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Educating the Elite: Harmony and Conflict

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TEACHING AND LEARNING BIOLOGY IN KENYA

Volume 1

Educating the Elite: Harmony and Conflict

Catherine Namuddu

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CN
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Preface

Every school establishes rules and regulations that govern its routines. It is often assumed that routines and regulations are simply lifted out of centrally prescribed codes of school management. The data presented in this report on **Educating The Elite: Harmony and Conflict**, suggest differently. The report describes the educational processes in two national schools in Kenya, studied during a two year period, where it was observed that the heads of school had reformulated the official goals of education from their broader and somewhat ambiguous prescriptions, to narrower and specific formats which guided each school's daily activities.

In presenting the data, emphasis has been placed on isolating characteristics of leadership styles of the heads of school and the responses of teachers and students to the overall management. As the title of the report suggests, areas of harmony and conflict were observed among school personnel as they interacted with one another, and as various groups negotiated meanings and interpretations of beliefs, traditions and practices. The precise causes of both harmony and conflict, although difficult to pinpoint, were generally inherent in the goals of education as well as in the various mechanisms set up in individual schools for the purpose of providing a suitable learning

One of the most prominent areas of latent conflict between school management and students concerned the teaching and learning of social skills. School management expected students to learn social skills such as the value of time, division of labour, tolerance, responsibility, co-operation, service to self and the community through adherence to strict routines punctuated by the bell, and through participation in such activities as parade, farmwork, housework, chapel, clubs and societies. Students, however, seemed to believe that these activities were not relevant and that the school day should consist only of academic lessons, sports and relaxation.

The results and ideas presented here will be useful to policymakers, school heads and teachers interested in school management issues.

The results however, pose a more serious question about current efforts to vocationalize the curriculum. If in evaluating achievement in secondary education, a student's success in academic work continues to receive a disproportionate share of his overall efforts, then it is possible that schools will find it difficult to convince students to learn various technical and social skills presumed by vocational curricula.

CN

May 1988

INTRODUCTION

The research study **Educating The Elite: Harmony and Conflict**, was part of a larger project on **Teaching and Learning Biology in Kenya** which had two aims:

1. To identify practices which take place in schools and classrooms, and to contribute to an understanding of the nature of teachers' perceptions and approaches to teaching students that result from these practices; and

To understand the implications of teachers' and students' perceptions for school achievement and acquisition of general positive behavioural modalities.

The overall research was carried out within a theoretical framework derived from interpretive research methodology (Erickson 1973, 1980, 1986), with interest centred on exposing and clarifying the everyday human meanings in the life of schools. Emphasis was placed on understanding the immediate and local meanings of actions in education as interpreted from the school heads', teachers' and pupils' points of view. Teaching-learning, whether at school, in classrooms or during weekend seminars, was regarded as an event with complex but interrelated processes and products, constructed by the various participants in the event. Processes and results of teaching-learning in particular instances and contexts, were seen as reflecting the phenomena and dynamics of education in the wider society. The processes, products and contexts of schooling therefore, had to be understood in the arena of particular instances to enable classroom teachers, teacher trainers and policy makers to implement realistic intervention in schools, whether for the purpose of improving teaching and learning or for expanding facilities. In examining education as an interpretive process, it was assumed that a holistic conception of education in Kenya should address at least five key questions, namely:

1. What is education as viewed by school heads, teachers, pupils and the broader society in the context of Kenya?

2. What are some of the characteristics of personnel and resources in Kenya schools?
3. How do various school and non-school personnel actualize the purpose of schooling in relationship to their definition of education?
4. Where and how does education take place?
5. How should education happen?

In the research study **Educating The Elite: Harmony and Conflict**, only relatively narrow aspects of each of the above questions were directly addressed. In particular, the study looked at how heads of schools, teachers and students view the goals of education at school and within the broader society of Kenya; and sought to understand how the educators actualized the purpose of schooling in relationship to their definition of the purposes of education.

Secondary school education in Kenya can still be regarded as educating the elite of the nation, given the fact that only about 40% of students who complete primary school, go on to secondary schools. Students in search of a secondary school education, enter some 2700 secondary schools of various quality. Of these schools only 27 so-called national schools are believed to have superior resources and qualified teachers and to generally provide a very convivial environment for learning which results in high student performance on public examinations.

Based on a very strict quota system, the national schools admit students selected on merit from every district in the country. However, apart from a general knowledge about national schools, sometimes bordering on folklore, there has been little research to document the characteristics of such schools. This report presents data from a two year study of two national schools given the pseudonyms Inland High School and Valley High School. Both were old, government maintained, boarding schools recognized for high students' achievement in public examinations. Inland High and Valley High had approximately 650 and 450 male students with a staff of 42 and 38 teachers, respectively.

The study attempted to understand the educational goals and leadership styles of the two schools points through an examination of overall school processes (Dwyer et al. 1982). However, there was no attempt to conceptualize the conduct of the study within frameworks of research that have investigated either school effects, or school administration. Instead, field study methods were used to collect data from the school heads, teachers and students in order to determine the nature of the shared language, perceptions and points of emphasis among school personnel. The study also determined how personnel assessed: the school's goals; the purposes of various school activities in supporting and achieving such goals; the school's present strengths and weaknesses; and the perceptions and definitions of problems that confronted the schools (Good et al. 1986). This meant that the largest portion of the study was spent in tracing interactions between heads, teachers and students, in order to determine how the "shoulds and oughts" (Marshall 1984) became translated into values, meanings and action. Open-ended interviews were conducted in order to determine heads', teachers' and students' philosophies of the goals of schools. All school personnel were observed in an unobtrusive manner (except in classrooms), and descriptive field notes were kept of activities and public utterances.

The researcher spent two years in the two schools observing classes, breaktime, lunch periods, after school clubs and society time, and school events such as; assembly, parade, chapel, roll call, staff meeting and speech days. In addition, students at Inland High School, completed a short questionnaire on School Organisation where they were expected to express their opinions regarding the nature and quality of school management.

Data analysis used the 'comparative method' of Glaser and Strauss (1967), and generated definitions, categories, patterns among participants' utterances, written statements and actions, in order to portray the essential qualities of the characteristic beliefs and behaviours. The results are presented as a comparison of the two schools on criteria such as: school personnel's beliefs, perceptions and actions; characteristics and purposes of school activity; and teachers' and students' responses and reactions to these beliefs,

perceptions and activities. However, no attempt has been made to compare the two schools on every aspect since the purpose of the study was to explore the subjective experiences of the school's participants and to identify informal systems and unstated rules which might influence participation in the different environments.

Chapter 1

GOALS FOR EDUCATING THE ELITE

Research generally indicates that academically effective schools are merely schools organized to pursue learning consistently (Tomlinson 1981). And, it is perhaps self-evident that the tasks of promoting learning and order, are closely intertwined in any school situation. Some minimal level of orderliness is necessary to harness students' attention to classroom work and perhaps efficient and effective classwork promotes orderliness within the pace of other school-wide activities.

It would seem that the task of managing a school for learning has at least two main components: (a) goals to be achieved, and (b) a set of instructions, conditions and available resources to reach these goals. From this perspective, the thoughts and actions of the school head, teachers and students can be understood as attempts to assemble and use resources to achieve educational goals in a complex social setting (Doyle 1986). School management however, has two major task structures organized around the problem of ensuring order so as to achieve educational goals. The first of these school management tasks is to instruct students in a broad range of favourable attitudes, beliefs and conceptions; the second is to organize school-wide groups, establish and monitor rules and procedures and react to misbehaviour (Doyle 1980).

Stallings et al. (1981), who examined the effects of school policies on pupils in eight U.S. secondary schools that included a wide variety of policies and organizing plans, concluded that:

- (a) Schools in which policies and rules were clearer and more consistently enforced had higher teacher morale, fewer classroom intrusions, a lower absence rate, less class misbehavior and more time-on-task.
- (b) Schools that had more administrative support services and fewer burdensome duties for teachers, had higher teacher morale and less classroom misbehaviour.

- (c) A more active and more supportive principal was associated with higher teacher morale and students who felt more friendliness. (Good et al. 1986).

How closely or otherwise, did the beliefs, attitudes, perceptions, and actions of personnel at Inland High and Valley High re-affirm these factors as valid and general conditions of schools with high academic achievement?

Inland High School

Head's Goals for a Secondary Education

Mr. Somo, the head of Inland High, who had been in school management and teaching for over 20 years, said that he believed that the most important role of a school head was to organize, manage, implement, and evaluate what goes on in all aspects of school. Somo believed that public media criticisms of school heads had nurtured two fundamental but erroneous beliefs regarding the head's duties, namely: that school heads have extra time to manage business outside of school hours; and that managing such business was compatible with a head's duties in the school. Somo explained that running a school was a full time job.

"I cannot see how a statement such as, 'headteachers should not conduct private business during working hours' can be compatible with informed opinion. Heading a school, if done properly, is a full time job. Therefore, the question of working hours does not arise. Statements like that encourage young school administrators to expect to have after-working hours, which is something of a myth."

Somo also believed that a head cannot and should not try to run a school single-handedly;

"School administration has to be undertaken by all members of staff, plus a cross-section of students, because efficient administration is in the final analysis managing a system on a daily basis. No single person has the mind and energy to do that."

Overall Somo's conception of a good school manager was that of a committed head who organised an efficient system that would lead to high social and academic achievement by students. School management, if done properly, was a full time and joint venture between the head, teachers and students.

The organizing idea of Somo's concept was a philosophy of work which combined the mind as intellectual (academic), the spirit as religious and the body as physical. This philosophy was the single most recurrent theme in Somo's speeches and writings. It was eloquently illustrated by his frequently enunciated comparison between the nature of goals for a secondary education and the types of structural units, routines, activities and events in the school, that he perceived as serving each of the goals.

"The way we have developed our education over the years, has led us to the belief that passing an examination should be regarded as the basic achievement of secondary school students. Of course, in this school, we have so far done quite well. But I think an equally important achievement of students from this school is the acquisition of a sense of sensible personal and community life. A good school head spends a lot of time implementing teaching towards this goal, and it is high time the public recognised this."

Somo's philosophy of the goals and work of school was underlined by the idea of efficiency in all activity. Since efficiency required "mind and energy", and since no single person has enough of both, the best strategy was to implement a program for training everyone in "a sense of sensible personal and community life". Somo believed that he was himself an efficient manager and indicated that the school was well managed, -- "we do our best".

Chart 1: Somo's Concept of the Goals of a Secondary Education and Relationship to Existing Schools Management Structures and Activities

Goals	Philosophy	Existing Supportive Structure
1. Develop and use all talents and resources available among students in order to make a positive contribution to the existence of a harmonious school community	A daily practical philosophy of community life and service to all	-Farmwork -housework/chores -parade/assembly -chapel -head's writings -games -clubs/societies -sharing of resources -organized leisure -community work
2. Develop, sharpen and expand students' intellectual skills in order to pass exams and be ready for future intellectual work	A daily enunciated philosophy and practice of serious academic work	-Work by the bell -intense teaching -strong subject heads -subject heads' meeting -academic counselling -prep time allocation -continuous assessment
3. Learn to fit in an organized society where there are leaders and organize	A clear division of responsibility organize head, teachers and students in organized to carry out activities and services	-Head's office -academic master -welfare department -career counselling -academic counselling -chapel -prefectship system -games/clubs system -subordinate staff -community work

continued....

Goals	Philosophy	Existing Supportive Structure
4. Alert students to the broader values expectations and aspirations in society with regard to those who have received education	Participation in traditional and cultural events to re-affirm sense of belonging to broader society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Founder's day -badgr test -drama week -field trips -cross country -speech day -old students' day -"burying x-country" -names of buildings

In explaining the components of each of the four goals, Somo emphasized the fact that the manner in which all school activities encompassed all four goals, was the most important criteria for judging good school management. In other words, Somo admitted that even though he might be able to state which specific activities had been designed to contribute toward achieving a particular goal, in actual practice, various management structures and activities contributed towards achieving all goals.

Academic Work

For example, the kind of co-ordination that Somo said had to develop between management routines and academic achievement, was expressed in his welcome-back notices to students at the beginning of each new term. Somo believed that holidays away from school tended to de-activate students' proper working strategies so that students needed to be re-directed to goals and work objectives, during the new term. Moreover, at the beginning of each term, Somo wanted students to find some form of overall evaluation of their previous term's academic and social progress. On 28/4/83 Somo had put up a welcome-back notice in readiness for the second school term beginning in early May. The document, titled *Reminders*, started out by welcoming students back to school. In the third paragraph Somo had written:

"To every student I say, organize yourself and settle down quickly.
Reminders: 1. Use TIME properly. 2. Avoid childish behaviour that will get you into trouble all the time. 3. Every student should help in getting the school to settle down to serious work. 4. Everyone is reminded particularly, in form 4 and 6 that we set our goal for this year to be - 'O' Levels - Division 1 & 2 only; 'A' Levels - 2 Principal and above only."

In addition to these statements of reminders and goals for the whole school, Somo addressed each form level individually, pointing out what students had achieved academically and socially in the previous term, and in cases where improvement was needed, what changes were expected. For example, Somo had written for:

Form 1: "You are now a little older, no longer so green. We expect you to behave a

Form 2: "A few of us are still behaving like babies. This must stop."

Form 3: "Time is running out fast. Make sure your study programme is properly organised and properly followed. We are next for the 'O' levels and we do not want to be caught with our 'Pants Down'. We have settled down well, we just need to improve on it."

Form 4: "...This is the time when we make or break ourselves. ...Show us what you can do in the Academics, Games, Drama, Music...You are young - this is the time to empty all your energy to the satisfaction of your BRAINS, BODY and SOUL."

Form 5: "We have not yet quite seen the positive side of many of you. A few of you are with us...Too many of us have remained quite green over the first term.

Form 6: "The end of our school boy life is coming fast. This is your last chance to use it."

Value of Time and Routine

Somo often referred to the consistent routine in the school as an example of a process that contributed toward the achievement of all goals, even though its basic purpose was to segment time by the bell, so that students would be in the right place at the right time. Indeed, at Inland High, the bell rang 40 different times during a typical 17 hour working day, with the first bell at 5.45 a.m. and the last one at 11.00 p.m. Of these 40 bells, only 11 bells actually signalled the

beginning or end of classroom learning. The remaining 29 bells, were either 'warning bells or non-class activity bells'. For instance, at 5.45 a.m., there was a 'warning wake-up bell'; at 8.10 a.m., a 'warning bell for morning classes'; at 1.50 p.m. a 'warning bell for afternoon classes'; and at 9.25 p.m., a 'warning bell for lights-out' for juniors. Other non-class bells were for activities such as waking up, morning work, roll calls, assembly or parade, dining room, games and societies and prep time. Except for the waking and lights-out bells, all other warning bells heralded classroom work. There were no warning bells for housework, dining room, games and clubs or evening prep. Somo had explained that warning bells did not mean that the subsequent activity was any more important than that which preceded it. Rather, warning bells sounded whenever there was to be a dramatic change in the nature of the on-going and subsequent activities. "The purpose is to give an initial alert".

It is often assumed that schools with students who are high achievers in public examinations, allocate maximum time to classroom teaching. This was not the case at Inland High, and Somo stressed the fact that good school management depended on a proportionate distribution and management of the available time among several activities, many of which did not involve classroom teaching. Moreover, Somo stated that he encouraged allocation of duties and time so as to reflect the increasing maturity and intellectual development of students as they moved from junior to senior classes. He was unhappy with the opposite practice where, he pointed out,

"Unfortunately, it is a fact that in adult life and indeed, in some schools, the tendency is to assign duties in such a way that older students have more leisure and less work than juniors, and [seniors] often have privileges that allow them to skip certain duties particularly, manual duties. This is not good."

Somo had explained how, in his school, the 17 hours of an average school day, were distributed among a variety of activities such that the amount of time reflected not only the range of goals to work toward each day; but also the Form level of students participating in various activities.

Table 1 shows the distribution of time among seven key daily activities for Juniors (Forms 1-3); Upper Juniors (Form 4); and Seniors (Forms 5-6). The data appear to support Somo's statements, that Juniors have more free time and less time for prep than Seniors; and that all students spend equal time on manual labour and other regulative activities such as games, roll call and chapel.

**Table 1: Distribution of Time Among Daily Activities
(Time in Hours and Minutes)**

Activities	Juniors	Upper Juniors	Seniors
1. Free time	2:25	1:45	1:45
2. Lunch break	2:35	2:35	2:35
3. Roll calls	0:35	0:35	0:35
4. Chapel	0:15	0:15	0:15
5. Housework	0:35	0:35	0:35
6. Classes	6:05	6:05	6:05
7. Prep time	1:40	2:55	3:45
8. Games/clubs	1:15	1:15	1:15

Juniors had 40 minutes more of leisure time than Seniors, and also 1:15 and 2:05 hours less prep time than Upper Juniors and Seniors, respectively.

Division of Labour

With regard to the third goal of a secondary education, namely to educate each student to fit into an organized society where there are leaders, Somo, believed that apart from bellwork and a consistent routine, there had to be a clear division of labour, privileges and the management of various responsibilities among various school personnel. Consequently, all teachers and a sizeable number of students were engaged in management. For the 42 teachers, there were duties such as 'master on duty' carried out by each teacher three times a term; class teacher; senior and assistant house masters for each of the eight students' houses; dean of studies; school counsellor; and chapel master. The same teacher may be a head of one of the 14 subject departments; a patron of one of the 31 school societies and clubs; and a games master for one of the 10 different sports and games in the school.

At least, 100 of the 650 students were involved in management duties comprehensively referred to as the prefectship system. All prefects were selected by staff because, "If you let students select their own prefects the whole school may be spoiled by fellows with deviant sub-cultures". Consequently, alongside the school captain, there was a deputy, a dining hall prefect, a senior medical prefect, a games captain, a senior chapel prefect, a senior and a junior library prefect, a senior entertainment prefect, a house captain for each of the eight houses and at least six dormitory senior prefects per house. There were class monitors, prep-reminders and, of course, within various subject areas there were group leaders.

Observers however, were unable to find evidence to support Somo's claim that students' privileges were not distributed according to seniority. All Seniors were allowed to wear trousers during the week, something that Juniors were forbidden; Seniors had their own library, a music room and of course, the title 'Seniors' which enabled them to belong to the 'Seniors only' societies and clubs such as mathematics and debating groups. All important positions within the prefectship system were allocated to Seniors and in fact, the school captain as the most Senior student was not allocated normal duties. In addition

to his automatic high status, a school captain was entitled to six instead of two school shirts, many instead of two school ties and free milk, served him in his cubicle by a Junior. It was argued that the school captain had been given more shirts and ties because he had to look presentable, at all times, to other students. But if one of the responsibilities of being a Senior was to serve as model for Juniors, it could be argued, that a school captain should have been required to demonstrate his maturity and superior qualities by being exemplary using the same quantity of resources as allocated to other students.

Somo considered it very important that teachers be involved in societies, clubs and games. On 4/6/81 he had authored a document entitled: *The Aim of A School* which was still displayed on the teachers' notice-board in 1985. Somo had drawn the researcher's attention to this document during a discussion of the possible causes of strikes by students in schools and universities. Somo had stated that one of the fundamental causes of school strikes was failure by students to balance their expectations with what can be reasonably expected of society at large. In Somo's words:

"I think the problem is really our fault. We must instill in our pupils the goodwill towards their fellow students and all Kenyans. We have talked too vaguely about education and independence. The children cannot find something tangible when we speak of independence. We have talked of independence in economic terms without clearly spelling out what it should be in developing goodwill."

Somo had explained that Inland High's comprehensive training program was designed to work toward fulfilling that purpose. In *Aims of a School*, Somo had told teachers:

"The academic training alone is not sufficient preparation of a secondary high school student for his career. With his academic education there must be opportunities for the development of the qualities of: 1) self-discipline; 2) honesty (integrity); 3) service to others; 4) using one's common sense; 5) loyalty to ones country; 6) readiness to accept responsibility and the ability to live simply and get along with others; 7) attention to duty; 8) leadership; 9) self-reliance; 10) hard work; and 11) determination (will)."

Later in the document, Somo had exhorted teachers:

".....it is necessary for us teachers to see ourselves as the experts and the force behind such a comprehensive type of training. This calls for teachers themselves to be 1-11 above. ...We might not be good at games, drama, etc., but if we are there to provide leadership, determination etc., our students would benefit more than when we are not there because we are not the experts."

Somo had explained that he accepted the argument that a teacher cannot teach properly a classroom subject in which he did not feel confident. But he was unprepared to accept as reasonable the claim that a teacher could not participate in a particular extra-curricular activity because the teacher did not know what to do:

"....this sort of argument makes a teacher sound not properly educated. If we are saying that teachers are educated and qualified to teach, we are saying that they have passed through an educational system in which all these so called extra-curricular activities were part and parcel of learning. They were not meant to excel in them. They were only meant to participate in them. To the extent that they have participated in them, they should be able to help others participate in them too."

Somo said however, that good management often consisted of elements of ordering others around, persuading, compromising, backing down and pushing to the very last possible limit. Somo said that he felt that most of the ordering around of people was necessary only because many people had not learned to use their common sense. In fact, use of common sense was the subject of five documents written by Somo and displayed on student notice boards. At the beginning of every new term he wrote something about common sense. He had explained that this timing was crucial since most students seemed to regress during holidays particularly, in the use of their common sense. For instance, on 26/8/83, (the beginning of the third term) Somo had written and displayed a document entitled, *Guiding Instructions*, in which he set out the rationale and procedures for students of 11 school regulations concerning: general discipline; school boundaries; medical facilities; clothing; teaching rooms; pocket money and fees; electricity; personal radios; smoking and drinking; punishment; loitering and vagrancy; and treatment of

visitors. In conclusion to the two page, 19 item document, Somo had written,

"These are only a few guiding instructions but there are many others that we could apply through our Common Sense. Let COMMON SENSE be the main GUIDING FACTOR in this school, to help us achieve what we want to achieve with the minimum difficulties. We all have COMMON SENSE, let us use it."

Asked whether members of staff ever contributed to the ideas in the various documents, Somo had stated that since staff held a meeting each day and at the end of each term, the documents often summarized teachers' observations of how particular groups of students went about their learning and duties on a daily basis and how they had performed throughout the term. Somo, however, emphasized that many of the emphasized he wrote were based on his own observation of what was going on in the school and how it compared with what he expected of the school.

Valley High School

Head's Goals and Style of Management

Mr Kazi, the head of Valley High School, had some 12 years of experience in teaching and school management. Kazi lived on the school campus and arrived regularly into his office at 7.45 a.m. He would attend the 15 minutes' daily assembly for the whole school, and would often leave the school at around 11.00 a.m. often not to return until the following day. Judged from what he frequently reiterated at assembly, Kazi regarded good management as a collective venture between himself and teachers as evidenced by his sustained public praise of the "good work being done by all teachers". In exhorting students to continue to work hard on their studies in order to "maintain the level of the very good achievement in the school", on at least 21 occasions, Kazi had stated:

"We the teachers, are determined to do our part. We shall continue to do

everything possible to teach as well as we have been doing in the past. So it is up to you to follow this example and work equally hard."

Kazi's definition of the goals of a secondary education were not articulated further. It appeared from his actions, that he believed that if classroom learning and high students' performance were good, it indicated that school management was proper and effective. Only one undated document written by Kazi entitled, *Rules and Regulations* was observed on the noticeboards in 1983. The document stated in part:

"Students are expected to behave as gentlemen at all time... Shirts MUST always be tucked into the shorts or trousers... Students MUST obey all school rules... All arrangements for cleaning-up MUST be adhered to strictly. All students MUST play their part to make the school as tidy as possible."

Three other items in this document were underlined namely: RESPECT FOR PROPERTY, WALKS AND TRIPS TO TOWN, and OFF-LIMITS. Kazi had emphasized during an interview that students were in school to learn knowledge and skills that they would need in order to pursue various careers in the future. He explained that the school's curriculum with its specific emphasis on science and technical subjects was particularly important in training students in the sciences in order to meet national requirements for manpower development. Kazi believed that the school admitted very bright students and that as long as students attended classes and obeyed school rules, academic achievement would be ensured. Several other documents on various noticeboards and in the staffroom consisted of letters of congratulations on the school's high performance in public examinations sent by 'important' old school boys -- mainly government officials, company executives and university teachers. All other documents which littered the noticeboards had been authored by individual teachers on subjects such as sports, athletics, clubs, student lists, and past examination results.

Division of Labour

It would appear that Kazi had evolved a management style that ensured that his main goal- high academic achievement- would be

pursued during his long absences. Indeed, the collective nature of management which he often referred to, was designed precisely for this purpose, implanting in the minds of teachers and students the belief that the smooth occurrence of daily teaching and learning was more or less equivalent to good management. Thus, as long as teachers taught, there would be no management problems. In essence, Kazi had delegated almost all his responsibilities and duties to senior teachers, the bursar and a few students. Such widespread delegation ensured that whenever the head was away, nothing would come to a standstill.

But this almost total delegation of responsibilities and duties was not supported by comprehensive co-ordination of activity and information gathering as observed at Inland High. The result was that even though Kazi was known to be the school head, he was not seen by teachers to be in effective control of the school's management. Evidence of Kazi's lack of overall control over school affairs was in fact, provided by him in that whenever he was asked to give his opinion or to supply information on school factors such as; students' discipline, school societies and clubs, or examinations, he would almost always call in a particular teacher, explaining, 'She or he is our expert on ...that's the one to talk to'.

Similarly, while Valley High had all the usual school paraphernalia of structural units, duties, activities and routines, many such units only existed on paper, since there was little or no exchange of information among them. Structural units and duties were more often talked about because they concerned activities that are expected to be found in any school than because they fulfilled a specific purpose in this particular school.

Summary

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that while the heads of the two schools regarded academic achievement as the most important goal of a secondary education, the head at Inland High, regarded the acquisition of social goals as intimately linked to academic work. Consequently, the two school heads actualized the

goals of a secondary education through different conceptions of management and activities. At Valley High School, Kazi had installed a management style that gave teachers public acknowledgement and praise for their work. Kazi had delegated the academically important administrative duties to other teachers so that he need not 'stick around' most of the school day. Kazi's conception of good school management for academic work can therefore, be said to have encompassed the concept of division of labour between himself, teachers and students. However, since he seemed to regard non-classroom administrative aspects and duties as peripheral to the central goal of academic achievement, he automatically allocated such duties without ascertaining that there would be a proper mechanism through which to assess and evaluate their goals and achievements.

At Inland High School however, Somo had a clear and elaborate conception of the goals of a secondary education which encompassed both high academic achievement as well as various social goals such that communication patterns, routines and bellwork were employed to implement these four major goals. Management duties were delegated and distributed among various personnel to economize on 'mind and energy' and some duties were assigned to students taking into account their developmental level. In this respect, intellectual developmental discontinuities and levels were carefully attended to for Juniors and Seniors in terms of leisure time and academic work load, even though attention to students' physical development in terms of allocation of manual labour, was less obvious. In addition, the seniority system with its correspondent allocation of privileges according to whether or not a student belonged to the prefectship system, all re-affirmed to students the presence of leaders in their community, while at the same time, underscoring the disproportionate availability of material resources and social status to all participants in 'community life'.

Three other concepts regarding good school management can be seen to have been further elaborated by Somo. First, the encouragement of non-expert staff to involve themselves in the 'comprehensive training' of students in sports and clubs, underscored latent conflicts between teachers and management in being asked to do work

that teachers regarded as beyond their own subject expertise. What Somo was advocating was that while teachers had to be experts in class they also had to be determined leaders outside. A second concept concerned use of common sense. Even though Somo had written no specific document to teachers on their use of common sense, he often implied that many teachers often failed to use it - necessitating persuasion, pushing, compromise and ordering around. A third concept concerned combining in a single framework, the evaluation of student academic and social achievements on a daily and term basis. This once again re-affirmed the purpose of comprehensive training and the overall goals of education that Somo saw as crucial to good school management. The next two chapters discuss how teachers perceived their roles within these management frameworks.

Chapter 2

THE ROLE OF TEACHERS IN MANAGING EDUCATION

The foregoing discussion has shown that the two school heads, Somo and Kazi, regarded teachers as key participants in various aspects of school management. At both schools, teachers were expected to share in the numerous duties of supervision in a boarding school as well as to take part in extra-curricular activities. At Inland High, the school head emphasized the need for all teachers to actually participate in all duties and responsibilities which are part of the comprehensive training program for students. At Valley High however, Kazi emphasized mainly those teacher roles that had direct bearing on the school's academic program. In this chapter, the perceptions of teachers at Inland High are discussed.

The documents written by Somo and referred to in Chapter 1, indicated that there were conflicts on the issue of teacher participation in activities of the comprehensive training program. Teachers at Inland High were easily accessible to a researcher since most of them tended to spend their non-class periods in the staffroom, and were willing to discuss openly their perceptions of the school's management. In addition, staff had a very strong tradition of attending the daily 15 minutes' tea-break where all aspects of the school were discussed and debated.

Teacher Perceptions of Style of Management

All teachers were unanimous in their belief that Somo was a very good school administrator so there were no complaints that the head was not doing enough of his own work. This does not mean that teachers did not see elements of weakness in the system but overall, they emphasized the strengths of management. They attributed much of the school's ability to run smoothly to two factors, namely; the head's participation in almost all the management duties which other school personnel were asked to undertake; and the head's recognition of the important teacher role in managing the school. The teacher

evaluation of Somo's management qualities as manager, organizer and planner are given in Chart 2.

On the positive side, Somo's constant presence in the school as a model and an inspiration was valued by teachers; teaching and learning processes were well organized and co-ordinated; and teacher opinions were frequently sought on all issues. Resources were clearly allocated particularly, in terms of money available to each department to purchase items such as consumables, books, and new equipment; and there was forward planning for all activities so that teachers could sequence various activities and teaching tasks in order to meet important deadlines.

Chart 2: Inland High Teacher Evaluation of Management

Quality	Good	Poor
a) Manager	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Always present as inspirational/model -proper duty delegation -finances managed openly 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Always breathing down your neck
b) Organizer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Seeks teachers' opinions -teaching-learning and evaluation well co-ordinated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Too many meetings -evaluation takes much time -co-ordination based on tradition
c) Planner	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Forward looking -major activities of school and learning dealt with in good time -resource allocation clear 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Teacher's time taken up in planning for subjects and departments

On the negative side, teachers stated that there were altogether too many activities in which both the head and teachers were involved in managing, co-ordinating and planning for the whole school. Teachers' feelings about their own involvement in management are elaborated in Chart 3.

Chart 3: Inland High Teacher Involvement in Management

Positive Feelings	Negative Feeling
Teachers are assigned duties by head, so no need to make difficult decisions	Teachers cannot choose which duties to carry
Teachers do not need special qualities to do any duty well since performance is conferred by system not by individual	Little opportunity for teachers to be creative since everything runs like clockwork
Teachers have opportunity to contribute to decisions	Little opportunity to change the way things are run
Teachers can always seek guidance from head since he is always present	Constant control and supervision by head
	Constant reference to the school's traditions makes many teachers feel as strangers in the school.

Teachers were generally ambivalent in their feelings about their role in management. For instance, 13 (30.1% of total staff) of the 42 teachers felt that it was good that the overall management system had structured everything so strictly because then individual qualities did not have to come into play in controlling, determining and evaluating individual performance of duty. However, 9 (21.4% of total staff) of the 13 described the school as "boring since nothing out of the ordinary ever happens here." Of the 29 (69.0% of total staff) teachers who felt that the comprehensive system of management was not good since it denied individual teachers the development and exercise of creativity, 11 (26.2% of total staff) said that many teachers were incapable of designing workable school management activities. Similarly, while 29 (69.0% of total staff) teachers felt satisfied that they had an opportunity to contribute their opinions to various decisions made in the school, 12 (28.6% of total staff) of them felt that even though they contributed to these

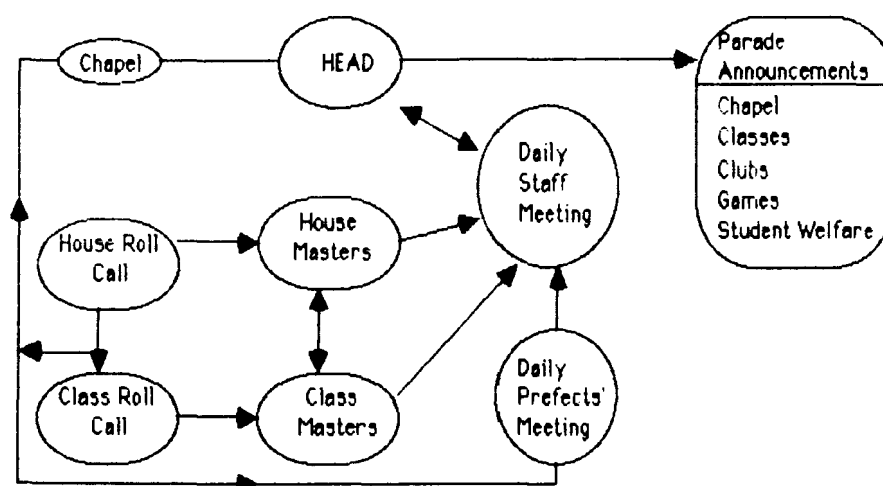
decisions, there was little chance of changing the way things were really done in the school. They in fact, considered their contribution to be mere window dressing.

A Diversity of Management Practices

One of the striking features of management at Inland High was the wide diversity of management practices used by the head, teachers and students on a daily basis to gather and disseminate information, regarding school personnel and activities. In other words, the structural divisions of labour among staff and students were also a communication system for both small group and whole school forums. Roll call is an example of the kind of co-ordination in which teachers were involved and serves to illustrate possible sources of teachers' complaints about "too much work". Chart 4 summarizes the main structural components, activities and the direction of flow of information in various activities relating to the roll call of either staff or students.

An informal roll call of students was first taken in their dormitories at 6.10 a.m. by the house prefects. If it was discovered that a student was sick, for example, the house master would be informed who would in turn, inform the class teacher concerned. The class teacher would in turn, inform all staff at the daily 15 minutes' morning meeting at 7.35 a.m. The house roll call also served to ensure that all housework would be done because arrangements for substitutes for students who were sick or absent could be made. The school's prefects would meet briefly during the 35 minutes devoted to housework, and then inform the deputy head of school of any

Chart 4: Daily Roll Call and Flow of Information



important issues they wished to bring to the attention of staff. All students would then go for another roll call at 6.45 a. m., this time, conducted by the class monitor in the presence of the class teacher. This roll call gave students an opportunity to inform class-teachers about the class's progress on various assignments so that, if there were problems, the class teacher would inform staff during the morning meeting.

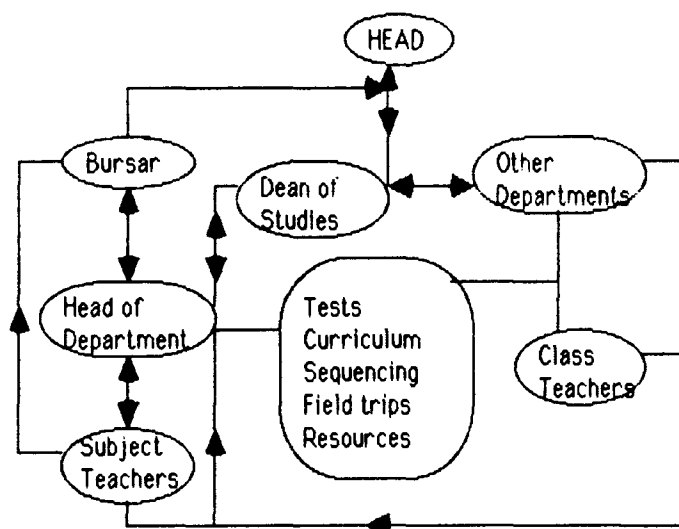
During subsequent chapel, prayers would be said for sick students and the whole school community. The school head would then proceed to the staff meeting at 7.35 a.m., where all information previously gathered by teachers and students, would be shared among the whole staff, and class teachers would answer any questions raised about specific classes. Every class teacher would list on the staff noticeboard the names of any sick students in his class, so that other teachers would know which students would be absent, who would come late for class, and who might not have done assignments and morning work due to sickness. During this meeting, staff would also inform the school deputy of any announcements they wanted to make during students' parade. In this way, the school head was informed as well as the number of speakers at parade kept to a minimum.

At 7.45 a.m. students would assemble for school roll call that preceded parade. All members of a house (selected from all six class levels) would line up together, and identify themselves as their names were read out by each senior house prefect and as the other senior house prefects inspected each student to make sure he had the correct uniform. Cases of sick students would be confirmed from the senior medical prefect's list.

Two purposes were served by the roll call. First, roll call was not simply a technique to get students to be where they were expected to be on time, but it also collected information for teachers so that they could plan their daily activities such as class work, games and housework accordingly. Second, all staff were involved in various duties such as house masters, class teachers, duty masters, and they had to be with students at all times in order to assess the accuracy of gathered information and to disseminate their findings to the rest of the staff. Therefore, the daily staff morning meeting might be regarded as a form of roll call where once again, the senior staff- the deputy head, the dean of studies and the various heads of departments- all assessed the available teaching force for the day.

Other school activities, namely, the academic program; evaluation of academic work; and students' participation in clubs and societies and games, chapel, and the school choir; each had information gathering and dissemination systems in place which were more complex than roll call, and demanded co-ordination, documentation, and presentation of results by teachers within very strict deadlines. For instance, in conducting the academic program, heads of departments had to co-ordinate with various personnel on a weekly basis in tackling issues such as tests, curriculum sequencing, field trips and resources. Chart 5 represents a typical format for the science departments.

Chart 5: Co-ordination of Academic Program in a Science Department



Consequently, teachers who said that there was too much co-ordination (Incidentally no teacher suggested that there was too little) felt that a great deal of what the present procedures and activities achieved could be accomplished with fewer structures and less co-ordination. For instance, 19 (45.2% of total staff) teachers felt that since staff met every morning, there was no need for a subsequent daily departmental meeting. Teachers pointed out that there was generally, too much pushing from the head. "There is a lot of work here. And the headmaster keeps pushing you, sometimes too much." Asked in what ways the school head pushed, a teacher replied, "By himself joining the activities. For instance, he can go to conduct games, so that you feel also that you should be working. If he, the headmaster is doing it, why not you!". One teacher explained that, "If you are a new teacher it takes time to settle in this school. There are many things that happen here that do not happen in other schools. Here you have got to get used to duty, teaching on Saturdays and the hard work here. For instance, students' practicals have to be marked

each week plus all student voluntary projects especially, for those in the examination class."

However, no teacher at Inland High expressed the view that the management had skewed the school's goals in order to concentrate on either one major goal or non-school goals. All teachers felt that the wide range of extra-class activities which involved all students, contributed in fact, to students' total development of intellect and character. But ultimately, even those teachers who found the system "too much", agreed that the school head was a model, an inspiration and above all, humane. "He is very nice. He is very understanding when you have a problem. He will be honest and tell you he cannot solve it if he can't. He will tell you *Mwalimu* (teacher) I can't solve that one. But whenever you have something to say, he will listen, even if it is to criticize him".

But were teacher complaints about "too much managing, co-ordination, and planning" really genuine? And were their contribution to decisions ignored? And, was tradition so entrenched at Inland High as to prevent the introduction of change? Before attempting to answer these questions, it will be instructive to examine other teachers' perceptions of the style of management practiced at Valley High School.

Chapter 3

MANAGING BY PROXY

The goals for a secondary school education and the management style of Mr Kazi, head of Valley High School, were described in Chapter 1. First, it was pointed out that Kazi's most important goal for a secondary school education was to ensure that students achieved high academic performance in public examinations. In pursuit of this goal, Kazi constantly praised teachers for their good work and also encouraged students to match teacher efforts by studying hard. Second, it was pointed out that Kazi had delegated not only the academically important administrative duties but also other responsibilities to teachers so that the school would continue to run smoothly during his frequent and prolonged absences. What were teacher perceptions and responses to this management style?

Teacher Concepts of Management

A characteristic of teacher perceptions of school management at Valley High was the polarization of opinions between those teachers who considered management as "non-existent" and those who were not really concerned. Chart 6 summarizes teacher perceptions of the head's management qualities.

Chart 6: Valley High Teacher Perceptions of Management

Quality	Good	Poor
a) Manager	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Often absent, so does not interfere with teachers' business -stingy with money 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Frequent absence means no administration, does not know what is going on
b) Organizer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Head plans for whole school, so teachers are free to organize academic work -head does clutter teachers' timetable. Head evaluates only academic work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Does not organize anything so excess delegation with little work left for head -does not bother to evaluate teachers' work except teaching
c) Planner	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Has instituted many new programs into curriculum -when teachers suggest new ideas, head leaves teachers to do implementation with little interference 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Comes up with unworkable ideas and unable to develop school's physical facilities -new ideas not properly implemented, so they quickly collapse

On one hand, most teachers considered the head's constant absence from school, as a good managerial strategy since this curtailed his interference in individual teacher's work, and enabled teachers to plan work relevant to teaching, instead of spending some of the time on planning for non-class activities. Moreover, while the head instituted many new curriculum ideas and programs, he did not apparently have the habit of "taking over" ideas initiated by teachers. Instead, he left each teacher to develop ideas independently, to maturity.

On the other hand, other teachers complained about various poor aspects of the heads's management style which also centered around issues of his constant absence from school. Teachers complained that the head had excessively delegated duties so that he had no work left

to do, and could therefore, absent himself from school. He was said to have little knowledge of what was really going on and therefore, could not meet such teacher needs as providing money for resources and evaluating their non-teaching work. He was said to have a narrow view of school goals so that he did not bother to assess student non-class work. The practice of "not taking over" ideas initiated by teachers was seen as a strategy in the service of the head's constant absence from school, so that teachers might do all the planning and implementation of new ideas. Teachers regarded the head's innovations in curriculum programs as unnecessary and saw absence of development in the school's physical facilities as due to the head's lack of organizational ability and imagination. As will be discussed later, the issues of the school's physical development and new curriculum programs were sources of latent conflict between many teachers and the head. Elements of such conflict are evident from Chart 7 which summarizes teachers' positive and negative feelings with regard to their involvement in school management.

Chart 7: Valley High Teacher Involvement In Management

Positive Feelings	Negative Feelings
-Head prescribe duties loosely, so teachers with initiative can create and assume duties as desired	-Waste of time by teachers due to amalgamation of unclear duty boundaries
-If a teacher does not want to be overloaded with duties, he can refuse to give ideas	-People with good ideas who fear being overloaded decide to remain quiet
-Teachers and students can ignore non-academic duties without reprimand	-Teachers can escape duty by deliberate inefficiency
-If a teacher is a fighter, he will get enough resources for his subject	-Teachers made to feel helpless by lobbying and unfair allocation of resources
-A teacher can focus all his attention on academic work	-Teachers are really unsure of students' discipline since all development of social aspects is ignored

It is clear that many of the positive feelings teachers had about their involvement in school management were in fact, due either to non-involvement or diminished involvement or negligence of duties assigned to them. Of 25 (65.8% of total staff) teachers interviewed, only 12 (31.6% of total staff) teachers consistently expressed negative feelings. This is not to say that the majority of teachers saw the head as a skilled administrator. On the contrary, 24 of the 25 teachers interviewed stated that the head was a "bad headmaster". But in analyzing their involvement in management, only half of the teachers expressed negative feelings. Why?

The teachers who expressed negative feelings tended to view the goals of schooling as a process for achieving academic and social objectives while other teachers, just like the head, focused only on the academic goals of schooling. A characteristic of teacher duties at Valley High was that each teacher more or less defined his duties, making it extremely hard to co-ordinate communication and action. Similarly, although at least 51 students were involved in school management, with the exception of the school captain and his deputy, the food prefect and the various sports prefects, the duties of other prefects were amorphous and easily ignored. For example, roll call which at Inland High had been observed to serve various purposes, at Valley High was merely a job for students who were class monitors. Once roll call was completed at the beginning of the first lesson of the day, the monitor might report his findings to the class-teacher. If the class-teacher wished, he might report any sick students to the duty master. But if none of these actions were taken many teachers would neither take notice nor complain.

If an activity enabled academic work to be done, even if its original intentions had been to support another goal, many teachers generally, minimized the effect of non-achievement of the original goal. The manner in which the Boys Development Program (BPD) and school sports were conducted, clearly illustrated most teachers' emphasis on academic work, to the total exclusion of other schooling goals. The original goal of BPD was to use increasing physical strength of students and academic knowledge in biology, agriculture, industrial education and other formal subjects, in order to improve their physical environment. The school head instructed that:

1. All teachers resident on the school campus (20 out of 38) were to participate in the program so that they could teach and demonstrate to students manual skills useful in daily living.
2. The extensive school land and grounds were to be utilized by setting up income generating activities such as poultry keeping, pig rearing, cattle keeping; and other activities such as clearing bushes, planting tree-nurseries, planting trees and planting and watering flower beds and gardens.
3. On two evenings every week, (5.00 p.m. to 6.00 p.m.), students would be

assigned to various groups to work on one of these activities. Assignment was to be rotational through all activities by each student, every term.

The success of the program depended on proper co-ordination of all groups and availability of tools and materials. Animals had been acquired as well as some basic equipment and seedlings for the tree nurseries. At Valley High, there was a long standing rule which required every new student to bring with him a hoe and a grass slasher or *Jembe*. When this research began in late 1982, the BDP was, according to one teacher, "limping badly". By mid 1984, according to the same teacher, "it has more or less bled to death". All teachers agreed that the BDP had suffered from poor co-ordination and lack of tools and equipment. Asked what effect the collapse of the program would have on the school's goals, teachers gave various reactions, typical examples of which are given by the four responses from teachers of history, physics, biology and language respectively:

1. "Quite honestly, I think it is too much to expect me to deal with chickens with authority when I really know nothing about it. I think it is one thing to teach students the daily applications of concepts they learn in class, and another thing to expect us all to run around the whole compound demonstrating to students how history, mathematics, geography, religion apply to raising chickens."
2. "Ah, there is no problem. The boys are not doing those nonsensical activities. They are using the time much more wisely. They are reading what they know they will need for their exams."
3. "The idea was an exaggerated farce in the first place. I am glad we are back where our students' energy should be, in academics and sport. That I have no quarrel with."
4. "May be the students will not learn how to do some of these things. But I always wonder whether if a student was interested enough, he wouldn't find out the right way of doing something anyway! Anyway, I happen to think that we should concentrate on what we know how to do best here and let others to do their part."

The following response was given by one of the 12 teachers who had expressed negative feeling about their involvement in school management.

"Of course the program has failed. The chap we educate here should be able to see how school puts into practice what it preaches. The two things are different and they should be done at different times but in the same environment. Of course, now that we don't have the tools there is nothing we can do. But that does not mean that the idea is wrong."

There were at least, five factors causing conflict among teachers with regard to the BDP. First, some teachers felt that they were not qualified to undertake the various activities in the program. But underlying this factor was the feeling that a number of these activities were not the work of teachers, "...it is one thing to teach the application of concepts to daily life, its another to expect us all run around the whole compound demonstrating...how...history applies to raising chicken." Second, some teachers felt that the BDP activity had taken up time which would be better used for academic learning. As a result, in failing to carry out BDP activities, teachers felt that students had correctly used the time to read. Teachers felt relieved that the irrelevant detour was over since students' concentration was back on academic work and sports. Third, it was quite evident that the rationale for instituting the program had not been accepted by all teachers, some of whom regarded it as "an exaggerated farce in the first place". Fourth, some teachers implied that by its failure to bring co-ordination to the program and to provide the tools for the various activities, school management had finally seen the light, and allowed teachers and students to concentrate on the important academic work.

However, other teachers thought exactly the opposite, believing that the program was relevant to education and that school was the right environment for these sorts of activities, precisely, because that's where "they are preached". This latter group saw the collapse of the program as yet another example in a series of events all of which were evidence of management's ineptitude to plan, co-ordinate and support an idea of importance. As one of these teachers stated, "If you come up with a good idea like that, the next thing to do is to be sure that you can plan for it. As it is here, we simply matched student's names to those of teachers, pinned the list on the board and left the rest of the program to take its desired course."

Fifth, some teachers had not been initially convinced that the BPD would succeed, where similar programs had previously failed and unfortunately, subsequent events and the self-fulfilling prophecies by the same teachers, had proved the critics of the program correct. The collapse of the program was unfortunate - because apparently, students were interested in the program and had not initially viewed it as "out of place" in a school's academic environment. One teacher had explained:

"The first, second and third time you can go and meet the boys, initially, they show interest. But since there are no tools, soon they lose the interest, because it seems like a waste of time going to the various locations. Progressively, the students develop the attitude where they in fact, come to see the lack of *Jembes* and footballs, and watering cans as a positive thing. Because then, they can go and read or revise their academic work. By the fourth time, you are tired of explaining to students the lack of equipment. On the fifth time, you feel relieved when students don't show up at all."

The example of the BDP showed that teachers and students had recast and refocused other school goals in the light of the most desirable goal - academic achievement. Even dissenting teachers admitted that high academic achievement was "the only way to make it here". Consequently, if management action resulted in the support of progress towards achieving academic goals, even if that had not been its original intention, then the majority of teachers supported that action. Teachers agreed that the lack of proper co-ordination had contributed to the collapse of the BPD program. But few disapproved of the fact that failure of the program had "spared lost time" which enabled students to undertake academic work.

Devolution and Assumption of Duties

As shown in Chart 6, teachers could either be assigned duties by the head, they could ask the head for a specific duty or they could create and assume a particular duty. The manner in which duties were assigned presented another source of conflict between the head and teachers and among teachers. The loosely prescribed duties had led to a situation where the boundaries and descriptions of various duties were poorly defined leading in turn, to either a teacher ignoring his

duty or taking on activities belonging to other duties, and combining them, in an effort to redefine his duty. Chart 8 contrasts the official duties of various school personnel as stated in the schools' regulations and what was actually done by personnel in performing various duties.

Chart 8: Activities and Functions in Various School Duties
(Duties Ignored are Italicized)

Official Functions	Actual Functions
School Head: Overall manager; <i>managing external affairs;</i> administer finances; <i>deal with all school discipline</i>	Administer finances; deal only with suspension of students from school
Deputy School Head: Internal management; <i>timetabling, examinations; collection of schemes of work; students' counselling on academic work</i>	Management of school's external affairs; deal with major students' discipline problems except suspension
Academic Dean: Interpreting for students regulations for public examinations; keeping students' academic records	Interpreting examination regulations; keeping students' academic records; academic counselling; timetabling; devising and compiling all students' records; compiling all schemes of work; examinations; internal management
Career Master: <i>Devising and compiling students' academic and social records; career counselling; helping students to know about higher education institutions</i>	Distribute to students forms for application for admission to higher education
Deans of Discipline: <i>Deal with all class discipline problems beyond individual teacher's authority</i>	Checking students' uniform

Continued

Official Functions	Actual Functions
Committee for BDP: Organize, <i>co-ordinate and implement program;</i> <i>manage school grounds</i>	Make list of teachers and students in each group; assign activities and put on noticeboards; assign supervision of groups
Duty Master: <i>Supervise prep time,</i> <i>and morning chores</i>	Sit in staffroom and check on students only when problem is reported
Teachers : <i>Deal with minor discipline</i> <i>problems during class</i>	Send all discipline problems to deputy head of school

It is evident that while the deputy head of school and the academic dean had re-allocated to themselves a number of other staff duties, the other teachers had ignored several aspects of their duties. Three consequences of this re-allocation of duties by individual staff were observed. First, teachers who felt strongly that their role in the school extended beyond classroom teaching became overburned with duties. The extreme cases were the academic dean and deputy head of school who together bore the largest proportion of school duties. Second, there was no overall mechanism through which all structural units, responsibilities and duties could be channeled to organize both communication and action toward a common goal. Third, the exceptional efficiency of the academic dean, who had served in the school for over 10 years, and the non-rotation of teachers' duties had led the majority of teachers to believe that the school head was dispensable; that duty co-ordination was unimportant; that the single minded concentration of both teachers and students should be on academic work; and that all other school goals can almost totally be disregarded.

Yet the co-ordination of all duties and responsibilities would not have been impossible because two different but efficient models of both action and communication actually existed in the school, namely, in

the food department and in the academic program. In the former, the co-ordination mechanism ensured that funds were always available for the purchase of food; that complaints about food from the student body would be passed on to the food committee, the food prefect, the caterers, the bursar, the deputy head and the head and would be dealt with promptly; and that food substitutes desired by students, within reason, would always be provided. Attention to the food department is given in all schools, since it is generally believed that students' dissatisfaction with food (and uniforms) are frequent precipitants of strikes. At Valley High, however, there seemed to be an extremely efficient school-wide mechanism to deal with the issue.

Work of the Academic Dean

How did the school co-ordinate the academic program so that students could consistently achieve high performance on public examinations, particularly in view of the fact that at Valley High, all physical, material and learning resources were scarce, and those that existed continued to deteriorate throughout the research project? Even though the school head was frequently absent from school, he was very aware that his school was performing well and that it had in fact improved tremendously since 1976. Teachers had explained that this dramatic improvement in achievement had generally coincided with the appointment of the current academic dean, which also had coincided, in the opinion of most teachers, with the beginning of the physical deterioration of the school plant. It appears that when the academic dean had been appointed, he had prescribed for himself duties that he thought necessary to his task. Specifically, he had set up a system which included six elements:

1. A record keeping system of students' term achievements.
2. A report card that not only showed the marks obtained by each student in each subject, but also had serious and factual comments from each subject teacher, the class teacher and a comment about overall performance by the academic dean.
3. A system whereby students' report cards were "tailed" and "bottomed" - putting in names, age, class, etc. - early during the term to ease the time burden on subject and class teachers at the

end of each term, a burden the dean thought discouraged teachers from making useful and analytic comments on each report in order to give students meaningful feedback.

4. A mechanism to interpret the public examinations' regulations, right from form 1, regarding what requirements students had to meet in order to obtain a first class certificate at form 4, and what combination of subjects were offered at "A" level in most good schools and what combination of subjects students would need to study in order to enter into various professional and degree programs.
5. A personal effort to know each and every student. In turn, students had learned that the academic dean was a fountain of ideas, advice and encouragement. The net result was that he became the major counsellor of all students on academic matters and discipline in so far as this related to academic achievement. Moreover, the dean constantly gave teachers feedback about student academic needs so that teachers regarded him as a useful source of advice.
6. A mechanism to co-ordinate some of the school's mock examinations with other good schools in the country.

It would appear, that in the belief that the evaluative and record keeping infrastructure supportive of academic goals had been properly organized by the dean, the school head and teachers had decided not to tamper with the system. Instead, they supported and augmented the system by their commitment to academic work. They undertook four main activities namely: submitting regularly to the dean, all class tests' results; improvising as much as possible students' reading and class practical work; debating as often as possible among themselves (particularly, among teachers of the same subject), on how to teach and evaluate various sections of the syllabus; and generally, using available time to improvise learning resources and prepare lessons. In this manner, academic work was efficiently organized and co-ordinated. It is however, instructive to study an example of an area where there was severe lack of co-ordination because it underscores, perhaps definitively, the high price of management by proxy.

Of Chairs and Desks

As stated earlier, the appointment of the academic dean in 1976 was generally regarded by teachers to have coincided with the beginning of the physical deterioration of the school plant. The teacher who was academic dean during this research, had been responsible for school furniture prior to 1976, and had also assigned himself the duty of plant supervisor. For instance, he had devised a system where each desk and chair was not only marked with the name of the school but also numbered. The teacher maintained a record of the number of the chair and desk assigned to each student. Whenever a chair was broken, he asked the student for an explanation of the breakage. If he was satisfied that the chair had been broken accidentally, the school would pay for the repair. If he ascertained that the student had been careless, the cost of repair would be charged to the student. When the teacher became academic dean, a new system was implemented, namely, no one was responsible for school furniture.

The general condition of furniture at Valley High was an instructive example of the school's physical deterioration. During the research period, an inventory of furniture in the staffroom, two biology laboratories and one classroom was conducted on three occasions in March 1983, June 1984 and November 1984. It was possible to obtain an estimate of the number of chairs and desks in each of the rooms in 1976. The student desk and chair were each made of a metal frame with a wooden top or seat. Whenever a desk or chair broke, normally the top or seat might disappear, but the metal frame would be stacked at the back of each classroom in the hope of repair at some future date. It was therefore possible to count the broken furniture over time. Table 2 shows the results of this inventory.

Table 2: The State of Furniture at Valley High School

Furniture	Good	Poor	Broken	Date
1976				
Desks - 40	26	8	6	March 1983
	21	9	10	June 1984
	8	19	13	Nov 1984
Chairs- 40	21	12	7	March 1983
	15	15	10	June 1984
	12	15	13	Nov 1984*
Lab -80	48	3	3	March 1983
Stools	24	14	18	June 1984
	17	24	16	Nov 1984

* By the end of the research in May 1985, 2 students in form 1 were sharing each desk, most sat on cardboard pieces or other improvised wooden pieces and often slid off these and fell during lessons causing laughter.

Observing students, on Saturdays, washing floors of classrooms and moving furniture around was a dramatic lesson on how to leave a school without classroom furniture. Essentially two or three students would be responsible for washing a classroom floor. They would lift the desks out of the classroom and pile them, one on top of the other, on the grass outside. They would then throw the chairs out, piling them on top of the desks. (Incidentally one of the reasons for throwing the chairs from the doorway to the grass was because another set of boys would be 'washing' -in reality splashing water- the verandah and this group would not allow anyone to walk across the verandah before it was dry.) The students who were cleaning the classroom floor would then splash water, without soap, all over the floor- not too much otherwise, they would have to scoop it up with their hands or wait the whole day for it to dry, since there were no mops - and then swept the water around the whole area, using a broom made of leaves. This done, they would throw the furniture back into the room -- never mind where it landed. The whole operation lasted no more than 10 minutes. Meanwhile, the teacher on duty would be seated in the staffroom marking students' exercise books.

Physical deterioration was observed in almost all other school facilities. For instance, the grass on the compound was rarely cut, many of the glass windows were broken, the roof of the dining hall leaked, lockers had no doors, many machines in the workshop needed major repairs and laboratories were permeated by an excruciating stench emanating from the rabbits and rats bred in cages and kept inside the laboratory - a practice contrary to regulations that require these animal cages to be outside the laboratory. Students often presented a spectacle of uniform transformations - having used all colours of buttons on originally white shirts, an assortment of blue sweaters with holes from cuff to elbow, all manner and colour of shoes, and unhemmed shorts and trousers. Yet all these irregularities were strictly forbidden by a notice dated 1975 which hung on three major public noticeboards.

What were teachers reactions to this physical deterioration? A teacher with a characteristic and eloquent sense of caustic humour, summarized his sentiments on the issue this way:

"You will be dismayed if I tell you that we don't actually see ourselves as all that untidy. In all history, familiarity has always bred contempt. But here, it only breeds untidiness".

Almost all teachers explained that they ignored 'these minor problems'. Asked whether or not they had brought the broken furniture to the head's attention, a teacher replied,

"This is not a problem that has come up this year. Last year it was the same. The year before that it was the same story. You reach a stage where you define your individual goals. The solution is simple. You sit down and do your work. You are officially here to teach so you concentrate on teaching and forget about the rest. Fortunately, here the boys will not let you down in class. That is the consolation."

Teachers who had expressed dismay about the school's disregard of the social goals in educating boys, all had similar sentiments and none of them wanted to transfer out of the school. Summarizing what seemed to be the general belief among all teachers, a mathematics teacher said,

"You see there are some teachers here who think the headmaster is very good. He does not appear that often. He doesn't interfere into your business of teaching. This gives a certain degree of liberalism to each teacher to plan and teach the way he wishes. Even those of us who feel that the headmaster found everything here but he has failed to maintain it, admit that much of what we see is not affecting us directly- like lack of hoes, lack of game facilities, the tall grass around, the dirty compound, students with unkempt hair and lost buttons on shirts- such things do not affect us that much, as long as we have a certain type of student who is easily motivated. When you consider all that, you think twice before you ask for a transfer. You say, let me hang on. Let me continue working hard, one day we will get somebody whom we give ideas and he is ready to work - if we are lucky".

The teachers' fine tuning of both personal and the school's goals was highly dependent on the school's capacity to attract a certain type of student. Valley High, as one of the few national schools, had no problem in getting such a student. And even though the recently implemented quota system of selecting students from all districts of Kenya to such schools had brought in a few students with less than the best possible grade, teachers were not worried. They regarded such students as a challenge which would force adapt to adapt their teaching methods. Teachers therefore, continued to focus their attention on academic work and classroom teaching in disregard of other goals. Probably summarizing the whole school's sentiments, the academic dean had said,

"A long time ago, we asked ourselves the question: Which is better - beauty or academic achievement? We voted academic."

Summary

This chapter has presented data from Valley High in order to provide background for tackling questions posed at the end of Chapter 2 regarding complaints by teachers at Inland High, of too much co-ordination. Data from Valley High has suggested that: first, even though official co-ordination was absent with regard to many non-academic activities, co-ordination of academic work, although originally implemented by one teacher, had in fact been

institutionalized and was recognized to be an integral part of the school's total academic program. Second, because co-ordination was carried out by only a few staff members, these teachers felt overburdened in comparison to the rest of the staff. Third, lack of co-ordination in other aspects of the school's life appeared to have resulted in a narrowing of the goals of a secondary education and to have encouraged the deterioration of the physical facilities that supported academic work. Fourth, it would appear that disregard of the social goals in the school had so blunted both teachers' and students desire to work and live in an improved environment that the majority had ceased not only to care, but also to believe that such an environment was necessary. In the following chapter, the complaints of teachers from the two schools are contrasted in an attempt to assess their validity within the context of each school.

Chapter 4

FREEDOM AND CONTROL IN SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS

Presented in this chapter are data on teacher beliefs and perceptions in an attempt to identify the basis for teacher complaints about their involvement in various aspects of school management. For instance: what lay behind assertions by teachers at Valley High that: the school runs better in the absence of the school head than in his presence; and that if the head of school been constantly present in the school, there would have been chaos? And how valid was the claim by teachers at Inland High, that their contribution to decisions was totally ignored? And was tradition so entrenched at Inland High as to prevent the introduction of change?

Teacher Expectations and Control

Teacher complaints about the above mentioned factors were probably evidence of inherent contradictions between the school goals and the means prescribed to achieve such goals. But such complaints and contradictions were also inherent in the goals of the total educational system beyond particular schools. Ultimately, teacher complaints concerned the degree to which teachers felt that they had control over their work environment in its totality. Summaries of teachers' positive and negative feelings about their involvement in management revealed that on one hand, teachers at Inland High, were concerned about a head who constantly breathed down their necks; left them little individual liberty to plan their curriculums; conscripted teachers for extra-curricular activities during their so-called free time; required them to be experts in all aspects of school life; and demanded that they be leaders, managers, organizers and planners, when teachers would have preferred to be lead, managed, organized and given ready made plans. On the other hand, some teachers at Valley High were concerned about an absentee head who seemed to manage by proxy. What did teacher perceptions

reveal about their control of the environments in which they worked? And what did this control imply in terms of achievement of the school goals?

At Inland High, there was a group of teachers who saw the head's constant presence and supervision of all school activity, as overbearing, and as a mechanism to impose control over teachers both through the direct instrument of stated rules of action, and by a subtle form of coercion through "modelling". This, many teachers had pointed out, significantly reduced their freedom and made them feel like "mere seniors to the students". Moreover, since teachers had to work within a comprehensively co-ordinated system, many felt that their own creativity and personal growth had been stunted by their inability to try out new ideas and learn from their own mistakes.

Yet for all teachers at Inland High, the idea of a head of school who would be frequently absent from school was unthinkable. This was beautifully dramatized when Somo was transferred from the school at the end of 1984. When the new head arrived, he spent a great deal of time in his office and rarely participated in the traditional tea break which Somo had made a daily ritual. One teacher thought the new head had absented himself too often from school and commented,

"Even though he can't change much here, if he does not pull himself from his desk, we are going to have chaos. He does not attend tea. He is timid. He does not teach, and he uses the slightest opportunity to run away from the school. That's not what Inland High needs. We need a headmaster who is there, on a day to day basis".

If teachers had really felt controlled by the former head's constant presence in the school and his participation in all activities, why did they feel that the school's stability was threatened by a new head's frequent absence and non-participation in some of traditional school activity, particularly since they believed that the new head would not be able to change much in the school? The reasons would seem to be suggested by teachers' feeling about the same issue at Valley High.

At Valley High, a few teachers regarded *any* head's constant absence from a school as detrimental. But even these few teachers agreed with the rest of the staff, that in the case of Mr. Kazi, constant

absence was, in the final analysis, not as detrimental to the smooth running of the school as his occasional presence. Kazi's constant absence was perceived as good precisely because it provided opportunity for teachers to plan, to concentrate on academic issues and to deal with student discipline. The head's absence was good because it increased each teacher's control over the management, organization and planning of his individual academic work - something that teachers at Inland High said they were denied. The head's constant absence at Valley High still left all teachers in full control of the two elements they considered crucial in school life, the academic content and student discipline in class, even though in reality, they did little about the latter. In this situation, both those teachers who saw the head's constant absence as good and those who saw it as bad, did not feel controlled. In the final analysis, even those teachers who believed that it was professionally wrong for a head to be away from school for long periods, conceded that for this particular school head, absence was a more tolerable crime than constant presence.

But as earlier explained, Mr Kazi did little co-ordination of activity whenever he was in school. He simply praised the good work of teachers. Why did teachers desire his total absence from school? Put differently, why did the teachers of two schools of high academic performance feel exactly the opposite about the constant presence of the head in the school on a daily basis? The answer lay in what the two heads actually did when they were in school.

At Valley High, the head was regarded by teachers as a de-stabilizing factor in the smooth operation of the school because of at least, five reasons. First, the head was not generally considered an efficient administrator by teachers. He was said to be an inept co-ordinator; his advice was rarely sought; and whenever he gave such advice, it often turned out to be unworkable. The head was also said to be a very poor judge of people. He apparently, put too much trust in people and wanted to give each person a chance to redeem himself, with the result that he rarely apportioned blame to anyone, not even to himself. At Valley High, where there were amorphous boundaries between responsibilities and duties, it was already sufficiently

difficult to find anyone to blame if something did not work out. This situation was worsened further by the head's inability to personally take responsibility to blame anyone, even in those cases where he was definite of the identity of the culprits. Therefore, teachers considered him indecisive and regarded such indecisiveness as due to a desire for undeserved reciprocity from teachers. The head therefore was not regarded as a model and an inspiration, supportive of daily action.

Second, although the head taught, he had only a very small number of Form 6 students (5-8 students out of a total population of 450) and his humanities subject was considered to be insignificant in a science oriented school. He was believed to have little knowledge of the dynamics and problems of large junior classes, where resources were scarce. In discussing the head's inability to provide resources for teaching large classes, a teacher had stated:

"Two months ago I went in for the 3rd time to ask for a little money to buy tape to repair books, I got nothing. Two weeks ago, I told him we need new texts, he said nothing. Today I went in there to tell him all the textbooks are torn, but he suggested that students should share. If he taught a large class, he would know about the impossibility of sharing books which are already in tatters".

Third, the head was said to regularly come up with unworkable curriculum innovations. A teacher had pointed out,

"I don't know what it is, but quite often this character [the head] gets this bizarre urge, it is a ritual I think, which satisfies some deep personal appetite to be known. He insists on starting something which everyone else knows will not work for long. When he next appears, he will definitely start something which will not get finished before he takes off once again."

The Boys Development Program discussed earlier, the Fuel Studies Course, the Literary Masters Course and Mathematics for Everyday Use, were examples of such curriculum innovations all of which had more or less collapsed by the end of the research period. Teachers' concern about the head's innovative curriculum ideas actually involved issues of scarcity of learning resources at two levels. In the first instance, new programs diverted large amounts of resources from other areas of academic work which were already operating

with minimal resources. In the second instance, new programs always created very difficult, almost intractable problems in scheduling, often entailing reduction in the time used to learn other subjects such as language and mathematics. Teachers were strongly opposed to reducing time for these two subjects since their long term effects would be a reduction in the number of first division certificates among students. A teacher stated,

"When he appears, I am apprehensive because my time may be cut in order to teach some fancy course which is totally useless."

Fourth, because the head was so constantly absent from school, whenever he appeared, teachers were lured into a temporary belief that he might be able to solve some of the school's problems. For example, concerning the availability of resources, a teacher explained,

"When they see him, teachers begin to feel that they may make a better case this time. You see, they have failed to learn that they only often waste their time queueing to see the headmaster to provide money. I don't think the money is there. But his sudden over-abundance creates an expectation of abundance of money and ideas".

Fifth, since the carrying out of major punishments of students, such as caning, were reserved for the head of the school, teachers said that they noticed that students appeared to be generally unsettled and distracted whenever the head suddenly appeared after a long absence. Indeed, the head would often execute such punishments at the earliest opportunity, causing commotion in classes as culprits were called out, and subsequently returned with sullen faces.

Because of these reasons, teachers could assert that,

"Here you do not feel the absence of the headmaster, there is nothing you are hoping for from him. In fact you sometimes pray that he will not show up. Even when the deputy is not here as well, the only thing that happens is that both are not in. That's all."

At Inland High, a different set of beliefs about the role of the head in controlling teachers' working environment operated. The head was

regarded not only as the central manager, organizer and planner but also as a major stabilizing factor in the school. He was seen as an able administrator, co-ordinator, advisor, and a believable model as a classroom teacher. The head taught an important subject in the curriculum, for a reasonable number of hours a week, at the lower school. Therefore, teachers trusted his assessment, criticism and advice of whatever issues may be discussed in regard to the teaching-learning process. And since he was always in the school, and participated in all school activities, teachers regarded him as one of themselves. Somo had created and maintained a belief in the indispensability of his roles among staff in almost every aspect of school life. Even though he had delegated the day to day overseeing of academic matters, discipline, social welfare and evaluation to other personnel, everyone knew that the head was the final arbiter.

Moreover, Somo's information gathering and dissemination strategies, and his constant presence had secured credibility not just for the man, but also for the position he held. Somo's personality and position and the functions attached to it, had secured a strong moral commitment from a large percentage of staff to the academic and social framework of the school with the attendant belief that as long as this organizational framework was upheld and commanded loyalty of its participants, nothing, including academic achievement, would change. Therefore, even those teachers at Inland High, who felt controlled by the head's constant presence, appreciated the fact that his constant absence would have created an administrative vacuum in which discipline, teaching, learning and other school activities might not have been properly managed, organized, co-ordinated or planned.

And here lay the basis of the contradictions in the teacher complaints. Although teachers yearned for an opportunity to carry out individual planning, to be creative and to learn from their mistakes, they simultaneously, realized that lack of a school-wide mechanism of co-ordination, would have increased individual teacher's responsibilities for management, organization, and planning of school-wide activities. But teachers also believed that comprehensive co-ordination of academic and social programs were, to a high degree, responsible for the school's maintenance of high

academic performance, and they were unprepared to see achievement slide. Teachers regarded the head's activities as mostly supportive of this goal. Therefore, when a new head arrived, whose initial actions seemed not to uphold, at least, some components of the academic and social organizational framework which many teachers considered absolutely essential, there was fear among staff that the system was in danger of losing support and consequently, changing the beliefs of the participants. Teachers seemed to believe that once the beliefs changed, academic excellence would suffer.

Personality and Tradition

What emerges from the above discussion is the crucial importance of the personality of each of the school heads. Although recent research would seem to have discarded the "great man" theory of leadership by adopting perspectives from situational leadership theory (Marshall 1984), it was evident from the two schools that interactions among school personnel rested on some guiding principle set by either the school head or someone else. As the case of the academic dean at Valley High showed, such a guiding principle need not be initiated by the officially recognized leader. What really mattered was the initiator's commitment to the principle and his ability to persuade others to adhere to it.

It was perhaps interesting that both heads of school at Inland High and Valley High were very committed Christians, presiding over Christian schools. Some of their responses to their jobs and roles could be traced to how they interpreted the mission of Christianity within their specific school environments and beyond. As Smith et al. (1984) have pointed out, while research literature may chose to ignore the topic of religion, it was observed that for Somo and Inland High, just as Smith et al. had observed at Kensington, religious experiences and beliefs heavily influenced their motives, structures and actions. Inland High was a very Christian school in all traditions so that Somo's own beliefs fitted well into these traditions.

"I have been in school administration for over 20 years. I have found that the best thing is to be clear about your own goals and expectations and then work to

achieve them, with the help of God".

Somo had explained that he had always based his goals and expectations on principles of community living, integrity, hard work and clear objectives, all of which were unlikely to be prejudicial to other people's goals and expectations.

Somo stressed that the Christian principles upon which his own life rested, and upon which daily chapel for students was based, supported the administrative concept of community living. The 15 minutes of chapel, which he said he attended and always enjoyed, served as a daily rededication of students' work to God. Re-dedication of the school's work to God was a theme in many group forums throughout the year and always culminated in Special School Day (SSD) which commemorated the founding of the school. More than during any other event, on SSD the school sought to unite the founders, old boys and the current student body into a "renewed foundation upon which we continue to build."

During the SSD service in 1984, six hymns: "O God Our Help in Ages Past; Our Hope for Years to Come."; "Come by here my Lord, come by here,."; "When I Survey the Wonderous Cross"; "Lord for Thy Tender Mercies, Remember Not Our Past, so That We May Walk With a Perfect Heart" and Psalm 150; and the school's own song were selected. The subjects and content of speeches and sermons were similarly, tailored: The prayer from an old student was based on the theme, "The secret of our success is our dependence on You (God) our resource and strength."; Another old student prayed on the theme, "In loving our neighbours, in our midst is God", The sermon given by another old student was termed "Lest we forget", in which he recounted how the christian principles of community living had helped successive generations of students of the school to become educated in order to give outstanding service to the nation. Therefore, through an event designed to unite the founders, old boys and the current student body, students had a chance to reflect on how past students had fulfilled the school's goals of educating the elite who had become a foundation upon which the nation continued to build.

Somo had explained that the Christian traditions in the school were not simply a ruse designed to implant some imaginary fears in students' minds. Somo believed that the traditions had been the foundation of the school's academic success over the years and through the Christian spirit of sharing and service to all, friends and old boys of the school had assisted with the provision of learning resources. In addition, the long record of high academic achievement that had flourished within these traditions, plus the general belief that only intelligent boys were admitted to the school, had helped sustain an intellectual and social climate of high expectations and a hard work ethic which in turn, sustained high academic achievement.

Inland High had enormous social recognition which automatically transferred to its head, teachers and students. The community of the school was alive infused with Somo's tremendous energy which seemed to make him be in all places, at the same time. Somo told teachers that for all they did in training young men, there was no tangible reward except personal, inner satisfaction:

"Unfortunately, for all that comprehensive training there is no tangible satisfactory reward except that of having produced 'A better' citizen for Kenya".

After Somo had moved from the school in 1985 to his new unsolicited executive job, he had said, "I miss the boys". Somo said that he had found a great deal of personal satisfaction in being with "the boys" and that his participation in games, clubs, prayers, on the farm and in supervision of housework were for him, not just an example to others, but something he believed would bring him closer to the boys.

At Valley High, Kazi presided over a school which had originally been founded on very strong and somewhat dogmatic Christian principles. With the dawn of the country's independence in 1963, the school's sponsorship had been transferred from the church to the state, and the school had been specifically encouraged to develop toward becoming a center of excellence in the teaching and learning of the sciences. Although the church had retained a tenuous and ambiguous role in the management of the school, the overall result had been that the original Christian principles had increasingly become blurred and

finally non-functional in the daily life of the school. However, Kazi's Christian principles had been approved by all concerned before his appointment as head of the school. A teacher in the school had pointed out that when Kazi first came to school, "...he found everything here, but he has failed to maintain it..." To some extent, what had happened to the strong and dogmatic Christian principles may be said to have extended to the social and physical environment of the school. Yet as earlier discussed, academic achievement did not seem to have suffered the same fate. In both cases however, it was the nature of the personality of the head at Inland High, and the academic dean at Valley High that made such achievement possible.

There was evidence that Kazi had himself been brought up within the strong dogmatic principles of a Christian tradition which might account for some of his behaviour such as a desire to give every person a chance to redeem himself, a need to reciprocate favours, to know the right people, indecisiveness and putting too much faith in the ability of individuals to do the right thing. These characteristics, coupled with lack of time to personally inspect the school on a regular basis, lay at the root of the visible physical chaos of the school plant. Kazi was very much aware of such problems; that was why he had spent school funds, for example, to employ workers to clean student toilets; to repair furniture; and to trim grass on the school grounds. But his reluctance in enforcing the mechanisms that would have resulted in implementing action in these and several other areas of school life, lay in his perceived and fine tuned goals for the school and his lack of a concrete personal philosophy to work. As one teacher explained,

"He is a man of the times. If it is politics this week, he will be there. If it is his favourite church's fund raising day, he will appear on TV. If it is some important person passing through here, he will be at the school."

Translation to the Classroom

How did teachers translate these various perceptions, conditions and situations to classroom processes? At Valley High, teachers in the biology department for example, were quite oblivious to the

deterioration of the physical facilities. They taught every day in a laboratory with the dizzying stench from the rabbits and rats without any attempt to enforce the cleaning routines by subordinate staff. Teachers seemed undeterred that because many of the laboratory stools were broken, students were forced either to sit on top of desks while writing or write while standing. Teachers had explained that they had attempted once, to get laboratory stools repaired but nothing had been done. They had neither tried to see the repairmen themselves nor tried to arrange to have some of repairs done as an industrial education classroom assignment. They explained that they were not responsible for furniture. All teachers had indicated that they hated complaining and blaming other people since, "... the situation is not so bad. There are schools which are worse off". This seemed to be the opinion of the majority of teachers.

Valley High had clear national recognition as a very good school and such recognition was proudly felt and often verbalized by teachers, students and old boys. The academic dean had summarized the situation thus:

"We have been lucky and teachers and the boys have always worked hard. Our results have been very good over the years. But now I think we have been improvising for far too long; to the extent that we can no longer afford to improvise. We have got to a point - at least, I think we are almost there - where we will be shocked that there is no more academic improvement regardless of how many handouts and individual students' projects we quietly supervise. Soon we shall have to first improve our social life in this school before academic achievement goes up any further."

During this research project, there seemed little effect of all this on classroom work. Only time will determine how valid the academic dean's statement is.

Unlike Valley High, where teachers had to scrounge for resources and support, the traditions at Inland High probably spoiled teachers by providing all needed resources and of course, by caring for all resources properly. In the classroom, tradition demanded that teachers be challenging, work hard and push their students to their uppermost academic limit, and cater as much as possible to individual student needs. Subject teachers were pushed to ensure that students

in their classes did not turn out to be the failures on school-wide designed tests. Student performance in one class in a particular subject was debated by the whole staff and if remedial work was needed, there was a system to implement and assess such action. To an extent however, tradition at Inland High had unwittingly convinced some teachers that without the intricate co-ordination that currently existed, the school system would somehow "run itself". What some teachers advocated was basically an abandonment of many of the co-ordination activities during which individual accountability at each and every level of operation, including the classroom, was demanded and whereby information was collected and disseminated school-wide.

Teachers proudly pointed out, often enough, that one of the fundamental values of the traditions at Inland High, was that students were taught to have a clear notion of when it was proper for them to be heard- in the classroom, during debate, at games, in drama, in music, and cross-country - and when they were expected to simply obey. The tradition dictated that the social aspects of the environment had to be very clearly defined and demarcated so that none of the behaviour demanded of students in academic settings would be unwittingly transferred to social contexts where different levels of social learning occurred. Would such mechanisms work smoothly without central co-ordination? It was impossible to tell. However, evidence from Valley High would seem to suggest that without the proper co-ordination of all school activities, there would be problems in the total school environment beyond the classroom.

Somo often lamented the fact that there was no longer the desirable link between the education provided by schools, the home and other social institutions such as churches, theatre, and the community at large. The result was that some students had come to look upon their involvement in the activities of some of these institutions as either punishment or a waste of time. Somo had said,

"Those students who come from well to do homes, tend to see school as a punishment, particularly those aspects of it that involve manual work. Those students who come from modest homes look to school to save them from the manual labour at home. So when they get here and discover some of the

learning involves doing manual labour they get very upset".

What Somo was in fact, echoing is the growing concern among educators of how well national schools which educate the elite of the nation, succeed in developing men and women with an acceptable combination of intellectual, technical and social skills. An insight into student perceptions of what the goals and activities of a secondary school education ought to be, is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 5

STUDENT GOALS FOR EDUCATION

In the foregoing discussion, perceptions of school heads and teachers of the goals of a secondary school education in relationship to the quality of school management were presented. At Inland High, the goals defined by the school head fitted well into four main purposes of secondary school and adolescent development namely: developing thinking skills (Cole et al. 1975); teaching how to behave in formal organizations (Katz 1971); conveying society's mainstream culture (Bronfenbrenner 1979); and providing opportunity for peer interaction (Coleman 1961). It was evident that a great deal of school management structures and their co-ordination, had the objective of tracking students (and teachers) so that academic learning could take place in an optimal social environment. But in addition to the provision of an optimal social environment for academic learning, the comprehensive training of students and co-ordination of the management structures underscored the implicit belief that extra-class management units, settings, contexts and routines also provided useful social learning to students.

At Inland High, this belief was made explicit and was articulated in the traditional philosophy of work consisting of intellectual, physical and spiritual development. Comprehensive training was expected to accomplish such development, through student participation in farm work, house chores, games, clubs, chapel, societies and community work. The goal was to develop knowledge and skills that would enable students, "to fit into organized society where there are leaders and where some students may become leaders." The school head and teachers regarded the school routines, the signalling of time and activity by the bell, and the division of responsibilities for managing various school activities and services among staff, students and other school personnel as presenting opportunities for students to learn the skills leading to the achievement of that goal. In pursuit of this goal, the aim that "all talents and resources available among students be developed and be seen to have made a positive

contribution to the existence of a harmonious school community", could also be put into practice.

There was no doubt that Inland High provided opportunities for students to learn skills to work towards these social goals. As Dreeben (1968) pointed out, schools are the first settings in which young people are taught these critical skills and understanding. Some of this teaching is explicitly a part of the disciplinary structure of a school and classroom (e.g. obedience to rules and respect for the authority of office). Some are tied up with the performance of academic work which involves the teacher's incentive structures. And other teachings are reflected in policies, such as class level grading of students, which, although justified on grounds of efficiency, nevertheless train young people to think of themselves as belonging to categories and to accept the imposition of limitations and the granting of privileges solely on the basis of their membership in those categories (Hamilton 1984).

But presenting opportunities for students to learn various forms of knowledge and skills is one thing, learning and internalizing them may be quite another. Assuming that Inland High's program consisted of all these components, how well did the school succeed in convincing students not only of the usefulness of such knowledge in their present lives but also of its importance to their future? To what extent did the school program of comprehensive training succeed in imparting to students a balanced perception of the goals of learning both intellectual and social skills within a broader society where academic performance seems to be the major recognized achievement of schooling? This chapter presents data on the perceptions of students at Inland High of the usefulness of various management structures in the curriculum for the development of social skills and attitudes.

Data Collection and Analysis

Initially, 35 students representing a cross section of all levels of classes and various subject subsets were interviewed. The selected students were asked the following types of questions: How would you

describe the kind of administration in this school? Why do you think the administration is the way you have described it? What kind of things do you learn in this school besides subjects like mathematics? What is the use of these other things you said you learn? Why should you learn these things here since they are not examined? Are there things you would like to learn here that are not taught here? Why do you want to learn them?

The interviews produced more or less unanimous agreement among all 35 students on the goodness of all aspects of the school's administration. The following quotes were typical of some of the answers.

Asked, "you have said the administration is very good and that they treat you equally; what is the importance of this to you?" John, a first former replied:

"Well before I came here I associated Inland High School with success as one of the best schools in the country due to academics. I expected that everyone here was more intelligent. I came expecting a special place. The very intelligent would be treated special. But when I came here, I realized things were just normal for everyone except for some things – the effort of the students, there is no loitering around for everyone."

When asked, "what kinds of things do you learn here besides subjects like chemistry, biology and all the other subjects on the timetable," Luke a second former stated:

"Well definitely you learn here discipline and reading on your own....Your whole day is conditioned in such a way that whether you like it or not, you will – you will have time to read, and as time goes by, you yourself you come to realize the need to read and study."

In answer to the question "what do you mean when you say the administration is very strict," Hussein, a third former, explained:

"The discipline here is such that you realize time means what you are supposed to do. And now since you know you have only that time to do that thing, you do it with all your ability – your best in everything. Competition.....the teachers here make you want to

compete. There is competition. Everyone wants to do his best. Here the teachers tell you a good student is one who participates in class; he takes his work seriously. You have to perform well in class – every day, every lesson. Then they will say you are a good student, and then every year you see those they said were good get 6s or 7s."

John, a fifth former, when asked, "I am not clear about what you have called learning the real life; what is it," replied:

"Uh, here it is very real. It is what you do every day. They teach you real life. For yes, when you come to this school first, you learn how to meet other people so you learn how to live with other people. Second, you learn activities like games. Third, you learn to value body exercises for your brain. In the clubs and societies you learn how to associate with others; in debates, you learn how to communicate with others. In chapel, you have an idea – that sense of religious direction – sort of actually on a daily basis. You have to work hard to learn all these things in the short time you have."

And finally Stephen, a first former, when asked: "what is the most important message you would send to a student who wants to come to this school next year", said:

"This is the best school. Here you learn so many many things. All these will help you in your life in the future. I like all the subjects, all the societies I am in. I don't mind doing all those things like cleaning, chapel and the games. They are good for you. There is nowhere you will be without some work. I think by the time I am in fourth form, I will be a better boy."

Consistently, each student's response made definite and clear reference to the points frequently stressed by the school head in speeches during parade and chapel and in the various documents written for student notices. This consistency of opinion at all levels of schooling was hardly surprising considering that students had been reminded before the interviews to be "nice but formal" by the academic master. But while student responses did not perhaps, reflect 'frank individual opinion', they clearly identified the main points of emphasis stressed explicitly and implicitly by the school

and which students had learned not only to verbalize but also to act upon.

These points concerned the following salient elements of school organization:

1. Equality among students;
2. Discipline as a prerequisite to learning and high achievement;
3. Learning independently;
4. Time as a precious commodity;
5. Competition as a healthy attitude;
6. Participation in class as a main attribute of good studentship;
7. Integrating activities for the brain, body and soul;
8. Living together with others in a selfless community; and
9. Manual work as part of school and life in general.

At Inland High, there were very few student punishments. Students did not speak rudely to teachers. Students always knocked on the staffroom door and patiently waited for a teacher to come out to solve their problem. Total silence reigned during prep time and library, and no student missed games without permission. Was it possible that in a school with 650 adolescents, everyone had internalized the school's dictates as fully as the 35 students interviewed and as generally observed on a daily basis?

To find out how unanimous the expressed perceptions and opinions were, 360 students were asked to complete, anonymously, *School Organization*, an 11 item open-ended questionnaire, designed by the researcher and the school's academic master. Three items (1,6,8), asked students to describe school routines and typical daily activities. The purpose was to discover how individual students characterized routines and possibly judged about their significance as content for learning. Four items (2,7,3,11) asked students to judge the roles of school personnel in school organization, in particular, the school head, teachers and school prefects. Items 4,5,6,9 and 10 asked students to assess the total school's organized environment and identify which of its components, given the choice, they would like to keep or discard and to describe the similarities and differences of the

school's organized environment to that found in other schools. Table 3 shows characteristics of the respondents.

Table 3: Characteristics of Respondents

Class Level	Age Range	Frequency (%)
1	12 - 16	106(29.4)
2	13 - 18	105(29.2)
3	14 - 19	93(25.8)
5 & 6	17 - 23	56(15.6)
TOTAL		360(100)

Perception of the Functions of Routines

Students were unanimous in their naming of key routines and their functions thus supporting the school's stated goal that routines "were necessary to get everybody organized for learning and teaching". Divergence of opinion, however, was evident in student descriptions of the characteristics and behaviour of personnel entrusted with exercising the powers governing various routines; and in student interpretations of the "real" purposes for which the rules governing the routines should exist. There was still a solid 38.9% of total respondents who, like the previously interviewed 35 students, agreed with the school's description of the purpose of routines. This group was made up of mostly first formers, the youngest and newest group in the school; and fifth and sixth formers, the longest staying and oldest group in the school. The reason for this developmentally biased response might have been due to two factors: first, the newest members of the school still had the euphoria and pride "to be here", and probably felt that they had to report all the "goodness" of this new place. In addition, first formers were still young and "obedient" primary school graduates, who probably had not yet attempted to extend the routines and rules governing them beyond the permitted boundaries. The same conditions would apply to the new fifth formers who had not been in the school for the first 4 years of

secondary school. Second, for some seniors, fifth and sixth formers, protection of the schools' good name and image might have been important. After all, these students had been very successful in the school and probably appreciated the official functions of the routines for this reason.

The 'dissenting opinion' of about 50.1% of the students, was voiced mainly by third, second and a few fifth formers. The gist of opinion was that routines should consist not of a balanced set of activities, as stressed by the school, but only of academic activities - examinable subjects and of "essential non-academic activities". These one student described as games, sports, clubs, societies and free time. Question 3 on the questionnaire asked students: "suppose you were given a chance to re-organize the school day, what new activities which are not there now, would you put in; and which activities in the present daily schedule, would you leave out, and why? Chart 9 shows the activities students wanted to abolish and the reasons for their abolishment.

Chart 9: Activities Students Wished to Abolish

Activity	Number and (%) of Students	Reason
1. Farmwork and Housework	256(71.1)	-Wastes learning time -Best done by hired workmen
2. Parade/Assembly	220(61.0)	-There is nothing to learn
3. Chapel	187(52.0)	-There is no content to learn -Not all students will become churchmen
4. Speeches by school head	122(34.0)	-All students can read (instead, write and put points on noticeboard)

A major reason why students wanted various activities abolished was to save time. A student had rhetorically asked, "why waste learning

time on assemblies, talking about simple and useless things which everybody already knows ... or telling the whole school something which concerns only one or two boys?" The time saved, it was stated, was to be scheduled for more academic learning, reading and school outings. Time saving for learning was the most crucial element increasingly felt as students moved from Form 1 to Form 6. But significantly, no student had suggested saving time by abolishing clubs, societies, games and sports, even though these activities took up three times as much time as that taken up by chapel, housework, farmwork and parade together. As for sports and games, at Inland High, just as in the rest of the educational system, the folklore identifying body exercise as a stimulant to intellectual functioning was strong and permanent. One student had observed that games and sports were necessary in order, "to break from academic learning and to increase the brain's capacity to absorb more, afterwards." Regarding clubs and societies, students recognized that the content of many clubs and societies, was subtly academic and that the mechanisms of practice and expected excellence not only facilitated proficiency in cognitive functioning and mastery of communication skills, but also ensured the competitive spirit considered essential to intellectual pursuits.

During parade, the head of school often stressed that, "each student must show that he exists in this school - inside and outside the classroom". But students differentiated between engaging in sport as a stimulating body exercise and devotion to sports as a means of showing that a student existed in the school. Luke, a fifth former, stated, "a student is not remembered for his serious housework or silence during chapel or winning a few trophies. He is remembered for being in the top ten". Therefore, students had understood and learned the value of time, just as the school often stressed. But students had also understood its use in relationship to only serious academic work. What students had failed to learn or refused to understand and accept or both, was the school head's frequent prescription, namely that, "successful living depends on an individual striking a proper balance between pursuit of knowledge of God and self, academic work, physical exercise, proper use of leisure time and contributing to community service."

Nature of Curriculum for Learning

It was unlikely that more than 50% of all students did not see the ameliorative aspects of housework or farmwork. The point of discrepancy, however, lay in the school's and students' perspectives of the purposes and achievement of the goals accruing to these and similar activities. The school predicated housework, farmwork, chapel and other out-of-class activities, not only because of their environmental improvement aspects or as a "break" from academic work or as "a stimulant" for cognitive functioning, but most vocally, as a channel through which students would learn social attitudes and skills relevant to the present and future. Students were exhorted that through these activities, they would become self-reliant and self-disciplined citizens. Through the consistent routine and through various activities the school sought to show students how to secure permanent commitment to three vital goals, namely; moral discipline, academic excellence and proper use of time. However, students saw as crucially significant only the use of time for attaining academic excellence, which would in turn determine "what one became in the future".

To students, non-academic content and activities was not important for learning. One did not learn by doing housework, farmwork, or by attending chapel. Learning of academic content supported by the school's previous visible and excellent academic record was the major organizing concept for student perception of what was important for learning, each deriving credibility from the other.

There are two issues here for those who wish to encourage more vocationalization of secondary school curriculums within the present organizational structures. Is it possible to convince students that what they do as school chores contributes to their future? Can it be assumed that schools impart to students morals such as responsibility, democracy and tolerance? Or does putting premium on academic achievement in educating the elite, mask from both the

schools themselves and the public in general, the possibility that graduates from such schools are not as fully educated as expected?

Important insights into possible answers to these questions were provided by student responses to the following four questions. Why is there a headmaster in school? For what reasons would you go to see a headmaster? What are the problems you face outside of class? If you were headmaster of this school for one day what would you do and why?

Responsibility, Democracy and Tolerance

First, student perceptions of the role of the head generally mirrored those stated by the head himself and teachers, namely; as manager, organizer and planner. But students also described the school head as leader, father, boss, central man, headman, chief, symbol, figure head and final authority. Thirteen categories defining the functions of the school head were stated as shown in Table 4.

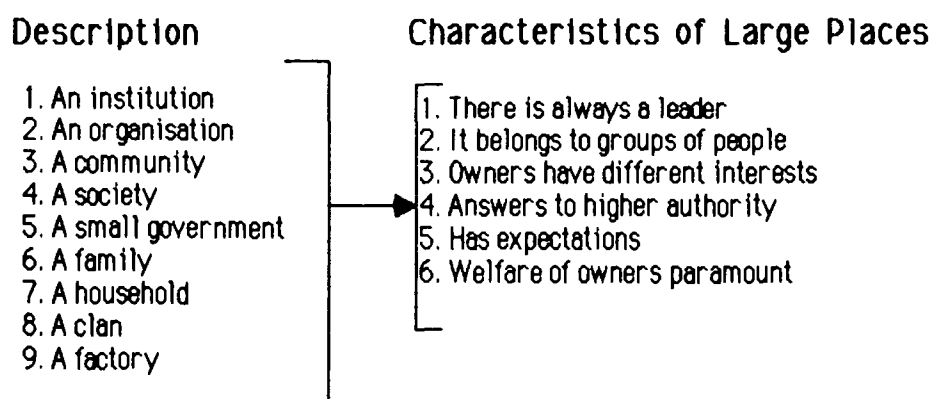
Table 4: Functions of Head as Perceived by Students

Function	Number of Students and (%) of Total Response
01. To run the school	223(62.0)
02. To lead	205(57.0)
03. To be accountable to higher authority	205(57.0)
04. To control people	201(56.0)
05. To rule over students	201(56.0)
06. To organize	198(55.0)
07. To collaborate with students	180(50.0)
08. To protect students	180(50.0)
09. To arbitrate among students	166(46.1)
10. To co-ordinate school work	148(41.1)
11. To develop school facilities	148(41.1)
12. To maintain facilities	148(41.1)
13. To repair old buildings	122(34.0)

Only one student, a third former stated that, "there is no need for a headmaster here, since things run well when he is not around".

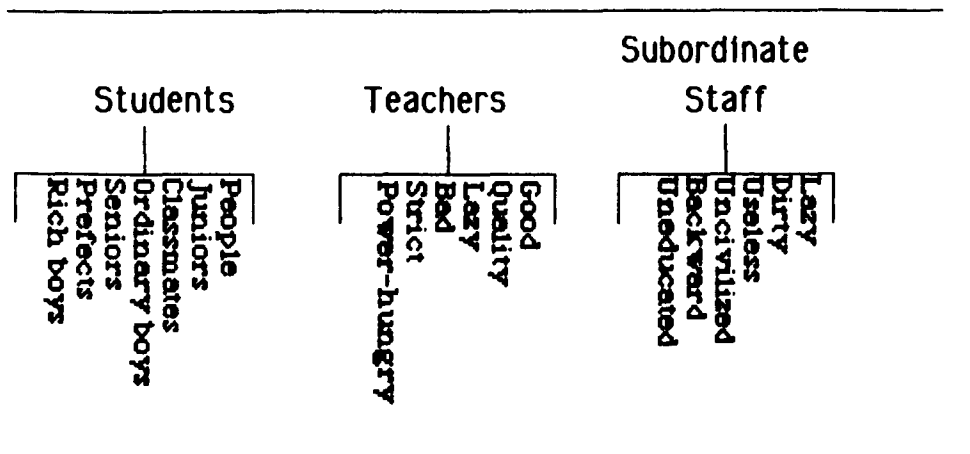
A typical description of a school by students was, "an institution with a headmaster as leader who is appointed by the Ministry to run the school. The school belongs to students but there are some good and bad teachers and students who must be punished so that the students can do well in national examinations." Students defined school as a "large place" which they compared to nine other large places where, in each case, six attributes could be identified as shown in the Chart 10.

Chart 10: Student Descriptions of a School



These categories and characterizations were used by students to describe the head's social relationships with other school personnel. School personnel were placed into three main categories and their behaviours characterized as shown in Chart 11.

Chart 11: Student Categorizations of School Personnel



The point to note about the *Students* category is that the description of students as people or juniors for instance, was perceived as referring to the quality and specific characteristics of the groups concerned. The stable and changing roles and functions of the school head were stated to depend on the presence of personnel who exhibited the behaviours described in Chart 11. By matching the categories of school personnel as identified by students to the perceived roles and functions of the school head, it became evident that the head was expected by students, to apply only certain of his functions to only certain categories of school personnel. Chart 12 shows students' expected allocation of head's functions to various personnel.

Chart 12: Allocation of Head's Functions to Personnel

Head's Function	Eligible Personnel	Reasons for Eligibility
1. Lead, manage, organize, co-ordinate, run school	-All students -All teachers	-These persennelmake up a school without them, there is no school
2. Collaborate	-All students	-Students own the school
3. Control	-Bad teachers -Rich boys -Seniors -Prefects -Subordinate staff	-Persons with behaviours and interests unacceptable to "people"
4. Protect	-"People" -Classmates -Juniours -Ordinary boys	-Persons with behaviours and interests acceptable to "people"
5. To be accountable	-All students -Higher authority	-Students own school -Can control school head

Only functions of leading, running the school, and collaborating with students were perceived by students as requiring the head to be a "wise man and a source of inspiraton". Students perceived the head's other roles and functions as contingent upon behaviours by a small number of different personnel as shown in Chart 12. In other words, not all teachers and students were eligible for the head's functions of control, protect, and rule. For instance, the head's control function, which generally received student approval, was expected to be reserved for persons such as rich boys, prefects, seniors and subordinate staff, all of whom were perceived to have unacceptable

behaviours and interests. However, the head's protection function was expected to be reserved for persons described as "people" who were described by a third former as, "boys demoralized by over-vigilant prefects and teachers; ... those whose innovative gestures are suppressed; ... whose good opinions are not listened to; ... from whom the headmaster hides the truth and what is really going on; ...those who are dictated to; ... those who are punished for nothing or for the sake of it; ... those who are hustled; ...those who are constantly reminded of what they already know". It was in the protection of "people" that the head was said to be severely incompetent. The most frequently stated reasons why the head had failed to deal properly with "people" were that: "he did not understand 'people's' feelings; he did not have proper control over bad boys and teachers; he did not know what his prefects were really like; and, he ruled over 'people' without the necessary intellectual resources". Students were extremely eloquent in describing the unacceptable characteristics of personnel eligible for control. Chart 13 which presents student descriptions of the behaviours of personnel who needed the school head's control, also conveys the intense passion with which students perceived such unacceptable behaviours.

Chart 13: Behaviours Eligible for Head' s Control

Eligible Personnel	Unaccetable Behaviours, Attitudes and Actions
1. Bad teachers	-Hard, harsh, spiteful, power hungry, lazy, boring. unsatisfactory, unqualified -Display shallow reasoning; give students a rough time; mistreat, man-handle; bask in class (waste time); do not know what they are doing in class
2. Prefects	-Expect others to do what they, themselves, do not do; give unfair punishments; behave in manner likely to cause chaos; are boring; harass "people"; hate; show favouritism; are over-vigilant, spiteful; sit on "people"; lack reasoning; deny "people" their rights to defend themselves; are untrustworthy; are always against "people"
3. Seniors	-Perpetual law breakers; chronic misbehaviours; notorious criminals; unrullies; harassers; bullies; blackmailers; oppressors
4. Rich boys	-Show off; reject school food and wait for their fat mothers to bring them food, cakes and money; have many outings; drink and smoke
5. Subordinate staff	-Lazy, dirty, uncivilized, backward, uneducated; do not clean properly; shout; speak in their mother tongue

An indication of the kinds of motives that students read into the behaviours of school personnel particularly, prefects, seniors and teachers is also evident in Chart 13. In describing reasons why they would go to see the school head, students fell into four surprisingly neat categories, described by the researcher as requesters, advisers, complainers and blasters. Students who had stated that the function of the head was primarily to lead, to run the school, organize and co-ordinate activity, rarely referred to themselves as "people"; and they

stated quite frequently that they would go to see the head "to ask or request" for information, permission or some resource. Students who had stated that the function of the head was to collaborate with students, and who had often described their colleagues as classmates stated frequently that they would go to see the head in order to advise him. Students who saw the head's function as that of control consisted of two groups; complainers and blasters. Complainers were mostly students who described themselves as "people" but referred to others as "other boys" or classmates. They said that they would go to see the head to complain about maltreatment by bad teachers, rich boys and school prefects. Blasters were students who described others but rarely themselves, as "people" and who said that they would go to see the head "to blast him". With the exception of requesters, all other students said they would go to see the head in order to complain, advise and blast him regarding issues of unacceptable behaviour, attitude and action perpetrated by bad personnel as shown in Chart 13. It is evident therefore, that there was a wide range of possible sources of dissatisfaction among students regarding 'bad personnel'.

And finally, descriptions of what students would do if they became head of the school for a single day, showed clearly the dichotomy between those who did and those who did not feel themselves and others as underprivileged within the school. Students who did not regard themselves and others as underprivileged, in other words, the requesters and advisers, gave general suggestions in order to improve the welfare of students, namely; diet, uniforms, school facilities and buildings, and they wanted to increase the number of outings from school. Students who perceived themselves and others as underprivileged, the complainers and blasters, were quite specific in their "demands". They would: reinstate the Authors Club newsletter which the head had banned; dismiss the lazy teachers especially those teaching French and mathematics; transfer power-hungry teachers; demote all prefects and elect new ones; and hold their own assemblies.

The call for the revival of the student newsletter was an interesting demand showing how well the "people" understood the power of

information and dramatizing once again, the fact that by banning the publication, the head had generated tension between himself and students similar to the tension that often surrounds access to and censor of media by political personalities in Kenya. Students had stated that before the publication was banned, they had used it to "blast the headmaster, the prefects, bad teachers and anybody else who gets in our way". Actually, all the publication did was to use cartoons and questioning innocence, to print an occasional rebuke or indirect insult. But this kind of portrayal of school personnel had apparently given students a certain measure of power in "hitting back at the system". The consequence of banning the newsletter was that more than ever before, students created a substantially exaggerated view of the power of the club's newsletter as "a weapon".

The "people" who generally disagreed with the present status of school management only wanted to counteract the head's authority by confrontation. While they only hinted at organizing themselves into an open resistance group, choosing their own prefects and holding and addressing their own parades, they most definitely wanted to deny respect for authority and deprive authority of access to visible practices attesting to and enforcing control. This was quite evident in the kinds of limitations that students sought to put to the head's accessibility within the school and to various types of students. For example, students pointed out that a head should never involve himself in "small, petty and unimportant matters". His concern should be with "very official, high, sensitive and secretive matters that nobody else can handle". Students believed that secretive authorities had some type of mystical powers enabling them to come up with "the right solution" when and as the situation demanded. The head was expected to be "aloof and not abundant"; this would ensure a rare personality with deep mental resources, seemingly honest and solemn. Students said that they in fact, abhorred the head's attempts to get close to students and to talk about obvious things and gossip. They considered such actions as below his dignity and instead, preferred him to cultivate an aura of inaccessibility.

Three reasons were given for these boundaries to the head's interaction with school personnel. First, students said that it was

most important that the head gain popularity among students just as any leader should be popular among his subjects. But students were ambivalent with regard to the mechanisms through which students would reaffirm the head's popularity. This ambivalence led to the awkward suggestion that the head should speak only on those occasions sanctioned by students and that if students wished, they would applaud the good work of the head. Second, it was pointed out that the closer the head became to individual students, the more he was likely to be influenced by the opinions of those close to him especially, the rich boys. Students recognized money as an important form of power which attracts those who wish to share in influencing others and they considered material sanctions as an instrument of great effect to curb the influence of the rich boys. It was interesting that sanctions against showing off wealth by rich boys, were suggested not as detrimental to poor students, but in the name and image of the school. Third, students argued that "people relate better to other people when they, don't know them well." Familiarity breeds contempt. The mystique of a personality not totally revealed and understood was perceived to automatically bend people's wills so that the leader would maintain respect and popularity. Consequently, in acquiring popularity, the head was advised to ensure that students "do not discover that he is just a figurehead and not as bright as he should be". A good head, students had recommended, "just like a traditional father, is good to his children. But the children never know his secrets. Therefore, they continue to love and respect him for ever".

But these very prescriptions were contradictory to those that the same students had outlined in order for the head not to "rule over people" and in order to "protect people". It had been suggested that for the head to understand the feelings of "people", the head should "study" individual students in order to discover who was good and who was bad so as not to punish innocent students. Students had suggested that the head should participate more in school sports and games, be chairman of a school club, teach in all classes at all levels of the school, and hold frequent discussions with individual students on various issues so as to appreciate the diverse capabilities of

students. What was the explanation for these apparently contradictory prescriptions?

A possible explanation was evident in the data. First, students perceived the school as belonging to them and regarded all other personnel as being there for the sake of students. Believing that others, including the head, should act upon student's options, decisions, needs, and interests, gave rise to a feeling of importance and status epitomized in the frequent expression, "without us, there is no school". But students also recognized the school as just another "large place", where owners were not necessarily the leaders with power and authority to make things happen. In attempting to resolve the ensuing conflict, students had constructed both a liberal and radical ideology which they perceived as more relevant to their situation. Examples of students' liberal ideologies concerned matters such as student decisions about the uniform, food, school outings and free expression for all. Student radical ideologies concerned issues such as non-payment of fees; summary dismissal of bad staff and students without appeal; restricting admission to the school to "people" only; doing away with all kinds of group meetings addressed by the head and prefects; controlling strictly how much personal property students brought to school; and preventing rich parents from visiting their children.

Students, on one hand, wanted openness, discussion, collaboration and improvements that could benefit all. On the other hand, they demanded secretiveness, social distance between various statuses of personnel in the school, and drastic and ultimate mechanisms to effect control. These expressions of opposing ideologies were the basis of latent conflict within various groups of students. For example, while one group of students pointed to inadequacies in the way the head handled student problems, other groups stated that these accusations of inadequacy were in fact, unfounded and were the brainchild of spoiled and rich boys. While one group claimed that the head frequently created problems for students, another group stated that the problems experienced by "bad boys" and "rich boys" were "created" by students. One group of students saw the strict rules and routines guiding every day student actions as necessary to the social

growth of students and their high academic achievement. Another group saw these same rules and routines as "turning students into moment to moment survivalists instead of the responsible men intended".

Students had suggested that the main factor that prevented the head from providing "goodness to all students" was his failure to understand "people's" feelings. Yet it was also evident that students wanted interactions that increased personal distance between them and the head. Students were particularly critical of actions in which the head seemed to discard this expected distance, authority and power and put on a facade of "equality to everybody". For example, students regarded the head's action of running across the compound so as not to be late for class, not as a believable example to them and other teachers, but as mockery and ridicule of student predicaments whenever they were caught late by the bell and were liable for punishment. Students expected the head to develop the skills of identifying himself with the common beliefs of students by persuasion and command and not by ostentious acts. Underlying student dislike of the head's attempts to be "one of the guys" was fear that this would soon result in different treatment of various groups of students, particularly, the Senior and rich boys. Students knew from their experience within the broader society, that these various "rich groups" had great influence on important decisions often to the detriment of the general public. Although students were dissatisfied with the execution of the perceived roles and functions by the head and prefects, they realized the value of and the relative legitimacy and respectability associated with these various statuses, roles and functions. Students, therefore did not advocate total abandonment of the two positions but recommended improvements.

Students who generally agreed with the goals and actions of school management, were unlikely to think of resisting the head's authority and in fact, wanted to help with advice, in order to increase the effectiveness of his authority. But even this group did not necessarily want a head with true power, a head who was able to win acceptance for substantial views of his own. Rather, students wanted a head who could conform to their opinions.

Emerging Issues

This chapter started out by asserting that presenting opportunities for students to learn various forms of social knowledge and skills was not a probable guarantee that students would actually take the opportunity to learn the prescribed knowledge and skills. Data have been presented in an attempt to delineate what students seem to have learned from the school's comprehensive training curriculum. Several points have emerged. First, it was evident that students had been able to differentiate between the purposes of various activities of the comprehensive curriculum and fit them into three categories, namely: activities that were academic and therefore, worth learning; activities that were supportive of academic learning, and therefore, worth participating in; and activities that neither contained academic content nor supported academic learning and therefore, not worth learning. Therefore, it would seem that school management had not succeeded in convincing the majority of students not only of the utility of this third category of knowledge in the present lives of students but also of its importance to students' future and in the broader society.

Second, with regard to student development of social skills and attitudes, two points stood out in all student descriptions of school personnel, namely, the severity of language, and the immense disparity between what students said they would do and what they were actually observed to do, both of which present serious problems in attaching "seriousness" to the data that have been presented. The two factors are related and examining the existing conditions in the school seems to suggest that the descriptions should be taken with a measure of seriousness.

First, the unflattering terms in which recalcitrants were described only underscored the seriousness of internal discipline in the school as well as the intellectual abilities of students. The student descriptions revealed the magnitude of the gap between what they believed they were being told happens and what they thought should happen. In other words, in an environment of very strict internal

discipline and co-ordinated functions, even minor aberrations from the expected, have the appearance of gross violations. This is not to suggest that students exaggerated their perceptions of problems that they faced in negotiating the routines and rules of internal discipline at Inland High. In the final analysis, the matter is not whether or not prefects were that bad, teachers that lazy, "people" that under-privileged and seniors that privileged. The final matter, and one which students described superlatively, was that neither the school head nor teachers, not only at Inland High, but in the entire educational system, was prepared to look at an issue such as school management with the breadth and multiplicity of perspectives which alone can result in a balanced view by both students and teachers. Throughout their descriptions students were not prepared to judge the leaders, i.e., the head, teachers and prefects, as persons with strengths and weaknesses. Students demanded only strength from leaders, precisely because that is what school management demanded from the students on a daily basis. Whatever weaknesses students may have shown as individuals and as a group, were taken care of somewhat ruthlessly by the strict internal discipline. This assiduous cultivation of an image of only towering strength by school management, resulted not only in equally one-sided perspectives and unreasonable expectations from students but perhaps, more poignantly, prevented students from genuinely utilizing the provided opportunities to acquire useful social skills and positive attitudes, perceptions and beliefs about school personnel and the broader society.

Second, the harshness of the descriptive language used by students said something not just about the head, teachers and students at Inland High, but also about conditions existing in society. Inland had bright students and many read daily newspapers. The descriptive words used were often similar to those used in public media in describing unacceptable behaviours by leaders and "bad elements" in society. With their good mastery of communication skills that gave them the power of self-expression, students were able to 'reproduce' the strongest imagery to characterize their descriptions, beyond the general fact that as teenagers, they always prefer to express themselves strongly. Consequently, what they presented was not

mere description. Despite the limitation of time that constrained students in completing the questionnaire, many used anaphora, metaphors, repetition and other rhetorical devices to achieve the effect of piling up evidence to convey the passion of disapproval which they felt.

It was not suprising that in a school with a strong science bias, students should select scientific imagery to lend drama to descriptions of interactions between themselves and those in authority. For instance, relations were said to have disintegrated, crises were precipitated, friendships between boys and girls were dissolved, discipline was impermeable, students collided with prefects, students had to rocket (revise furiously), bad teachers gyrated in the classroom (like hydra) and when students were caught gadgeting (reading after bed time) they were demolished by the system. The themes of emphasis were not just the harshness of the system but the immorality and indiscipline of those who made it run. This dramatization to particular situations and people pointed clearly to where the fault lay - with the leaders.

With regard to the problem of the immense disparity between what students said they would do and their actual observed behaviour, it must be emphasized that at Inland High, the threat and actuality of punishment in cases of all disobedience, rudeness and any other breaches to internal discipline were real. During the research period, not a single incidence of student rudeness to a teacher was observed even though occasionally one heard a teacher complaining vaguely of "some of these fellows who are becoming rude". However, the wide gap of disparity between actions and intentions may once again, be explained by how hard all students strove to maintain the good image of the school to outsiders. This condition did not exist for the written self-reports. In the first place, the *School Organization Form* was designed with the school's letterhead; and was distributed and completed anonymously during prep time at night. As a result, students probably regarded the form as a purely internal document. Here was a rare opportunity for students in this school to do "anonymous work" in an enviroment which always stressed that each student should show personally, that he exists. There was the real

temptation to write what one does not normally dare. This is what gives credence to student descriptions and to the possible existence of the conditions described.

Another example of the same kind of "anonymous work" was experienced in the school twice in 1983. During drama week, girls from another school had come to Inland High to see the school's play which was staged from 7.30 p.m. to 9.30 p.m. As girls left the hall, boys in forms 1 and 2 who had also watched the play, tried to tease and follow the girls to the bus. Teachers believed that the boys had grossly misbehaved, "that sort of thing is not expected to happen here". All five Senior boys who were interviewed after the event agreed that, "the Juniors had gone all jelly which is bad for the name of the school". But not all boys in forms 1 and 2 had misbehaved. The group was warned that unless the culprits admitted to their misdemeanor, everyone in the two classes would be punished. No one owned up. For half of a school day, every first and second former slashed grass as punishment under the direction of groundsmen.

The immense disparity existing between the spoken and written perceptions of students and their daily behaviour, although a general issue in all populations, should be of interest to school management, in considering the achievement of social goals in education. A question which cannot be answered here relates to whether or not the reported emphasis at Inland High on learning social skills was real or imaginery. Expressed in a different way, it might be argued that none of the 360 students who wrote self-reports were telling the truth. If that were the case, then there would be a more serious issue. If by reference to student perceptions at Inland High, where there was a clear emphasis on and practice of teaching social skills, it was difficult to judge exactly how successful the school had been in this aspect of education, what could be predicted for students from schools which have even less reported emphasis on teaching social skills?

Second, it would appear that in actual fact, there was no explicit teaching of social skills at Inland High. What existed was a clear system for doing things at particular times for the focal reason of

controlling both teachers and students, in order to do academic work efficiently. This view would be supported by the opinions of 39% of the respondents who repeated the school's version of the benefits of the management system and comprehensive training. It could be assumed that by participating in these structured activities, some students came to learn and internalize the implicit social objectives and skills accruing to such activities, while the remaining students simply learned only what these activities were explicitly there for, namely, controlling them. In both cases there appears to be a problem since it does not seem likely that very strict routines will nurture social responsibility even though adherence to such routine may appear to support academic learning. Third, it would appear that the futurist notions upon which students are frequently exhorted to learn social skills actually serve little purpose, since they make very little sense to students in their present state. Students would probably be much more amenable to following routines if the practical everyday school expectations that necessitate such routines were to become self-evident to students rather than be dependent only on their utility in the future. This would of course, dictate fundamental reorganization of present conceptions of authority, the nature of students, the processes of teaching and learning and the application of learned concepts, be they academic or social, to real life situations.

No one would doubt that students need to learn how to live in an organized society and that they need to understand the consequences of their behaviour, to learn to differentiate between persons and positions, and to live in a community where resources are scarce and must therefore, be shared and conserved. Observations of school processes however, reveal that little effort is made to use the school environment in which students spend a large part of their lives, to develop their practical ability to diagnose the structures, purposes and workings of the school's formal and informal management framework. If a student lives in a school for six years, without an understanding of the school structures, purposes and workings so as to act appropriately, how reasonable is it of educators to expect that students will understand the larger environment out there and act upon it appropriately? Similarly, if a student finishes secondary education with no clear notion of why and

how he should change himself for his own betterment, how can he be expected to change himself and others for the betterment of the nation?

Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS

The research study, **Educating the Elite: Harmony and Conflict**, has presented data on the nature of broad educational processes in two national schools the students of which achieved very high performance on public examinations. The high academic achievement of the two schools was known and therefore, assumed, so that the study concentrated on tracing the nature of the social teaching-learning curriculum. It was assumed that the emphasis which the school head, as the key administrative and management authority in the school, placed on the articulation of the goals of a secondary education, would be reflected in the nature of prevalent beliefs, perceptions and practices. The personnel's articulated goals, perceptions, actual behaviour, actions and interpretations were documented. Similarly, what personnel said they did, taught and learned through their interactions with various aspects of school management was examined. The existence of various mechanisms to co-ordinate the various activities was regarded as an attempt by the school to provide a shared language through which to assess the school's goals, activities, present strengths and weaknesses and to implement corrective action.

It was observed that Inland High appeared to have been very successful in evolving and using a co-ordination mechanism that encompassed all school activity alongside the comprehensive training program which operationalized the school's four main goals for a secondary education. The most important achievement of the co-ordination system was that it enabled personnel to gather, evaluate, disseminate and use information about the functioning of various school units, routines and activities so that ultimately, academic teaching would be undertaken within a convivial social environment. The school's goals explicitly stated that the comprehensive training program, consisting of academic work, routines, community participation in manual work, chapel and extra-curricular activities, taught students particular social skills and attitudes. These included responsibility, tolerance, value of time, co-operation, leadership,

ability to fit in organized social situations, and the development of a view of the balanced contribution of intellectual, physical and spiritual activities to student overall social growth.

However, there was no explicit teaching of these social skills. Instead, school management had assumed that by participation in activities of the comprehensive training program, supported by speeches and writing by the school head, students would be able to learn the intended social skills, and develop the corresponding positive attitudes useful during school life as well as in the future. It was observed however, that a large proportion of students did not seem to have recognized the importance of the overall goals of the comprehensive training program. Instead, students appeared to regard as important only goals and activities that explicitly supported academic achievement, and considered activities supportive of social goals as not only a waste of learning time, but also as basically oppressive of student freedom. It was also observed that teachers at Inland High regarded the comprehensive training program as too demanding of teacher time and expertise in areas of school life that had little to do with academic work. Consequently, teachers felt controlled by the school requirement that they should participate in all aspects of the comprehensive training program and in the pervasive co-ordination mechanism, the activities of which they considered as unnecessarily complex and repetitive.

At Valley High, it was observed, that the school had been very successful in constructing and implementing a co-ordination mechanism for the academic aspects of the curriculum and in the food department. All other school activities appeared to be poorly or not at all co-ordinated. There appeared to be a pervasive disorderly appearance to all social activities, and the school's physical facilities were mostly delapidated, inadequate and their condition continued to deteriorate during the life of the research project. Yet high academic performance thrived in this environment, and there were no major breaches in student discipline. Most teachers were happy with the disproportionate concentration on academic work and felt free to plan their teaching without encroachment on their time by

what they considered as unnecessary management duties and extra-curricular activities.

The data from these two schools were generally supportive of findings by Stallings et al.(1981), who examined the effects of school policies on pupil outcomes in eight secondary schools that operated on a wide variety of policies and organizing plans. Since the present study was based in very different administrative structures from those in the Stallings et al. study, the similarities in findings appear somewhat obscure. First, it was clear that teacher morale was high in each of the two school with regard to those policies and rules which were clearer and more consistently enforced. At both Inland and Valley High, the goals for academic work were clear and consistently enforced and no teacher had qualms about his role in this aspect of school work. However, morale was generally low with regard to other school goals basically because such goals seemed ambiguous in the wider context of society, since teachers realized that students would be better rewarded if they performed better in academic tasks than if they spent a lot of time pursuing non-academic goals. Even though teachers at Inland High appreciated the value of the comprehensive training program and aspects of the co-ordination system, this appreciation was due more to the fact that the two sets of activities undergirded a convivial environment for academic work, than to teacher belief in the long term social goals of such activities.

Second, absence and presence of an overall co-ordination mechanism for all school activities at Valley High and Inland High respectively, can be seen as providing administrative support services and fewer burdensome duties for teachers and thus probably supporting higher teacher morale and less classroom misbehaviour by students. At Valley High, absence of co-ordination of activities other than those in the academic curriculum and the food department, and indeed, disregard of participation in many extra-curricular activities and duties by teachers and students, all increased opportunity for the pursuit of the academic goal for which both teacher and student morales were high. At Inland High, the presence of a co-ordination system provided administrative services by: procuring all needed resources and of course, caring for all resources intently; keeping

alive a classroom tradition demanding that teachers be challenging, work hard and push their students to their uppermost academic limit, and cater as much as possible, to individual student needs; ensuring that student performance on school-wide designed tests were debated by the whole staff and that if remedial work was needed, there was a system to implement and assess such action; and making sure that the social aspects of the environment were very clearly defined and demarcated so that none of the behaviour demanded of students in academic learning settings would be unwittingly, transferred to social contexts where different levels of interaction occurred.

Third, even though the levels of support given by the two school heads to the work of teachers, was very different, overall both heads were very supportive of staff. The head of school at Inland High was regarded by staff as an able administrator, a model teacher and an inspiration. His constant presence and participation in all school activities, although perceived as coercive by some teachers, was nevertheless, regarded as supportive of teacher work and morale. At Valley High, the head attempted to support teachers by extolling their good and hard work publicly. Indeed, the head's indelicateness and inability to censor teachers could be regarded as an attempt to maintain a genial atmosphere among all teachers.

Policy Implications

At Inland High, there were many useful combinations of policy and structure, for instance, the creation and sustainance of a good social environment for the working of all school personnel, which were observed to be supportive of academic work. However, as discussed earlier, many aspects within these structures were viewed by various sections of the school community, as comprising both good and bad elements. It would seem that the search for a formula of school management that would satisfy equally the public, policymakers, schools, and various special interest groups is futile. What the data from the two schools underscored was the fact that as long as the education system still places premium on academic achievement, management effort in school will be directed toward the achievement of academic excellence at the expense of any other goals. It was

evident that schools already know, that without a modicum of social discipline among teachers and students, academic excellence cannot be achieved; and that without a reasonable level of academic performance, social discipline would not be easy to maintain. Perhaps, then policymakers should assist low achieving schools to implement pragmatic decisions and actions that will enable students to work on academic tasks as a first priority.

It seems that many teachers and students feel controlled by school management. At Inland High, feelings of control were due to the fact that all aspects of school life were centrally planned, implemented and evaluated, so that both teachers and students felt that there was no room left for personal initiative, creativity, freedom and error. Moreover, teachers felt that as a result of the comprehensive mechanism of co-ordination, efficiency, effectiveness and success could not be claimed by individuals. At Valley High, where a student-teacher consultative relationship (based on the need to accomplish academic tasks and which appeared to transcend ineffectiveness in overall school management and co-ordination and lack of learning resources) was practiced, no similar feelings of control were felt by teachers. Yet it was doubtful whether or not Valley High's individual response achieved as much personnel's accountability as was observed at Inland High. It might be important to leave in the hands of teachers a certain amount of leeway to exercise control for the planning of what to teach and how to teach it and under what disciplinary behaviour to teach. But overall co-ordination of school activity should not be relaxed in favour of teacher initiative, creativity and individual claim to efficiency. Every school's management should strive to reach eloquent co-ordination of its activity while at the same time, devising systems which would encourage the recognition and display of teacher and student individual initiative and creativity.

Evidence from Inland High would seem to cast serious doubt on the possibility to have within the present perception of school management, parallel educational systems which equitably teach for achievement of both social and academic goals. Traditionally, high and sustained academic achievement has thrived in only those school

environments characterized by clear and consistent routines, strict channels of communication, rigid discipline, strict observance of status and the availability of privileges based on seniority and status. Social skills and attitudes such as tolerance, democratic behaviour and others would seem to be nurtured and thrive only in environments where they are practiced. It would seem unreasonable to define students as responsible, if they consistently obey the bell with the threat of punishment looming overhead. The recent orchestrated calls for a display of these social qualities from school graduates, be they high or low academic achievers, is perhaps an indication that the system as a whole has reached the ceiling for optimal social teaching within the present predominantly regimented social organization of school. Recently, the educational system has made a new commitment to the teaching of technical skills in schools. Policymakers are demanding that every school within its own walls, provide 'a real' model of not only teaching but using technical skills. A similar but far reaching commitment would have to be made if schools are going to teach and use the relevant social skills in their everyday work. A starting point might be the recognition of the fact that:

"Socialization is never anything like a passive imprinting by 'society' upon each 'individual'. ...Socialization does not just stop at some particular point in life; rather it must be seen as a time bound process within which an individual is both produced by and produces his/her contextual order", (Giddens 1979).

In other words, those who seek to socialize others, must themselves accept a certain amount of socialization in the process. Democracy, responsibility, leadership ability, being mindful of other people's welfare, tolerance, interdependence, confidence, and a scientific approach to problems are unlikely to be learned simply through ordering that such skills should be taught, and by talking about them. Every school head knows that a great deal of "talk" about these qualities has always been conducted at every parade and assembly. What is required is to set up management infrastructures in schools which not only work by the practice of these qualities but, perhaps, much more crucially, show why these qualities are essential in the development of all those who live in the school.

The school heads at Inland High and Valley High were described by teachers as "strong" and "weak" respectively. What did these descriptions mean and imply? The strong head's key achievement would appear to have been his ability to guide and direct the continuity of useful traditions and policies into a stable, workable and productive school system. The weak head was said to have failed to "continue" useful policy and practice for instance, in upholding a Christian ethic and work philosophy and in caring for school facilities and resources. These descriptions indicated the importance of continuity in policy and useful traditions in managing schools. What a strong head provides, is a model of strong leadership which leads to management stability particularly, if it creates expectations for high achievement and provides clear channels of communication and evaluation of work. This would seem to suggest that even in those schools without a history or traditions of academic excellence, improvement through management action is likely to come about, more quickly, not just through instituting particular forms of administration, but also through the creation of conditions and actions within the school that provide favourable expectations for high academic achievement, proper communication, constant monitoring of productivity and evaluation of academic work.

Elements of a weak leadership were observed to be numerous and inter-related. At Valley High, it was possible to isolate combinations of management actions with results that can be characterized as "draining" school personnel's energy through goal displacement. Such actions consisted of general unavailability of the head to school personnel at critical times; lack of command of basic management components; secretive financial management; use of dubious criteria in allocating resources; lack of a system for airing minor and major grievances; indecisiveness; too many concurrent activities; fuzzy goals; over-delegation of duties; and no fine-tuning of goals of schooling and education. It would seem therefore, that school heads need to be assisted to develop an encompassing perception of their own work, the school's work and goals and the needs of various personnel. In this endeavour there might be need to develop more realistic evaluation concepts of school management than those currently used. The following ideas based on what was regarded as

what was regarded as good management practices in the two schools might form a basis for the development of new concepts:

1. Education, as defined in Kenya, has many goals. Yet academic achievement is perhaps disproportionately emphasized in public examinations and job selection. While in good management the multiplicity of goals is not explicitly truncated, underlying almost all the activities designed to work toward the achievement of these goals, is the deep dedication to the importance of academic achievement. This dedication permeates the total fabric of school life and culture so that in the final analysis, high academic achievement may be related more to the fact that it is a pervasive objective, than to the existence of more resourceful teachers with better teaching styles and with specific policies on how to remain at the top. If the achievement of social goals were to be more emphasized, schools would have to demonstrate a pervasive dedication to its importance, its implementation and evaluation.

2. Good management has an "openness" to outsiders and visitors of all kinds, including researchers and other schools. However, there is a clear educational policy to guide openness to outside experiences in order to permit an active flow of ideas and personnel in and out of school, leading to more effective and enlightened self-guidance. This openness also demands that those within the school be able to present ideas, air minor and major grievances, build support, repackage existing directives and devise ways of introducing small changes and press for initiatives in all aspects of change and growth.

3. Good management looks after its physical and financial resources properly. There is no doubt that because some high achieving schools were established a long time ago, they have had a long time to collect and replenish various physical and financial resources that are necessary for effective teaching and learning. But this is not always the case. At Valley High, despite the school's age and high achievement, the physical resources were quite poor and inadequately maintained. A general observation seems to be that times have been hard for everyone. The sentiments of school heads and teachers in high achieving schools with regard to their financial status and the availability of physical facilities and consumable resources, were succinctly summarized by the head of Inland High when he said:

"Our success does not flourish because this is a situation of plenty. A major part of my work here, and that of teachers, is to organize for hard work amongst a shortage of many things".

Of course, this whole issue is tied up with complex issues regarding the perception of "adequate resources" by school personnel and the valuations they apportion to the degree of academic success that these adequate resources contribute to overall academic achievement. However, one observation needs to be reiterated with regard to financial resources. The easy access by teachers to information and knowledge of the actual available finances for running various school activities, reduces the amount of gossip, discussion and speculation as to whether or not school funds are being used wisely. Since corruption is a matter of great concern in Kenya, if school management can show that its funds are used legitimately, then discussion will probably turn to other issues, saving teacher time and psychic energy for perhaps, more productive areas of school work.

4. Good management anticipates and responds appropriately to crises created by scarcity of resources. Appropriate response means such things as improvisation, proper substitution and establishing an early warning system so as to avoid misallocation and wastage of time and resources during the actual implementation of the strategies to be adopted in responding to scarcity problems. Equally significant, the responses should not result in merely shifting priorities (such as buying food instead of textbooks), rather responses should attempt to at least, maintain the current level of activity and productivity with reduced inputs. In addition, good management has a clear system of acquiring the minimum basic resources be they finances, teaching-learning materials or teachers, and uses extra resources, wherever available, as catalysts and therapeutic devices. Furthermore, insightful management policies should set up clear directions in order to prevent acquisition – at very high cost – of “conspicuous” resources which have in reality little relationship to social and academic learning. And where such conspicuous but underutilized resources already exist, management should work out sensible ways for optimal utilization.

5. Good management, while allowing participation in decision making at all levels by school personnel, develops a personalized ideology on how to organize and do their work within the framework of centrally prescribed policy. However, good management goes beyond this. It takes centrally prescribed plans as guidelines which dictate the overall goals and spirit of the organization, but it formulates its own working policy, relevant to goals, needs and interests specific to the school and its personnel.

6. In poor management, the actual level of management efficiency is low. A characteristic of poor management is the multiplicity of simultaneous urgent problems in almost all aspects of a school's life as well as an assortment of personal problems facing members of staff of all categories and students. The “lives of crisis” are made more visible because the final authority to arbitrate, to give permission, to find substitute teachers, to supervise and inspect duties, and to solve all problems is the school head. In poor management, there is often no limit to the number of decisions that “only the head can make” This often means that the only duty the school head has no time for, is participation in discussion with teachers and giving genuine advice on instruction, performance and productivity of different departments. The larger the school the more the head – unless he concentrates on a few indispensable activities and policies – will be dependent on his own resources or the advice of a few friendly teachers or trusted students, and will therefore, rarely explore alternative solutions to the multiplicity of problems that will ultimately cripple both academic and social learning and achievement.

7. Good management, therefore, is characterized by proper delegation, in moderation and in conjunction with a co-ordination mechanism to gather, evaluate, disseminate and use information. In good management, the school head as the chief administrator recognizes the limits of his authority in carrying out supervision. School heads at secondary school usually have more control over financial matters, co-ordination of scheduling, discipline, and overall evaluation of the work of departments, than they do over the day to day decisions concerning what material will be taught, or how specific students will be treated. Even though heads have the mandate to supervise instructional processes, they lack the specialization, the skills and means to observe meaningfully the processes and outcome of teaching and learning. Under these limitations, a good head will delegate wisely

to heads of departments and individual teachers, providing support with discipline problems, improving teacher working conditions and handling resource allocation decisions fairly.

Throughout the discussion in this report, an analytical framework has been used to compare perspectives of individuals, policy, organization and action in two schools of comparable academic performance on public examinations. Student data from both schools have suggested that in situations and conditions where academic achievement appears to be optimal, social skills might be poorly catered to in the education of the elite. This observation might lend support to the assertion that the truly significant difference between schools that now achieve highly and those that achieve least in academic work, is not that the quality of real educational achievement is different, but rather that the difference is in the quantity of academic achievement measured by currently available methods.

There is a real danger in the longterm, in continuing to use only these measurement instruments to 'gauge total education' in both high and low achieving schools. The danger to high achieving schools lies in their current beliefs that since their students exceptionally well in academic work, they achieve equally well in the attainment of all other goals of education; and since students achieve highly within the school's strict and regimented organizational structures of roles, functions, time and curriculums, the schools do in fact, function at the most possible degree of efficiency. The perceptions of high achieving schools of the efficacy of the current prescriptions for their success could themselves become a major obstacle in working toward improvement.

The danger to the low achieving schools lies mainly in the general belief that the success of the high achieving schools is solely due to initial intelligence of their students at entry and not on what the school has done with the student since entry. This belief breeds several detrimental attitudes toward the work of schools and the variety of personnel in them. The belief takes the burden of responsibility and blame of the failure of students away from the inefficient and uncommitted managers and teachers, since the belief does not clearly explain where the school itself has failed. Rather,

the belief leaves the responsibility for failure with the students themselves. The consistently poor achieving school often sits and does nothing concrete about improving, since unlike high achieving schools that have a name and tradition to maintain, the low achieving school has neither. The social existence of the poor achieving school depends not on how well its students perform but simply, on the physical presence of students in the school.

It was evident that even with just two schools, the educational ecosystem is so complex that a simple cause and effect concept breaks down. This should alert policymakers and professional educators to the need to develop more accurate images of the work of schools and the future of students. School appears to have contributed much to the changes of old customs and the development of new ones. Thus to retain all the current practices of schooling in their present form on the grounds of custom alone is unlike "schooling". For, as long as educational success revolves around the academic standards that students in different environments are trained to meet, ignoring social achievement, which the majority may or may not have mastered, education rebuffs students who cannot or have been made to believe that they cannot make the academic grade. Equally significant, this type of academic success deludes educators into thinking that high academic achievers - the elite - have made an equally high social grade. The students at Inland High did not appear to agree.

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