travelling Physics course benefitted other students and teachers of other schools but bright girls of Lugulu were sacrificed (O.I, Sella Liko, Former student, teacher and, headteacher of LGHS, Misikhu, 25/03/2021).

That is, between 1977 and 1980, there was the Physics Travelling Course coordinated by a Physics teacher of LGHS, and the performance of girls in this subject was poor. This situation almost caused friction between Head teacher, expatriate, African teachers, and education officials at the school. Primary source of data such as Inspection Reports, a letter from the Provincial Inspector of Schools in 1979, the 1979 examination results and PIS letter dated, March 26th, 1980 corroborate this claim (Memo, dated, 1980).

This means that despite good efforts of the physics teacher at LGHS, and her Travelling

Physics course, the outcomes and performance of girls in physics in LGHS was poor.

Similarly, Nabiswa (1996) support the above findings about expatriate teachers causing problems at FSK when the government and the BOG wanted to Africanize the school administration from a European head teacher to an African/local head teacher in 1973 at FSK. That is, a John wood was to handover to David Masinde an (African head teacher). According to Nabiswa (1996), the expatriate teachers at FSK incited learners and teachers not to accept an African head teacher. However, the BOG and African head teachers rallied fellow African teachers and the community of FSK to support MrDavid Masinde, an African head teacher to take over from a European head teacher in 1974.

Moreover, Kenneth Robertson (1955) supports the above findings in this study when he says: that curriculum implementation in Africa was complicated further by a large force of expatriate teachers. Some of them had no previous experience in Africa, while others sometimes display European intellectual arrogance. In Tanzania (Tanganyika), the problem of using white teachers in African schools was summarized by Robertson.

*“In Africa, this community interest is less obvious and the European whether he likes it or not is a part. He enjoys an immeasurably higher standard of living and most of his cultural interests derive from a distant land. He is not simply a grown-up edition of the boys he teaches...”*

The African teacher while he may have learned little about teaching methods seem to have picked up the approach at the same time he has not succeeded in ridding himself of the worship of factual knowledge as such success, is determined by examination results (Kenneth Robertson, 1955:139).

From the interview data, primary sources/documents and data from literature review, analysed, synthesized and interpreted as indicated above, It was evident from the findings that despite their noble role of implementing curriculum and managing the two

schools. They alleviated the challenges of teacher shortage in the two schools, the foreign or expatriate teachers, a few did not have professional expertise and skills required to teach. In addition, some foreign teachers had a challenge of poor communication, incitement and lack of seriousness hindered curriculum implementation in the target schools.

### **5.2.1 Strategies, Methodologies of Policy Enactment at FSK and LGHS, 1964 to 1985**

The study sought to find out how the curriculum was implemented at the FSK and LGHS, 1964 to 1985. Majority of the participants (head teachers, teachers and students) (24) of them. Two head teachers and two teachers, two former students of both LGHS and FSK identified processes of implementing curriculum in the two schools as follows:

"...The teachers followed instructions from MOE curriculum guidelines/syllabuses of subjects; Teaching subjects were allocated by MOE, TSC, KNEC, H/M and HOD in the target schools. Teaching strategies were: Assignments/remedial teaching; Student based learning; Group discussion and testing; Practical/fieldwork/lab lessons/school garden practical's; Timetabled for 40 minutes lesson; Time allocation; Testing/evaluation and marking/CATS/Exams; Discovery and experiments/research in the library; Question and answer/illustration; student participation in class; preparation of schemes of work; internal supervision; Lesson plans for 40 minutes; revision of various topics; teaching through songs!; Use of stories; Oral discussion and writing on the Board" (Source: O. I, Lusweti, H/M, FSK, Makhese, 11/03/2019; Liko, H/M, LGHS, Namarambi, 11/03/2019; Janet, teacher, LGHS, Webuye, 11/03/2019; Mbarara, teacher, FSK, Kimilili, 02/03/2019; Walumbe, student, FSK, Magemo, 02/03/19; Ruth Sitati, student LGHS, Ndalul, 05/05/2019).

From the findings, it was clear that the processes used by teachers to implement the content of curriculum included: instructions from the MOE curriculum syllabus. Teaching subjects were allocated by MOE, TSC, KNEC, HT, and HOD in the target schools ; The implementation of the syllabus/curriculum consisted of the following:

- a) Assignments/remedial teaching;
- b) Student based learning;
- c) Group discussions and testing';
- d) Practical/fieldwork/lab lessons/school garden practicals;
- e) Timetabled for 40 minutes each lesson;
- f) Testing/ evaluation and marking/CATS/Exams;
- g) Discovery and experiments/research in the library;
- h) Question and answer/illustration;
- i) student participation in class;
- j) preparation of schemes of work;
- k) internal supervision;
- l) Lesson plans 40 minutes;
- m) Revision of various topics;
- n) teaching through the songs!;
- o) Use of stories;
- p) Oral discussion and;
- q) writing on the Board.

Teachers adopted these strategies/ processes to implement the curriculum in the two schools. These were the strategies used to put text into practice in in the schools of FSK and LGHS, 1964 to 1985. In addition, it was evident that teachers at the two schools followed the Ministry of Education (MOE) guidelines to implement curriculum. MOE instructed and guided teachers to use various methods of teaching, which included: Lecture method, storytelling, project method, question and answer, discussion, debates, and experiments.

The documentary analysis of primary sources reinforces the strategies identified from the interview data. They included: Experiments, Practical methods, story-telling methods, and field trips (MOE, 1973; 2006:13). This seemed to imply that teachers as implementers adhered to the instructions from MOE. It was evident that the teachers' implemented curriculum by teaching the subjects allocated to them by the H/M after undergoing pre-service training, and then posted by MOE to the two schools. The

training allowed a teacher to teach two subjects of either arts-based, science, or technical subjects. TSC posted them to any secondary schools, including FSK and LGHS. In teaching, teachers supplemented their strategies through assignments, fieldwork/field study and remedial work.

However, field trip method of teaching and learning where students are taken to target venues outside school to learn how to use environment-based resources like places, activities, and resource persons.

It was evident from the findings that field trips were scarce in schools in those days because of the cost, and transport facilities were a significant handicap since school buses were very few.

Time allocation per subject was done by MOE as another way of how teacher's implemented curriculum. The participants indicated that lessons were allocated 40 minutes each. One teacher said:

*“MOE allocated 40 minutes per lesson for thirteen weeks per term and prepared lesson plans” (O.I, Kisembe, Kimilil, 02/03/2019)*

A lesson plan is an instructional action design that specifies what activities should be undertaken by a teacher and the students in the class. It is a tool that a teacher uses to enact policy in class. A lesson plan is extracted from a scheme work (MOE, 2006). (See appendix 8, pp.261) Lesson plans were generated from the schemes of work (see appendix 8, pp.261).

Primary sources/ Document analysis showed that timetabling policy negatively affected sciences, domestic science, and all other subjects in the two schools in this study. The two timetables for each school appear in the appendices (see appendices no 9 pp.261-

263). This was a great challenge in both schools. Furthermore, English was given 8 lessons instead of Kiswahili with 3 lessons. This meant that improper timetabling negatively affected the curriculum implementation.

One teacher of LGHS noted: The teachers were to observe the provisions of the syllabus, prepare schemes of work and lesson plans to be covered on time. That is, 08 to 03 three periods of 40 minutes on average per week depending on the subject in school, 13 weeks per term and 39 weeks per year” (O.I, Walumbe, Magemo, 02/03/19).

Former students, when asked to explain how the teachers delivered curriculum in class had this to say:

*The teachers planned their lessons and practicals (O.I, J.Kiveu, Webuye, 14/03/2019).*

*Another former student of FSK added: each subject/curriculum was accorded 40 minutes of 3 periods per week (Kisembe at Kimilili, 010/04/2019).*

Consequently, it was clear from the findings that syllabus, schemes of work, and lesson plans were key tools that enhanced the professionalism of teachers implementing curriculum in the target secondary schools (see appendix 8, pp.261). However, data from primary sources / documents analyzed in this study revealed that in the two target schools of FSK and LGHS, teachers did not use lesson plans, records of work, lesson notes, and schemes of work as expected by the Ministry of Education guidelines. For example, a memo/letter from (PIS) Provincial Inspector of Schools Western Province dated 02/04/1968 to H/MFSK indicated that schemes of work were not well prepared in the English language. There were gaps, teaching methods were missing, no teaching and learning resources and no learner activities in the documents. The schemes had errors like K.P.E language examination 1968/1969 instead of East African Examination Certificate in 1968/1969 (A memo/letter dated 02/04/1968 and 1968; Inspection Report for FSK).

Similarly, the Inspection Report of 1974 at LGHS revealed that schemes of work made by teachers had certain limitations. They were prepared haphazardly without a clear pattern of who/which teacher should teach what, where, when and the work covered was not filled properly. Also, all lessons inspected at LGHS, the issue of schemes of work cropped up. For instance, in 1981 inspection of the English language, all classes from Forms 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6 had schemes whereas F5 had no schemes. But F1-F5 schemes did not have dates (Inspection Report, 1981).

For Friends School Kamusinga, primary sources of data/ documents analyzed in the period, such as the 1968 Inspection Report, regarding the history lesson assessed, indicated challenges of the syllabus at FSK: for forms F1-F6, it was in outline form divided into termly blocks, but no schemes of work. Similarly, FSK's mathematics lessons showed that teachers were teaching without lesson plans and lacked notes but instead used textbooks. Also, there were no detailed schemes of work in all science subjects/ lessons assessed in 1968 at FSK. Consequently, it was clear that this negatively affected the curriculum implementation at LGHS between 1975 and 1985.

Furthermore, in 1982 at FSK, a Biology lesson was assessed, and it was revealed that in Form 6Y, teachers had schemes of work, but they never used them in teaching the subject. In the 1985 Report, in the history lesson assessed, it was discovered that schemes were not well prepared. Form 1 had schemes covering only Terms 1 and 2, while Forms 3 and 4 had schemes for Term 1 only.

Therefore, it was evident that majority of teachers lacked professional records such as: lesson plans, well-prepared syllabuses, schemes of work, lesson notes, but instead taught using textbooks in both schools. It was clear that despite the teachers claiming to have

used practical approaches in teaching and learning processes, interview data from students showed otherwise. One student of FSK pointed out:

*“Teachers used mostly lecture method without learner participation and or discovery method”*(O.I, Lusweti,Lugulu, 10/03/2019).

Hence, it was clear from the findings that policy enactment was teacher-centred as learners remained passive listeners. Consequently, this led to a lack of voice from the learners as the teachers transmitted ideas, knowledge, skills, and attitudes to them.

The use of songs enhanced curriculum implementation and highly motivated Biology students at LGHS between 1964 and 1985. One of the teachers sang the song during the oral interview as follows:

The title of the song was the “Song of the Bones”whose choruses went like this;

*1. From the skull we go to the clavicles*

*From the clavicles we go to the scapula*

*From the scapula we go to the ribcage*

*From the ribcage we go to the pelvis*

*“These bones these bones are body bones*

*These bones these bones are body bones*

*These bones these bones are body bones*

*These bones these bones are body bones*

*2. From the cervical we go to the thoracic*

*From the thoracic we go to the lumber*

*From the lumber we go to the sacral*

*From the sacral we go to the caudal*

*“These bones these bones are body bones*

*These bones these bones are body bones*

*These bones these bones are body bones*

*These bones these bones are body bones*

*3. From the humerus we go to the radius*

*From the radius we go to the ulna*

*From the ulna we go to the carpals*

*Metacarpals, phalanges*

*“These bones these bones are body bones*

*These bones these bones are body bones*

*These bones these bones are body bones*  
*These bones these bones are body bones*  
 4. *From the femur we go to the tibia*  
     *From the tibia we go to the fibula*  
     *From fibula we go to the tarsals,*  
     *Metatarsals, phalanges*  
     *“These bones these bones are body bones*  
     *These bones these bones are body bones*  
     *These bones these bones are body bones*  
     *These bones these bones are body bones” (O.I, Walumbe*  
     *teacher LGHS, Magemo, 23/04/2019).*

It was clear from the findings that songs and choruses were used and highly motivated Biology students making the subject enjoyable. This also made students change the negative attitude to a positive one because everybody liked music and led to very good performance in the subject in the school of LGHS.

### **5.2.2 School Organization Context and Policy Enactment, 1964 to 1985**

The study sought to find out the influence of school organizations and policy enactment in the two target schools. Below were analysis, interpretation, and discussion gathered from the Inspection Reports of FSK & LGHS, 1964 to 1985?

### **5.3 Inspection Reports and policy enactment at FSK from 1964 to 1985**

In this section, this study discusses and analyses the Inspection Reports in the teaching of Mathematics and Science subjects at FSK done by the MOE inspection teams from 1964 to 1985.

#### **5.3.1 Mathematics Inspection Report of 1968 at FSK**

##### **a) Mathematics syllabus**

The report of 1968 at FSK showed that in Mathematics, the syllabus pointed out that Form 1 and 2 were using the EASMP books preparing for alternative ‘C’ (Traditional

mathematics). For the F 3 and F4 classes were preparing for Alternative “B” for F5 and F6. However, the HOD was concerned with F5 admission of students from schools that were not offering modern mathematics.

But MOE responded to this, by stating that MOE was aware of this situation, hence advised the school to change from traditional to modern mathematics. In this case, MOE called shots that new/modern mathematics was to be implemented at whatever cost! Even when actors were raising pertinent issues on the policy process? Where is the power and authority of the teacher? Indeed as indicated in the theoretical framework, MOE dominated teachers in the policy enactment process as proved in this study. b) Books: The EASMP books in use were as follows: F1 and F2: EASMP by Kenner BK 1 and 2; F3: EASMP by Purr BK 3; F4 EASMP by Clarke Ordinary BK 4. Durrell’s were used for further exercises and references in Mathematics because the HOD argued that the examples were not set in the order of difficulty and capability of learners, hence causing problems to student’s handling those examples from the text of Durrell in Mathematics. C) There were four mathematics graduate teachers on staffing, with one joining the school soon. The department had well qualified teachers to produce quality results. However, the mathematics results were as shown below:

**Table 5.1 Mathematics bottom average scores of FSK between 1964 and 1967**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Average Scores</b>
1964	6.1
1965	6.3
1966	6.5
1967	6.7

Source: Inspection Report, 1968

According to the Inspectors, these were poorer average scores because they represented bottom credits and the average poor results have been rising since 1964. Inspectors also

noted that the school was gradually switching to new /modern mathematics, where teachers were to show interest in MOE vacation courses in the new mathematics! However, records available show only one person had applied for the course in 1968.

On the issue of lessons seen or observed, the report noted that all teachers were seen in action and showed high standards and quality teaching. However, the report noted the following challenges: a) all teachers tended to teach without lesson notes and lesson plans. The teachers were happily teaching using textbooks only. For experienced teachers, it could work but not for the less experienced teachers.

It is evident from the primary data from documents that FSK, a model school, the teaching of mathematics, key to understanding and learning sciences, was faced with many challenges. This was because of changing from traditional mathematics to new or modern mathematics at the school context caused confusion and challenges.

It was resisted by the actors/implementers since school admission was across the whole of western province, including those schools which did not embrace new mathematics by 1968.

Also, it was clear that actors resisted the reform of 'New Mathematics through the HOD because they were not prepared adequately, and the reform was to increase their workloads. The resources in use, the textbooks, were beyond learners' ability and capability, as the HOD argued. Given these issues and challenges, this study reveals that these problems led to poor performance in Mathematics at FSK, 1964-1967.

Moreover, the professional culture had no interest and resisted reforms in mathematics, thus, changing from traditional to modern mathematics. This is because the MOE

mounted seminars to prepare teachers for the shift, but there was only one teacher interested in the modern mathematics course at the school in 1968. The teachers although highly qualified, exhibited unprofessionalism in the teaching of mathematics. The teachers, lacked professional documents, never planned lessons, nor had teaching notes. This study argues that the foundation of mathematics at FSK was poor and weak. Hence, mathematics performance was negatively affected as shown in Table 5.1.

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Moreover, the professional culture had no interest and resisted the mathematics reform, thus changing from traditional to modern mathematics. This is because the MOE mounted seminars to prepare teachers for the shift from traditional to modern mathematics, but there was only one teacher interested in the modern mathematics course at the school in 1968. The teachers although highly qualified, exhibited unprofessionalism in the teaching of mathematics. The teachers, lacked professional documents, never planned lessons, nor had teaching notes. This study argues that the foundation of mathematics at FSK was poor and weak. Hence, mathematics performance was negatively affected as shown in Table 5.1 above.

### 5.3.2 Inspection of Science Subjects at FSK 1968.

a) Syllabuses: Form 1 to 4 takes separate science subjects as shown below:

**Table 5.2 Science subjects at FSK, 1968**

Subjects	Forms			
	1	2	3	4
Physics	2	2	3	3
Chemistry	3	2	3	3
Biology	2	4	4	4
Total	7	8	10	10

Source: FSK Inspection report, 1968

Inspection team observed the following: there should be no reason why the three subjects should not be allocated the same number of periods per week i.e. 3 periods per week. The separation caused problems of students dropping one science subject at F4, leaving learners idle when the subjects were in session. They recommended that weaker children take Physics with Chemistry, though it might be difficult for them.

b) On the laboratory issue, the school had 4 laboratories as shown below in 1968.

**Table 5.3: Number of Laboratories for Science subjects FSK**

Physics	01
Chemistry	01
Biology	01
General science	01
Total	04

Source: FSK Inspection report, 1968

The laboratories were sufficient for teaching science subjects at the school in the material culture as indicated in the conceptual framework in chapter 1 and explained in chapter 2 of the literature review in this study.

On the issue of schemes of work, PIS observed that: a) there were no detailed schemes of work in all science subjects; b) there was no coordination between the heads of science subjects i.e. Biology, Physics & Chemistry in marking, making of schemes and teaching at FSK school; c) there was lack of student participation in the demonstration and practicals in science subjects which led to poor results; d) teaching/demonstration is teacher centered; e) they argued that figures read by teachers don't assist learners; f) Pupils should be shown how to set up the experiments, get their results and then enter them in their books ; g) and use of rough books, pieces of papers for recording and transferring to their books is not scientific and should be discouraged at all costs.

Data from the primary source of inspection report of FSK in 1968, it was evident that the separation of Science Subjects and taught as separate subjects created problems to both teachers and learners in class when learners dropped one of the Science subject. Thus, learners were to be idle when teachers taught the subject and teachers taught less timetabled lessons in Science Subjects at FSK from 1964-1967. see appendix 8, pp. 262-263). It was clear that there were enough laboratories for each science subject but with 1 lab technician, could not manage the 4 labs effectively if all of them were in session.

Hence, inspection team called for hiring 4 lab technicians in school. It was also evident that professional records, teachers had problems: they were shallow and teachers were not teaching as per MOE guidelines and requirements. That is, teaching practical lessons theoretically, meaning that they were not effective in curriculum delivery though highly qualified. Further, there was no teamwork in the teaching of science subjects at FSK because findings prove that there was no coordination between the (HODs) and heads of Science Subjects in making of schemes, marking and teaching which negated curriculum implementation at FSK .

### **I) Biology Inspection Report 1971 at FSK**

a) **Course organization:** F1 and 3 were participating in SSP trials, F4 sat for traditional Biology SC/EACE examination in 1971. Although SC/EACE results have not been outstanding in subject, the school should ensure that Biology is compulsory. F5 and 6 do Biology where the 1969 results were a distinct improvement on those obtained in 1968. In 1968, 5 students passed out of 16 students. Biology can be combined with History, Geography or Mathematics and Geography. However, Inspection team commented that these were not useful combinations.

b) **Biology textbooks:** F1 to 3, use SSP textbooks/manuals, F4 use traditional course book which were adequate, F5 and 6 texts are sufficient though no practical text yet in school. c)**Equipment in Biology:** SSP course requires considerable apparatus for F1-4. Apparatus for F5 and 6 are few and lacking for practical lessons. There was no provision or money for Biology apparatus allocated to the school in 1971. Laboratory space and storage is inadequate for form F1-F6 at FSK.

d) **Biology laboratory.** The 1971 Inspection Report stated that Biology laboratory was inadequate for proper learning and teaching of biology in F1 and F6. The laboratory was too small for complete classes at F1 and 2, it is inadequately equipped for F5 and F6 and it had no fire extinguisher.

The 1971 Report made the following recommendations: i) Laboratory space- with F5, a new lab is required; ii) General science and Biology laboratories, roof top leaks; iii) For storage space, it's very limited in laboratory preparation room's especially General Science and Biology laboratories; iv) One lab assistant for four subjects in science is not enough; v).All pupils should take Biology subject; vi)All children should not offer SSP

Physics and SSP Chemistry; vii) At F5 and F6 all students taking alternative Chemistry for H.S.C should also take Mathematics course which covers simple calculus-which is necessary for Chemistry syllabus.

From the Biology Inspection Report, this study points out as thus: First, there are two syllabuses being handled in the schemes of work, that is, the subjects are SSP Biology trials and the traditional Biology in secondary schools in 1971. This study contends that the two, brought confusion and negatively impacted on curriculum implementation in the department which led to poor SC/EACE examinations in F1-4 in 1971 at FSK.

Second, Form 5&6 results were improving with 10 passes out of 16 in 1969. In addition, there could be a combination of Biology in F5 and F6 with History, Mathematics and Geography. However, this study argues that these combinations were not good because, combining Arts and Science would affect Science subject negatively.

Thirdly, there were adequate textbooks for F1-6 but in F5 and 6, there were no practical textbooks. Biology equipment was inadequate and lacking for practical work, laboratory space was inadequate, for teaching and learning of practicals in F1-F6.

This study argues that laboratory and practical studies are important in science subjects. However, the report shows that the laboratories were inadequate and poorly equipped; hence implementation of curriculum was hampered leading to poor outcomes witnessed at FSK before 1971. In addition, the laboratory was too small for F1 & 2, inadequately equipped for F5 and 6, without fire extinguisher what if there was fire problem in the lab?

There were only two lab assistants, but one was on leave. Leaving one lab assistant for 4 laboratories (Inspection Report, 1971) was a herculean task that affected effectiveness

in practical lessons as was indicated in the inspection report of 1971, 1981).

II) The Biology Inspection Report of 1983-1985 showed the staff establishment of Biology teaching staff as indicated in Table 5.4:

**Table 5.4: Biology Teaching Staff**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Qualification</b>	<b>Teaching experience</b>	<b>Subjects</b>
Mr. J. Achoka	B.ed, 1978	3 years	Biology
Mr. C. Soita	B.ed, 1978	3 years	Biology
Mr. S. Amayo	S.I, 1976	3 years	Bio/Chem
Mrs. Soita	S.I	3 years	Bio/Chem

**Inspection Report, 1983-85**

From table 5.4, teachers were well equipped, professionally trained, and experienced to deliver quality results. Mr. Achoka, who was the HOD, taught both lower and higher classes for a better understanding of the issues in these classes at FSK, 1983- 1985. The Biology timetable was recorded as shown below:

**Table 5.5: Biology Timetable**

<b>Form</b>	<b>Streams</b>	<b>Periods per Teachers</b>
1	3	9
2	3	9
3	3	9
4	3	9
5	2	9
6	2	9

**Inspection Report, 1983-85**

From Table 5.5, it was recorded that each teacher taught less than 25 lessons; a total of 78 periods/lessons per week. The school had 9 periods a day. In F5 and 6, theory lessons were double while practical lessons were triple on the timetable. Each class was taught 6 lessons theory and only three lessons were for practicals. The 6 practical lessons were

allocated in the afternoon, the appropriate time to complete their work afterclasses.

The Inspection Report on Biology laboratories at FSK showed that the school had only 4 laboratories for three Science subjects. The school had two lab assistants running four laboratories with long experience. It was noted that the work was too much for them. The lab was large enough, well ventilated with a bench for demonstration by a teacher, enough benches and stools for students. But water sinks and gas taps were inadequate.

Also, the Inspection Report indicated that the Biology apparatus and other teaching facilities. There were no earlier lab records in school in the 60s and 70s. CIS reliably learned that the old records seemed to have been destroyed or disappeared in school. In the course of data collection, there were no old records at FSK up to 1975. For Biology, the earliest records were dated 1977 and 1978. It was therefore observed that the material context of FSK, negated policy enactment when the school was unable to keep the teaching and learning resources in good order.

The single-beam balances are the most inefficient to use and they were not used at the moment. "The triple balance should be acquired to supplement the electronic balance." It was evident from this report that by 1982, FSK used apparatus that were old, inefficient, misused, neglected, and was out dated and disappeared due to theft, negligence, or by design creating inadequacies in the laboratories of Science subjects. The Report also indicated that there was inadequate glassware and prepared slides for Biology. There were also many expensive wall charts with their frames dropped out while some were still on the ground.

The Report revealed that teachers hardly prepared their charts and they could hardly illustrate simple work with accurate drawings.

Inspection Reports on Biology observed that the school did not have essential textbooks for the teaching of Biology at both advanced and ordinary levels. The old textbooks had been carelessly stored in the labs with pages torn out, that is, Savory textbooks for F5 and 6 were not available. The library had more reference books.

However, it was noted that several essential class texts like photomicrographs of flowering and photomicrographs of non-flowering plants, Atlas of Biology, Atlas of plant structure were non-existent. Furthermore, reference textbooks for students and teachers for the school or personal work were not available because it was alleged that these had been taken away by former students who had already left the school.

Some specimens found in the laboratory were remnants used in the national examinations and the study found out that they were not fully labelled in scientific and English names which confused teachers hence negatively impacted policy enactment.

Similarly, at the “O” level, the school offered SSP and traditional Biology, which confused students in the context of practice in as shown in Chapter 6. The Report asserted that academic performance, including Science subjects, was deteriorating since 1979 due to the following reasons: a) Partly due to administrative problems facing FSK; b) Teachers were teaching using lecture method and teacher dominated; c) Poor presentation by teachers. d) There was a double practical lesson with 20 pupils. The topic was not disclosed though the teacher asked questions about bones. The topic should have been written on the blackboard. e) Teachers lectured almost all the lessons and this was dull and boring.

Inspection Report at FSK, 1964 to 1985 showed that Chemistry and Physics were taught/handled similarly as Biology was, which created problems: Inadequate textbooks; Ineffective teachers; Biology laboratory was inadequate; Inadequate apparatus and that the Inspection Reports were not read by those concerned.

Teachers used the lecture method of teaching rather than problem-solving in practical lessons. The textbooks which were bought for lower classes by the school were not essential for teaching. This meant that they were bought for the subject but not learners. There were also inadequate Biology textbooks for Forms 4 and 6 classes. Pupils' notebooks were not checked regularly by teachers. This meant that teachers never marked learners' books. There were no departmental meetings organized by the HOD. Hence, each teacher worked independently at FSK, 1982-1985.

The approach of teaching practicals in the laboratories was teacher centred. This demotivated learner participation. These experiences were linked to the poor performance at FSK between 1982 and 1985. Science subjects were taught without equipment and apparatus, which were not only a few but were poorly stored and some even stolen. This led to some classes being taught theoretically.

It was also evident that there was no teamwork for all biology and science teachers who taught independently of each other. They did not share, consult and prepare professional documents. This study notes that between 1979 and 1985, the assessed lessons showed the ineffectiveness of the teaching staff. As well, there were no departmental meetings held. This meant that there was no teamwork. This led to poor results in science subjects between 1979 and 1985 at FSK. The findings indicate that it was a result of administrative challenges, overcrowding, and congestion in classrooms (see appendix 14,

pp.274). Also teachers never handled remedial lessons and never tested learners regularly at FSK between 1980 and 1985.

The Inspection Report of 1981 pointed out the challenges teachers faced in the teaching in the classroom. For instance, the blackboard had Mathematics information from the previous lesson which remained up to the end of the lesson. The whole class could be involved for learners to develop critical thinking. Also, the Report indicated that teachers used an approach of dictating notes to the learners which, according to the inspection team hardly inspired learners. In class, learners were passive and seemed not to have their own ideas (*tabula rasa*) rather than depend on teachers' ideas. Thus, learners waited for teachers to dish out ideas in class (Inspection Report, 1981).

This study, therefore, concludes that although the teachers were well trained and qualified, their teaching approaches and the way they handled teaching resources were unprofessional. Their teaching methodology confused learners.

### **5.3.3 Inspection Reports and Policy Enactment at (LGHS), 1964-1985**

At LGHS, arts subjects of English and Literature were discussed and analysed in the Inspection Reports based on the school context of (LGHS) between 1964 and 1985. The documents show that LGHS implemented Arts subjects better than sciences and girls had much interest in Arts subjects than Sciences. For example, the letter written by the HM to the Provincial Inspector of Schools in 1968 stated: "Results of English and Literature were good, but, Mathematics and science subjects' results are a disappointment" (H/M Letter to PIS, dated 1968).

An Inspection Report 1974 of LGHS in English showed that in terms of subject organization, the subject had five (5) teaching staff members with the HOD, a specialist of English graduate teaching 4 out of 12 classes from F1 to F6. There were two (2) teachers of English who taught four (4) classes and the other two classes. The latter was the Deputy Headmistress of Lugulu Girls. Forms 2 and I were taught by other non-specialist Arts graduate teachers. It was evident that English Language and Literature subjects were well staffed with specialist English teachers and graduates in Arts.

**Table 5.6: Passes in EACE Examinations at LGHS from 1970 to 1972**

<b>Subjects</b>	<b>1970</b>	<b>1971</b>	<b>1972</b>
English Language	85	80	72
Literature in English	74	79	67

Source: Inspection Report, 1974

Teaching and learning materials in English and Literature at LGHS 1974 indicated that the supply of textbooks was excellent, especially for readers, for Forms I, 2, and 3. There was a good use of books for Literature in English course for F1 and F2. The ratio of books was 1:2. Form 3 had no definite book. However, F3 and 4 Practical English were not available but were on order. This meant that the material context negated policy enactment at LGHS in 1974, leading to poor results at the school as Tables 6.1-6.10 in Chapter 6 indicate.

The Report indicated that the lessons observed in English were 2. The (1st) first was Comprehension in Form 2, where 50 pupils were learning Comprehension Passage in practical English. Learners were to write the answers to the set questions in their exercise books. There were good responses from students after the teacher had read the

passage. However, it led to a very superficial treatment of the subject matter by the teacher and students. The Report recommended regular marking such work as being necessary and essential.

The second (2nd) Lesson was Literature in English handled by the HOD on the study of Ngugi wa Thiong'o's play *The Black Hermit*. Pupils were to ask questions based on the play. The Report noted that the reading was too long, dull, and monotonous in class.

However, the discussion led by the HOD in class was excellent. The Report concluded that Arts subjects in Lugulu Girls were well catered for in resources, thus teaching staff, books/teaching materials, and equipment.

This study makes deductions from the primary sources/documents of data (Inspection Report of English of 1974 at Lugulu Girls): First, the subject was well-staffed with professionally trained graduate teachers, enough books, and equipment. Secondly, examination results showed a trend of decline 1970-1972. It was marginal, within the standard deviation of the school in the period. The lessons observed in English Language and Literature indicated professional issues/challenges on the part of teachers. There was evidence of teachers who were not serious with their class work, such as not marking learners' books regularly in English.

The English Language Inspection Report of Lugulu Girls, 1981, showed that the staffing had seven teachers handling the subject at the school. Five (5) were ladies, and two (2) were men. Out of (7) seven, only 3 were trained, Language specialists. Examination performance showed the school was not badly off. There were schemes of work for all classes apart from Form 5. However, schemes for FI-IV were not dated.

There was a need to replace Ogundipe Bk 3 textbook in Form 3 with more relevant basic textbooks for Language in F4 instead of revision books like Model English Tests by Cameroon, Revision English by Forrest, English Language for EAC and OCE by Sandhu, and English Language Practice for School Certificate by Singh.

Form 6 Schemes of Work were good. However, they lacked aids such as reference books and tape recorders. Form 5 Literature was pathetic in Paper 3 Section 'D' with only 3 texts available. Teachers requested some kind of guides on oral literature. Also, 30 students for "A" level literature class were rather many. The notes in the English Language at LGHS were inadequate for Form 4. A centralized system should be started immediately for weekly entry by class teachers. Books were issued to teachers by HOD. A record showed that HOD issued books to the teachers to use in class. But there was no record to show how teachers issued books to students. Forms I and II regarding English readers had only 6 titles circulated in class. This was impossible to conduct reading lessons. The report recommended that the department should select around 4 titles and fill them to 21 or so copies of each to a ratio of 1 to 2 students, rotated in class. The Form 4 language teaching in terms of lessons was handled by a well-qualified competent teacher but had a problem and challenge of poor prior preparation.

Because of these challenges, the report recommended remedial work for assessed lessons covered and also lessons needed testing exercises after teaching.

This study concludes that the teachers, although trained and well qualified, their teaching and handling of teaching resources and their presentation/teaching methodology seemed to confuse learners. Consequently, the inadequacy of teaching and learning materials negatively affected curriculum implementation at LGHS between 1970 and 1985.

#### **5.4 External Environment and Policy Enactment at LGHS & FSK, 1964 to 1985**

This section discusses how external contexts/ change agents and their support impacted the target schools' policy enactment.

Twelve former teachers of the two schools indicated that, KIE, KNEC, MOE, and FAM (Church organization) were essential agencies that were instrumental in implementing the curriculum in the two schools from 1964 and 1985.

##### **5.4.1 MOE/ change agents and Policy Enactment at FSK & LGHS, 1964 to 1985**

The majority of former teachers said that the Ministry of Education (MOE) was a prominent player in the facilitation role, which enabled teachers and schools to implement the curriculum in the two secondary schools from 1964 to 1985. This implied that almost all the participants felt that MOE was very important in providing necessary teaching resources such as textbooks, equipment, manuals, and other materials for teaching subjects in secondary schools.

Two teachers said:

Ministry of Education (MOE) held seminars, workshops, conferences, and induction courses for teachers on how to implement the curriculum in secondary schools (O. I, Saisi, Sirisia, 06/03/2019; Janet, webuye, 11/03/2019).

However, two teachers argued:

“After the Ominde Report of 1964 and the Gachathi Commission Report of 1976, the MOE never mounted seminars, workshops, or conferences to explain the curriculum reforms. The teacher added: MOE should re-organize curriculum reform implementation to assist teachers to understand their role as implementers (O. I, Lusweti, Lugulu 26/02/2019; Liko, Ndivisi, 11/03/2019).

Two other teachers added:

MOE's teachers were not well prepared to implement Ominde Report of 1964 and Gachathi 1976 recommendations. On the issue of Curriculum reforms in the country, they added that since independence has been pushed on teachers “as a

government project, it was a must to implement without question (Saisi, 06/03/2019; Mbarara, 02/03/2019; Walumbe, 02/03/19).

From the findings/ oral data, it was clear that teachers attended seminars on how to implement the curriculum. MOE also ensured the supply of teachers in secondary schools was adequate through hiring and posting teachers to schools directly or through the Teachers Service Commission (TSC).

MOE also provided funds to schools to purchase books, equipment and carried out the actual supervision of teaching in classrooms, through schools inspection teams.

MOE also vetted books and other players to enable them to support curriculum implementation in secondary schools. It facilitated teachers' curriculum implementation in the two schools, 1964 to 1985. It held seminars, released circulars, and supervised teaching through inspection teams.

Primary sources of data/documents, including Bessey report, 1972 and the 1974-1978 national development plan, show how FSK and LGHS benefitted from government funds and donor agencies such as IDA to build infrastructure, buy equipment, learning and teaching materials (GOK, 1972; MOE Annual reports, 1974-1978).

These findings are in tandem with Eshwan (1990) results who noted how development plans in Kenya since independence from 1963 to 1990 influenced the development of education in Kenya. He singles out 1964 to 1978 to have had a major impact on curriculum development by focusing on science subjects in secondary schools for human resource development in Kenya (MOE Annual reports, 1974-1978; Mugiri, 1980).

However, MOE never linked Commission recommendations on curriculum to the implementers. There was no linkage between MOE and schools on curriculum implementation. Hence, the mechanism used by MOE to facilitate curriculum implementation in secondary schools from 1964 to 1985 seemed faulty.

#### **5.4.2 The Role of KIE in Curriculum Implementation**

All teachers, twelve of them asserted that KIE supported teachers in implementing curriculum in secondary schools such as FSK and LGHS from 1964 to 1985.

Two head teachers in the two schools stated:

*“KIE held seminars, workshops, induction courses, provided the syllabuses, approved teaching materials, and reviewed the curriculum used in secondary schools. It also evaluated the curriculum implementation process”*(O. I, Lusweti, FSK, 11/03/2019; Liko, LGHS, 11/03/2019).

Again, two teachers established that KIE: “Provided subject syllabuses to the two secondary schools; sensitized them to teach various subjects in the curriculum of secondary schools; monitored how teachers were implementing various subjects in schools; KIE engaged in mentoring and providing technical advice to the implementers through sending subject specialists to schools to assist in teaching various subjects (O. I, Buyela, 11/03/19; Kitembe, 02/03/2019).

Equally, another teacher of LGHS indicated:

KIE provided curriculum guides and handbooks to ensure that teachers understood how to teach the subjects as was expected; KIE provided lots of teaching/learning resources for the teachers and their learners to find it easy to study curriculum/subjects in secondary schools. KIE also made it easy to provide a list of approved books where teachers selected the books needed for use (O. I, K. Janet, 11/03/2019).

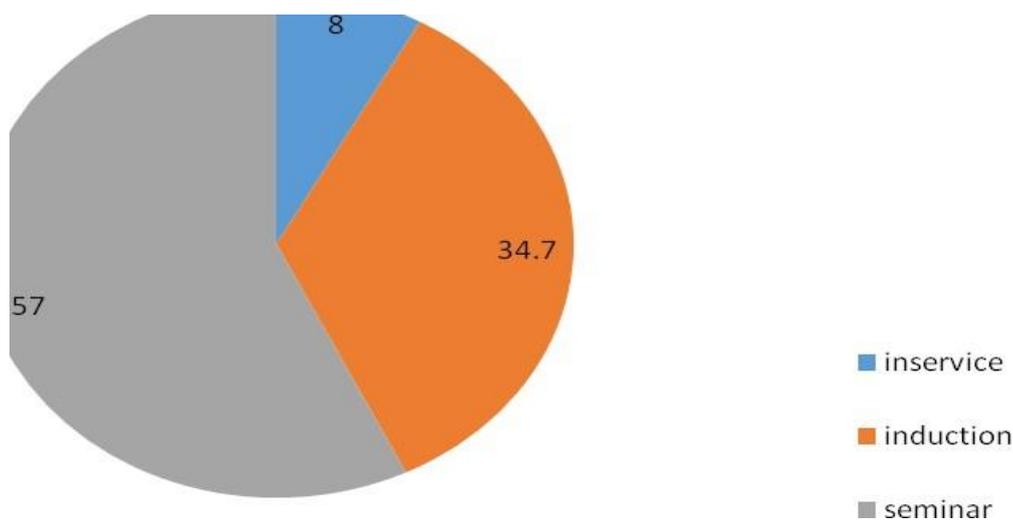
One head teacher and two teachers asserted:

KIE reviewed curriculum/subject syllabus from time and time after carrying out National Assessment Survey (NAS). This helped them to find out the needs and interests of society, schools, teachers, and learners. Hence, head teachers in the two schools sent teachers to attend curriculum review at KIE Headquarters (C.Mbarara, 02/03/2019; Buyela; Liko, 14/03/19).

From the oral interviews, it was clear that KIE was crucial in facilitating and

assisting teachers in implementing the curriculum in the two schools as was planned by MOE and KIE units in Kenya. KIE organized seminars, workshops, In-Service courses for Training.

Some of the approaches used in the in-service training for teachers are shown in Figure 3:



(Source, Researcher, 2019)

**Figure 3: Approaches used in in-service training**

Drawing from the pie chart, KIE/KICD used three approaches to in-service secondary school teachers in Kenya. These were inservice, induction and seminars for capacity building in Kenya. However, from primary sources/documents analysed in this study, in-service courses had the following constraints. For instance, KIE facilitators indicated that they encountered some problems during the training. These were: a) too short duration for the training; b) the training was not subject-based; c) facilitators/ trainers were not adequately prepared; d) funds available for the in-service training were limited; e) some heads of the department did not in-service other teachers at the school level; f) reference and resources materials were inadequate; g) teachers had to travel long distances to the training venue (KIE, 2004).

It was evident from the primary source/document that, with the above challenges, the in-service courses failed to achieve the intended objectives of reaching many teachers of secondary schools, failed to assist teachers to implement curriculum efficiently in the period. Most teachers were not interested to attend the in-service courses, when there was a change from traditional to modern mathematics at FSK, 1964 to 1974 only one teacher was interested in attending the in-service course to that effect (Inspection report FSK, 1968);

### **5.5 Material Support at LGHS & FSK, 1964 to 1985**

In this section, the study highlights how teachers were supported by various institutions in implementing the curriculum. The participants admitted that support services ranged from Government support (MOE, KIE, and TSC), voluntary agencies, Missionary groups, and Political class.

All teachers 12 of them appreciated the support given by MOE in implementing curriculum in the two schools as follows:

Two head teachers cited the support services by MOE:

- i) MOE employed teachers; ii) provision of grants to schools; iii) Provision of teaching and learning materials; and iv) Hold seminars and workshops to sensitize teachers on how to effectively implement the curriculum in Secondary schools in Kenya (O. I, Lusweti, head teacher FSK Lugulu, 11/03/2019; Liko at Misikhu, 11/03/2019).

Equally, two teachers supported the above views when they said:

“MOE provided technical advice to the head teachers on curriculum implementation; MOE provided teaching and learning materials and equipment through SEPU; MOE published textbooks for all subjects through Jomo Kenyatta Foundation (JKF); MOE was also commended for the Inspectorate Division which carried out a regular inspection of the two schools 1964-1985” (O. I, Mbarara, Kimilili, 02/03/2019; Walumbe at Magemo, 20/03/2019).

It was evident from the oral interviews that MOE was instrumental in supporting teachers implementing the curriculum at FSK and LGHS, 1964 to 1985. MOE provided practical materials to secondary schools through SEPU for implementation of science subjects; MOE and the TSC hired and remunerated teachers. Through the Inspectorate Division, MOE carried out a regular inspection of secondary schools in the country. For example, MOE inspected the two schools (LGHS and FSK) in 1979, 1981, 1983, and 1985. Indeed, MOE inspection of schools was a detailed and helpful one. Their recommendations made teachers improve enactment skills on how schools implemented curriculum.

However, one head teacher and a teacher pointed out that the funds provided by MOE were not enough, delayed disbursement of funds to schools, failed to remunerate or pay teachers well which led to teacher strikes and boycotts. In addition, the two teachers said that the MOE's inspection teams were harsh and militaristic, which negated curriculum implementation in the two schools, 1964-1985 (O. I, Kitembe at Kimilili, 05/04/19; Buyela at Teremi, 05/04/2019).

Another most outstanding area of support identified by interview data from teachers and former students was that of Mission/Missionary groups-sponsoring target secondary schools. In this study, the main Missionary group that established Lugulu Girls High school and Friends School Kamusinga was (FAM) (Friends African Mission/Quakers from Britain and USA) (Nabiswa, 1999 ;Wanyama, 2012; Bradley, 1987).

Two headteachers said:

Mission/FAM provided expatriate teachers, funds training teachers, building classrooms, dormitories, and renovations; provided learning materials and equipment. The Mission also paid salaries to Volunteer Peace Corps and TEA teachers; provided scholarships to bright students and teachers from FAM schools who wished to further their studies abroad" (O. I, Lusweti at Lugulu, 15/03/2019; Liko at Misikhu, 15/03/2019).

Equally, one former student of FSK supported:

*“FAM (Quakers’ Movement) sponsored two students of FSK to further their studies in the USA. The two students were identified as Everett Standa and Bernard Lungh’ao (1964-1973)”* (O.I, Jarret Kiveu Webuye, 14/03/2019, 23/04/2019).

Similarly two teachers pointed out:

“FAM/Mission provided moral and spiritual nourishment through church services, guidance, and counselling to the parents, students, and teachers during the weekend/ Saturday lessons and during a get-together session of Quakers in both schools” (O. I, Lusweti Lugulu, 11/03/2019; Liko, Misikhu, 11/03/2019).

The above views agree with the data analysed from the primary document in this study: The Inspection Reports of FSK and LGHS, 1965, 1968, 1971, 1979, 1981, 1983, and 1985.

The MOE inspection Reports point out that:

FAM Mission was a pillar of the two schools of FSK and LGHS, 1964-1985. FAM provided funds, policy guidelines as Quaker schools, paid salaries for Mission, TEA and Peace Corps teachers, provided moral and spiritual nourishment through church services, guidance, and counselling to the parents, students, and teachers during the weekend/ Saturday lessons for both schools and also when there was a get-together session of Quakers in the two schools” (Inspection Reports of FSK and LGHS, 1965, 1968, 1971, 1983, and 1985).

It was evident from data from oral interviews and primary documents that FAM church/faith-based Missions had a profound impact on curriculum implementation in the two target schools. FAM supported curriculum implementation; they supported teachers through funds for training teachers; provided learning materials and equipment. FAM Mission also paid salaries to Volunteer Peace Corps and TEA teachers and provided scholarships to the bright students and teachers from FAM schools who wished to further their studies abroad. FAM/Mission provided moral and spiritual nourishment through church services, guidance, and counselling to the parents, students,

and teachers during both schools' weekend/ Saturday lessons.

However, this study argues that the church/FAM entrenched foreign culture which was against the African culture in the two schools. Hence, students in the two schools adjusted and adopted foreign language and values at the expense of their African values (Ofori Kwambena, 1990) from 1964-to 1985.

Closely related to Mission support, the interviews from all teachers, 12 of them identified donor agencies such as CREDO, British Council, and IDA to have been at the forefront in supporting teachers in implementing of the curriculum in the two schools as follows:

Two head teachers cited the support services by International Agencies when they said:

“IDA provided funds for building and construction of infrastructure; It also gave the government loans to build more secondary schools and to absorb Harambee students; IDA provided schools with funds to buy teaching , learning materials and equipment in the laboratories. It also built houses for the staff in the two schools” (O. I, Kisémbé, Kimilili, 05/04/19; Lusweti, Lugulu, 15/03/2019).

Similarly, four teachers supported the above views when they said:

“CREDO agencies came up with curriculum reform projects such as African Primary Science Programme (APSP), the School Science Project (SSP), the School Mathematics Project (SMP), or SMEA; CREDO, NUFFIELD & FORD foundation (donor agencies) provided funds to pilot the curriculum projects; trained, (in serviced) teachers on how to implement the projects; provided teaching and learning materials and manuals; monitored and evaluated the projects in the two schools; mentored teachers on how to implement “Modern Mathematics” New English Approach and the Science School Project in the two secondary schools of LGHS & FSK; assisted teachers in the two schools to evaluate and assess the projects between 1964 and 1985” (O.I, Kisémbé, imilili, 05/04/19; Lusweti, Lugulu, 15/03/2019).

From oral interviews or data from primary documents, it was clear that teachers implementing curriculum and the two schools received support from MOE, KIE, and TSC. Similarly, Missionary groups and international voluntary agencies such as CREDO, NUFFIELD, IDA and British Council (B.C supported two schools in

implementing curriculum from 1964-1985. They also provided funds, proposed new curriculum reform projects (SMEA, SSP Science, NPA English), building infrastructural facilities, technical advice to teachers, mentoring of teachers, provision of power, facilitating the travelling Physics course, films and paying teachers implementing projects in the two schools.

These views were in agreement with the primary sources of data/documents like the development plans, namely in 1970-1974 and 1975-1980 (MOE, 1970; 1975). Similarly, these views are in tandem with Mugiri's (1979) and Bagunywa's (1980) works who argued that the science subjects' origin was the European projects of SMP, SMEA and SSP science Projects in 1970's. For Bagunywa (1979), he outlined the curriculum reforms of SMEA, SMP and SSP Science projects for East African countries, including Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya.

On the other hand, Mugiri argues that:

“Proliferation of curriculum reform projects sponsored by various agencies could have led to confusion in managing education system and that the SSP Science projects sponsored by Nuffield foundation which developed “O” Level SSP courses without corresponding “A” Level courses” (Bagunywa, 1979).

From the above assertions, it was clear that curriculum reform projects did not to serve the Kenyan needs at independence and were not long lasting because they failed at the school context of the two schools in 1980's. The donor agencies were against Africanization of curriculum and African values, hence all of them-SMEA, NPA, SSP and SMP failed to achieve the intended objectives and were abolished in Kenya by 1981 (Lillis, 1985; Kay, 1975). Similarly, the international agencies represent former colonial powers' values and interests, foreign values, and capitalistic interests in the newly independent African countries.

The participants also identified the support of parents and the community. In the two schools, community organizations and parents were supportive to the school activities, including curriculum implementation. Community members and parents served in the school Boards of Governors and School Committees, which executed plans assigned to them by the Ministry of Education. They also ensured that secondary schools were kept safe and secure.

One teacher concurred:

*“Parents and community members volunteered to support the school's programmes. Some community members were employed in the two schools as teachers, support, and non-support staff. This strengthened community-school partnership”* (O.I Mbarara, Kimilili, 02/03/2019).

However, the participants were apprehensive about political interference in the name of protecting community interests in the target schools caused challenges that affected curriculum implementation at FSK from 1980 to 1985 (Inspection reports, 1981, 1983, 1985; Nabiswa, 1999:191). Indeed, Nabiswa (1999) posit:

*“Political interference and the negligence of the BOG chairman of school management at FSK from 1980-1985 pushed FSK from the academic map”* (Nabiswa, 1999).

From the above quotes, it was clear that the issue of representing community interests caused political interference which Amutabi (2003) concurs has negated curriculum development and implementation in Kenya since independence.

Constraints of policy enactment at the context of the practice of LGHS and FSK, 1964-1985. My study sought to find out from participants the challenges which faced policy enactment at the two target schools. The following were identified as outstanding constraints during the period under review. When asked about the government-related challenges, one headteacher had this to say:

“Hasty implementation of curriculum reforms, multiple policies in the curriculum implementation, low financial input, and centralization of curriculum policy, inadequate staffing, Inadequate infrastructure, Inadequate teaching and learning materials and equipment, state- dominated policy implementation which denied teachers a voice and delay in the disbursement of funds, salary for teachers, hiring of teachers...” (O.I, Lusweti, Lugulu, 15/03/2019; Liko, Misikhu, 15/03/2019). The majority of teachers pointed out that politics played a major role in curriculum reforms and implementation between 1964 and 1985.

Another headteacher said:

Due to political pressure, the Government rushed to change the education system from 7-4-2-3 to 8-4-4 between 1981 and 1985. This hindered curriculum implementation because it brought confusion to the teachers as two policies were implemented at the same time in the school contexts of LGHS & FSK, 1964 to 1985(O.I, Liko head teacher, Misikhu, 15/03/2019).

It was evident that centralization of curriculum implementation by the Government through MOE determined ‘what’ and ‘how’ implementers delivered the content of curriculum. The centralization of policy denied critical stakeholders a chance, voice, and perspectives to take root at the initiation, adoption and implementation of the curriculum in schools. The top-down/centralized process left out implementers who were critical to the process.

Another head teacher added:

“Curriculum reforms in secondary education in Kenya were pushed down teachers’ throats as MOE stated that 8-4-4education system must succeed since it was a presidential system. There was no Headteacher or teachers who were involved in the process of curriculum reform. There was no public participation, but MOE and inspectorate stated that the 8-4-4 education system and its curriculum must succeed by all means” (O. I, Kisembe DH/T, LGHS, Kimilili, 05/04/19).

Consequently, there was haste in implementing the 8-4-4 Education System in 1985. The finding further shows that there was lack of time allocated for piloting, teacher training, and the final roll-out. This finding was consistent with Fullan (1989), who pointed out that a hasty implementation had a likelihood of poor performance. He suggested that curriculum should be implemented in phases that are not linear but somehow sequential to eachother.

Former teachers (twelve of them) indicated that major challenges which hindered curriculum implementation were related to teacher constraints in professionalism. These challenges included: unqualified and church-related teachers; inexperienced teachers; shortage of teachers; low-grade teachers, unprofessional teaching, expatriate non-local teachers; the attitude of teachers influencing how students studied subjects in the target schools. One teacher stated in his response:

I trained as a priest at Rukwaro Seminary in Nyanza, but ended up being a teacher at Friends School Kamusinga between 1970 and 1982 (O.I Mbarara, Kimilili, 02/03/2019). While still responding to the possible challenges affecting professional enactment, a former student of, FSK) added: Some teachers focused mainly on gifted learners at the expense of slow learners in class. The practical lessons were taught like theory lessons (O.I, Lusweti, Lugulu, 15/03/2019,).

Data from primary documents /sources of data such as inspection reports, circulars, memos and letters, support that teachers faced the above challenges as presented by former teachers in curriculum implementation in the two schools (Inspection Reports of FSK and LGHS,, 1965, 1968, 1971, 1979, 1981, 1983, and 1985 circulars, memos and letters).

It was clear from the findings and evidence analysed from primary documents and oral interviews, revealed the following challenges exhibited by teachers when teaching in the classrooms of the target schools included: a) lack of preparation or poor preparation; b) lack of professional documents such as lesson plans, lesson notes, and schemes of work; c) teachers taught practical subjects in the lab theoretically) teachers dominated teaching in class; e) There was poor teaching methods because teachers dictated notes in classrooms and learners became passive listeners. Hence, it was evident that unprofessionalism seemed to have hindered curriculum implementation in secondary schools at FSK and LGHS from 1964 to 1985.

At LGHS in the formative years of 1962-1973, there were challenges of inadequate

physical facilities, water and power. This compelled the administration to seek accommodation of girls of LGHS elsewhere. To solve this situation, some students in FI, II, and FV were accommodated at Butere Girls and Misikhu Girls respectively, this negated school admissions, curriculum implementation and development in the period (see appendix 14, pp. 274).

### **5.5.1 Emerging Themes as FSK and LGHS implemented curriculum from 1964 to 1985**

In this section, this study discusses themes that emerged as follows: the MOE/state/external context control of curriculum process, material context, staff deployment and supply, staff development, exclusion of actors' voice constraints, and international Agencies' impact on policy enactment in the two secondary schools of LGHS and FSK, 1964 to 1985.

According to KIE (2006), a regular supply of learning, teaching materials, and equipment are important in curriculum implementation. Materials such as pupils' books, teachers' guides, educational media, textbooks, and readers should be available in schools to ensure smooth curriculum implementation at the classroom level. In this regard, the textbook is a major learning and teaching resource in most African countries. However, according to World Bank (2008), textbooks were always in short supplies.

In the Kenyan education system, efforts to address the problem of textbooks led to liberalized global market when publishing international companies came into play (MOE, 1990). To ensure that the textbooks were of quality, in line with peoples' culture, standards, and needs, the government established Jomo Kenyatta Foundation as its publisher (MOE, Annual report, 1974). The MOE controlled the procurement of

books and other materials.

The study asked the teachers to indicate the procedure that was used in procuring textbooks to schools. The participants asserted that this was done through KIE, JKF, and MOE inspectorate manuals. They were procured from KIE selected textbooks listed in a book, controlled by MOE/KIE only (MOE, development plans, 1964-1974).

However, the procurement policy had some weaknesses. First, the books authorized by the MOE could not fit the quality and relevance as expected (Inspection Reports FSK and FSK, 1971 to 1985). Secondly, the funds disbursed to schools were inadequate. This meant that these conditions limited the schools and teachers to make decisions on teaching and learning resources. Also, due to the centralized way of deploying resources to teachers, there was a lack of creativity to acquire alternative resources when the government delayed or failed in its obligations.

Regarding the staff deployment at LGHS and FSK, 1964 to 1985, the findings in this study revealed that all public school teachers were civil servants employed and posted to schools by the Ministry of Education (MOE) through the Teachers Service Commission. Secondary school teachers specialize in one major and minor subject, making it easy to be assigned duties by the headteacher according to one's area of specialization. Towards this end, the teaching subjects recommended by both the Ominde Commission in 1964 and Gachathi Report in 1976 in the curriculum were expected to attain the prescribed national education goals.

Oral interviews from teachers and former teachers of the target schools coupled with the documentary evidence from primary sources confirmed that teachers for secondary

schools were in high demand in Kenya between 1964 and 1985. This was because there was shortage of teachers for secondary schools in Kenya after independence, did not get an immediate solution. Indeed, this study argues up to date, teacher shortage in Kenya has never found a workable solution. The paradox here is that as much as there is a surplus of trained teachers, laxity in the recruitment procedures and approaches have absurdly occasioned the shortage.

Professional development of teachers at LGHS and FSK from 1964 to 1985 was also a key element. Teacher professionalism refers to the rights and obligations of a teacher to determine their tasks in classrooms (Blasé, 2009, Benson, 2002 & Benson, 2000). It is also referred to as teacher autonomy which is the capacity to carry out self-directed professional actions and be free from control over them (Little, 1995, Smith, 2000). Proponents of the aspect of autonomy argue that it allows wider involvement and willingness to support change. Teachers were expected to exhibit optimum autonomy as they go about their profession.

In the Kenyan secondary school curriculum implementation process, the State reduced classroom teachers' professionalism. The State decided what goes on in the curriculum and how it should be presented to the learners. This dispossessed the teacher of any power of creativity and improvisation. This could be seen in their strict syllabuses, curriculum guidelines and timetabling which eroded the teacher's professional status. In considering this, Gale (2007) observed that the teacher was reduced to a recipient of change rather than a decision-maker in process curriculum implementation.

Teachers in Kenyan secondary schools operated in schools and classrooms that were not conducive physically, socially, economically, and culturally. Indeed in one school, one

could find differences in adjacent classrooms. This interfered with effective curriculum implementation.

This study argues that they were enacting the instructions to suit their situations but not to address the ideal reality on the ground. McLaughlin (1987) retorted that the implementers of curriculum, more often than not, failed to follow their instructions. Instead, they always acted only to maximize policy objectives. In this regard, those responsible for implementing the policy responded in what often seemed quite idiosyncratic, frustrating, unpredictable ways. The result was enormous variability in what constituted a programme in communities across the nation (McLaughlin, 1987:172).

From the preceding, it could be argued that capacity building and empowerment strategy in addressing school problems were lacking (Pearson & Moomaw, 2006). Unlike top-down prescriptive approaches, capacity building seeks to empower, use research and make informed decisions in leading and facilitating curriculum development. This can be done through various activities related to information exchange, research, and training (UNESCO/IBE/, 2002). In this regard, capacity building could bridge the gap between theory and practice in curriculum implementation.

In the entire process of curriculum implementation, teachers play a key role. Findings in this study revealed that teachers' voices at LGHS and FSK had been excluded. There were documents analyzed in this study on "what" and "how" to teach and "what" result they were to achieve. The Report revealed that the perspectives of teachers were excluded. Teachers like other stakeholders were just recipients of the policy to implement without questioning the content and approach. Fullan and Hargreaves (1992)

argued that success in curriculum reforms depended on informed teachers. Information engaged teachers to be responsible for the ultimate implementation of the new syllabus, assessment practices, and standards of students' performance. Carl (2005) considered teachers as partners in the process of curriculum change and therefore ought to be provided with a forum to voice their concerns.

The study also established that the teachers' support in the target schools faced certain constraints. The study reveals that the end-users implemented curriculum policy with less ownership. They were not allowed to deliberate or comment on what they were teaching and how they did it. Kirk and Macdonald (2001:551) emphasized teacher ownership of school curriculum as public policy.

They argued that teachers should be empowered to own curriculum reforms since this gives them the authority to speak on curriculum matters within the local implementation context. Thus, it was critical to allow teachers' voice and ownership in the policy process, from initiation to implementation. This could to a greater extent reduce the gap between policy intent and practice in secondary schools.

The involvement of international stakeholders cannot be overlooked in the development and implementation of curriculum reforms in Kenya. This study established some of the dominant roles played by these groups at LGHS and FSK between 1964 and 1985. The Mission groups and Donor agencies were involved in the way in which curriculum reforms developed in the study area and indeed Kenya at large. These included: Friends African Mission (FAM) or the Quakers, Centre for Renewal of Education Development Overseas (CREDO), British Council (BC) in Kisumu, and the International Development Agency (IDA). These institutions supported education and teachers in the

two target schools by providing funds and the schools' infrastructural development. They also initiated curriculum reform projects such as the New English Approach (NPA), School Mathematics of East Africa (SMEA), and School Science Project (SSP) in Kenya between 1974 and 1985. These initiatives promoted education to a greater extent. The evidence of the support of these donor agencies is seen in the increased number of schools between the stated periods as shown in Table 5.7:

**Table 5.7: Number of Secondary Schools in Kenya, 1976-1985**

Year	Number of Schools	Percentage growth (%)
1976	1268	9
1977	1473	16
1978	1773	20
1979	1721	-3
1980	1785	4
1981	1904	7
1982	21131	12
1983	2230	5
1984	2396	7
1985	2413	1

**Kenya Statistical Abstracts 1972-1990**

The above Table shows vibrant development in education in Kenya between 1964 and 1985. This is shown in the way the number of schools increased and the number of streams increased in the target schools from one stream to three streams from 1964 to 1985. This is the period within which the recommendations of the Ominde Commission of 1964 and Gachathi Commission 1976 were implemented in Kenya. However, in sharp contrast, Lillis (1985) pointed out that independent nationalists, MOE, KIE and the Powerful Inspectorate after independence in Kenya, interacted with expatriates and donor agencies to extend colonial education curriculum in Kenya. Woolman (2001) also argued that Africans inherited European education systems for colonial dependence and

to serve colonial interests in post-colonial Africa. The donor agencies, Church, expatriates at MOE, KIE, and teaching staff in FSK and LGHS ensured colonial education and curriculum reforms prevailed against African values, interests, and needs.

This study has observed that classroom teachers as implementers were trained to translate the formal curriculum into meaningful knowledge, which can only be done effectively depending on their pedagogical knowledge, experiences, availability of resources, and the physical state of the classrooms.

### **5.6 Summary**

This Chapter described how curriculum policy was enacted at FSK and LGHS from 1964 to 1985. It has captured various factors which impacted policy enactment. These were noted in making decisions regarding the content or what was taught in class, teaching methods, and provision of human and physical resources. The approach to policy implementation adopted in Kenya after Ominde 1964 and Gachathi 1976 Reports was top-down which excluded cardinal voices of professionals' perspectives and experiences in deciding what and how to enact policy in two schools. The chapter highlights the processes which were employed by the teachers to implement the curriculum professional culture, teaching strategies and how the state controlled enactment through the MOE, KIE and KNEC. MOE, KIE, Donor agencies, and FAM supported the teachers and the challenges in both professional as well as material contexts of both schools from 1964-1985. The next chapter analyses the outcome/results of curriculum policy enactment at LGHS and FSK, 1964 to 1985.

## CHAPTER SIX

### THE OUTCOME OF CURRICULUM IMPLEMENTED AT FSK AND LGHS, FOR HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT, 1964-1985

#### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the outcome of curriculum implemented in two target secondary schools of Friends School Kamusinga and Lugulu Girls High School from 1964 to 1985. The outcome of the curriculum reforms enacted at LGHS and FSK, 1964-1985 are discussed in the subsequent sub-sections.

The outcome of curriculum reforms at LGHS, 1964-1985. Lugulu Girls High School was established in 1962 by FAM Mission, and the first head teacher was Barrett L. H. It was raised from a single stream Mission secondary school to Provincial Girls' Secondary School. Later on, it attained national status from 2011 (School Strategic Plan 2013-2017).

Curriculum implemented at LGHS between 1964 and 1985 achieved both intended and unintended outcomes. The intended outcome was as follows: These included: Excellent examination results between 1964 and 1985; students joined universities/colleges after F4 and F6 and were admitted into the highly rated courses such as engineering, architecture, law, teaching, commerce, nursing, medicine, and surgery.

Also, the school products transformed the community, through chief's barazas, churches, and social functions. They influenced curriculum activities of other schools through Science conferences, Travelling Physics courses, symposia, and church-related activities in western Kenya. Curriculum also influenced non-academic spheres/aspects such as games, sports, drama, music, choir, CU, YCS, and Young farmers whose

products transformed society. Lastly, Curriculum implementation at LGHS resulted in the production of elites who became leaders in communities and the country at large.

Oral interviews from the six former, the students of Lugulu Girls' High School in this study, stated:

“That most of them excelled and took their areas of training seriously” (Ruth Sitati Ndal, 05/05/2019).

Another student confessed:

“Education system and curriculum between 1964 and 1985 produced solid and serious people/students whereas, today, schools are producing current robots who cram to pass examinations only” (O.I, Muhonja Eldoret, 26/04/2019).

Similarly, all teachers, six of them supported: Two teachers of LGHS added:

“Many students who passed through LGHS got very good grades to join higher education institutions such as universities to handle important courses in medicine, nursing, banking, administration, and teaching (Janet, Webuye, 20/04/2019; Liko, Ndivisi, 18/03/2019).

The Kenya Junior Secondary Examinations (K.J.S.E) was done at the end of Form 2 & EACE results at F4 shown in Tables 6.1-6.4.

**Table 6.1: K.J.S.E. Outcome of Lugulu Girls High School, 1967**

<b>Subjects</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>A-</b>	<b>B+</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>B-</b>	<b>C+</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>C-</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>Totals</b>
English	2	1	1	8	10	13	11	5	15	66
Swahili	0	0	0	2	12	6	9	20	17	66
Mathematics	0	1	4	4	4	6	2	12	34	66
G. Science	0	0	0	3	4	4	8	10	37	66
Biology	0	0	0	3	12	10	15	9	17	66
Geography	0	0	0	1	2	2	5	8	48	66
History	0	0	1	3	8	8	11	7	28	66
Totals	2	2	6	24	52	49	61	71	196	

**Source: K.J.S.E Results of LGHS, 1967.**

**Table 6.2 C.S.C. Results of LGHS, 1967**

Subject	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
English language	0	0	0	0	2	3	6	9	11	31
Literature in English	0	1	5	2	2	4	6	5	1	26
Mathematics	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	6	9
History	0	0	3	0	3	4	4	8	9	31
Geography	0	2	4	0	0	5	5	3	2	21
General Science	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	11	18
Physics W/Chem	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	7
Swahili	0	0	0	1	1	2	8	8	1	21
Bible Knowledge	0	0	2	1	1	7	5	5	3	24
Biology	0	0	1	1	2	6	2	3	13	28
Health Science	0	0	2	0	0	2	2	4	9	19
Totals	0	3	17	5	12	34	41	51	72	235

**Source: C.S.C 1967 Results**

**Table 6.3: E.A.C.E. Lugulu Girls High School, 1968**

Subject	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Totals
English Language	0	0	1	0	0	4	21	16	15	57
Literature in English	0	0	4	3	7	13	9	6	14	56
Maths	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	18	22
History	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	21	34	57
Geography	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	7	31	44
B. Knowledge	0	0	6	2	7	15	12	2	5	49
P.W.CH	0	0	0	0	1	4	4	4	2	15
General Science	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	8
Biology	0	0	0	0	0	10	5	8	33	56
Swahili	0	0	6	4	2	4	13	9	17	55
Health Science	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Totals	00	00	17	9	20	53	69	76	175	420

**Source: E.A.C.E Results, 1968**

**Table 6.4: K.J.S.E. Analysis 1968 Lugulu Girls High School**

Subjects	A	A-	B+	B	B-	C+	C	C-	D	Totals
English	0	0	0	1	2	2	3	3	3	13
Swahili	0	0	0	2	2	2	1	3	4	13
Mathematics	0	0	0	0	1	2	2	1	8	14
G.Science	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	3	9	13
Biology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	13	13
Geography	0	0	0	0	0	3	5		6	13
History	0	0	0	1	0	1	3	3	6	13

**Source: K.J.S.E Analysis -1968**

Drawing from tables 6.1-6.6, findings show that all Science subjects and Mathematics were dismally performed, while the girls performed well in the Languages and Arts subjects. Similarly, initial performance of LGHS was poor from 1964-1974, but started rising from 1976 to 1985, as indicated in Tables (6.1-6.4).

Following the development in curriculum reforms, there was improved performance in the national examinations. This, in turn, led to an increase in the number of schools and expansion of facilities at the target schools. This was admirable progress in the development of education in the two target schools (FSK and LGHS). This was assessed in a 10-year time interval and the development is presented in Table 6.5 below: In considering the above, it is important to note that the outcome of Curriculum/educational reforms during which infrastructure was developed; teachers recruited and posted to schools, provision of teaching and learning resources were enhanced, led to improved performances in secondary schools.

**Table 6.5: Growth of Secondary Schools in Kenya, 1963-1983**

Year	1963	1973	1983
Secondary Schools	151	964	2,230
Enrolment	30,121	174,767	493,710
No. of Teachers	1530	7388	18,960

**Source: MOE (1994) Statistics**

Table 6.5 indicates that there was an immense improvement in enrolments during the period that expansion of infrastructure was witnessed. The number of teachers also increased in the sector of secondary education in Kenya. In terms of moral achievement, two former students said:

“Most former students of LGHS showed a high degree of discipline outside school life and in their places of work. It was also established that the products of Lugulu Girls did well in games and sports(O.I, SellaLiko, Ndivisi, 18/03/2019; Ruth Sitati, Nairobi, 26/05/2019)

Moreover, former headteacher further added:

“Students further excelled in drama, music, and social activities in the district, Province, and the nation. These activities enhanced national unity which was one of the key national goals of education in Kenya after independence (O.I, sella Liko H/M LGHS,Ndivisi, 18/03/2019; Kisémbé DH/T, LGHS, Kimilili, 05/04/19).

The oral interviews from former teachers revealed the outcome of leadership positions:

Most former students of LGHS, later on, held leadership positions various fields such as teaching,law,banking,administration, nursing...in the community and national stage (O. I, Kisémbé DH/T,LGHS, Kimilili, 05/04/19;Walumbe teacher, LGHS Magemo, 02/03/19).

Former students also held various positions in various professions as indicated in Table

6.6

**Table 6.6: Professions held by some LGHS Elites, 1964-1985**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Years in School</b>	<b>Profession after school</b>
Ruth Sitati	1967-1970	Law/legal
Norah Alungata	1964-1970	Nursing
Nancy Nabwile	1967-1970	Nursing
Pauline Mwolovi	1967-1970	Teaching HM
Janet Kiveu	1965-1970	Teacher/Principal
Sella Liko	1967-1970	Teacher/Principal
Janerose Lukoye	1983-1984	Teacher
Muhonja Priscillah	1964-1967	Banking
Lorna Mumelo	1973-1974	Teaching/Administrator
Marble Neyole	1973-1974	Law/legal

**Source: Researcher, 2019)**

Drawing from the data, curriculum implemented at LGHS produced elites who served in various public and private sectors in Kenya and the community at large. However, it was evident that, initial challenges, and lack of teachers in subjects such as Domestic Science, Mathematics, and Science subjects, the students of LGHS, were hampered in science career's but well-endowed in Arts- based subjects and careers such as law, teaching, commerce, banking... That is, Science-based careers in medicine, engineering, architecture, and technology were scarce at LGHS, as table 6.6 shows. Hence, one former student said:

“I wanted to be an architect but failed to get it” (Nangira at Kakamega, 24/04/2019).

When the researcher asked whether students achieved their dream careers at LGHS, some of their answers: The first Former student of LGHS said:

“Yes I wanted to be a teacher and trained as a teacher after Form Four because I admired my teachers who were very good, they had good families and were respected in the community in 1970's” (O.I, Mwolovi, 15/03/2019).

Researcher, did you achieve your dream careers at LGHS

A Former student of LGHS said:

*“Yes I did! I wanted to become a teacher, and I became a teacher, Deputy HM & a principal of LGHS” (O.I, Sella Liko, 18/03/2019)*

Researcher, did you achieve your dream career at LGHS. Another Former student of LGHS answered:

*“No, I wanted to be an architect but ended up being a teacher” (O.I, Nangira, 24/04/2019).*

Researcher, did you achieve your dream career at LGHS?

Former student of LGHS said:

*“No I was admitted to Dar es Salaam University to study Law, but I took a shortcut to Secretarial College, in Nairobi and later on Banking” (O.I, Muhonja, Eldoret, 26/04/2019).*

Researcher, did you achieve your dream career at LGHS? Former student of LGHS said:

*“Yes I did, I trained as a lawyer, and it was my dream career in high school.” However, the student lamented: “there were several practical subjects who were not examinable such as home science, art, music and agriculture”. There was too much emphasis on formal employment after school”. She further added “There were no lessons in entrepreneurship. As a result, the environment in the labour market was harsh outside formal employment” (O. I, Ruth Sitati, 05/05/2019).*

A curriculum which was implemented at LGHS between 1964 and 1985 based on examination results and the findings of this study show that at first, results were not good but later on, they improved in the national examinations, 1980-1985 (See appendix, 11 pp.266-268).

It was also clear that most former students of LGHS showed a high degree of discipline outside school life and in their places of work. It was also established that the products of Lugulu Girls did well in games and sports. They were national champions of volleyball for quite some time in the country from the 1980s to 2010.

It was evident that the students further excelled in drama, music, and other activities in the district, Province, and the nation. These activities enhanced national unity, one of the key national goals of education in Kenya after independence.

On the other hand the curriculum implemented at LGHS focused and emphasized on formal education for formal employment or white-collar jobs at the expense of technical education which was good for vocational skills for students to survive after school.

In the subsequent section, a discussion of the outcome of curriculum reforms in FSK is presented outcome of Curriculum Reforms enacted at FSK, 1964-1985. After its establishment in 1957, FSK proved that it was ready to roll out all-around products in academics, sports and games, and discipline. The school produced graduates who were to meet the challenges of independent Kenya. The schools' context was so positive that the Church (FAM) controlling its affairs and being the main pillar to curriculum enactment. FAM Church through the expatriate teachers, funds, moral guidance, support in training of teachers and facilities, had a profound impact on the implementation of curriculum and the outcome of such activities at FSK.

The teachers and students twelve of them, who participated in this study, unanimously agreed that the implementation of curriculum reforms at FSK achieved both intended and unintended outcomes at FSK, 1964-1985. For instance, one head teacher said: the intended outcome included:

“Excellent examination results between 1964 and 1985: Students joined universities/Colleges after F4 and F6 and were admitted to the core, highly rated courses such as engineering, architecture, law, medicine, teaching, and surgery. School products transformed community, through Chief's barazas, Churches, and social functions. They influenced curriculum activities of other schools through science conferences, Travelling Physics Course, symposia, Church-

related activities (CU), YCS, and Young farmers. Leadership positions in educational institutions at school and other school is, Games, and sports, achieved the Ominde Commission's (1964) education objectives/goals in terms of human resources, national unity, and political satisfaction (O. I, Lusweti, H/M FSK, Makhese, 11/03/2019).

One teacher added:

“FSK produced excellent examination results between 1964 and 1985. Students joined universities/Colleges after F4 and F6 and were admitted to the core, highly rated courses such as engineering, architecture, law, medicine, teaching, and surgery. School products transformed community, through Chief’s barazas, Churches, and social functions. They influenced curriculum activities of other schools through science conferences, Travelling Physics Course, symposia, church-related activities (CU) YCS, and Young farmers. Leadership positions in educational institutions at school and other schools, Games, and sports, achieved the Ominde Commission's (1964) education objectives/goals in terms of human resources, national unity, and political satisfaction (O.I, Saisi, Sirisia, 06/03/2019).

All former students who participated in the study agreed and supported: that FSK had excellent examination results between 1964 and 1985.

One student said:

Students joined Universities/Colleges after F4 and F6 and were admitted to the core, highly rated courses such as engineering, architecture, law, medicine, teaching, and surgery. School products transformed community, through Chief’s barazas, Churches, and social functions. They influenced curriculum activities of other schools through science conferences, Travelling Physics Course, symposia, church-related activities (CU) YCS, and Young farmers. Leadership positions in educational institutions at school and other schools, Games, and sports, achieved the Ominde Commission's (1964) education objectives/goals in terms of human resources, national unity, and political satisfaction: (O.I, Kiveu, Webuye, 14/03/2019).

It was clear that performance of former students of FSK in the national examinations was the outcome; the examination outcome of FSK was excellent between 1964 and 1985. Kamusinga was dubbed the Alliance Boys of Western Province. Kamusinga was a top school in national examinations in the region. (Also see Appendix 11, pp.266-268).

All participants agreed that curriculum implementation at FSK enabled most students to pursue their studies after F4 and F6.

One Teacher said:

*“Those who completed F4 joined F5 and F6 at Friends School Kamusinga or any other high school. Those who succeeded at F6 joined Universities, Colleges, or the job market” (O.I, Buyela, Teremi; 11/03/19).*

A former student alluded to this when one pointed:

*“Out that of 37 candidates who did “A” Level Course/Exam more than 20 students went to the University between 1971 and 1972” (O. I, Lusweti, Makhese, 11/03/2019).*

A former student added that:

*After the national examination at F6, some FSK students went abroad for further studies. Examples here included Everrett Sitanda and Bernard Lung’aho went for further studies in the USA (1966 to 1972) (O.I, Kiveu, webuye, 14/03/2019).*

It was evident from responses given by both teachers and students of FSK that the outcome of curriculum implementation was excellent since many students of FSK joined higher learning institutions, universities, and further studies abroad. They were also admitted to highly rated and prestigious courses. These included: Medicine, Law, Surgery, Architecture, and Engineering. However, Curriculum implementation at FSK failed students/learners in areas of technical, vocational, practical, and agricultural skills 1964-1985. These skills were much needed in the post-independence State to Kenyanize the outcome of the curriculum. Indeed, the country got human resources to replace white Expatriates more for political satisfaction than fulfilling the needs for majority Kenyans after independence and professional growth through schools, 1964-1985.

In addition, the examination outcomes of FSK were excellent between 1964 and 1985. Kamusinga was a top school in national examinations in the region. Kamusinga was dubbed the Alliance Boys of Western Province. (Also see Appendix 11, pp.266-268). It was also clear that the curriculum implemented at FSK enabled most students to pursue their studies after F4 and F6. Those who completed F4 joined F5 and F6 at Friends

School Kamusinga, Maseno, St Mary's Yala, Man'gu (Anderson, 1970) or any other high school. Those who succeeded at F6 joined Universities, Colleges, or the job market. Two former students of FSK went abroad for further studies. These were Everett Sitanda and Bernard Lung'aho who went for further studies in the USA (1966 to 1972).

Analyses of primary sources of data of FSK as regards the outcomes from primary document such as examination results, performance in the national examinations and H/M's letters sent to CIS, PEO's western province corroborate the above findings shown in tables 6.7-6.14 below:

**Table 6.7: K.J.S.E. Results at FSK 1967**

SUBJECT	A	A-	B+	B	B-	C+	C	C-	D	Totals
English	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	7	10
Swahili	0	0	0	2	2	3		1	2	10
Maths	0	0	0	0	1	5	1		3	10
G, Science	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	5	10
Biology	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	00
Geography	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	10
History	0	0	0	1	1	3	3	1	3	10
<b>Totals</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>60</b>

Source: HM letter to the PIS Western – KJSE Results Analysis FSK 1967.

**Table 6.8: Cambridge School Certificate Results at FSK, 1967**

Grades Subject	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Tot	Vg	cr	p	F	'O' level
Eng. Language	0	1	6	7	5	12	19	10	2	62	1	30	29	2	31
English Literature	0	2	9	1	8	16	12	7	7	62	2	34	19	7	36
History	8	9	11	4	5	13	4	4	4	62	17	33	8	4	50
Geography	6	8	27	6	4	4	5	1	1	62	14	41	6	1	55
Swahili	0	0	2	1	1	21	12	16	9	62	0	25	28	9	25
Mathematics	0	0	5	3	5	15	8	15	10	61	0	28	33	10	28
Physics	0	0	3	2	2	6	7	2	7	29	0	13	9	7	13

Chemistry	0	0	3	0	5	6	2	6	7	29	0	14	8	7	14
Biology	0	2	8	6	10	11	16	6	4	62	2	34	22	4	36
Physics– with- Chemistry	0	0	1	3	3	6	7	3	6	31	0	15	10	6	15
<b>Totals</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>522</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>267</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>303</b>

<b>Points</b>	<b>6-15</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Division</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>13</b>
	16-21	6		2	24
	22-27	9		3	20
	28-33	19		<b>GCE</b>	<b>4</b>
	34-39	11		<b>Fail</b>	<b>1</b>
	40-45	9		<b>Total</b>	<b>62</b>
<b>Total</b>		<b>62</b>			

Source: Examination Results Analysis FSK, Cambridge School Certificate, CSC, 1967.

**Table 6.9: Higher Cambridge School Certificate Results at FSK, 1967**

<b>Grades</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>O</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Prin</b>	<b>Sub</b>	<b>Fail</b>
<b>SUBJECT</b>										<b>s</b>	
English	0	1	0	3	5	5	0	14	9	5	0
History	3	6	2	3	3	1	0	18	17	1	0
Geography	0	3	5	4	3	4	0	19	15	4	0
Physics	1	0	1	2	5	10	1	20	9	10	1
Maths	0	0	0	1	2	7	1	11	3	7	1
Chemistry	0	1	2	2	7	5	5	22	12	5	5
Biology	0	0	0	3	2	9	0	14	5	9	0
General Paper	-	-	-	-	-	35	4	39	0	35	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>11</b>

Principal Passes	3	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Subsidiary passes	1	0	3	2	1	0	4	3	2	1	0	9	4	3	2	1
Arts	7	0	0	8	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Science	3	1	0	5	1	0	0	3	2	0	0	0	2	2	1	0
Total	10	1	0	13	2	0	0	5	2	0	0	0	2	3	1	0

**Source: Examination Results Analysis FSK, Cambridge School Certificate, CSC, 1967 H.C.S.C(U.E.A) Principal Pass**

ARTS	14	18	18
SCIENCE	4	13	15
TOTAL	18	31	33

Source: FSK Higher, Cambridge School Certificate Result Analysis in 1967.

**Table 6.10: E.A.A.C.E 'A'- level Arts Subjects Analysis at FSK,1979**

GRADES	A	B	C	D	E	O	F	TOTAL	-/PP	%P
<b>SUBJECT</b>										
History	1	1	8	3	4	6	2	25	68	92
Geography	0	0	4	8	4	5	0	21	76	100
Swahili	0	2	12	8	6	2	0	30	93	100
Economics	0	0	0	8	2	1	1	4	50	75
General Paper	-	-	-	-	-	25	7	32	-	78
C.R.E	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	00	00
Literature	0	1	2	3	10	6	0	22	73	100

Source: E.A.A.C.E 'A'- level Arts Subjects Analysis at FSK,1979

**Table 6.11 "A" – Level science Results Subject Analysis at FSK,1979**

<b>GRADES</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>O</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>-/PP</b>	<b>%P</b>
<b>SUBJECT</b>										
Mathematics	0	1	4	2	1	8	7	23	35	70
Physics	0	0	0	10	4	6	0	11	46	100
Chemistry	0	0	0	0	7	16	8	31	23	74
Biology	0	0	1	1	4	13	1	20	30	95
Geography	0	1	0	1	4	5	0	11	55	50
Economics	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	00	00
Maths	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	00	00
B.Maths	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	9	00	00
GeneralPaper	-	-	-	-	-	17	16	33	-	52

Source: A<sup>o</sup> – Level science Results Subject Analysis at FSK, 1979

**Table 6.12 E.A.C.E Results Subject Analysis of FSK, 1979**

Subjects	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total	% credit
English Language	0	0	1	0	3	9	19	32	42	106	12
Literature	0	0	1	0	1	11	5	8	19	45	20
C.R.E	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
History	0	0	0	0	0	3	8	36	32	69	4
Geography	0	4	12	6	7	23	10	11	16	89	58
Kiswahili	7	5	23	13	5	22	11	6	13	105	71
Maths	0	0	5	1	5	19	8	27	41	106	28
Additional maths	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	100
Agriculture	0	0	2	2	6	10	17	12	9	58	34
SSP Physics	0	1	3	0	1	8	5	5	26	49	26
SSP Chemistry	0	0	6	3	5	8	4	9	20	55	40
Biology	0	0	2	5	3	4	9	10	7	40	35
SSP Biology	0	1	9	5	5	19	7	12	8	66	52
P/Science	1	0	1	3	3	2	5	7	14	36	28
Totals	8	11	66	39	44	138	109	165	248	827	507

Summarised Results for 1979 at FSK

Division I	8	8
Division II	20	19
Division III	35	33
Division IV	34	32
Division Z (Fail)	9	8
Total	106	100

Source: FSK E.A.C.E Result Analysis vide H/M letter sent to PIS-dated 14/4/1980.

**Table 6.13 FSK K.C.E Results Analysis, 1981-1985**

Grade	Distinction			Credits			Pass		Fail		Credit
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total	
1981	0	1	5	1	6	17	27	23	46	124	23
1982	0	2	10	6	4	23	28	22	18	116	39
1983	0	4	20	11	7	19	25	16	20	122	50
1984	0	1	15	7	9	24	24	18	30	127	44
1985	0	1	3	2	16	23	21	41	18	127	36

Source: 1986 K.C.E Results FSK: Analysis of Past Examination Results (K.C.E)

**Table 6.14 FSK, K.A.C.E Result Analysis, 1981-1985**

Year	A	B	C	D	E	O	F	Total	Principal		Credit % pass
									Pass	% pass	
1981	0	0	3	7	13	17	1	41	56		23
1982	0	0	0	5	6	27	3	41	27		11
1983	0	0	5	3	14	23	4	49	45		22
1984	0	1	2	6	10	21	7	47	40		19
1985	0	1	2	5	11	21	2	42	45		19

Source: 1986 K.C.E Results FSK; Analysis of Past Examination Results (K.C.E)

Drawing from tables 6.7-6.14, at FSK, there was excellent performance of students from 1964 to 1985. Despite this, poor performance was witnessed at the later years at FSK from 1980 to 1985.

However, on the unintended outcome at FSK, 1964-1985, it was evident that the

curriculum reforms implemented achieved negative outcomes too, such as lack of cultural subjects 1964-1975(Bessey report, 1972). In most cases, there was much emphasis on education for formal employment. There were no entrepreneur skills since jobs outside formal employment were very difficult for students.

There was also a lack of practical skills as the rigid Forms 5 and 6 did not allow students to go for a wide curriculum in terms of either Sciences or Arts.

From the findings, FSK inclined towards-Science subjects at the expense of Arts subjects. But LGHS students were inclined towards Arts subjects, and learners missed Science careers from 1964 and 1985. That is, learners in both schools suffered from the effects of English Grammar School, such as-exam oriented curriculum, elitist and teacher-dominated classrooms.

Findings from interview data analyzed from the primary documents such as circulars H/M letters to CIS, MOE, KIE, PEO'S offices, indicated that FSK products held leadership positions within the school, community, and national stage.

The former students also held various positions in the following professions as shown in Table 6.15 below:

**Table 6.15: Former FSK students and their professions, 1964-1985**

<b>S/No</b>	<b>Names</b>	<b>Years in the school</b>	<b>Profession</b>
1	John Mrutu	1974-1976	Administration politics(Former Governor Taita-Taveta)
2	Nasiuma Katasi	1974-1976	VC Kabarak and University of East Africa
3	Benjamin Cheboi	1974-1976	Former CEO HELB, former Baringo Governor
4	Dr. Philip Kutima	1974-1976	D/G Governor, Kakamega County
5	Moses Wetangula	1976-1977	BGM Senator(Currently)
6	Wanjala wa Muricho	1964-1969	Chief Architect, Ministry of Works
7	Andrew Ligale	1957-1960	Former MP Vihiga
8	Abiud Wasike	1959-1962	Former PS- Ministry of Public Works
9	Prof. Chris Mukwa	1965-1970	Senior Lecturer Moi University, Eldoret
10	Prof. Kukubo Barasa	1966-1970	Prof-UoN
11	Prof. Philip Mbithi	1962-1963	Head of Civil Service and V.C UoN

12	Gaylord Avedi	1962-1963	Former PS-Directorate of Personnel Management
13	Zebedayo Bukania	1964-1969	Chief Architect Ministry of Works
14	Ayub Siele	1964-1965	Ps-Office of the president
15	Alexander Sawe	1968-1969	Director of Personnel Management
16	Saul Busolo	1972-1977	MP Webuye
17	Dr. Samson Wanjala	1964-1969	Medicine
18	Justice D Aganyanya	1960-1965	Law
19	Justice Isaac Wambilyanga	1969-1970	Law
20	Prof. Henry Mutoro	1971-1972	DVC Academic UoN
21	Prof. Indangasi Henry	1964-1969	Professor, UON
22	Prof. Henry Bwisa	1970-1975	Professor, JKUAT
23	Prof. Ileri Mbaabu	1968-1969	Professor, Kenyatta university
24	Prof. Chris Wanjala	1968-1969	Professor, UoN
25	Daniel Rono	1970-1971	Former PS Office of the President
26	Jonathan Cheloti	1964-1967	Former PDE Western Province

27	JKG Kiveu	1966-1971	Former Provincial Inspector of Schools Western Province
28	Richard Lusweti	1971-1972	Principal Pan paper high school 2005- 2010
29	Mark Kisenbe	1961-1964	Principal WECO, Kakamega
30	John Saisi	1960-1963	Former HT, Toroso Secondary School
31	John W Buyela	1967-1968	CIS-KIE/MOE
32	Hudson Walumbe	1963-1968	Teacher, Lugulu Girls High school
33	Alfred Kimunguyi	1956-1959	HM, FSK 1980-1985
34	Julius Wasike	1955-1963	HM, FSK, 1974-1979
35	Julius Simiyu	1965-1970	HM, FSK 1987-1990
36	David Nguti	1965-1970	HM FSK 1990-1995

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Source, Researcher, 2019

Drawing from Table 6.15, FSK has produced all-around personalities in the following professions academics: Academics, education, legal/law, medicine, politics, administration... Others have held posts in Church, community service, and the country at large since 1964 to date. Therefore, the FSK curriculum achieved a lot in producing leaders and other graduates in law, banking, politics, medicine, nursing, and engineering.

Other prominent scholars who were former FSK products included: Prof Arthur Obel-former student of FSK in the years, 1964-1967, created a “Patent of Pearl Omega drug” for HIV/AIDS trials: Dr. Amateshe Kisa, Senior Lecturer, Kenyatta University (1970-1971) (O.I, J.Kiveu, Webuye, 14/03/2019).

It was clear that the country achieved goals of trained human resources and national unity after independence in Kenya. Also, the school had well-equipped libraries, laboratories, equipment, and well-trained teachers who taught students well and achieved good outcomes at FSK, 1964- 1985.

As to whether former students achieved dream careers at FSK, the students’ answers were as follows:

*FSK student: ‘NO’ I was coerced by the State to be a teacher. We were the first students of Bachelor of Education degree in 1972. However, teaching is a calling, I enjoyed it and I am proud of my teachers at FSK 13 Europeans and 5 African teachers (O.I, J. Kiveu, Webuye, 14/03/2019)*

FSK student:

*NO! I wanted to be a lawyer but missed by 2 points. But my second choice was teaching. It is rewarding (O.I. Lusweti, Lugulu, 02/03/2019).*

FSK student:

*Yes; I wanted to teach, I became a teacher, DHM and HM. “Teachers were committed and students had hope of progressing in life” (O.I, Saisi, Toloso, 06/03/2019.*

FSK student:

*“Teaching is a noble job, if not God's calling, I'm still a Principal Lecturer (M. Kisembe, Kimilili, 02/03/2019).*

FSK student:

*“NO, I wanted to be a doctor, but when I failed, I went for teaching science subjects” (1963-1968) (O.I, Walumbe, Magemo, 20/03/2019).*

FSK student:

*Yes, I wanted to be a teacher, a teacher measures achievement through children (O.I, Buyela, Teremi, 11/03/19).*

Drawing from the above interviews of FSK students, it was clear that participants pointed that due to politicization and haste to implement reforms for political expediency, the curriculum did not achieve intended objectives as revealed by those who failed to realize their dream careers through FSK, 1964-1985.

## **6.2 Discussion of enactment themes that emerged from the findings**

Themes concerning the outcome of the curriculum implementation in two schools of FSK and LGHS from 1964 to 1985 which emerged from the study's findings were as follows:

### **6.2.1 Performance in National Examinations, 1964-1985**

All the twenty four participants agreed that the academic outcome of the national examination was a yardstick to measure student achievement after curriculum implementation in the two schools. The academic outcome in the target schools was excellent. However, students' performance in national examinations or results of the two schools was pyramidal, just like it was in the colonial period (Otiende. J.M et al, 1992). This study compared high scores, thus, Division 1, 2, 3, 4 and Fail in 'O' level, while 'A' levels compared grades A, B, D, and E. The top was too small as compared to the base of the pyramid (See appendix 11 pp.225-227).

To Amukoa, (2013), inequality created by performance in national examinations caused a strain in Kenyan groups even though they went to the same schools. The interpretation here means that the results served the minority against the majority (Kwambena, 2006; Ngau, 1990) in the target schools and the Kenyan society from 1964 to 1985. This finding reveals that results brought about inequality in Kenyan communities for those who passed highly and those who scored low grades. This study also revealed that even though the national examinations were good, some subjects in which the students performed well while others performed poorly. In Lugulu Girls', Mathematics and Sciences were the worst performed Subjects. Others such as Literature in English, History, Geography, and Religious Instruction, were the best-performed subjects. While at LGHS, Arts subjects of languages and humanities were well performed instead of Mathematics, Sciences and Technical subjects from 1964-1985.

The other theme of curriculum implementation in both schools was that their students performed well at (F6) KACE Examinations and later joined prestigious, competitive courses. Some FSK students went abroad for further studies, thus: Everret Sitanda and Bernard Lung'aho in USA, Others went for further studies in UK, Europe and Canada. Further, this study found out that at FSK, the outcomes were skewed towards Sciences while LGHS outcomes were skewed towards Arts subjects. In addition, FSK implemented pure sciences of Chemistry, Biology and Chemistry while LGHS implemented general sciences of Domestic Science, Health Science and Physical Sciences from 1964 to 1985.

The planners hurried to implement curriculum reforms. Hence they did not achieve intended goals, objectives, and values after independence. Besides, oral interview data from headteachers, teachers, and students concurred that intended objectives and values

were not achieved. One headteacher of FSK, stated:

*“If examination was a yardstick, it was achieved, but due to political rush/hasty implementation of curriculum reforms, intended values were not achieved” (O.I, Richard Lusweti, H/M FSK Lugulu, 02/03/2019).*

Another teacher added:

*That the objectives could have been achieved if it was done professionally rather than politically, and if reforms were implemented for professional growth and not for some political gains (O.I, Janet Kiveu, teacher LGHS, Webuye, 20/04/2019).*

It was clear that political pressure and euphoria in Kenya at independence mitigated policy enactment at the two schools, hence reforms achieved unintended objectives.

### **6.2.2 Transformation of the Local Community**

Another theme that emerged from the findings was how curriculum implementation influenced activities in the local communities. Participants agreed that transformation was through former students playing roles in the community, games and sports, drama, music, and choir. There were academic activities that also transformed the academic situation of the area. These included Science conferences at the two schools, pilot projects in Science projects, Mathematics, and other subjects from which other schools learned a lot from the two secondary schools of LGHS and FSK.

The major academic activity which transformed the area was the Travelling Physics Course coordinated by the then Physics teacher of LGHS, Anne Lipson, between 1977 and 1981, in which LGHS and FSK were schools where these activities took place. This is shown in Table 6.16:

**Table 6.16: Travelling Physics Course at FSK&LGHS: 1977- 1980**

No	Name of the School
1	Friends School Kamusinga
2	Lugulu Girls High School
3	Kimilili Boys Secondary School
4	Chwele Girls Secondary School
5	Misikhu Girls Secondary School
6	Bishop Njenga Girls Secondary School
7	Lumakanda Secondary School
8	Kivaywa Secondary School
9	Kibuk Secondary School
10	Kapsokwony Secondary School
11	Bungoma Secondary School
12	Khasoko Secondary School
13	Sigalame Secondary School
14	Nangina Secondary School
15	Budalangi Secondary School
16	Port Victoria Secondary School
17	Maturu Secondary School
18	Lugari Secondary School
19	Mautuma Secondary School
20	Misikhu High School
21	Kakamega High School
22	Mumias Boys Secondary School
23	Chesamisi Secondary School
24	Butere Girls Secondary School
25	Chakol Girls Secondary School
26	Butonge Secondary School
27	Butula Secondary School

**Source: LGHS & FSK, 1979 attendance list of schools that took part in the event.**

Drawing from Table 6.16, the schools were from across Western Province and Rift Valley. This benefited many untrained Science teachers to learn how to use SEPU Kits and how to handle practicals in SSP lessons. Target groups were schools handling General Science without laboratories and Science equipment. The schools which attended greatly benefitted from these courses at LGHS and FSK centres. However, the two coordinating centres of LGHS and FSK did not perform well in Physics as Tables 6.17 & 6.18 indicates below:

**Table 6.17: “A” Level Science Outcome FSK, 1979**

Grade	AB	C	D	E	O	F	Total	PP%			
<b>Subject</b>											
	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>E</b>	<b>O</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>total</b>	<b>1979</b>	<b>1978</b>	
<b>1977 PP%</b>											
Mathematics	0	1	4	2	1	08	7	23	35	62	33
Physics	0	0	0	1	4	06	00	11	46	33	13
Chemistry	0	0	0	0	7	16	8	31	23	42	24
Biology	0	0	1	1	4	14	00	20	30	68	40
Geography											
ALT. Maths					17		0				
General paper		-	--		-		-		--	-	-

Source: “A” Level Science results, FSK, 1979

**Table 6.18: “A” Level Science Outcome of Lugulu Girls, 1979**

SUBJECT	A	B	C	D	E	O	F	Total	PP%
Mathematics	0	0	0	1	3	3	5	12	25
Physics	0	0	0	0	1	4	2	7	14
Chemistry	0	0	0	6	3	7	5	21	43
Biology	0	0	0	2	3	4	4	17	29

**Source: Lugulu Girls “A” Level Science Results, 1979**

Drawing from the two Tables for FSK, the “A” Level Science outcome of 1979 at LGHS&FSK, Physics was dismally performed in the target schools. One LGHS H/M, lamented that the Travelling Physics Course did not assist the bright students of FSK and LGHS, 1977-1980 (O.I, Kisembe, D/HM, LGHS, Kimilili, 13/04/2019).

### 6.2.3 Service to the Local Community

This was another theme that emerged from the findings of this study. All participants admitted that the target schools could produce elites and professionals who have served the local community in different capacities, for instance, doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers, bankers, nurses, and administrators. However, one former student of LGHS confessed that there were no lessons in entrepreneurship. As a result, the labour market

environment was harsh outside formal employment (O.I,Ruth Sitati Ndalu, 05/05/2019). Nevertheless, Kenyans yearned for secondary schools that could lead them to white-collar jobs (Kivuva, 2000; Bunyi, 2009) to replace the white expatriates who left the country after independence.

Again, this study found out that curriculum implementation in the secondary schools in Kenya failed to impart technical, vocational, and agricultural skills between 1964 and 1985(O.I, Ruth Sitati, Ndalu, 05/05/2019; Bessey Report, 1972).

Furthermore, primary documents analyzed (Inspection Reports of FSK, 1968/1971; LGHS in 1971; 1974; Bessey Report, 1972) revealed that there was a lack of cultural subjects in the curriculum of both schools from 1964 to 1973. As a result, such skills were lacking personalities to offer services in the local community.

This meant that, the curriculum implementation emphasized the academic type of education as was propagated by the English Grammar School of the UK at the expense of practical education for Kenyan students. This finding was in tandem with the assertions of Amukoa (2013) that the education system and curriculum in Kenya during the colonial and post-colonial periods was done within the framework of the British ideology of adaptation; hence, served the colonial interests in Kenya after independence than African interests (Woolman, 2001; Ngara, 2006).

This study found out that Africans in Kenya decided that since technical education was not well implemented between 1964 and 1985, time was ripe for it in Kenya. This was the fulcrum recommendation of the Gachathi report of 1976, and later on, advanced by Mackay Commission in 1981, then implemented in 1985 in secondary schools in Kenya.

#### **6.2.4 Service to the community**

This was another theme that emerged from the findings in this study. It was evident from the information gathered from Headteachers, teachers, students, and primary documents that the two schools have produced elites and professionals who had served the local community and the country in Medicine, Law, Engineering, Architecture, Commerce, Banking, Teaching, Administration, politics, education and Nursing.

Overall, curriculum implementation failed to impart technical, vocational, and agricultural skills between 1964 and 1985 in the secondary schools in Kenya. Hence, therefore, the country and the local community failed to get the skilled labour force in the technical and vocal professions (O.I, Ruth Sitati Ndal, 05/05/2019; Bessey Report, 1972). Furthermore, primary sources of data/ documents analyzed in this study revealed that there was a lack of cultural subjects in the curriculum which was implemented in the two schools between 1964 and 1975 (O.I, Sella Liko teacher LGHS, Ndivisi, ,14/03/19; Bessey Report, 1972; LGHS and FSK Inspection Reports, 1968-1985). Similarly, one former student of FSK, argued that curriculum implementation failed deliberately to achieve the practical education skills for Kenyans after many years of independence (O.I , Richard Lusweti,Makhese, 02/03/2019).

This study further revealed that donor agencies lured the nationalists in Kenya, policymakers, planners after independence for funding. Hence, they accepted European models, frameworks, and projects/reforms to be implemented instead of thinking for an African ideology and philosophy to guide curriculum reforms as was done in Tanzania in 1967 after the Arusha Declaration, which adopted the ideology of self-reliance to drive education reform agenda in Tanzania. This study argues that African educationists were lured by foreign models and projects such as Modern English (NPA) Modern

Science or Modern Mathematics, thus, SSP and SMP/SMEA (Lillis, 1985 and Kay, 1975, Buganywa, 1980 Mugiri, 1979) to implement foreign curriculum and values. The reforms served alien, foreign values and interests at the expense of African student's interests.

After independence, the Cambridge Local Overseas Syndicate formalized academic education in Kenya's, secondary schools at the expense of technical and practical education. After the 1980s, time was ripe to implement technical education in Kenya as was recommended by the Gachathi Report of 1976 and by the Mackay Commission in 1981, then implemented in 1985. The interpretation here meant that history had repeated itself: in 1964 the Ominde Commission recommended formalization of academic type of education for secondary schools in Kenya which the colonial government had denied Africans in Kenya, 1920-1963. In the 1980s, technical education became a centre of attraction in secondary schools' education policy reforms in Africa/Kenya.

It can be concluded that policy enactment at the two schools in this study from 1964 to 1985, achieved both intended and unintended results. On the intended or positive note, policy enactment achieved formulation of British subjects/formal education, goals of national unity, and human resource development.

On unintended effects of policy, the subjects enacted were irrelevant to Kenyan needs, failed to train learners in vocational and technical skills, and failed to enhance national heritage. Instead, they focused mainly on examination results. This led to social stratification in terms of inequalities and class society of the elites and non-elites in African societies /or in the Kenyan communities. Hence, policy enactment assisted a few at the top /apex of results while the majorities were left out.

Other negative/unintended results were policy enactment which focused on academic mean grades and academic subjects from English Grammar School of England but relegated vocational subjects such as agriculture, Art craft, and Entrepreneurship. Consequently, some learners could not achieve their dreams and failed to be placed in the labour market after leaving LGHS & FSK, 1964-1985. It also created unnecessary competition and increased pressure on actors from external contexts such as parents, NGO, FAM/Church and political class by emphasizing the outcomes/results of the students in the two schools over the process as indicated in Chapter 2. This resulted in their frustration to execute day to day activities (Ball 2012, Vargas-Baron and Schipper, 2012). Indeed, this study argues that implementers were pre-occupied by policy as verbatim or as was directed by State through MOE/KIE, circulars, memos, Inspection Teams and Reports, curriculum guides, and memos. This did not allow enactors to have self-initiative, creativity, and autonomy to implement policy using their skills and expertise. Hence, the unintended results of policy enactment are illustrated through the various Tables in this Chapter.

### **6.5 Summary**

This Chapter analysed the findings derived from the secondary school curriculum implementation in the two target schools. It further focused on the various contexts of practice and employed the critical policy archaeology and enactment conceptual framework as a means/lens of interpreting and understanding teachers' practices in curriculum implementation in the two schools and their settings. The study elaborated on the intended and unintended outcomes of curriculum reforms and emerging themes. The Final Chapter, Chapter 7, concludes this study.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### **Introduction**

This Chapter is a summary, conclusions, and recommendations based on the findings of this study. The research focused on implementation of secondary school curriculum at FSK and LGHS from 1964 to 1985. Three objectives guided the study: a) to find out the content of curriculum that was enacted at FSK and LGHS from 1964 to 1985; b) to investigate how curriculum was enacted in the target schools from 1964 to 1985; and c) to find out the outcomes arising from the curriculum implementation at FSK and LGHS from 1964 to 1985.

#### **7.1 Summary**

On the first objective on the content of curriculum implemented at FSK and LGHS from 1964 to 1985, the study sought to answer the question that demanded the content of curriculum implemented in both schools. At FSK, the subjects were: English, Mathematics (Alternatives “B” and “C”), History, Geography, Biology, Physics, Agriculture, Kiswahili, P.E, Literature in English, SSP Physics, SSP Chemistry, SSP, Physics- with- Chemistry and General Paper (Both Science and Arts subjects).

At LGHS, the subjects taught were Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Mathematics (Alternative ‘S’), Home Science, Geography, History, R.I/CRE, Kiswahili, English Language, Home Management, Clothing and Textiles, Commerce, Typewriting with Office Practice, Mathematics (Principal), Mathematics (Subsidiary), Economics. The curricula enacted were determined by national examinations such as KJSE, CSC/KCE,

and HCSC/EAACE/KACE. But these had their roots in the colonial entrenchment. The British ideology dominated the reforms against African ways of life. That is, the content of the curriculum implemented at FSK and LGHS following recommendations of the Education Commission chaired by Professor Simeon Ominde (1964) and the recommendations of the Gachathi report of 1976. The findings showed that:

- (i) in the two schools, both “O” level and A level subjects were offered. For the “O” level, the subjects included Languages (English and Kiswahili), Mathematics, Humanities and Sciences. At “A” level, both Arts and Science subjects and General Paper were offered. Specifically, at the FSK, a boys’ institution offered pure science subjects while LGHS, a girls’ school, the science subjects offered general sciences.

The second objective concerned with processes used when implementing curriculum at FSK and LGHS from 1964 to 1985. It investigated the processes and strategies employed by target schools to enact curriculum. The study found out that expatriate teachers from FAM, BEA, TEA, Peace Corps were the principal teachers who implemented policy in the two schools in the first decade of independence. MOE, KIE and International Agencies such as CREDO, BC, FAM, FORD, supported teachers, especially the MOE’s inspectorate Division, in enacting policy in the two schools from 1964 to 1985.

This study found that staffing and professional qualification was a major factor determining the teachers’ enactment of curriculum/education reforms in the two schools. The quality of teachers affected curriculum policy enactment, that is, their level of education and training. The teachers employed syllabus strategies such as storytelling, debates, role play, project method, field trips, lecture method, songs, and

learner-centred demonstrations... Teachers strictly followed instructions of the MOE and any modification of the teaching strategies was done with permission from the Inspectorate and MOE Regional Offices. However, evidence indicated that the majority of teachers were not qualified; some were primary school teachers, while others were untrained or were still in TTCs or secondary schools handling F6.

Some constraints hindered the effective curriculum implementation in the two schools in this period. These included teacher training inadequacies, unprofessionalism and inadequate funding. The policy implementation in Kenya was centralized and authoritarian, characterized by harsh and militaristic Inspection Teams in the target schools. The curriculum was enacted verbatim or without question and enforced by MOE's rigid syllabuses and curriculum guidelines.

- (ii) In the formative years of these institutions, there was heavy reliance on foreign teachers from FAM Missions, TEA, BEA, Peace Corps in the implementation of the curriculum. Curriculum materials complemented teacher effort from the KIE and MOE's administrative activities through its inspectorate division.

The third objective addressed outcomes of implementing education reforms or curriculum at FSK and LGHS 1964-1985. There were positive and negative outcomes/effects of curriculum reforms. On positive outcomes, the enactment of curriculum/education reforms included: excellent performance in the national examinations, transformed community, provided community service, influenced curriculum and school development in the area. It also led to competencies in Engineering, Medicine, Law, Nursing and Leadership and achieved the national goals of

education such as partly skilled labour and national unity as Chapter 6 shows. This encouraged diverse involvement in different skills.

Students performed well in the end of cycle national examinations in the two schools. The implementation of curriculum at the two schools influenced the curriculum rollout in upcoming neighbouring schools. On negativity, there was irrelevance on the part of curriculum policy since it failed to train learners in vocational and technical skills and failed to enhance national heritage. It also failed to achieve national education goals, as propagated by Amukoa (2013).

Furthermore, the findings reveal that curriculum enactment in Kenya's secondary schools between 1964 and 1985 led to the problem of the unemployed educated lot. For instance, by 1977, secondary school graduates surpassed the white-collar jobs available in Kenya. This aggravated the problem of unemployment among secondary school graduates in the country. Consequently, curriculum implementation at FSK and LGHS failed to achieve the intended goals of producing skilled labour for national development. In the assertions of Kay 1975, the technological process of curriculum planning Kenya adopted at independence was only suitable framework for the developed countries like UK & USA but not suitable to a developing country like Kenya.

## **7.2 Conclusions**

From the findings of this study, the following conclusions are made: First, curriculum reforms enacted in the target schools were foreign subjects from the English Grammar School of UK. They were somewhat irrelevant to the needs of the majority of Kenyans after independence. Secondly, the State-controlled policy enactment process through

MOE, KIE and TSC excluded practitioners' voices. Hence, the State had power over teachers on policy formulation and implementation.

Therefore, most teachers were unable to be creative or use their professional skills or be autonomous to enact policy in the target schools of FSK and LGHS. Thirdly, there were limited policy provisions for improving teachers' capacity building to advance end users/ actors' skills through training to increase trained teachers. Also, there were limited resources and funding for advancing teachers' capacity and teaching preparations and the quality of curriculum reform as a whole.

This compelled stakeholders in the policy enactment to achieve both intended (positive) and unintended (negative) outcomes/effects in the target schools. This also created other challenges in the target secondary schools such as wastage, dropouts, inequalities, poor performance in mathematics, English and Sciences... in the secondary schools in Kenya. Overall, findings observed that the enactment of the secondary school curriculum policy in the two schools seemed to reflect the aspirations of both the Ominde and Gachathi Reports.

### **7.3 Recommendations of the Study**

Based on the findings of objective one, there is a need to improve our curriculum policy (but caution should be taken, especially with imported education policies and ideologies/values. Even when policies are culturally relevant, locally mediated and re-contextualized, the result of transfer remains unpredictable (Beech, 2006). This study recommends that the government thoroughly invest in researching curriculum policies to determine their suitability rather than adopting foreign ones that could be irrelevant to society's needs as shown in this study. Thus, before embarking on reforms, empirical studies should be carried out on the existing policy to provide insights for the new

reform. This should involve piloting, training, and evaluation. The implementation of the policy should also be bottom-up instead of top-down to allow participation of other stakeholders and, more particularly, teachers. Teachers should be allowed to air their views regarding any given new curriculum or, in the event of reviewing the existing one, for relevance in addressing emerging issues. Its success is rooted in the decisions and practices of the teachers enacting the target policy. This is because teachers are the ones who enact policies. Therefore, their voice, work experiences, and values should be considered.

Concerning the second objective, any reform intervention should be informed by the recommendations of empirical studies. Thus, enactors should not just be mere practitioners but formulators of policy in the process of its enactment in secondary schools. Also, the parents, the public, and policymakers should also take the leading role in ensuring that they participate in the process of implementing the curriculum reforms. Taking such a role would ensure proper monitoring of the implemented curriculum. Headteachers should involve their teachers in formulating objectives for their schools, discussions, and practical lessons concerned with aims, methods, and evaluation, especially in their staff meetings. This step would enable teachers to produce a student-centred classroom atmosphere and activities.

Regarding the third objective, which discussed the outcomes/results of curriculum implementation, this study recommends that outcomes should be subjected to intensive scrutiny. In doing this, reasons for success or failure would be established, forming the basis for further improvement. This approach aims at identifying loopholes to make the results better and to register the strengths and weaknesses of the initial strategy. Again, for effective and sustainable curriculum results, teachers and other stakeholders should

be engaged in training funded by the government more often than not. Industrial actions that might hamper the rate of curriculum implementation should be curtailed by remunerating teachers well and improving their welfare. Thus, the shortage of teachers which has adversely marred the education sector in Kenya since independence should be addressed to allow for effective curriculum implementation in secondary schools.

Similarly, while searching for documents in the target schools, the researcher was told that they were either thrown away or destroyed or sent to Education Offices or burnt during the facelift of buildings in the two secondary schools of FSK and LGHS. Our study recommends that Schools and librarians should be trained on the importance of archiving documents for future use. Also, there is a need for more resources put into the electronic public archiving of all documents located within educational institutions, offices, and schools for reference. Finally, FSK and LGHS are the oldest institutions in Bungoma County and flagship schools in Kenya. Each has a history that is unique and of great importance. Hence, it should be captured and secured for future generations.

#### **7.4 Suggestions for Further Research**

The study recommends that historical studies be carried out to provide comparative historiographical accounts of educational developments in other schools and counties that span Kenya's early periods of independence.

Similarly, there is need for historical studies should be carried out on the pioneer girls' high schools in the pre and post independent periods in Kenya.

Finally, a study should be done to evaluate the impact of the "Travelling Physics Course" and its contribution to performance in Physics at LGHS and FSK from 1977 to 1985.

## REFERENCES

## PRIMARY SOURCES

## a) Oral Interviews

No	Name	Age	Date Of Interview	School	Place Of Interview
1	Mark Kisémbé	78	13/04/2019, 10/03/2019, 11/03/2019, 20/03/2019	HT/LGHS	Kimilili Kimilili Kimilili
2	Christopher Mbarara	80	02/03/2019, 06/03/2019, 11/03/2019	TCH/FSK	Kimilili Kimilili
3	John Richard Lusweti	66	26/02/2019, 03/04/2019, 10/03/2019, 25/03/2019	HT/FSK	Lugulu Lugulu
4	Sella Liko	67	11/03/2019, 18/03/2019, 25/03/2019	HT/LGHS	Ndivisi Ndivisi Ndivisi
5	Janet Kiveu	68	11/03/2019, 17/03/2019	TCH/LGHS	Webuye
6	John Saisi	77	06/03/2019, 12/03/2019, 18/03/2019	HT/FSK	Sirisia Sirisia
7	Richard Lusweti	66	18/03/2019, 11/03/2019, 15/03/2019	TCH/FSK	Lugulu
8	Walumbe Hudson	76	11/03/2019, 13/03/2019	TCH/LGHS	Magemo
9	Liko Sellah	67	25/03/2019	TCH/LGSH	Ndivisi

<b>No</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Date Of Interview</b>	<b>School</b>	<b>Place Of Interview</b>
10	Kisembe Mark	78	02/03/2019, 20/03/2019	TCH/LGHS	Kimilili
11	Saisi John	77	11/03/2019, 15/03/2019	TCH/FSK	Sirisia
12	Buyela Wanyonyi	74	15/03/2019, 22/03/2019	TCH/FSK	Teremi
13	Ronald Wekesa	79	14/03/2019	STU; FSK	Eldoret
14	Geoffrey Kiveu Jareti	70	02/03/2019, 20/04/2019	STU; FSK	Webuye
15	Pauline Mwolova	67	15/03/2019, 19/04/2019	STU; FSK	Chwele
16	Janet Kiveu	68	18/03/2019, 14/03/2019	STU; LGHS	Webuye
17	Lusweti Richard	66	18/03/2019, 21/03/2019	STU; LGHS	Makhese
18	John Saisi	77	20/03/2019, 23/04/2019	STU; FSK	Namwela
19	Kisembe Mark	78	05/04/2019, 10/04/2019	STU; FSK	Naitiri
20	Liko Sella	67	20/04/2019, 26/04/2019	STU; LGHS	Namarambi
21	Janerose Nangira	54	26/05/2019, 02/02	STU; LGHS	Eldoret
22	Priscilla Muhonja	69	24/04/2019, 29/04/2019	STU; LGHS	Eldoret
23	Ruth Sitati	68	05/05/2019, 26/05/2019	STU; LGHS	Nairobi
24	Christopher Wanyonyi Buyela	74	05/04/2019, 11/04/2019	STU; FSK	Teremi

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- b) WES/INS/S/113 “12/04/1969 LGHS’ –infrastructure
- c) WES/INS/8/113 “17/04/1967 LGHS’
- d) INS/J/S/151/4 “06/01/1971 LGHS’
- e) INS/S/L/6/104 “4/12/1979 LGHS Music/Curricular
- f) INS/B15/1/VOL/11/67 “22/5/1980 EAACE Economics Topics for FIVs at LGHS
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2. Inspection Report FSK, 1968
3. Inspection Report of FSK, 1971
4. KJSE Results Analysis FSK 1967
5. EACE Results Analysis FSK 1968
6. H/M’s Letter to PIS Dated 1973 Staffing List of FSK
7. H/M’s Letter to PEO Western Province dated 1973 FSK
8. Inspection Report of FSK 1971, FSK
9. Inspection Report of FSK 198, 1 FSK
10. H/M Letter to the PEO Western Province dated 1973
11. Inspection report 1959 and 1968 FSK
12. H/M Letter to MOE/KNEC dated 22/8/1980 FSK
13. PEO’S Letter to FSK vides Inspection Report 1968.

14. Hon. Eric Khasakhala's Address to FSK Parents Day dated 28/6/1969
15. H/M Letter send to the PIS and PEO 1978 FSK
16. HM's List of Teachers to the PS and PEO 1978 FSK
17. Inspection Report of Mathematics Subject FSK 1978
18. Inspection Report of Science Subjects FSK 1968
19. Inspection Reports of Science Subjects 1971 to 1973 FSK
20. Inspection Reports Of Science Subjects 1983–1985 FSK
21. CSC Examination Results Analysis of FSK 1967
22. HM Letter to PIS Western KJSCER Results Analysis FSK 1967
23. KJSE Results 1967
24. CSC Results 1967
25. HSC Results 1967
26. EAACE Subject Analysis 1979
27. Attendance List of schools of Travelling Physics Course 1979 -1980 at FSK
28. 'A' level Science Results of FSK 1979.

Sources of Primary Data from PEO's Office Western Province 1964-1985. For School

**(B) LGHS**

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2. H/M Letter send to MOE dated 1967
3. MOE Letter to H/M, LGHS dated 6<sup>th</sup> Jan 1971
4. CIS Inspection Report LGHS 1973
5. H/M Letter send to the DEO, 1979
6. PIS Inspection Report 1965
7. MOE Memo to the HM dated 27/2/1969; 12/04/1969 and 30/04/1969.
8. PEO'S Memo to H/M LGHS, 1965
9. H/M's Letter to the PEO dated 17/04/1969
10. Inspection Report LGHS, 1965
11. Inspection Report 1969 and 1978.
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14. H/M letter to PEO/MOE List Of Teachers LGHS 1963-1965
15. CIS/PEO's Letter /Memo to H/M LGHS dated 04/12/1979

16. . Inspection Report,1965.
17. H/M Letter to PIS,1973
18. Inspection Report LGHS,1969
19. Inspection Report LGHS,1971
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21. Inspection Report ,LGHS1983
22. PIS letter to H/M LGHS,1979
23. 1979 Examination ResultsLGHS
24. PIS Letter dated March 26<sup>th</sup>,1980
25. Inspection Report of LGHS1974
26. Inspection report of LGHS1978
27. Inspection Report of LGHS1964
28. Inspection Report of LGHS1968
29. PIS, Letter/Memo to H/M LGHS dated02/04/1968
30. English Inspection Report LGHS1974
31. H/M Letter send to (CIS) Chief Inspection Of Schools dated24/06/1982
32. MOE Circular no S/1/13/1/54 dated 12/04/1969
33. LGHS Strategic Plan,2013-2017
34. KJSE Results1967
35. CSC Results1967
36. List of schools – attended Travelling Physics Course atLGHS,1979-1980
37. ‘A’ Level Physics /Science Results LGHS1979
38. Results Analysis LGHS, 1967-1968

### **FSK and LGHS Archives,1964-1985**

The researcher studied documents kept by the two schools. These records provided the bulk of information at FSK and LGHS, were as follows:

#### **Staff Minutes of FSK and LGHS**

- School Committee Minutes.
- BOGMinutes.
- Bog ExecutiveMinutes.
- PTA ExecutiveMinutes.

FSK and LGHS Association Minutes Reports, Official School Correspondence Files.

Log Book

Visitor Books

Staff Meeting Minutes

Old Boys Record Books.

Official School Correspondence

School Admission Registers.

Examination Records

Discipline Records

School Magazines

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## APPENDICES

### **Appendix 1: Interview Schedule for Head Teachers**

My name is Pius Wanyama Muricho from Moi University, collecting data for my Ph.D. studies. The title of my study is “to examine how Lugulu Girls and Friends school Kamusinga high schools in Bungoma County implemented curriculum from 1964-1985”. You are one of the very few people who can help me carry out this study. The information you give will be confidential and will only be used for the study. You will also get a summary of the findings when the study is completed. Do not write your name on the interviewschedule.

1. Which year/s were you the Deputy/Head teacher of the school?.....
2. What curriculum did your school implement curriculum? And who were the teachers who implemented the curriculum/subject in your school?.....
3. How did you implement the curriculum in your school?.....
  4. What were the conditions that influenced curriculum implementation in your school?.....
  5. Who were the main players in decision making on curriculum implementation in your school\
  6. How did the internal and external environments influence curriculum implementation in your school?.....
  7. How did KIE and MOE prepare you and teachers to implement the curriculum? And how did you and MOE monitor the implementation?.....
  8. What support services did you receive and from whom? To implement curriculum?.....
  9. What were the results of curriculum implementation at your school?.....
  10. What challenges did you and teachers face as the implemented curriculum at your school? And how were they solved?.....
  11. How can you evaluate the efforts of your school in realizing its educational mandate in the period between 1964-1985.
  12. How can we improve on curriculum implementation in our schools?.....

## Appendix 2: Interview Schedule for Head Teachers

My name is Pius Wanyama Muricho from Moi University, collecting data for my Ph.D. studies. The title of my study is “to examine how Lugulu Girls and Friends school Kamusinga high schools in Bungoma County implemented curriculum from 1964-1985.” You are one of the very few people who can help me carry out this study. The information you give will be confidential and will only be used for the study. You will also get a summary of the findings when the study is completed. **Do not write your name on the Interview schedule.**

1. What role did you play in the content of the curriculum? Methods of teaching, testing, and examination?.....
2. How did the (Government) KIE and MOE influence curriculum delivery in class?.....
3. What factors influenced curriculum delivery in classes in your school?.....
4. How did the MOE inspection handle curriculum implementation in your class and school?.....
5. How did the MOE deploy resources in your school? What were the resources that your school received? Any challenges?.....
6. What about the procurement of textbooks for your school? How about teaching staff?.....
7. What was their professional status? How were the teachers trained to implement the curriculum? Any problem about teaching staff?.....
8. What strategies did GOVT use to avail teachers to schools?.....
9. Who were the teachers who taught in your school and which subjects?.....
10. What challenges affected teachers in class?.....
11. Were you and your teachers involved in the curriculum review? How were you involved?.....
12. How did you and the teachers conceptualize the curriculum? And reforms in education?.....

### **Appendix 3: Interview Schedule for Teachers**

My name is Pius Wanyama Muricho from Moi University, collecting data for my Ph.D. studies. The title of my study is “to examine how Lugulu Girls and Friends school Kamusinga high schools in Bungoma County implemented curriculum from 1964-1985.” You are one of the very few people who can help me carry out this study. The information you give will be confidential and will only be used for the study. You will also get a summary of the findings when the study is completed. **Do not write your name on this Interview schedule.**

1. What curriculum did you implement at your school as a formerteacher?.....
2. 2 How did you implement the curriculum in yourschool?.....
3. What were the conditions that influenced curriculum implementation in your school?.....
4. Who were the main players in decision making on curriculum implementation in yourschool?.....
5. How did both internal and external environments influence curriculum implementation in yourschool?.....
- 6 How did KIE and MOE prepare teachers to implement the curriculum? And how did they monitor theimplementation?.....
7. What support services did you receive and from whom? To implementcurriculum?.
8. What were the results of curriculum implementation at your school?.....
9. What challenges did teachers face as they implemented the curriculum at your school? And how were theysolved?.....
10. How can you evaluate the efforts of your school in realizing its educational mandate in the period between1964-1985?.....
12. Any other issue you wish to add.....

**Thank you very much for your co-operation and assistance, may God bless you abundantly**

#### Appendix 4: Interview Schedule for Teachers

My name is Pius Wanyama Muricho from Moi University, collecting data for my Ph.D. studies. The title of my study is “to examine how Lugulu Girls and Friends school Kamusinga in Bungoma County implemented curriculum from 1964-1985.” You are one of the very few people who can help me carry out this study. The information you give will be confidential and will only be used for the study. You will also get a summary of the findings when the study is completed. Do not write your name on this Interview schedule.

1. What subjects did you teach in your school?.....
2. Did you have any freedom to choose the content, methods of teaching, testing, and examinations in yourclass?.....
3. How were you prepared to implement the curriculum in yourclass.....
4. What factors influenced your teaching in class.....
5. What can say about the inspection of MOE on curriculum implementation in class?.....
6. What resources did you receive to implement the curriculum in your class? Were they adequate? Any challenges on this?.....
7. What about textbooks for your subject?.....
8. How were the teachers deployed to teach in yourschool?.....
9. How were you trained to implement the curriculum in your school?.....
10. What were the challenges that you encountered as you implemented the curriculum?.....
11. Did you have the freedom to choose content, how to teach, test, and evaluate students in your class? If not, whathappened?.....
12. Did you take part in curriculum review as a teacher?Elaborate?
13. How to do conceptualize curriculum, and reforms ineducation?.....
14. Any other issue you wish toadd.....

### Appendix 5: Interview Schedule for Students

My name is Pius Wanyama Muricho from Moi University, collecting data for my Ph.D. studies. The title of my study is “to examine how Friends school Kamusinga and Lugulu girls’ high school in Bungoma County implemented curriculum from 1964-1985.” You are one of the very few people who can help me carry out this study. The information you give will be confidential and will only be used for the study. You will also get a summary of the findings when the study is completed. **Do not write your name on this Interview schedule.**

1. Age.....
2. Level of education.....
- 3 Your current occupation.....
4. Which years were you a student of Friends School Kamusinga?
5. Which subjects did you learn while at school?.....
6. Give the names of teachers who taught the subjects shown above.....
7. Which was your best subjects and why?.....
8. Which was your challenging subjects and why?.....
9. Any difficulties you encountered in the classroom?.....
10. How did the teachers deliver the curriculum in class?.....
10. Do you think the curriculum achieved its objectives for the Kenyan society between 1964 and 1985? and what was the outcome.....
11. Did you achieve your dream career? If yes, which one?.....
12. Any other issue you wish to add... ..

**Thank you very much for your co-operation and assistance, may God bless you abundantly.**

## Appendix 6: Interview Schedule for Validation

My name is Pius Wanyama Muricho from Moi University, collecting data for my Ph.D. studies. The title of my study is “to examine how Lugulu Girls and Friends school Kamusinga high schools in Bungoma County implemented curriculum from 1964-1985.” You are one of the very few people who can help me carry out this study. The information you give will be confidential and will only be used for the study. You will also get a summary of the findings when the study is completed.

### Do not write your name on the interview schedule

1. You said that one of the challenges of curriculum implementation was the changeover from the 7-4-2-3 to 8-4-4 system. Tell me something why you consider this change a rushover?.....

=what about the subject you taught history/geography or the subject you taught at school?.....

=Previously, the 7-4-2-3 system history as a subject stood alone but in the 8-4-4 system, it was combined with Government, why, how were you prepared for this change?.....

=How did this change impact how actors implemented history and other subjects?.....

2. Both Lugulu and FSK were model schools for girls and boys in Bungoma County. How did these two schools model our girls and boys with the best education through curriculum implementation?.....

Could you justify why you think the curriculum at Lugulu and FSK modeled girls and boys for independent Kenya in the period 1964-1985?.....

3. How were the two schools, Lugulu and FSK endowed with resources to implement the curriculum as model schools in theregion?.....

Tell me something about books-TB, T/Guides in the subject you taught in the period 1964-1985.....

What was the nature of students in terms of marks or grades admitted in these two schools?.....

Tell me something more about teachers and their training?.....

Any exemplary teachers? What did they do?.....

What about disastrous teachers if any? What did they do?.....

What were the challenges of staffing in both schools? How they handled by these schools?.....  
 .....

Is there anything you could have done to solve the above challenges? And why?.....

Outside school what could you have done to rectify the above situation?.....  
 .

What about science subjects: Tell me something about laboratories? Instructional materials? Specific science equipment in the laboratories and lab assistants?.....

What support services did you do your school receive? And from whom? To implement the curriculum in the period 1964-1985?.....

4. What examples of achievements your school realized in the period 1964-1985?  
 =How many students went for further studies? Professions and other cadres of personnel in Kenya?.....
5. In your view what were the issues in curriculum implementation in your school? Thus; Lugulu or FSK? And how can we overcome these issues in the future?.....

**Thank you very much for your co-operation and assistance, may God bless you abundantly**

## Appendix 7: Curriculum in Secondary Schools, 1964-1975

### K.J.S.E Subjects at FSK,1967

	<b>Subjects</b>	<b>No. of Students</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
1	English	10	16.66
2	Swahili	10	16.66
3	Maths	10	16.66
4	General Science	10	16.66
5	Biology	00	00
6	Geography	10	16.66
7	History	10	16.66
	<b>Total</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: KJSE Result analysis1967

### KJSE Subjects 1967 atLGHS

	<b>Subjects</b>	<b>No. of Students</b>	<b>Percentages</b>
1	English	66	14.28
2	Swahili	66	14.28
3	Maths	66	14.28
4	General Science	66	14.28
5	Biology	66	14.28
6	Geography	66	14.28
7	History	66	14.28
	<b>Total</b>	<b>462</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: HT's letter to the PIS, about KJSE 1967 results analysis, STU006LGHS)

### The Curriculum of (LGHS) in 1973

<b>Subjects of "A" and "O" Level, 1973.</b>		
	<b>Subjects</b>	
<b>1</b>	English Language	10. Biology
<b>2</b>	History	11. Physics
<b>3</b>	Current affairs	12. Chemistry
<b>4</b>	Geography	13. Domestic science
<b>5</b>	Swahili	14. Physical Education (P.E)
<b>6</b>	General paper	15. Health science

7	Mathematics	16. Art and Craft
8	General Science	17. Music
9	Physical science	18. English

**Source: CIS, Inspection report, 1973.**

**The Curriculum of (FSK) School in 1973**

<b>Subjects of "A" and "O" level,1973</b>		
1	English Language	Mathematics
2	English Literature	Physics
3	History	Biology
4	Geography	Agriculture, current affairs
5	Swahili	Art
6	General paper	

**Appendix 8: Sample of Scheme of Work**

<b>WK</b>	<b>Topic</b>	<b>Sub Topic</b>	<b>Specific Objectives</b>	<b>T/L Activities</b>	<b>References</b>	<b>Resources</b>	<b>Assignments</b>	<b>Rks</b>
1	democracy and human rights	the meaning and types of democracy	by the end of the lesson, the learner should be able to define the term democracy discuss two types of democracy	define the term democracy identify two types of democracy discuss features of each type of democracy identify features of democracy discuss the principles of democracy	indicate author, year of publication,(edition) title, put publisher, town, andpages	charts newspapers cuttings constitution mansard un charter resource person	quiz essay oral questions	
2	democracy and human rights	democracy and human rights	principles and democracy	by the end of the lesson, the learner should be able to discuss the principles of democracy				

**SOURCE: MOE, 2006: 28**



### Timetable Actualizing Curriculum in Classes of FSK, 1964-1985

<b>Subjects</b>	<b>Forms 1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>English</b>	8	8	7	9	9	9
<b>Mathematics</b>	6	8	6	6	9	9
<b>Chemistry</b>	3	3	4	4	9	9
<b>Geography</b>	4	3	3	4	9	9
<b>Swahili</b>	3	4	3	4	9	9
<b>Physics</b>	3	3	3	4	7+2 ps	6+3 ps
<b>Biology</b>	3	3	4	4	9	9
<b>PE</b>	3		4	4	9	9
<b>General P.</b>	2	3	2	1	2	2
<b>Agriculture</b>	3	3	4	4	2	2
<b>Current affairs</b>	3		4	4	1	2
<b>Art</b>	2					1
<b>History</b>	3	3	3	3	9	9

### Appendix 10: Demography of Teachers and Students (Participants)

#### Headteachers

Names	Age	Qualification	Years as H/T/DHT	School	Yrs In School as HT/DHT/
R.Lusweti	66	B.E.D	3	HT/FSK	1983-1985
J.Saisi	77	B.E.D	4	HT/FSK	1980-1984
M.Kisembe	78	B.E.D	3	HT/LGHS	1974-1976
S.Liko	67	B.E.D	6	HT/LGHS	1977-1983 2005-2008

Source: Researcher, 2019)

#### Teachers

Names	Age	Qualification	Yrs as a Teacher	Years in School	Code Teachers	Yrs School as Teacher
R.Lusweti	66	B.E.D	8	1983-1985	TCH 001	FSK
J.Saisi	77	B.E.D	6	1980-1984	TCH 002	FSK
C.Mbarara <sup>74</sup>		B.E.D	12	1970-1982	TCH-003	FSK
C.Buyela	74	B.E.D	3	1976-1978	TCH-004	FSK
M.Kisembe	78	B.E.D	5	1974-1976	TCH-005	LGHS
S.Liko	67	B.E.D	7	1977-1983 2005-2008	TCH-006	LGHS
K.Janet	68	B.E.D	5	1975-1979	TCH-007	LGHS
H.Walumbwe	76	B.E.D	3	1970-1971 1991-1995	TCH-008	LGHS

(Source: Researcher, 2019)

### Demography of students as participants in this study

Codes	Age	Level of Education	Occupation	Years In School	Years in School	Student Code	School
J.Kiveu FSK	70	Degree graduate	Education	6	1996-1971	Student	FSK
R. Lusweti	66	Graduate /masters	Former principal	2	1971-1972	Student	FSK
J.Saisi	77	Diploma Education	Former Principal	4	1960-1963	Student	FSK
M.Kise mbe	78	Graduate	Former Principal	4	1961-1964	Student	FSK
H.Walu mbe.	76	Graduate	Retired teacher	6	1963-1968	Student	FSK
P. Mwolovi	67	“O” level	Retired teacher (Primary)	4	1967-1970	Student	LGHS
K.Janet	68	Graduate Teacher	Retired teacher	4	1967-1970	Student	LGHS
S.Li ko	67	Graduate retired teacher	Former principal	4	1967-1970	Student	LGHS
J.Nangira.	54	Diploma in education	Teacher	2	1983-1984	Student	LGHS
P.muhonja	69	Diploma business finance	Retired banker	4	1964-1967	Student	LGHS
R.Sitati	68	Masters/law	Judicial officer	6	1966-1971	Student	LGHS
C.Buyela	74	Graduate teacher	Education Rtd Inspector of school(CIS)	2	1967-1968	Student	FSK

Source: Researcher, 2019.

**Appendix 11: Comparison of “O” and “A” level, results at LGHS & FSK, 1964-1975**

**COMPARING OF QUALITY AND LOW GRADES: “O” LEVEL RESULTS AT FSK, 1964-1985**

Year	Number of Distinctions, I&II		DIV III		DIV4 &F		Total no of students	% of Low Results; Div3,4&F
	%	%	%	%	%	%		
1964	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1967	37	60	20	32	05	0.08	62	33
1968	31	52	16	27	12	20	-	47
1975	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1979	28	26	35	33	43	41	106	73
1985	1	8	44	3	90	71	127	73

Source: Researcher,2019

**COMPARING “O” LEVEL, RESULTS AT LGHS, 1964-1985**

YEAR	DIV I&II		DIV 3		DIV4 &F		Total no of low results Div3,4&F	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1964	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1967	6	19	10	32	15	48	31	80
1968	2	3	20	34	37	63	59	95
1970	8	9	30	35	48	56	86	89
1972	7	7	29	28	68	65	104	82
1975	20	9	149	69	144	66	217	134
1980	41	28	50	34	58	39	149	168
1985	81	48	60	36	24	14	7149	-

Source: Researcher, 2019

**COMPARING “A” LEVEL, QUALITY, AND LOW RESULTS AT FSK, 1964- 1985**

Year	Principals 2 Pp and Above %		1pp&Credits		Subsidiary		Total No of Students	% low results 1PP&SUBS
	%	%	%	%	%	%		
1964	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1967	18	22	33	40	31	38	82	77
1968	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1972	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1976	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1981	0	00	23	56	18	44	41	99
1982	0	00	22	45	27	55	49	97
1984	1	2	18	38	28	60	47	97
1985	1	2	18	43	23	55	42	96

Source: Source:Researcher, 2019

**“A” LEVEL RESULTS, LGHS 1964-1985**

Year	Principal ass %	Credits %	Subsidiaries %	Total of candidates	% of low results
1964	-	-	-	-	-
1968	-	-	-	-	-
1978	24 30	32	25	81	69
1976		40	31	115	59
<b>1980</b>	29	22 37	08	139	45
<b>1985</b>	4955	63 45	00	212	76

Source: Researcher, 2019RESULTS LUGULU GIRLS 1967 &1968

1967	No of passes	%pass		1968	% oflow results
Div	DIV3,4&F			DIV3,4&F	
1	01	3	1	00	00
2	05	16	2	02	02
3	10	32	3	20	34
4	06	6	4	27	46
F	09	29	F	10	17
<b>TOTAL</b>	31	67		59	97

## Appendix 12: Examination Results, FSK&LGHS, 1964- 1985

### “O” Level Examination Results of FSK 1964- 1985

YEAR	DIV 1	DIV 2	DIV 3	DIV 4	FAIL	TOTAL	%PASS
1964	14	19	22	-	50	60	92
1965-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1966	18	20	9	4	7	58	81
1967	13	21	20	4	1	62	87
1968	9	21	17	12	3	62	76
1969	11	12	15	18	12	68	56
1970	15	19	18	10	5	68	77
1971	13	16	20	18	5	72	68
1972	18	24	22	6	4	74	87
1973	14	21	25	12	1	74	81
1974	9	23	33	8	3	78	83
1975	14	14	34	16	5	83	75
1976	12	36	32	19	8	107	75
1977	23	33	32	20	13	121	73
1978	10	25	49	23	12	119	71
1979	8	20	35	34	9	106	59
1980	11	26	35	24	32	128	68
1981	5	18	47	36	16	122	57
1982	13	27	47	19	7	116	75
1983	21	29	43	15	4	122	84
1984	16	43	42	17	7	127	80
1985	95	6	48	13	1	127	89

### O level Results of LGHS, 1964-1985

YEAR	DIV 1	DIV 2	DIV 3	DIV 4	FAIL	TOTAL	% PASS
1964	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1965-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1966-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1967	5	10	6	9	31	71	
1968	2	20	27	8	57	85	
1969-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1970	0	8	30	28	20	76	87
1971	1	8	32	39	14	94	85
1972	0	7	29	52	16	104	85
1973	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1974	6	23	50	32	16	127	79
1975	1	19	53	48	26	147	73
1976 -	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1977	4	22	54	46	29	155	80
1978	1	28	52	56	31	168	81
1979	4	22	54	45	29	154	80
1980	5	30	50	49	9	143	85
1981	4	48	61	36	14	163	91
1982	4	48	61	38	6	157	96
1983	8	33	67	38	5	151	97
1984	7	42	75	42	6	172	97
1985	9	72	60	21	3	165	98

Source: Researcher, 2019

**Advanced Level Results of Friends School Kamusinga, 1964-1985**

<b>Exam year</b>	<b>Number candidates</b>	<b>of High school certificate</b>	<b>University entry</b>	<b>2 principal passes</b>
<b>1964</b>	24	12	8	-
<b>1965</b>	-	-	-	-
<b>1966</b>	36	9	21	-
<b>1967</b>	39	-	31	-
<b>1968</b>	-	-	-	-
<b>1969</b>	48	-	25	-
<b>1970</b>	62	-	49	-
<b>1971</b>	57	-	35	-
<b>1972</b>	59	-	37	-
<b>1973</b>	62	-	40	-
<b>1974</b>	53	-	24	-
<b>1975</b>	59	-	36	-
<b>1976</b>	63	-	28	-
<b>1977</b>	-	-	-	-
<b>1978</b>	71	-	51	-
<b>1979</b>	65	-	33	-
<b>1980</b>	95	-	30	-
<b>1981</b>	96	-	41	-
<b>1982</b>	96	-	32	-
<b>1983</b>	96	-	32	-
<b>1984</b>	96	-	51	-
<b>1985</b>	97	-	38	-

**Source: Researcher, 2019**

**Advanced Level Results of Lugulu Girls High School, 1978-1985**

<b>Exam year</b>	<b>Number of candidates</b>	<b>2 Principals pass</b>	<b>1 Principals pass</b>	<b>Subsidiary passes</b>
<b>1978</b>	81	24	32	25
<b>1979</b>	93	36	23	34
<b>1980</b>	39	29	2	8
<b>1981</b>	95	38	47	-
<b>1982</b>	114	54	60	-
<b>1983</b>	84	40	44	-
<b>1984</b>	109	53	56	-
<b>1985</b>	139	76	63	-

**Source: Researcher,2019**

### Appendix 13: Staffing Lists of FSK&LGHS, 1964-1985

#### Staffing List of FSK, 1964-1973

Name	Qualification	Name	Qualification
<b>D.Masinde</b>	Grad, Dip. ed	R.Kingman	BSC
<b>Nathan Anaswa</b>	B.A ED	V.Lewis	BSC.Dip
<b>R.Cameroon</b>	MA	J.Miller	BSC
<b>S.Cameron (mis)</b>	MA	W.H.Ogututu	B.ED
<b>G.Chase</b>	BSC	C.Olende	S.Agriculture
<b>J.A. Corbet (miss)</b>	B.A,Dip	D.J.Webi	BA
<b>H.M. Dale</b>	B.S.C Dip ED	C.M. Simiyu	SI
<b>T.M Gohole</b>	B.ED	S.Smith	B.S.C Dip
<b>R.Hargreaves</b>	B.A. Dip	J.Wanyonyi	SI
<b>D.J. Hill</b>	BA. Dip	N.West (Miss)	BSC

Source: H/T, Letter to PIS, 1973, Field data from interviews)  
The staff of FSK, 1974-1985

	Teacher	Grade	Subjects	Periods	Class
<b>1</b>	C.Simiyu	SI	Maths/English	30	1-4
<b>2</b>	S.Wechuli	Graduate	Geography/Kiswahili	30	1-6
<b>3</b>	D.Webi	“	Kiswahili	30	1-6
<b>4</b>	T.Mukhongo	“	English	28	1-6
<b>5</b>	J.Ndinyo	“	Geography	27	1-6
<b>6</b>	D.Yiti	“	English	28	1-6
<b>7</b>	W.Godia	“	Kiswahili/English	27	1-6
<b>8</b>	J.Omukubi	“	Biology	30	1-6
<b>9</b>	J.Munyasia	“	History	30	1-6
<b>10</b>	G.Webuke	“	Physics/Maths	30	1-6
<b>11</b>	F.Kadenge	Graduate	Chemistry/Maths	27	1-6
<b>12</b>	H.Masiele	“	Chem/Maths	30	1-6
<b>13</b>	N.Burmen	“	Geography/history	30	1-6
<b>14</b>	P.Silisisi	“	Maths	28	1-6

15	S.Chemwotei	SI	Chemistry/Maths	30	1-4
16	B.Binyenya	Graduate	Agriculture	27	1-4
17	J.Buyela	“	Physics, Chemistry	27	1-6
18	E.Wafula	“	Physics	21	1-6
19	J.Achika	“	History	30	1-6
20	J.Wasike	“	Biology	6	1-4

**Source: HM Letter to PIS and PEO, 1978**

**The Staff of FSK, Grades, Subjects, Classes, and Periods,1974-1985**

	Teacher	Grade	Subjects	Periods	Class
1	C.Simiyu	SI	Maths/English	30	1-4
2	S.Wechuli	Graduate	Geography/Kiswahili	30	1-6
3	D.Webi	“	Kiswahili	30	1-6
4	T.Mukhongo	“	English	28	1-6
5	J.Ndinyo	“	Geography	27	1-6
6	D.Yiti	“	English	28	1-6
7	W.Godia	“	Kiswahili/English	27	1-6
8	J.Omukubi	“	Biology	30	1-6
9	J.Munyasia	“	History	30	1-6
10	G.Wabuke	“	Physics/Maths	30	1-6
11	F.Kadenge	Graduate	Chemistry/Maths	27	1-6
12	H.Masiele	“	Chem/Maths	30	1-6
13	N.Burmen	“	Geography/history	30	1-6
14	P.Silisisi	“	Maths	28	1-6
15	S.Chemwotei	SI	Chemistry/Maths	30	1-4
16	B.Binyenya	Graduate	Agriculture	27	1-4
17	J.Buyela	“	Physics, Chemistry	27	1-6
18	E.Wafula	“	Physics	21	1-6
19	J.Achika	“	History	30	1-6
20	J.Wasike	“	Biology	6	1-4

Source; field data, 2019

### Appendix 14: Student Enrolment and of Teachers, 1964-1985

Student Enrolment and the number of Teachers of FSK, 1964-1985

Year	No of Students	No.of Teachers	Expatriates, Africans	
1964	310	17		
1967	346	18	14	04
1965	365	18		
1971	434	18	10	08
1973	450	20	12	08
1978	670	26	-	-
1981	684	25	-	-
1982	627	27	-	-
1985	625	27	-	-

Source: **Source:Researcher,2019**; HM Letter dated 22/2/1982.

#### Student Enrolment and the Number of Teachers at LGHS, 1965-1985

Year	No of Students	No of Teachers	No Expatriates	of No of African Teachers
1965	160	07	03	04
1969	556	16	06	10
1973	852	23	10	13
1975	779	24	06	19
1981	850	26	-	-
1983	850	33	-	-
1985	-	-	-	-

Source:**Researcher,2019**;Inspection Reports 1965, 1969,1971,1975,1983.

### Appendix 15: Sample of Government Memos/Letters

Letter Number	Reference	Dated	Aims
1	INS/R/S/186/8	23.02.1967	Issue of mathematics subject Suitable for Girls at LGHS;- Alternative “A” or “B”
2	WES/INS/S/113/76	12/04/1969	Specified FV girls of LGHS to be housed at Butere girls meanwhile
3	WES/INS/8/113	17/04/1967	Housing F1 of LGHS infrastructure at Misikhu
4	INS/J/S/151/41	06/01/1971	Starting of HSC science stream at LGHS
5	INS/S/L/6/104	4/12/1979	Presidential decree putting music subject at LGHS
6	INS/B/5/1/vol/11/67	22/5/1978	Specifying what EAACE economics research topics at LGHS
7	AAM/F1/EN/0/80	22/5/1980	Testing subjects Major 538 and 561 at FSK
8	WES/INS/113/13	01/4/1968	Issues of poorly made schemes of work at LGHS
9	WES/INS/113/20	28/02/1969	Issues of IDA funded projects at LGHS
10	INS/J/APR/S/81/4	17/4/1963	Issue of an American male H/T for a Girl secondary school at LGHS

**Appendix 16: Archival Permit**

Permit No. 149642

Valid from 15/4/09 to 15/4/10

Name: PIUS WANYAMA  
MURICHO

Address:.....  
P.O. BOX 110  
SOY

Kenya National Archives and Documentation Service  
P.O. Box 49210  
00100 - Nairobi

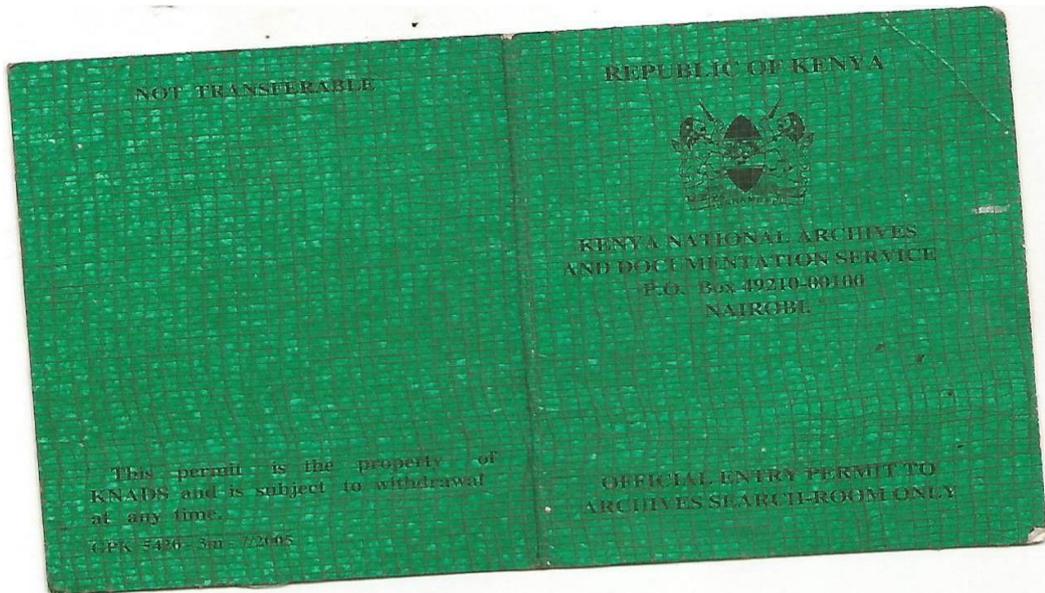
Issued by .....   
For Director

**RENEWAL DATES:**

1 26/11/2018 - 26/11/2019

2 .....

3 .....



# Appendix 17: NACOSTI Permit

## THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION ACT, 2013

The Grant of Research Licenses is guided by the Science, Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014.

### CONDITIONS

1. The License is valid for the proposed research, location and specified period.
2. The License and any rights thereunder are non-transferable.
3. The Licensee shall inform the County Governor before commencement of the research.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of specimens are subject to further necessary clearance from relevant Government Agencies.
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REPUBLIC OF KENYA



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CONDITIONS: see back page

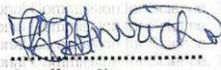
**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:**  
**MR. PIUS WANYAMA MURICHO**  
**of MOI UNIVERSITY, 1423-20200**  
**KERICHO, has been permitted to conduct**  
**research in Bungoma County**

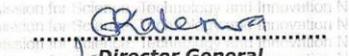
**on the topic: THE DEVELOPMENT OF**  
**SECONDARY EDUCATION: A CASE OF**  
**BUNGOMA COUNTY KENYA, 1964-1985**

**for the period ending:**  
**14th January, 2020**

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/19/24404/27467  
 Date Of Issue : 14th January, 2019  
 Fee Received :Ksh 2000



  
 Applicant's  
 Signature

  
 Director General  
 National Commission for Science,  
 Technology & Innovation

**Research Authorization**

**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE,  
TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION**

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,  
2241349, 3310571, 2219420  
Fax: +254-20-318245, 318249  
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke  
Website : www.nacosti.go.ke  
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete  
Off Waiyaki Way  
P.O. Box 30623-00100  
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/19/24404/27467**

Date: **14<sup>th</sup> January, 2019**

Pius Wanyama Muricho  
Moi University  
P.O Box 3900-30100  
**ELDORET**

**RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION**

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*The development of secondary education: A case of Bungoma County Kenya, 1964-1985*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Bungoma County** for the period ending **14<sup>th</sup> January, 2020**.

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Bungoma County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit a **copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

*GKalerwa*

**GODFREY P. KALERWA MSc., MBA, MKIM  
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO**

Copy to:

The County Commissioner  
Bungoma County.

The County Director of Education  
Bungoma County.

## Appendix 18: Moi University Authority Acceptance Letter



MOI UNIVERSITY  
*Office of the Dean School of Education*

Tel. Eldoret (053) 43001-8/43620  
Fax No. (053) 43047

P.O. Box 3900  
Eldoret, Kenya

REF: EDU/SoEd/ACD/17

ATE: 17<sup>th</sup> December, 2018

The Executive Secretary  
National Council for Science and Technology  
P.O Box 30623-00100  
**NAIROBI**

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: **RESEARCH PERMIT IN RESPECT OF WANYAMA PIUS MURICHO -  
EDU/D.PHIL.PGF/1012/16**

The above named is a 2<sup>nd</sup> year Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) student at Moi University, School of Education, Department of Educational Foundations.

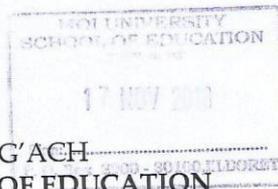
It is a requirement of his Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) Studies that he conducts research and produces a thesis. His research is entitled:

**"The Development of Secondary Education: A Case of Bungoma County Kenya, 1964-1985."**

Any assistance given to enable him conduct his research successfully will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,

*for* **PROF. J. K. CHANG'ACH**  
**DEAN, SCHOOL OF EDUCATION**



## Appendix 19: Kakamega County Education Authorization



**MINISTRY OF EDUCATION  
STATE DEPARTMENT OF EARLY LEARNING AND BASIC EDUCATION**

Telephone: 056 – 30411  
 Fax : 056 – 31307  
 E-mail : [wespropde@yahoo.com](mailto:wespropde@yahoo.com)  
 When replying please quote

COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION  
 KAKAMEGA COUNTY  
 P. O. BOX 137 - 50100  
 KAKAMEGA

**REF: KAK/C/GA/29/17-IV/132**

**18<sup>th</sup> February, 2019**

Pius Wanyama Muricho  
 Moi University  
 P. O. Box 3900 – 30100  
 ELDORET, Kenya

**RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION**

The above has been granted permission as per the letter Ref. No. EDU/SoEd/ACD/17 dated 17<sup>th</sup> December 2018, to carry out research on “**The development of secondary education: A case of Bungoma County Kenya, 1964-1985**”, for a period **14<sup>th</sup> January, 2020**.

Please accord him any necessary assistance he may require.

  
 FOR  
 COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION  
 KAKAMEGA COUNTY

**DICKSON O. OGONYA**  
 COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION  
 KAKAMEGA COUNTY

## Appendix 20: Bungoma County Director Of Education Authorization



REPUBLIC OF KENYA

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY  
State Department of Education – Bungoma County

When Replying please quote  
e-mail: [bungomacde@gmail.com](mailto:bungomacde@gmail.com)

Ref No: BCE/DE/19/VOL.1/160

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

County Director of Education  
P.O. Box 1620-50200  
BUNGOMA

Date: 11<sup>th</sup> February, 2019

**RE: AUTHORITY TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH –PIUS WANYAMA MURICHO - REF: NACOSTI/P/19/24404/27467**

The bearer of this letter Pius Wanyama Muricho of Moi University has been authorized to carry out research on *“The development of secondary education: A case of Bungoma County Kenya, 1964-1985”*, for a period ending *14<sup>th</sup> January, 2020*.

Kindly accord him necessary assistance.

  
CALLEB OMONDI  
For: COUNTY DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION  
BUNGOMA COUNTY

**Appendix 21: Ministry Of Interior and Coordination Authorization**

REPUBLIC OF KENYA



THE PRESIDENCY  
MINISTRY OF INTERIOR AND COORDINATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Telephone: 055- 30326  
FAX: 055-30326  
E-mail: ccbungoma@yahoo.com  
When replying please Quote

Office of the County Commr  
P.O. Box 550 - 50200  
**BUNGOMA**

11<sup>th</sup> February, 2019

REF:ADM.15/13/VOL.11/22

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

**RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION**  
**PIUS WANYAMA MURICHO-ADM.NO. EDU/D.PHIL.PGF/1012/16**

Reference is here made on the letter Ref; NACOSTI/P/19/24404/27467 dated 14<sup>th</sup> January, 2019 from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation on the above subject.

The bearer of this letter Mr. Pius Muricho a student at Moi University and has sought authority to carry out research on "*The Development of Secondary Education : A Case in Bungoma County Kenya, 1964-1985*" for a period ending 14<sup>th</sup> January 2020.

Authority is hereby granted for the specific period and any assistance accorded to him in this pursuit would be highly appreciated by this office.



S.N. Wambo  
For: County Commissioner  
**BUNGOMA COUNTY**

**Appendix 22: Photos Of The Researcher With Participants**

*The researcher (right) interviewing a former teacher of FSK*



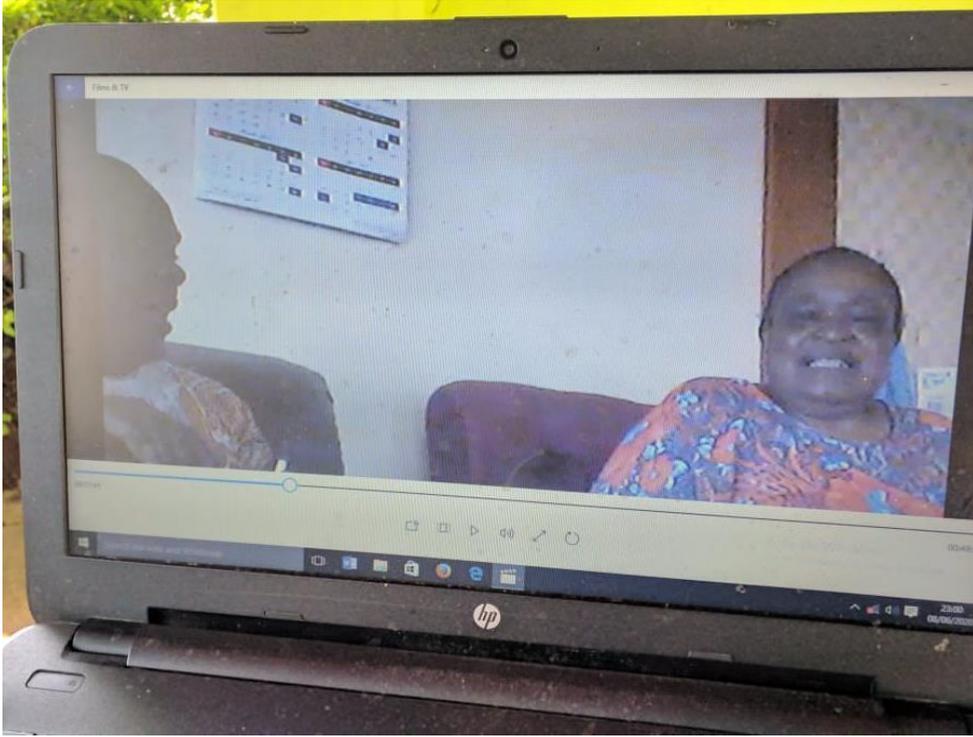
*The researcher (right) interviewing former HT of FSK*



*The researcher (right) interviewing a former HT of LGHS*



*The researcher (right) interviewing a former Teacher of LGHS*



*The researcher (left) interviewing a former principal of LGHS*

### Appendix 23: Historical Research Process

Stage	Elements of the stage
1. Select a topic and collect evidence	<p>Select research topic. Determine if sufficient material is available on the research topic. Collect data: published materials, field interviews, archival Materials, cultural artifacts. Prepare questions of interest.</p>
2. Critically evaluate the sources of the evidence	<p>Textual criticism: Verify that documents are original or the best copy available. Are witnesses reliably recorded? Investigation of authorship: who wrote the document, and where, when, and under what circumstances was it written. Is the author able to report correct information? Classify authenticity of sources based on temporal and geographic proximity to the event being recorded, the purpose of written record, and expertness of author.</p>
3. Critically evaluate the evidence	<p>Interpretive criticism: Evaluate and determine the author's meaning. Negative internal criticism: evaluate the veracity of the author's statements for mistaken or purposely false information. Is the author willing to report correct information, or are there personal interests or biases? Evaluate independence of observations. Is there corroboration from an equally credible witness?</p>
4. Analyze And Interpret The Evidence	<p>Organize events Chronologically within relevant subjects. Draw easily deduced inferences from data. Consider objectivity of people who created the historical record and the competencies of their reports. Look for generalizations, explanations, and implications in the evidence. Suitable data may be analyzed quantitatively and econometrically to assess the relative importance of causal Factors.</p>
5. Present the evidence and conclusion	<p>Select evidence to present. Forms of presentation include chronologies, descriptive statistics, model parameters, and narrative discussion. Narrative discussion of evidence and conclusions include key events and the thesis or explanation of those events.</p>

Source :(Golder, 2000)

**APPENDIX 24 : Details Concerning Interviews Conducted in this Study**

S/No	Date of Interviews	Type of interview	Interviewees	Interviews	Duration of interviews
1	13/04/2019,10/03/19 11/03/2019,20/03/19	Semi-structured Individual interview	H/T/LGHS	04 kisembe	2hrs 30mins 1 hr 30mins
2	02/03/2019 06/03/2019 11/03/2019	“ “ “	Teacher /FSK		
3	26/02/2019 04/03/2019 10/03/2019 13/04/2019	“ “ “ “	Headteacher/ FSK “	04 04 lu s w eti “ “ “	1.30 min 1.30 min 1Hr 2hrs
4	11/03/2019 18/03/2019 25/03/2019	“ “ “	Headteacher Lugulu “	03LI	1.30 mins 1.30 mins 2 hrs
5	11/3/2019 17/3/2019	Semi-structured individual interviews	Teacher Lugulu girls	02 WALUM BE	1.30 mins Each
6	06/03/2019 12/03/2019 18/03/2019	“ “ “	Headteacher FSK	03SA	1 hr 30 mins each
7	18/03/2019 11/03/19 15/03/19	“	Teacher FSK	03BUY	1 hr 30 mins
8	11/03/2019; 13/03/19	“	Teacher LGHS	02JANE	1 hr 30 min each
9	25/03/2019;02/03/19	“	Teacher LGHS	02 WALUM BE	1 hr 30 min each
10	02/03/2019; 20/03/19	“	Teacher LGHS	02 KISEMB E	1 hr 30 mins each
11	11/03/2019 15/03/2019	“	Teacher FSK	02 SAISI	1 hr 30 mins
12	15/03/19 22/03/2019;	“	“Teacher FSK	02 BUYELA 02	“

13	14/03/2019	Semi-structured interview	Student /FSK	0202KIV EU	1 hr 15 mins
14	02/03/2019 20/04/2019	“	student/ FSK	02 L u	1 hr 30 mins
16		“	student/ LGHS	“ 02 LIK O	“
17	18/03/19 21/03/19	“	Student /FSK	02 Ronald wekesa	“
18	20/03/2019; 23/04/19	“	student /FSK	02WALU MBE	1 hr 30 mins
19	05/04/19			02 KISEMB E	1 hr 30 mins
<hr/>					
	010/04/2019		Student/ FSK		
20	20/04/2019;26/04/19	“	student /LGHS	02 PAUL INE	“
21	26/04/2019; 02/05/19	“	student/ LGHS	02 PRISC ILA	2 hrs
22	24/04/2019; 29/04/19	“	student /LGHS	02 MUH ONJA	1hr45 mins
23	05/05/2019; 26/5/2019	“	student/ LGHS	02 SITAT I	2 hr 35 mins
24	05/04/19;11/04/19		student /FSK	02 BUYE LA	1hr 05mins each

Source: O. I All Participants, 2019.