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A STUDY OF THE PREMATURE WITHDRAWAL OF STUDENTS
FROM PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN KENYA

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(Signature)

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This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University

(SIGNED) *M. Raju*

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as University supervisor

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S U M M A R Y

C H A P T E R I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Every year thousands of children leave primary schools in Kenya without reaching Standard VII. Some will leave even from the first standards. They are a loss to the educational system, they have wasted their families often very limited money, and are a potentially disgruntled part of society.

This problem is not of course limited to Kenya but affects every continent and many countries as recent studies have shown.

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND IN KENYA

Traditional education in Kenya had been geared to fitting children into their society and teaching them a love of, and respect for, their tradition. The new western education of the mid-19th century introduced a system divorced from the African way of life with its fierce competitiveness and sometimes harsh discipline. Premature withdrawal occurred right from the start and by the mid-twentieth century had reached alarming proportions.

RECENT YEARS

In 1971 over 68,000 children withdrew from Primary

Schools before reaching Standard V.

A PRIORITY PROBLEM

The problem of withdrawal is a priority one for Kenya because it is undermining the declared aim of the Government to give a minimum of seven years primary education to all.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The study was limited to primary schools because

- (a) the size of the task of tracing leavers
- (b) the problem is most serious at this level
- (c) the need for universal primary education as a basis for national development.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

To find out why children withdraw and to suggest remedies.

HYPOTHESIS

Inability to pay fees is not the main cause of withdrawal rather the realisation that primary education offers little of value.

DELIMITATION

It is a random survey of the more populous areas of Kenya, which in fact corresponds with those having most primary schools.

CHAPTER II

THE EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

A dramatic growth in student numbers and schools has taken place in Kenya since Independence. In 1963 there were 6,058 Primary and 244 secondary schools. In 1971 there were 6,372 primary and 809 secondary schools. Primary students numbered 891,553 in 1963 and 1,525,498 in 1971. Secondary students were 31,322 in 1963 and 143,770 in 1971. At the same time the percentage of the school age population in schools was also rising.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH IN RELATED AREAS

Sixteen major studies have been carried out in various countries in recent years to find the causes of withdrawal. The general conclusion from them all was that basic causes and main features are the same everywhere. Withdrawal is basically a result of the interaction of factors related to the student, the family, the school and the society.

KENYA

Enquiries as to the causes in Kenya were started as early as 1952 by the Binns Group. One result of international research of particular interest to Kenya is that the expansion of enrolment reduces the proportion of withdrawers.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

A questionnaire was administered at random to 1,048 ex-students, and a similar but not identical one to teachers, headmasters and chiefs.

Tabulated by numbers of students responding and by the percentage of total responses, inability to pay school fees was the cause most frequently stated, although on average 2.8 reasons were given by students with only 5.5 percent giving inability to pay fees as the sole cause. Amongst girls however, the most frequent cause was pregnancy, where 40.8 percent mentioned this as against 27.4 percent who complained of inability to pay fees.

The teachers and headmasters responses followed closely those given by the ex-students.

Repetition of standards was complained of by many students as a factor making the burden of fees heavier.

Also important was a realisation by many that they were 'failing' at school, or likely to fail to get a C.P.E. that would enable them to go to a government-maintained secondary school.

C H A P T E R V

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

Although it is realised that fee-paying is a burden for many families, it is felt that many students cast doubts upon this response by also saying that they felt they were failing at school anyway.

Others may have been complaining about fees as they felt entitled to do in view of the Government's pledge of free universal primary education. Also this response was put first on the questionnaire so as to invite the answer.

Remission of fees reaching twenty percent in 1974 also would seem to cast doubt on the validity of this reason for withdrawal.

Infact economic reasons for withdrawal totalled 34.5 percent of all responses, whereas reasons related to the educational system totalled 47.8 percent.

The hypothesis needs changing to read that economic causes are not the main causes of withdrawal but rather the faults in the educational system.

CHAPTER VI

ENDOGENOUS FACTORS IN KENYA

The number of untrained and lowly qualified teachers in Primary schools is a stated cause of withdrawal. In Kenya 24 percent were untrained in 1971, and 61 percent were P3 and P4 teachers.

Repetition of standards is a very serious problem and must be eliminated if withdrawal is to be checked.

In addition the C.P.E. needs to be revised as a leaving certificate and passport to secondary education if primary education is going to appeal to children and parents. This in turn will enable the curriculum to do what it was devised to do i.e. give children a sound basis for their future lives in all their aspects.

Remission of fees can solve the problem of money but if the criterion of success is a C.P.E. of very high quality, then many will withdraw seeing this goal as unattainable.

CHAPTER VII

RECOMMENDATIONS

- (1) A campaign to change parents and children's attitudes to primary education.
- (2) An exam devised to test suitability for secondary education that will not favour repeaters.
- (3) Leading to a curriculum designed to turn out children who can fit into their environment and contribute to individual and national development.
- (4) In-service courses for teachers to learn new methods.
- (5) Improved facilities at school.
- (6) Development of the rural sector to make it attractive to young people.
- (7) Removal of the spirit of excessive competition that "is incompatible with traditional beliefs....."

C H A P T E R VIII

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

- (1) Detailed break-down of research into local areas.
- (2) Micro-projects attempting to trace withdrawers from particular schools or with particular backgrounds or problems.
- (3) Statistics should be kept nationally of withdrawers, so that rates and cohorts can be traced.

CHAPTER I

. INTRODUCTION

(A) STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study was undertaken to throw some light on the problem of the premature withdrawal of students from primary schools in Kenya.

Every year thousands of children leave school without completing the course that the school or system provides. The curriculum that is followed was designed as a complete whole with the purpose of bringing students up to a planned staging point in the educational system. It has the dual purpose of providing a basis for selecting those children likely to benefit most from further study.

Erin's

Whilst it may be felt that in some cases the syllabuses followed, and the total curriculum experienced by the child, may not be ideal for the purpose conceived it must be obvious that little that is worthwhile is likely to be achieved if a child leaves long before he completes the course offered. For it is not difficult to appreciate some of the more serious of the economic and social effects of premature leaving.

There is a close correlation between the development

of an economy and the development of its educational system. In the developing countries the existence of qualified manpower is an essential condition for the improvement of the economy, and it is the school that is responsible for the pre-vocational training of workers. Many school systems have weaknesses that make it difficult for them to continue to expand at the required rate, or to produce the quality of students needed. These weaknesses can often be revealed by a study on premature withdrawal.

Educational systems are broken up into stages, each with its own objectives, and pupils who hopefully begin one stage only to withdraw without successfully completing that stage, may do so with a sense of failure or injustice that will never leave them in later life. They may regard themselves as failures with no capacity to learn, or may be convinced that education is of little value except perhaps to a privileged few. All attempts to rescue them later by follow-up courses will gain little response from them, and they will very likely become one of the large group of socially and economically disadvantaged in their country.

In the study that follows the term 'premature withdrawal' has been used to describe such a situation, where a student fails to complete the full course of study prescribed, in this case primary schooling. This situation has been de-

defined by an international conference organised by UNESCO as "Leaving school before the completion of a given stage of education or leaving at some intermediate or non-terminal point in a cycle of schooling".

The conference report went on to say premature withdrawal "is a waste, even if, after several grades, the pupil who drops out without concluding the cycle did in fact gain a basic knowledge that raised his level of attainment. The level of attainment consideration is linked to the concept of stock while the measurement of wastage must be directed towards the dynamics of school populations, i.e. towards their flows".⁽¹⁾

(B) JUSTIFICATION AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

(1) An International Problem

The problem of premature withdrawal is an international one, and is found in every continent and many countries. The UNESCO Office of Statistics undertook a series of surveys in 1969, with a view to "evaluating the combined and separated effects of repetition and 'drop-outs', as factors of educational wastage, and their incidence in the internal efficiency of educational systems". This

(1) UNESCO International Conference on Education, June 1970 p.8.

survey included all member states and their territories, although of the 148 replies received only 58 had data complete enough to be analysed.

In June 1972 UNESCO published some statistics relating to this problem that were compiled as a result of the above inquiry. A detailed report was presented to the conference in 1970, whilst a brief analysis was prepared for the "UNESCO Courier" of June 1972. This report showed firstly that premature withdrawals reached alarming proportions in some countries, especially in view of the fact that often very few children of the appropriate age group enrolled in the first place. The countries where the situation was most serious included Botswana, The Central African Republic, Chad and Rwanda, where 80% of the pupils withdrew before the end of the primary cycle. In Columbia, Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Madagascar and Paraguay 70% withdrew, and so on down the table until we reach Greece, Hungary, Italy and Poland where 10% withdrew. (2)

When one considers the case of Chad the problem reaches frightening proportions as only 20% of the potential age-group enrolled in the first place. (3)

(2) The UNESCO Courier, June 1972, P.21.

(3) Ibid. P.20.

Africa as a whole has only 28% of children of primary and secondary school age enrolled.⁽⁴⁾ This compares with a world figure of 56%. She had only 15% of her secondary school age population enrolled as compared with the world figure of 56%, and only 40% of her primary school age population as compared with 68% for the world as a whole.⁽⁵⁾ To make matters worse African countries figure strongly in the list of those with serious withdrawal problems, so that even encouraging enrolment figures have to be looked at in the light of the withdrawal rate, for by themselves they give no insight into the true picture.

(2) The Historical Background in Kenya

Traditional education in Kenya had played a vital role in fitting African children into their society, and taught them love of and respect for family, clan, tribe and traditions. It had been wholly geared to fitting children for their future as adults in the world they knew and would live in. Suddenly, in the middle of the nineteenth century, a western education was introduced which seemed to offer an escape from the

(4) Ibid. P.23.

(5) Estimates of the Office of Statistics, UNESCO 1970 quoted in the UNESCO Courier, June 1972. P.23.

poverty of rural life in many areas, into the new urban societies that were growing up in Kenya.⁽⁶⁾ Its sole purpose seemed to be to help students win certificates to qualify them for 'white-collar' jobs with salaries that were comparative fortunes. Schools were places where fees were high and competition was fierce. A place where discipline was usually very strict, and sometimes punishments even cruel. Perhaps even worse it was a place where one might be branded a 'failure'. Despite the rapidly growing demand for this education it is a small wonder that many students withdrew from this alien world, and that in 1949 the Beecher Report on "The scope content and methods of the African educational system" accepted a withdrawal rate of 50% as a basis for planning the primary school system in Kenya.⁽⁷⁾ Whereas the Binns Report of 1952 (a combined effort of the Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office) expressed horror at this wastage and recommended that "scientific research" into its causes should be carried out.⁽⁸⁾

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- (6) Raju, B. "Problems and Prospects in Education in Kenya". University of Nairobi, 1972, shortly to be published by Heinemann Limited. P.2.
- (7) Beecher Report 1949. P.29.
- (8) Colonial Office "A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa", 1952. P.77.

(3) Statistics for Recent Years

Every year thousands of boys and girls withdraw from schools in Kenya without completing the course for which they enrolled.

Even at secondary level withdrawals occur despite the fact that competition for places is fierce with about 28% of Certificate of Primary Education candidates finding a place in secondary schools:

Enrolment Standard VII 1970 (9)	Enrolment Form I 1972 (10)	Those not joining Form I
163,851	46,246	117,605

Of the 46,246 joining secondary school in 1971, 24,947 or 54% went to unaided schools, mainly Harambee schools but some private. Many Harambee schools have only two forms so that about 75% of the 24,947 will leave after two years because entry to government schools will be offered to a mere handful. (11)

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- (9) Statistical Abstract 1971, Ministry of Finance & Economic Planning. P.149.
- (10) Ministry of Education Annual Report for 1971. P.55.
- (11) International Labour Office, Geneva, "Employment Incomes and Equality". Geneva, 1972. P.236.

Despite this tremendous struggle to obtain any kind of secondary school place many students soon withdrew:

Enrolment Form I - 1970 All schools (12)	Enrolment Form II - 1971 All schools (13)	With- drawals
41,043	37,423	3,620

These 3,620 are all from unaided schools however.

The position in primary schools is perhaps more serious as students leave without even achieving literacy for they start withdrawing as early in their school careers as standard I, e.g:

(Table continued next page)

(12) Ministry of Education, Op.Cit. 1970. P.55.

(13) Ibid. 1971. P.55.

Enrolment 1970 ⁽¹⁴⁾	Enrolment 1971 ⁽¹⁵⁾	Repeaters ⁽¹⁶⁾
Standard I 296,459	-	10,307 (1971)
Standard II 241,458	261,660	8,438
Standard III 221,235	230,998	8,037
Standard IV 191,901	207,711	7,404
Standard V	177,547	6,187

(Figures for Standard V and beyond have been omitted because they are bedevilled by the large numbers of repeaters and are not suitable for use as an example here).

By deducting the enrolment figures for 1971 from those for 1970 and adjusting for repeaters in both standards we get the following figures for withdrawals:

Standard I - II 1971	32,920
Standard II - III 1971	10,059
Standard III - IV 1971	12,891
Standard IV - V 1971	13,137

(14) Ibid. 1970. P.29

(15) Ibid. 1971. P.29

(16) Ibid. P.42.

The example chosen is typical of previous years, infact numbers have increased as compared with 1968, 1969 and 1970.⁽¹⁷⁾

(4) The Priority Problem

"Literacy for all is one of the countries objectives: this requires that all children should get a minimum of seven years primary school education".⁽¹⁸⁾

The preceding quotation is a stated aim of the Government of Kenya which also has a declared objective - the provision of free primary education for all. In 1968 approximately 60% of all children of primary school age were enrolled in school⁽¹⁹⁾, and it was estimated that in 1972 the figure had reached 64%⁽²⁰⁾. Obviously these figures present a false picture of the situation when thousands of children enrol but do not continue their education to the end of the enrolment year.

Premature withdrawal represents a wastage of resources at the national level as the facilities used

(17) Raju, B. Op.Cit. P.39/40.

(18) Republic of Kenya, Development Plan 1970-74. P.7.

(19) Ibid. P.7.

(20) International Labour Office, Geneva. Op.Cit. P.511.

by the students who withdrew could have been used more profitably by other children who did not find a place in primary school.

Secondly, the sacrifice that the parents made to raise fees and maintain the child at school, and the possible loss to the family of a worker is a sacrifice made for nothing. Many of these students leave before achieving literacy, and many more will ^{lose} lost that skill once acquired if it is not followed up by further study. It has been estimated that most children need four years schooling at least to become literate, but will usually lapse into illiteracy after such a short period of schooling if their society and the behaviour of its members is still preliterate. (21)

Many withdraw from school long before Standard IV.

Thirdly, Kenya needs educated and trained manpower at all levels and these children could have progressed to fill some of the gaps or to replace non-citizens who are still employed in Kenya at all levels even that of skilled workers (22). At the age at which

(21) UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Asian Literacy and Development, 1969. P.9.

(22) Raju, B. Op.Cit. P.75.

these children leave, work is seldom available except on the family land.

Fourthly, it is contended here that premature withdrawal is a symptom of failure in the educational system.

(5) The Scope of the Study

The scope of the study was limited to primary schools for 3 reasons.

Firstly, from a practical standpoint the difficulty of obtaining the data imposed its own limits. Hundreds of children who had withdrawn from school prematurely had to be traced and interviewed. As might be expected they mostly returned to their homes which are predominantly up-country often in remote areas, and the task of finding and interviewing them was a colossal one.

Secondly, it is at the primary level that the problem is perhaps most serious. Numbers are high, the leavers are often too young to find employment, and as mentioned already in Chapter I they often do not even achieve literacy, or at most establish a tenuous hold on it.

It is often argued that what is needed in a developing country is widespread if not universal primary education, and this is in fact as has been stated and declared policy of the Kenya Government.

(C) PURPOSES OF THE STUDY

The main purpose of the study was to find out why students withdraw from schools and to suggest ways to remedy the situation. Besides the reasons given by students and the opinions of headmasters, consideration was also given to the factors in the educational system that might encourage withdrawal. An attempt has been made to relate them to causes given by students and teachers. As will be seen sometimes only a vague and general comment was made by students, but in the interviews the more detailed reasons were dug out where possible. This was often extremely difficult if only because children and teachers are not always aware of what is wrong. They have no standard of comparison in most cases. Education means to them what has happened and what is happening in Kenya. They have no conception of what might be.

Because of this often only hints and implications were forthcoming, such as a reference to the persuasion of friends met on the way to school who lured students into obviously more enjoyable activities. Such remarks inevitably lead one to a comparison of what the schools offer children as an alternative to say the freedom to roam around the countryside with friends, or the chance of earning extra money in casual work.

(D) HYPOTHESIS

That premature withdrawal is not caused mainly by the inability of students to pay fees, but is the result of a growing realisation by parents and children that schools offer them little of value.

(E) PROCEDURE FOR THE STUDY

Investigation was made in the main libraries in Kenya to try to discover what research if any had been carried out to try to isolate the causes of premature withdrawal of students from schools, in Kenya and elsewhere, and to see what light had been thrown on the problem by such works.

Other related areas of research were studied to see what parts of the educational system worked to produce withdrawal, and what remedies might be suggested to improve or revise the system, for example the curriculum at primary level, and the terminal examination and its use as a means of selection for secondary education.

In addition the opinions of people working in the field of education were sought - teachers, students, members of the Inspectorate, Faculty members of the University of Nairobi, officials of the Educational Planning Unit of the Ministry of Education in Kenya, and the staff of the Kenya

Institute of Education.

Using the ideas and opinions gained from all the above sources, a questionnaire was drawn up to test the conclusion that contrary to the popular view the main cause of withdrawal was not lack of money. This questionnaire was then administered to ex-students and teachers who were currently teaching in primary schools in Kenya. The aim of the questionnaire was to find out from individual students why they had left school, and from teachers why they thought students had left.

Ex-students and teachers were then chosen at random and interviewed in their home areas and school respectively.

The responses were then tabulated and evaluated, and the findings related to the educational system to see where it seemed to support the causes stated, and recommendations for amendments and revision were suggested.

(F) DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

As mentioned above the study was limited to primary schools because of the size of the problem, the numbers involved, and the stated importance of primary education in Kenya in the Kenya Development Plan.

In addition the problem of tracing ex-students of necessity imposed its own limitations. Because of the distances to be travelled and difficulties of access to remote areas, plus the problem of actually finding each ex-student, it was only possible to obtain information on a fairly large-scale from the populous parts of Kenya. Areas with good roads and a high-density of population. The very remote areas were only lightly covered if at all, especially those with a large number of nomadic people. The questionnaire completed mainly relate therefore to only five of the seven provinces of Kenya viz: Central, Rift Valley, Eastern, Nyanza and Western, and to the more populous parts of those provinces.

No attempt was made to trace students from a particular school location, district or province. Nor was an attempt made to search for students with a particular socio-economic background. Rather a random sample was taken which though fairly broad, of necessity in fact narrowed itself down because of lack of facilities and time on the part of the researcher.

CHAPTER II

THE COUNTRY & THE EDUCATIONAL
BACKGROUND

(A) THE COUNTRY

The Republic of Kenya covers an area of 582,644 sq.kms. and has practically every landform type from mountains with permanent snow to true desert. Its most outstanding features are a series of plateau rising to above 2000 ms. and the Rift Valleys with vertical displacements of up to 300 ms. (23)

Kenya is bordered in the East and the North-East by Somalia, in the West by Uganda, in the South by Tanzania, and in the North by Ethiopia with a coastline on the Indian Ocean.

The population in 1969 was 10,942,705 of whom 40,593 were Europeans, 139,037 were Asians and the rest were mainly Africans. (24) Not only is Kenya multi-racial but her African people include four major ethnic groups and many tribes and sub-tribes. (25)

(23) National Atlas of Kenya, 3rd Ed. 1970. P.4.

(24) Statistical Abstract, Ministry of Finance & Economic Planning. 1971. P.13.

(25) Huntingford, G. F. Epilogue "The Peoples of Kenya" J. Adamson. P.378.

Ninety percent of the people live in rural areas and earn their livelihood predominantly from agriculture⁽²⁶⁾ which provides sixty percent on Kenya's exports⁽²⁷⁾.

Kenya is divided into seven provinces plus the Nairobi extra-provincial district, and the provinces are sub-divided into 38 districts. However, the provinces are administrative areas for various Central Government activities and do not have a provincial governmental system as such.

There is in addition a network of local government bodies working within the provinces and districts. Eleven of the local government bodies in urban areas are municipal councils and the remainder are called county councils.⁽²⁸⁾

(B) SCHOOLS

Primary:

Not long after independence in 1963 the running of primary

(26) "Employment Incomes and Equality", I.L.O., Geneva, 1972. P.33.

(27) Statistical Abstract. Op.Cit. P.49.

(28) Fields, G.S. "The Educational System of Kenya" Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi. Discussion Paper 103. 1971. P.6.

schools became the responsibility of the municipal and county councils. However, financial difficulties and the uneven distribution of social services in some county council areas led to the central government taking over the responsibility for education and other services. (29)

In the rural areas primary schools are run by District Education Boards, which are composed of officials, educationalists and interested citizens. They employ teachers through the Teachers Service Commission and generally run the school. The DEBs get their money from the Central Government which had to pay 70% of the cost of primary education from its revenues in 1970/71 as fees collected only raised about 30% of the cost. (30)

The municipal councils run their primary schools independently of the central government and in 1969 raised only 27% of the cost in fees. (31)

At Independence in 1963 there were 6,058 primary schools in Kenya (32) this number had risen to 6,372 in

(29) Ibid. P.4.

(30) Ibid.

(31) Ibid.

(32) Republic of Kenya, Development Plan 1970-74. P.451.

1971⁽³³⁾ (83 run by municipal councils or private).

A more dramatic growth can be seen in secondary education in Kenya since Independence when there were schools 244⁽³⁴⁾, in 1971 the number had risen to 809. Of these 312 were maintained by the central government, 19 were aided, and 478 unaided⁽³⁵⁾. The 478 were made up of private schools and "Harambee" schools organised on a community self-help basis. Of the total number of secondary schools 4 were technical schools, and 8 secondary vocational schools, all aided.⁽³⁶⁾

(C) TEACHERS

At primary level Kenya had 49,396 teachers in 1971 of whom 11,779 were not professionally qualified, and of these 8,045 had only completed nine years of formal education.⁽³⁷⁾

(33) Ministry of Education Annual Report 1971. P.25.

(34) Fields, G.S. Op.Cit. P.13.

(35) Ministry of Education. Op.Cit. P.43.

(36) "A Study of Curriculum Development in Kenya". Ministry of Education. 1972. P.5. (Hereafter called the 'Bessey Report').

(37) Ministry of Education. Op.Cit. P.30.

There were 6,371 secondary school teachers in 1971 of whom 3,907 were not professionally qualified. (38)

Many of the teachers in both primary and secondary schools were non-citizens either recruited locally or on overseas terms. In primary schools there were 1,136 non-citizens and in secondary schools 2,624. (39)

Enrolment per class by national average was 33.5 in primary and 34.85 in secondary schools. (40)

(D) STUDENTS

There has been an even more dramatic increase in student numbers since Independence than might be expected from the increase in the number of schools. The greatest percentage increases has taken place at the secondary level but in absolute terms the increases at the primary level has been far greater.

In 1963 the total student enrolment at primary level was 891,553 (41) as compared with 1,525,498 in 1971. (42)

(38) Ibid. P.57.

(39) Ibid. P.30 + P.57.

(40) Ibid. P.36 + P.57.

(41) Statistical Abstract. Op.Cit. P.148.

(42) Ministry of Education. Op.Cit. P.29

For the same years secondary school enrolment was 31,322⁽⁴³⁾ and 143,770 respectively.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Thus the number of student enrolments has risen tremendously at both levels and university enrolment has followed suit. The proportion of African students in secondary schools has also risen from 40% in 1963 to 90% in 1970.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The self-help effort has been enormous at the secondary level where in 1970 Harambee schools accounted for over 40% of total enrolments.⁽⁴⁶⁾

The situation is also improving when one considers enrolments as a percentage of school-age population for in 1968 it was estimated that 65% of the appropriate population were enrolled in primary schools, and that by 1974 the figure will be 75%⁽⁴⁷⁾. This despite the fact that the total population of Kenya is increasing by about 3.3% annually.⁽⁴⁸⁾

(43) Development Plan. Op.Cit. P.451.

(44) Ministry of Education. Op.Cit. P.55 + P.63.

(45) I.L.O. Op.Cit. P.233.

(46) Ibid. P.234.

(47) Bessey Report. P.5.

(48) Statistical Abstract. Op.Cit. P.12.

As is obvious from the above figures however many children drop out of the educational system at the end of the primary stage from lack of places at secondary school. For example at present only about 14% of candidates at the Certificate of Primary Education examination go on to a Government maintained secondary school. Another 14% go on to Harambee schools and the few private schools from where perhaps 75% leave after two years when they have taken the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Many children repeat their final year in primary school, i.e. Standard VII, to try to obtain a level of pass at the C.P.E. examination that will enable them to enter a government maintained secondary school. Although the numbers of these is notoriously difficult to estimate it has been placed as high as 35% of the C.P.E. candidates, with 35% usually finding some sort of activity in the rural areas but regarding themselves as unemployed.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Students continue to drop out at higher levels and increasingly find it difficult to obtain employment. After the East African Certificate of Education in 1970 only 3,014 students out of 19,317 went on to Form V. Of 2,010 taking the East African Advanced Certificate in Education approximately 1,250 went to University.⁽⁵¹⁾

(49) I.L.O. Op.Cit. P.235-6.

(50) Ibid. P.236.

(51) Ibid.

(E) SYLLABUS

Primary:

The new syllabus introduced in 1967 aims at preparation for life, at scientific methods of inquiry and a careful exploration of the environment. On the second page of the syllabus the purpose of primary education is defined as to help children "to develop according to their needs and aptitudes and to prepare for their future life and for work in the secondary school". It stresses the value of creative and practical work and makes suggestions about correlations between subjects.

The syllabus includes mathematics where "a child should be led to discover for himself many of the mathematical facts and principles that he is expected to know and use". The science syllabus is full and detailed and "work in General Science should be practical or it is almost without value". In languages the aim of the syllabus is to help every Kenyan to get a good command of his vernacular, as well as Swahili and English. The syllabus in the Creative Arts is sound as it emphasises relationships with other subjects, self-expression and the importance of using a variety of materials.

The History and Geography syllabuses are full and demanding, but those in Music and Physical activities are

rather thin.

The overall impression is that the work expected in primary schools is soundly based and forms a coherent whole. What happens in practice however will be discussed in Chapter VI.

C H A P T E R III

R E S E A R C H I N R E L A T E D A R E A S

(A) THE MAIN STUDIES

Basically three types of studies of primary school withdrawals in developing countries have been undertaken:

- (a) Those which are purely deductions from statistical data
- (b) those which have attempted solely to examine actual field conditions,
- (c) those which combine both statistical and field observations.

Sixteen major studies have so far been undertaken; six in group (a), five in group (b) and four in group (c), and one which cannot be classified.⁽¹⁾ (See End of Chapter).

The results of those based on statistical data alone are open to serious questions as to their usefulness. Perhaps their main value is that they help by bounding and illuminating the areas where specified and detailed answers should be sought, but because of the unreliability of their sources and their wide-ranging nature they cannot provide the answers themselves.

The six field studies all consulted teachers, school records and parents, but only three consulted students.

Thus the people chiefly concerned got least chance to voice their feelings. In only two of these studies were comparisons made between withdrawers and stay-ins..

The nett result is that the explanation of withdrawal is by association only; while there are a number of hypotheses on the subject few have been more than partially confirmed and as late as February 1971, Levy could remark that there was no good single theory relating the many factors involved in withdrawal. (52)

Of the nine studies which attempted to use data derived from within schools and communities three were from urban areas, three urban and rural and three from rural. Of the nine, three are from India, two from Uganda and four from Venezuela, Brazil, Ethiopia and Pakistan.

McGinn and Davis used 640 families and Wolff 6,160 school records, Bux 69 teachers and 25 mothers, and Elkan 86 withdrawers. Mukerjee and his team of fourteen took 1,275 students and 2,224 school records and interviewed 346

(52) Levy, M.B. "Determinants of Primary School Drop-Outs in Developing Countries, Comparative Education Review, Vol. MV, No. 1. February, 1971. P.45.

withdrawers and 225 parents and teachers.

(B) FINDINGS OF THESE STUDIES

- (1) Social factors were more important causes of withdrawal than educational variables except in India, Guatemala and Brazil where there was a significant negative relation between withdrawals and the quality of teachers.
- (2) Repetition rates were important especially in Standards I and II where withdrawers came mostly from the ranks of repeaters.
- (3) The expansion of enrolment reduces the proportion of withdrawers.
- (4) Money spent on schools lowers the rate of withdrawal.
- (5) No relation was shown in Levy's 42 developing countries between withdrawal and GNP. Only when GNP per capita is high and Governments are able to introduce free universal and compulsory primary education does the rate fall off.
- (6) The level of per capita income is negatively related to the rate of withdrawal.
- (7) Where real income per capita is high withdrawal will tend to be low. (Seems to imply that a policy of in-action on withdrawals would work if the right level of

per capita income is reached but this does not account for the fact that some poor children persevere and succeed where others fall away. What makes the difference?

- (8) Levy's multinational investigation suggests that for Standard I at least one contributor to the different responses of poor children is the system of promotion. Rates of repetition and hence policies of promotion and failure have a strong relationship to the rates of withdrawal. Connected to this is the factor of age in children. Those who are younger or older than the class average appear more susceptible to withdraw than those close to the average.⁽⁵³⁾ (Although withdrawal occurs where there is automatic promotion, and may not occur where there is repetition⁽⁵⁴⁾).
- (9) Not only do good teachers help to hold children in schools they also help to lessen the incidence of failure and repetition.

(53) Wall, W.D. "Failure in Schools an International Study". 1962. P.17.

(54) UNESCO "Patterns of Educational Wastage" and their evolution. Annex D, 1969. P.36.

- (10) In all the studies little effect has been ascribed to such factors as per pupil expenditure, supply of texts, quality of school buildings and the curriculum. Parents seemed to have certain expectations of what the school should offer and believed that the traditional curriculum was the best means to that end, even if as was often the case they did not know what the curriculum actually contained. Therefore, they are suspicious of reforms. Schools should either give the parents what they want, or convince them of what they ought to want.
- (11) Competent and attractive text-books can mitigate the effects of a poor teacher.
- (12) The schedule of terms and holidays affect the rate of withdrawal.
- (13) Poor attendance is a symptom and a cause of the withdrawal process for an individual child.
- (14) The higher the parents' social status the more resilient they are to failure and the more likely they are to keep their children at school, and vice versa.
- (15) A child's performance at school is at least partly a function of parental encouragement.
- (16) Constant contact between school and parents is vital.
- (17) Poor achievement ranked high with parents as a

... that emerged from all the studies as the cause of withdrawal and seems to support the idea that the failure of the child discourages parents.

- (18) Curiously neither children nor parents attached much blame in these studies to teachers. Perhaps they are bestowed from above and are beyond criticism or the children know nothing better.
- (19) Encouraging home-backgrounds promote success in school and if the home is strongly supportive, failure in school need not result in withdrawal.
- (20) The more opportunities for satisfaction, participation and success in school and less the likelihood of withdrawals. Co-curricular activities are useful here. (55)

(C) GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The general conclusion from all the studies is that the basic causes and main features are the same everywhere. Withdrawal is basically a result of the interaction of factors related to the student, the family and school and the society. At the end of this Chapter, this idea has been emphasised by putting conclusions into columns where there is a degree of correlation.

(55) See End of Chapter for Table of Conclusions and Appendix V for a Diagram of Determinants of Perseverance and dropout in schools.

One thing that emerged from all the studies so far was that besides the question of the interrelation of the many factors mentioned above, they are interrelated in ways that depend upon the stage of development of a school system in a particular country. Thus an enumeration of factors in general is only useful as a guideline for a person desirous of improving a particular system at a particular time. The problem of withdrawal must be viewed in its own particular context.

(D) KENYA

In Kenya the Binns Group in 1952 made enquiries into the causes of withdrawal based on the opinions of hundreds of people. The witnesses agreed on a few things but not on the causes of withdrawal. For example, they insisted that at least four years schooling was needed to achieve literacy, and without literacy the child got nothing and the money his parents spent might as well have been burnt. (56)

The main causes of withdrawal given were:

- (1) the distance from home to school
- (2) poor school buildings
- (3) dull and boring lessons

(56) Colonial Office. Op.Cit. P.77.

- (4) overcrowded classrooms
- (5) lack of school furniture
- (6) the need to work at home on the land or with cattle
- (7) school fees
- (8) repetition of standards

The Group reported that in fact nobody knew the fundamental causes of withdrawal although there were many opinions, and that scientific research should be carried out to find the causes.

In 1970 a survey was carried out by the Education Department of the University of Nairobi to try to discover the causes which came up with the same results as the Binns Group and with the same recommendation.⁽⁵⁷⁾

Another study is being carried out in Ethiopia by J. Kobes. She is conducting a micro-study of withdrawals from an elementary school in Finote Selam, and is analysing the school and social factors affecting the situation. Her findings are not yet ready for publication but so far seem to suggest that the most important cause is the parents' perception of what the school does for the child, coupled with the demands of work at home on the family land.

(57) Raju, B.M. Op.Cit. P.58/62.

(E) WITHDRAWAL AS A PROBLEM AND A WASTAGE

From the studies undertaken so far it seems that many countries find that the facilities they offer are not fully utilised, either because not enough people come forward or having started fall by the wayside. This is often accepted by the authorities as inevitable, or deplored without any really earnest action being taken. Conferences etc. give the problem official recognition but little else. For example, the problem of premature withdrawal was pinpointed in India in 1929, 1941, 1946, 1952 and 1964 yet in 1967 when the University of Delhi undertook a study none of the states of India had even collected statistics on withdrawals.

Other nations have responded similarly including Kenya, and few countries have given a high priority to the solution of the problem. (58) Most studies have taken place in the richer countries of the world where the problem tends to affect only the upper levels of schools. Why do the countries where the problem is greatest, and where the demand for proper schooling is high with volunteer efforts in school building and staffing taking place, make the least efforts to minimise wastage? Perhaps one reason is that if many withdrew the cost of education will be reduced. Secondly,

(58) Bulletin for the International Bureau of Education
Year, 43 No. 173, Geneva.

the educational systems of developing countries are often pyramidal, and if there was no wastage the frustration at say secondary entrance level would be even greater, so that voluntary wastage can be a safety valve.

Thirdly, if employment opportunities do not keep up with educational expansion then withdrawal again lessens frustration at the graduation level.

Fourthly, withdrawers are probably more likely to remain in the rural area than graduates and so decrease the pressure on urban facilities.

Fifthly, most withdrawal seems to take place in those of lower socio-economic standing and the middle and upper classes either do not appreciate the problem or perhaps see it as a means to cling to their advantages longer. Levy saw some correlation between the power of political elites, including military ones, and withdrawal rates.

Finally, the most important reason for the lack of action is probably the fact that the problem is complex and may be intractable. Many Ministries of education do not have the facilities to carry out research into the problem, and secondly the data available as yet has not provided evidence for the formulation of specific programmes to combat withdrawal. Short of compulsory education no programme has yet offered guaranteed results.

There may therefore be reasons (not necessarily for public knowledge) for tolerating wastage, or no clear way of preventing it. But there is good evidence and sound arguments to regard premature withdrawal from primary schools as a serious waste from the point of view of both child and parents and governments. Evidence suggests that four years is needed for literacy⁽⁵⁹⁾. Furthermore, literacy is not the sole aim of primary education and evidence from Tunisia supports the idea that at least five or six years schooling is needed before the school-child can be differentiated from the village-child⁽⁶⁰⁾.

From the point of view of all who have taken part it can be argued that withdrawal is almost a total loss of effort and resources. A child who withdraws may have deprived a child who would have persevered of a place. But withdrawal could be seen as an alternative to a thorough-going policy for manpower development which would concentrate on high quality education for a few. Most governments have chosen to give the chance of an education to a many children with an inevitably lower quality and high rates of withdrawal. What effect this has on the final quality of

(59) Gadgil, D.R. "Report of the Problems of Lapse into the Literacy in Satara". 1955.

(60) Kinsey, D.C. "Mass Education & Its Socio-Economic Implications in Tunisia". P.12.

graduates seems not to have been investigated.

What is also ignored is the alternative costs and benefits of a system where a great deal of money is spent on a few students rather than a little on large numbers. But of course political factors make it essential that most governments spend limited funds on large numbers.

Governments might think that withdrawal involves little wastage given the limited opportunities at higher levels but the interest of the pupil and his parents have suffered a great blow, and their resources have undoubtedly been wasted. It may be in the government's interest to prevent this frustration.

APPENDIX I

DETAILS OF STUDIES

- Brown, R.I. (Unesco) "A Survey of Wastage Problems in Elementary Education", Unesco, Bangkok. 1966.
- Bux, Z.K., "Dropout Factors in Primary School", Bulletin of Education and Research, Institute of Education and Research, University of the Punjab, Lahore, Pakistan, Vol. 1, No. 3. Spring 1962.
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- Maleche, A.J. "Wastage Amongst School Leavers in West Nile, 1959 and 1960", East African Institute of Social Research, Kampala, Uganda. January 1962.
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UNESCO Document, 1970. "A Technical Review of the Status of Educational Planning in Developing Countries".

Conclusions applicable Universally to rural primary schools (61)

Society	Family and Student	School-System
<p>Where schemes for compulsory schooling cannot be enforced, dropout will occur</p>	<p>The more the parents are interested in the world beyond the family, the less likely are their children to drop out</p>	<p>The lower the rates of daily attendance, the higher the rates of dropout</p>
<p>The less intercommunication between a rural community or region and the larger modernising society, the higher the dropout rates</p>	<p>The more value the parents attribute to schooling, the less likely are their children to drop out</p>	<p>The greater the difficulties of physical access to schools, the lower the rates of daily attendance, and the higher the dropout rates</p>
<p>The lower the educational levels of the adult population, the lower the grasp of the value, uses or potential of schooling, the higher the dropout rates</p>	<p>The lower the stability in villages or the family's main source of income, the more likely are their children to drop out</p>	<p>The more the parents are involved directly with schooling in families, the higher the dropout rates</p>

- 50 -

(61) Oxenham, J.C.P. "A Critical Review of the Literature Pertaining to Drop Out in the Rural Primary Schools of Developing Countries". Qualifying paper 1971, Harvard University. P.49/52.

Society	Family and Student	School-system
<p>The more small, labour-intensive occupations with low incomes in a community or region, the higher the dropout rates</p> <p>The higher the proportion of low-paid casual labour the higher the rates of dropout.</p> <p>The higher the rates of migratory labour, the higher the rates of dropout</p> <p>The higher the general levels of family instability, the higher the dropout rates</p>	<p>The higher the levels of the parent's schooling, the more value they are likely to ascribe to schoolings, the less likely are their children to drop out</p> <p>The more labor-intensive a family's occupations and the lower its income, the more likely are its children to drop out.</p> <p>The more dependent a family is on low-paid casual labour, the more likely are its children to drop out</p> <p>The less stability in employment of the family's wage-earners the more likely are their children to drop out</p> <p>The less cohesive a family, (in local terms) the more likely are its children to drop out</p>	<p>The content of the curriculum is not per se a factor in dropout, except in so far as the modes of instruction increase the probabilities of difficulties and failure</p> <p>The less the schedule of classes is adapted to local rhythms of needs for child labour, the lower the attendance, the higher the dropout rates</p> <p>The greater the perceived direct costs of schooling to families, the higher the dropout rates</p> <p>The more rigid the rules of enrolment and of transfer between schools, the higher the dropout rates</p>

Society	Family and Student	School-system
<p>The lower the health status of an area, the higher the dropout rates</p>	<p>The higher the incidence of ill-health in a family, the more likely are the children to drop out</p> <p>The more parents feel able to help their children's schooling, the less likely are the latter to drop out</p> <p>The more a child feels he has a family support for schooling the less likely he is to drop out</p> <p>The more the parents reward good school performance, without punishing failure, the less likely are their children to drop out</p> <p>Where parents consult their children on educational decisions, without abdicating authority, the latter are less likely to drop out</p> <p>The greater the success of a child in school, the less likely is he to drop out</p>	<p>The less school authorities encourage parental interest in the children's education, the higher the rates of dropout</p>

Society	Family and Student	School-system
	<p>The more opportunity a child has to participate successfully in school activities, the less likely will he be to drop out</p> <p>The better relations a child has with his teachers, the less likely he is to drop out</p> <p>The more often a student fails the more likely he is to drop out</p> <p>The lower the socio-economic status of a family, the greater the impact of a child's failure in school, and the greater the likelihood of dropout</p>	<p>The fewer co-curricular activities a school can offer, the higher the dropout rates</p> <p>The greater the social distance between teachers and students the higher the dropout rates</p> <p>School systems which aim at success in examinations rather than at the optimal development of students, tend to encourage dropout among potential failures</p>
		<p>The lower the quality of the teachers, the higher the dropout rates</p> <p>The greater the disparity between the salaries and treatment of teachers and those of other workers of comparable qualifications and status, the lower the quality of teachers, and the higher the dropout rates</p>

Society	Family and Student	School-system
		<p>The higher the rates of teacher transience during a given school year, the lower the student's performance, and the higher the dropout rates</p> <p>The more isolated the schools, the higher the rates of teacher transience</p> <p>The greater the social distance between the teachers and their students and families, the higher the rates of teacher-transience</p>

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

(A) TO WHOM ADMINISTERED

The questionnaire was administered at random to 1,048 ex-students who had prematurely withdrawn from primary schools in Kenya. No attempt was made to trace students from a particular school or location, but rather to find a wide ranging, if numerically limited, number of ex-students from as broad an area of Kenya as possible given the limited time and facilities available to the researcher.

In addition, a similar but not identical questionnaire was administered to 104 teachers, headmasters, chiefs, and anyone in education whose opinion was thought to be of value. These people were mainly chosen from the same areas as the students interviewed.

(B) FORM OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Ex-students were asked to identify themselves, the school they attended and when. They then had to tick the reasons why they withdrew from a list provided. This list was based on results of surveys already carried out in this field in Kenya. They were invited to add any reasons of their own not listed if they wished and were told to

expand these reasons on the reverse of the form if they felt the need. Many did. Copies of the two questionnaires can be seen in Appendix III and IV.

(C) TABULATION

The following tables have been drawn up from the data thus collected:-

TABLE I - Item Analysis by Percentage of Students Responding (Ranked in order of Importance)

Reasons for Withdrawal	Percentage of students giving that reason
1. Inability to pay fees	41.0
2. Other reasons	39.7
3. Unsuitable conditions at home for study	35.5
4. Student felt that he would 'fail'	32.8
5. Decided that school work would not help in later life	30.3
6. Parents felt that benefits of schooling were not worth the costs	25.9
7. School work was too tiring	25.9
8. Had to stay at home to work on the land	19.6
9. Facilities at school were poor	12.2
10. Teaching was of a poor standard	8.0
11. Journey to school was too long	6.1

On average students gave three reasons for leaving school prematurely. At the top end of the scale some gave as many as seven reasons and some only one. As can be seen inability to pay fees was given by more students than was any other cause. As may also be seen from the questionnaire this reason was placed at number 1 on the lists of reasons offered and in that sense was 'invited'. There seems to be no correlation however between the order of listing of other reasons on the questionnaire and the above ranking of importance from numbers of students giving those reasons. This may be seen by comparison of the order on the questionnaire and the rankings.

The first and third reasons in the above table could be described perhaps as economic causes of withdrawal in that conditions at home may well be a reflection of the economic status of the family of the ex-student.

Complaints about facilities at the schools and teaching standards come well to the bottom of the list.

TABLE II - All the Responses (Items analysed as a % of the total) By Ranking

Responses	% of the total
1. Inability to pay fees	14.8
2. Other reasons	14.3
3. Unsuitable conditions at home for study	12.6
4. Student felt that he would fail	11.8
5. Decided that school work would not help in later life	10.9
6. Parents felt that benefits of schooling were not worth the costs	9.3
7. School work was too tiring	9.3
8. Had to stay at home to work on the land	7.1
9. Facilities at school were poor	4.4
10. Journey to school was too long	2.9
11. Teaching was of a poor standard	2.2

Obviously Table II follows the same ranking order as Table I, but it does serve perhaps to throw into focus the relative importance of any one cause of withdrawal. For instance, if one adds the first two 'economic causes' together (i.e. (1) + (2) above) one has a total of 29.1% of all causes given.

TABLE III - Item Analysis by Percentage of Boys and Girls Responding
 =====
 (Listed in the order they appeared on the Questionnaire)

Responses	Boys	Girls
1. Inability to pay fees	47.0	27.4
2. Teaching was of a poor standard	9.7	4.3
3. Facilities at school were poor	14.2	7.9
4. Had to stay at home to work on the land	24.9	7.9
5. Student felt that he would fail	37.5	22.5
6. Decided that school work would not help in later life	33.3	23.6
7. Unsuitable conditions at home for study	39.7	23.6
8. Parents felt that benefits of schooling were not worth the costs	27.0	23.2
9. Journey to school was too long	7.7	2.4
10. School work was too tiring	30.0	17.0
11. Other causes	28.8	62.8

What is perhaps most significant here is the smaller percentage of girls who gave inability to pay fees as a cause of withdrawal. This fits in with Mbilinyi's work in Tanzania which suggested that most parents make a careful calculation of the returns to the family from educating a

daughter rather than a son when resources are scarce⁽⁶²⁾. Naturally they prefer to educate a boy, but if they do decide to put a girl through school one would not expect payment of fees to be a serious problem, or the decision would not have been taken in the first place.

Many girls withdrew from school because they were pregnant, which would ofcourse have the effect of reducing the number of reasons for leaving given by them, and which accounts for the figure of 62.8% listed under 'Other Causes'. In fact 40.8% gave pregnancy as their reason for leaving. The percentage responding is smaller for all items for girls because an average girls gave 2.3 causes of withdrawal whereas boys gave 3.0.

(62) Mbilinyi, M. "Traditional attitudes towards women". Paper read at the Universities of East Africa Social Science Conference, Dar-es-Salaam. 1970.

TABLE IV - AN ANALYSIS OF TEACHERS AND HEADMASTERS RESPONSES RANKED AS PERCENTAGE OF THOSE RESPONDING

Responses	Percentage
1. Inability to pay fees	98%
2. Other reasons	77.3%
3. Unsuitable conditions at home for study	64.9%
4. Had to stay at home to work on the land	56.7%
5. Student felt that he would fail	52.6%
6. Parents felt that the benefits of schooling were not worth the costs	46.4%
7. Decided that school work would not help in later life	39.2%
8. Facilities at school were poor	36.0%
9. School work was too tiring	34.0%
10. Journey to school was too long	20.6%
11. Teaching was of a poor standard	10.3%

The importance given to the various causes by teachers and headmasters matches those given by the students fairly closely, and the cause given most importance and least are the same.

(D) MORE DETAILED STUDY OF THE RESPONSES

(1) Inability to Pay Fees

This was the most common single cause of withdrawal

and was given by 41.0 of all students and was 14.8% of all responses given.

They explained that their parents were poor and earned a limited amount of actual cash with which to pay fees. This problem of fee-raising was often made worse by additional factors like payments to building funds, and more serious the cost of repetition which often imposed an unsupportable drain on the family income. Few of those interviewed had not repeated a standard or faced the immediate prospect of repetition. Or perhaps had seen that at some stage repetition was inevitable, and realising that this demand was more than their family could support they cut their losses and withdrew.

(2) Lack of Suitable Conditions For Study at Home

This was a very common complaint as can be seen from Table II, and the one most frequently complained of after inability to pay fees.

Children spoke of crowded conditions in the home with only one hut for the whole family and the impossibility of doing any studying there. This overcrowding often forced them into the company of unsympathetic relatives and friends who discouraged them from working at their education.

An additional and very serious point made here too was

the frequent lack of anything like adequate lighting in an often smoky room. Eye-strain was commonplace and sometimes serious damage was done to a child's eyes.

(3) Students Felt that they would Fail

The third most common cause of withdrawal given by students was the realisation that they were not progressing well by the standards the situation seemed to them to demand. This might mean repeating a standard with the extra financial burden this entails, or ultimate 'failure' at C.P.E.

Children and parents are not realistic about chances of getting into a secondary school (28% from standard VII in 1970 got into Form I in 1971, but less than half in government schools). They are ever hopeful that they will be in the lucky few, and from the outset assume that it will be the others who will fail, and that the gamble they are taking is worth the risk. This attitude is strong before the child starts school, or many would never start, but if the child seems to be doing less than well he withdraws or is withdrawn. Many difficulties can be overcome by parents and children if the child seems to be succeeding, but once despondency sets in many do not struggle on.

Inevitably a sense of failure whether or not coupled with repeating, brings parents back to the question of fees and the value of the education received if a secondary school place will not be found.

A number of ex-students also spoke of the blow to their pride when they received 'poor' reports, and sometimes the scorn of their parents, relatives, friends and acquaintances, which was more than they could bear at times.

(4) The Work Done at School would not Help them in Later Life

As a cause of withdrawal isolated from the students poor academic performance, this seems to be related mainly to a 'realistic' view of the future on the part of the students. Their attitude was that they had joined primary school and made their own individual sacrifices, i.e. studying, loss of freedom, suffering school discipline, etc., only to realise that students before them had been reasonably successful despite all the odds, and yet had returned to their home areas without a job, or were roaming some town as one of the discontented unemployed. Some of these 'unsuccessful' ones had a good C.P.E. or K.J.S.E. and a growing number even had School Certificate. As children tend to see education only as a means to a good job,

i.e. a 'white-collar' job, many students draw what seems to them an obvious conclusion and quit school. The 'realism' of this view seems to be well supported by the facts as D. Court concluded recently from the research into education in Kenya that he surveyed. He found that the demand for education is increasing at the same time that employment prospects are worsening for all but those with the most education. But he said "students value education less for its contribution to personal, intellectual or national economic development than because it is seen as the principal means to material gain and social mobility. This is the most conclusive single finding of educational research". (63)

With this view of education the temptations of freedom to roam abroad with their friends, or to find casual work to earn extra money needed at home, were too great for many students now that the only real incentive to them was removed. They thus gladly left school pointing out that it was a waste of their time and money, and offered them nothing.

Many girls withdrew prematurely because they said that

(63) Court, D. "An Inventory of Research on Education in Kenya". Discussion paper 108, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, 1971. P.25/26.

they preferred to get married later and raise a family, rather than struggle on at school only to face the prospect in the end that they would not find paid employment anyway. They felt that a lack of education would not lessen their chances on the marriage market. In fact some expressed the view that many African men do not want an educated wife, who was likely to have picked up the western attitude that the woman's role in the family is not subordinate to the man's.

(5) Parents Felt that the Benefits were not Worth the Costs

Parents were often reported as having the same attitude to education as most of the children, that is that education is purely an avenue to a desirable job. They may have been persuaded to finance it and take the gamble at first, but as time passed and the burden on them and the family became a strain, and as it increased with such extra costs as a building fund collection, or even worse the child having to repeat a year, they became doubtful of the value of the exercise and withdrew the child. They sometimes saw their relatives and neighbours children passing examinations only to fail to get a place in a maintained secondary school, or fail to get a job. To them the sacrifices seemed pointless, and the fee money better spent elsewhere.

Not only that, but the child would be free now to help at home and perhaps to earn extra money from casual work, instead of being a drain on the family funds.

(6) Had to Work on the Family Land

Many ex-students 19.6% had to work on the family land and this could cause them to withdraw from school for two reasons.

Firstly, in the obvious way that their parents decided that they were needed on the land, and did not allow them to continue at school. Sometimes the father died and they became the head of the family and had to stay at home to take charge.

Secondly, children had to withdraw because of the heavy demands made on them at home even though they were attending full-time school. For example, at busy times on the land they would have to stay away from school to help get the harvest in or whatever, thus they may be absent from school at a crucial time and perhaps earn the disapproval of their teacher. Or they would have to work on the land every day both before and after attending school, and the workload became unbearable. Often this work had to be done by the children out of sheer necessity, but sometimes it seems that the parents demanded that the child perform these duties because it was traditional that they be required of him. They

were not prepared to make any allowance for the fact that he was working hard at school, and might have school work to complete at home.

(7) Facilities at School

Lack of suitable books was at the top of the list here and was the main grumble. Textbooks were either lacking or often unsuitable. School furniture was in short supply in many schools too, and sometimes desks and blackboards might not be available.

The above complaints seem to be diminishing in importance but only slowly though, and what was becoming more common was that many remote areas had difficulties getting school supplies in time, and thus work might be brought to a virtual standstill. Headmasters and teachers complained strongly about this.

(8) Journey to School

A small percentage of ex-students spoke of long journeys to school, a few mentioned having to walk 14 miles a day, or 12 miles and journeys of 10 miles were common amongst this group. But this seems to be another instance of a cause of withdrawal that is becoming of less and less importance in the more densely populated areas, where many schools have been built.

A few children spoke of danger from wild animals most

of these came from forested areas, although it must be a problem in areas like Samburu, etc. The main problem remaining seems to be that of river crossings which often make travel to school dangerous for children. Here however, it was mainly teachers and headmasters who complained of this problem, but very few ex-students. It would seem to be a cause of broken attendance though rather than of withdrawal, as it is only during the rains that the problem arises. Some ex-students did mention another problem connected with travelling to school. They said that they were often accosted by children who did not attend school themselves and who sometimes prevented them from continuing their journey. Girls were the chief sufferers here.

(9) Teaching

As suggested previously the causes of premature withdrawal are not static but change with the situation, this is particularly true with regard to teaching in primary schools. From the interviews conducted it seems that shortage of teachers was once serious and an important cause of withdrawal. Sometimes classes would run for more than a term without a regular teacher, leading children to despair and premature withdrawal. This seems to be largely a thing of the past

now except for temporary dislocations (a strike of students took place on 4/2/1973 for this reason at Thomsons Falls, and a case was reported in 1972 of a primary school with 4 teachers and 207 pupils. (64))

Similarly with another cause of withdrawal that used to be important in the past and has lost some importance in recent years, that is the large number of untrained teachers in primary schools. People were engaged in teaching who were untrained and with very limited educational backgrounds. Few ex-students complained about this today although as will be seen later there are still many untrained teachers in primary schools.

The most common complaints listed under the heading of the standard of teaching concerned absenteeism, and teachers not in fact teaching when they were present in class.

The first complaint is one levelled at teachers from all quarters, i.e. students, parents, other teachers, headmasters and officials and Government leaders at all levels.

The second complaint is that many teachers in primary schools are studying to improve their education and status, as well as salary and grade. They bring their own work into the classroom and tell the students to

(64) Bessey Report. P.215

(70)

work on their own, whilst they study.

The effect of this is to make the students despondent and disillusioned, particularly as they are accustomed to being taught in a pedagogical manner, and are not used to doing anything by or for themselves.

They feel that it is impossible for them to succeed under these circumstances and some of them leave.

A few of the girls who said that they left because they became pregnant added that it was a teacher who was responsible for their pregnancy. For instance one girl said:

"I liked school very much but unfortunately my teacher liked me and I became pregnant".

Another girl said:

"I did not spend much time in the classroom as the teacher kept me in his house. When

(71)

I became pregnant I left".

Teachers have been warned about their relationships with their pupils, both in public speeches by Officials and by the Teachers Service Commission in a circular.

(10) School Work too Tiring

The percentage of students complaining about the tiring nature of schooling was 25.9% and it comprised 9.3% of all responses given.

This cause of premature withdrawal is partially related to the questions of length of journey to school, and the amount of work a child might have to do on the family land or with cattle, before and after school.

The incidence of homework and the amount demanded of a child is also important here, but the main complaint by the children interviewed was that they found the actual work in school tiring. Wrestling with unfamiliar topics in school for long periods when constant attention was demanded of them, was more than some could endure.

(11) Other Reasons

Pregnancy - 40.8% of the girls interviewed admitted that they left because they were pregnant. A few of these gave other reasons for leaving and then added that they were pregnant, which would seem to destroy the force of the other reasons they gave. Some did not reveal the fact that they became pregnant whilst they were attending school, and it was only discovered later, which throws some doubt on the reasons given by

girls and the figures given generally, as it seems reasonable to assume that some of the others hid the fact that they were pregnant, and the truth was not found out at the interview of afterwards.

Cruel Teachers - Six percent of all students seen complained of the cruel behaviour of teachers, although it seemed to be a general complaint among them that discipline was too strict and punishments too severe. The others did not regard cruelty as being sufficiently bad to justify withdrawal.

Age - Sixteen ex-students said that they left because they felt ashamed of their advanced age as members of primary school. This situation was due to repeating and/or leaving school for a while to raise fees.

Wrong Friends - Fourteen ex-students said that they had become mixed up with "wrong friends" and so had been induced to leave school by them.

Orphaned - Twenty four had become orphaned whilst at school and their whole world had changed and they had to withdraw.

Health - Fourteen students complained that their health was not good enough to allow them to continue at school.

Eldest Son - Another eighteen lost their fathers, and as eldest son were forced to stay at home and take charge of the family affairs.

Disobedience - Sixteen were so disobedient that they antagonised their teachers and preferred to leave.

Bad Relations with their Teachers - Eight more reported bad relations with their teachers but not they felt, because of any indiscipline on their part.

Circumcision - Four men and two girls said that after they had been circumcised they wanted to leave school. The two girls were Kipsigis who were still clinging to a dying tradition that after circumcision a girl should begin looking for a husband. Two of the men were Samburu who felt that by this initiation they were now warriors and school was degrading for them.

Preferred Life Outside - Seventeen students actually said that they preferred life outside to school work and so left to enjoy themselves. One said: I wanted, to roam the Aberdares hunting with my dogs". Ten of

them went to "guitar parties".

More Interested in Boys - Eight girls said that they were more interested in boys than their studies, although it might seem that this also applied to some of the others listed above.

ODD CAUSES GIVEN BY THREE OR FOUR STUDENTS.

Being asked to repeat was more than four could bear.

Ten boys from around Victoria Nyanza preferred "to go fishing with their friends" and so earn money.

Two boys had so suffered with their eyes owing to the poor lighting at home, that it was physically impossible for them to continue.

Two Somali girls were withdrawn by their parents because they were afraid that they might lose their virginity whilst relatively free to meet boys at school.

Boredom was given as a reason for withdrawal by two boys; and one boy's father divorced his mother and the boy left school to look after her.

(12) Other Reasons given by Teachers and Headmasters

Pregnancy - 16.5% of the teachers interviewed gave pregnancy as a reason for premature withdrawal.

Rivers - 9.2% thought that difficult river crossings was an important cause.

Less popular reasons given by a few were:-

Guitar parties - mentioned by 8 teachers. Both students and teachers mentioned these as attracting students from the working life of school.

Money - Too much love of money was said by eight to attract children from school into casual work on the land or on Victoria Nyanza.

Wrong Friends - were mentioned, and danger from wild animals. A few said that cruelty by teachers caused some to leave.

Collecting of building fund was given by two, as was laziness and boredom.

Four complained about lack of teaching about Kenya, and two thought absence of practical work was a contributing factor.

Single teachers mentioned female circumcision, Masai invasion and poor administration. Whilst two suggested non-arrival of school supplies.

(13) What students have been doing since they Withdrew.

Of the students who answered that question 39.6% were

working on the family land or looking after family cattle. Many were under-employed and spent some of their time trying to find paid employment.

The second largest group said that they were unemployed 34.6% and trying to find work, but for many this was a hopeless pursuit as there was obviously little for them to do in their home areas, and they could not afford to go to towns to seek work, not having relatives there.

The third group 20.0% were in paid employment of many types usually in rural areas.

A few 5.7% were able to find casual work from time to time again in their home areas usually on the land of a neighbour or on a big estate at harvest time, etc.

(14) What Students would like to Study if they could Start Again

Of the students who responded to this question 41.8% elected to study the same subjects as before. The larger group 58.2% said that they preferred to study vocational subjects that would help them to find jobs, or would help them to work in their own business. The boys were mostly interested in carpentry, or training as motor mechanics. The girls in typing and sewing,

but many did not specify the actual training they would like to follow. They merely stressed that it should be of a vocational nature.

Many students responded to this question by saying that they refused to imagine ever starting school again!

The purpose of the survey is to determine the attitude of people in Kenya. In June of 1971 the Central Government established a school fee of approximately 100 shillings per year for primary schools at a 75 per cent. Many people did not want to pay this fee and this is not surprising when one considers that the per capita income in Kenya is about \$500 per annum, so that school fees are 125 of the per capita income, although the government usually does offer help to meet the rest of the cost and the burden on parents.

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Many of the students refused to accept the idea that inability to pay fees is the main cause of withdrawal. The only 5.3% of respondents gave this as the only reason for withdrawal.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

(A) INABILITY TO PAY FEES

Of the students interviewed 41.0% gave inability to pay fees as a cause of their withdrawal, and this response was 14.8% of all responses received. Contrary to the hypothesis therefore it did figure as the most commonly stated single cause of withdrawal.

The burden of fee paying is heavy when one considers the income of people in Kenya. In January 1971 the Central Government equalised school fees at government-maintained rural primary schools at \$ 72 per year. Many families find this a big sum to raise and this is not surprising when one considers that the per capita income in Kenya is about \$ 600 per annum, so that school fees are 12% of the per capita income, although the extended family does often help to bear the cost and thus ease the burden on parents. (65)

Thus the above figures tend to support the view that inability to pay fees is the main cause of withdrawal. Yet only 5.5% of ex-students gave this as the only cause of

(65) Fields, G.S. Op.Cit. P.6.

withdrawal. On average two other reasons were also given, and often they were of such importance in themselves as to throw grave doubt upon the idea that the inability to pay fees was the cause of their withdrawal. For example where a student also said that he felt he would fail, and many did, This raises the question as to whether he would have managed to raise fees if he had been doing well? One Samburu said that he could not afford fees and then later added:

"I had been doing badly and my brother asked me to look after his cattle",

thus bringing into question his original assertion that the inability to pay fees was the root cause of his withdrawal. Some girls said that they could not afford fees and then said that they left because of pregnancy!

This response to the questionnaire, that is to complain about fees before continuing to mention other compelling reasons for withdrawal, was typical of most of the children answering. They naturally felt that paying fees imposed a great burden on their families, and complained about it before going on to complain of other things. When questioned about their answers (where this was possible) it often became apparent that they were not unable to pay fees, rather they were relating the cost of schooling to the benefits they thought they would receive from it. Just as

many people say that they cannot afford something but really mean not that they cannot possibly find the money for it, but that the expenditure seems excessive in relation to the return.

Another point to be borne in mind here is that universal free primary education is the stated aim of the Government of Kenya, and it might seem impolite for people not to complain about payment of fees and thus fail to remind the Government of its promise. (65) Also any inquiry that is carried out, particularly in rural areas, is regarded with suspicion, and indeed it is often difficult to get a response. (Without the goodwill of many willing helpers in the home areas of these ex-students for example it would have been impossible to carry out this survey). The interviewee is naturally suspicious as to why the information is wanted, and is afraid that if he does not complain about fees the Government will feel that free schooling is not necessary in the near future.

The response about fees was also put first on the questionnaire so as to deliberately invite that answer.

Another response by many ex-students, or at least an attitude that was not uncommon was that of not identify-

ing themselves with their parents so that they answered the question "You could not afford fees" as something to be taken literally. Thus they said that they could not pay, when in fact the situation was that their parents could afford fees but would not give the student the money to pay them. How common this response was is impossible to say now as this attitude to the question was not recognised until the end of the survey.

The question of fee-paying was of course closely linked to the problem of repeating standards. Many ex-students complained of having to repeat, for few primary students escape from this. Somerset has shown for example, that in Nyeri only 37.5% of the students in his study reached Standard VII in 1971 without repeating, and that 50% of those would probably repeat Standard VII.⁽⁶⁶⁾ This additional cost of repeating cannot fairly be regarded as an essential part of the primary cycle as such. It is imposed upon students because of the standard of assessment used to judge their performance in school, which is not related to satisfactory completion of primary schooling as the criterion of promotion, or because people are repeating above them and blocking their progress. (A fuller discussion of the whole problem of repeating follows in Chapter VII).

(66) I.L.O. Op.Cit. P.526.

Repeating helps to improve a child's performance in the C.P.E. that is repeating Standard VII, but it does not help lower down the school, therefore it is a useless and costly imposition upon the child and his family. Many families could support a child for the seven years of the primary cycle, but cannot afford the additional burden of repetition that the system, as it has developed, imposes. Therefore, to accept inability to pay fees as the most common cause of withdrawal without further comment, is to accept repetition as an inevitable part of the system.

Lastly, it should be added that on May 16th, 1973, Mr. Charles Rubia, Assistant Minister for Education, stated in the National Assembly, that no Kenyan child missed education because his parents could not afford to pay for it. The normal remission provisions for children from poor families ensured this. (66)

(B) ECONOMIC REASONS FOR WITHDRAWAL

When economic reasons for withdrawal are considered together rather than separately a different picture emerges. If we total the responses that are attributable to the economic circumstances of the child and his family, we

(66) East African Standard, May 17, 1973. P.3.

find:-

Inability to pay fees	14.8%	of all responses
Conditions at home	12.6%	
Leaving to work on the family land	7.1%	of all responses
	<hr/> 34.5% =====	of all responses

Looked at in this way economic reasons do not appear as the main reasons for withdrawal. It must also be realised that allowing conditions at home to rank as a purely economic cause is to ignore the sociological factors involved. For part of the students' complaints here were about being surrounded by relatives, etc. who were actively unsympathetic to their school career, and who sometimes positively hindered them. Of course sociological and economic factors are often closely linked and no clear dividing line can be drawn. As the studies referred to in Chapter III have shown there is a strong correlation between the economic background of people and their attitude to education. In Kenya however this correlation is sometimes not there, because some ^{tribes} tribes like the Maasai and the Samburu tend to place little value on education and see it as only destructive of their traditional way of life, although many of them are comparatively wealthy.

(C) REASONS RELATED TO THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Looking at another group of causes of withdrawal that are related to the educational system we have:-

A sense of failure	11.8%	of all responses
Student's decision that school offers him little of value	10.9%	
Similar view of parents	9.3%	
Complaints about teaching	2.9%	
Complaints about facilities	4.4%	
Those who complained of cruel teachers	6.0%	
Those who preferred life outside	2.5%	
	47.8%	of all responses
	=====	

(The remaining response could best be described as attributable to social causes, although it may be true that some of the parents' and students' attitudes to education was also sociological. It is suggested here however that it is unlikely to be significant enough to destroy the balance of the figures).

What is contended here is that economic causes of withdrawal are not the main causes even if one accepts the

replies to the questionnaire at their face value. Thus the findings of the study only partly support the original hypothesis which would seem to need amendment to read:-

"that economic causes are not the main causes of (A) premature withdrawal, but rather that withdrawal is mainly the result of faults in the educational system that lead many parents and students to the conclusion that primary schooling offers little of value".

being examined and conducted on out-of-date principles, In many industrialized countries education is still under the influence of almost-orthodox ideas, ideas that created the system that were transmitted into developing countries without modification. The attempt was made to change that to the needs of the society and people. It is the conclusion of this study that in Kenya, as in other developing countries, withdrawal is primarily due to the failure of education to adjust to the contemporary conditions. There has to be a change in the way of thinking and the attitude of the teachers and parents. They should be encouraged to interact with their pupils in a way that is meaningful to them. Interaction, and not teacher-centered learning, is the key to success. The results are included here for comparison.

(57) R. A. Standard, June 1975, Vol.

CHAPTER VI

AN ANALYSIS OF FACTORS LEADING TO PREMATURE WITHDRAWAL

(A) INTRODUCTION

In most countries national education is now a major economic sector, in Kenya about 25% of the gross recurrent expenditure is devoted to supporting the educational structure, (67) but in this technological age it is still being organised and conducted on out-of-date principles. In many industrialised countries education is still under the influence of nineteenth century ideas, ideas that created the systems that were transplanted into developing countries without modification. No attempt was made to adapt them to the needs of the society and people. It is the contention of this study that in Kenya, as in other developing countries, withdrawal is primarily due to the failure of education to adjust to the contemporary environment. There are of course a variety of causes at work and the difficulty is that they interact. Any attempt to isolate them can never be wholly successful because of this interaction, and one factor inevitably emerges with or leads on to another. The causes are isolated here for convenience

(67) E. A. Standard, June 13, 1973. P.1.

but it is still argued that a transformation of the whole system of education and further of the socio-economic background is needed, before withdrawal can be reduced to negligible proportions.

(A) Descriptions and Methods

Two broad groupings of facts have been looked at in this study, endogenous factors, that is factors arising from the education system, and exogenous factors related to the children and their background.

(B) SOME ENDOGENOUS FACTORS

Terminal Examinations and Promotion from Standards

In any country a qualifying examination at the end of a cycle of schooling may be a cause of leaving, so that if this were eliminated drop-outs would be reduced. If a terminal examination is also used as a qualifying test, it may become an important cause of withdrawal and worse.

Secondly, the system of promotion at the end of each year can contribute to withdrawal in a variety of ways. In many schools the standard applied to the children is to relate their ability to that of the above-average student who is expected to go on to secondary school. Failure to measure up to this standard may mean repetition of a standard, or at best an adverse report on the student's progress.

This can lead to a conviction of failure on the part of a student and his parents, despite the fact that he is quite capable of gaining a satisfactory terminal certificate.

(2) Curriculum and Methods

Society today is rapidly transforming its methods of imparting news and knowledge in many areas, yet in many countries education has changed little in methods and content. New subjects are often introduced by additions to the school timetable, and up-to-date teaching is introduced in a few subjects only. Memorisation and pedagogical teaching is still commonplace rather than exceptional. This lack of adaptation of schools to the present day results more and more in children losing interest in schooling and in learning of any kind. Thus preparation of programmes and choice of methods suited to the aptitudes of children and their interests, is essential for all countries, but especially needs attention in developing ones. The countries that passed on their systems to others are now realising that the system needs changing to meet their needs, how much more essential is this then in the receiving countries like Kenya? Retention or even intensification of the inherited system can only create a gulf between, students, schools and everyday life. This gulf will

of itself cause withdrawal and in the long-run a fall-off in enrolments.

(3) The Teachers

Inadequate training or qualifications of teachers, may also be an important cause of withdrawal. The teachers task can also be made more difficult if the educational system is not adapted to present conditions, and teacher-pupil relations may suffer in consequence. A student may resist efforts to implant aspects of a culture he finds alien, and the teacher may feel the need to resort to disciplinary measures more and more frequently in order to maintain his authority.

(C) SOME EXOGENOUS FACTORS

(1) Individual Differences of Students

However the question of promotion is approached by schools students learning abilities will vary. Whatever methods are used and syllabuses are followed this will not change. In all countries there tends to be a close connection between the scholastic performance of children and withdrawal rates. Students who withdraw tend, on the whole, to be pupils whose attainments are below average. Their low learning ability will often be exacerbated by many other factors, such as

(4) reluctance of the parents to send them to school, the work that is expected of them by their parents both before and after school, absence from school during harvest and other busy times on the land, or conditions at home that make it impossible for a student to do school work there. A tiring or difficult journey to school will not help, neither will friends and acquaintances who are scornful of education, or who tempt children to stay away or neglect their work.

(2) Low Family Income

Low family income makes it a struggle to pay fees, or dress properly. A student's diet may be inadequate for him to sustain the effort of school life. He may be tempted or under pressure to go out and earn for his family, and if he resists a feeling of guilt may creep in especially if he does not seem to be doing well.

(3) Education of the Parents

In many countries there is a correlation between withdrawal and the education of the parents. Uneducated parents sometimes attribute little value to education, whereas educated parents are well aware of its value in life generally.

(4) Community Attitudes

The attitude of the members of the student's community may also encourage withdrawal for if educated men are looked down upon by others, a student will have to be a determined person to ignore such disapproval.

(D) ENDOGENOUS FACTORS IN KENYA

(1) Teaching

The number of teachers in primary schools has risen since 1964 when they totalled 27,828⁽⁶⁸⁾ to 49,396 in 1971⁽⁶⁹⁾. In 1964 the untrained teachers numbered 8,649 (31%)⁽⁷⁰⁾ and in 1971, 11,779 (24%) of the total.⁽⁷¹⁾ Thus the figures support the argument that the problem of untrained teachers is one of gradually diminishing importance, especially as new recruits of teaching are predominantly trained and therefore many of the untrained teachers will have gained considerable experience. The more able amongst them will have improved and perhaps have reached a satisfactory level of performance. However the number of untrained teachers

(68) Statistical Abstract. Op.cit. P.148.

(69) Ministry of Education 1971. Op.Cit. P.30.

(70) Statistical Abstract. Op.cit. P.148.

(71) Ministry of Education. Op.Cit. P.30.

is still too high at 11,779 with 5,887 of these having only C.P.E. as a qualification⁽⁷²⁾. Such teachers have little knowledge of modern teaching methods but tend to teach as they were taught many years ago, in addition they have little academic background upon which to draw.

Amongst the ranks of the qualified many have very poor academic backgrounds, although the position is improving slowly year by year. In 1967 80% of the qualified teachers were P3 and P4 teachers with a Certificate of Primary Education and two years training, and completion of primary schooling but no certificate and two years training respectively. The other 20% were P1 and P2 teachers with School Certificate and two years training, and two years of secondary school and two years training respectively.⁽⁷³⁾

By comparison in 1971, 39% of qualified teachers were P1 and P2 and 61% were P3 and P4.⁽⁷⁴⁾ This sort of background does not seem suitable for the vital role they play in education, particularly when one remembers that most of their pupils will receive no other education during their lives. The teachers described are

(72) Ibid.

(73) Statistical Abstract. Op.cit. P.148.

(74) Ministry of Education. Op.cit. 1972. P.30.

handling young minds at a crucial stage in their development and modern research seems to show that any damage done, or any lack of development at this stage cannot be wholly remedied even if they do go on to secondary school.

The figures quoted also support the complaint that teachers are often too preoccupied with improving their qualifications to teach properly. The urge to improve their qualification can be understood when one knows that a P1 earns roughly twice the salary of a P3 teacher. The incentive to take School Certificate as a private candidate is very strong. Thus the facts give circumstantial support to the complaints by ex-students. Furthermore on 9th February, 1973, it was reported that the Kenya Union of Teachers had successfully negotiated a new agreement with the Teachers Service Commission, whereby P1 teachers who pass the East African Certificate of Education at Advanced Level would automatically be promoted to S1. (75)

On the question of absenteeism there are of course no figures available as to its extent, and all that can be said is that the problem must be serious and widespread judging by the numerous complaints made at all levels.

For example:

"Warnings were issued to many teachers following reports of failing to come on duty in time, being absent negligence or drunkenness". (76)

Another example is:

"Many teachers neglect their duty and leave their students to suffer. They report at school late. Many are inclined to abandon students to work for themselves without help. It is not rare to see teachers basking idly in the sun while lessons are on." (77)

(2) Journeys to School

In 1971 there were 6,372 primary schools in Kenya. (78) The national average size of classes was 30.8 students in 1971, (79) although class size varies greatly with a few with less than 10 students and two with as many as 70 in that year. (80)

(76) Report of the District Education Officer for Kakamega District reported to the East African Standard, 2nd March, 1973. P.5.

(77) Parent: letter to "the Daily Nation", 8/3/1973. P.19.

(78) Ministry of Education. Op.cit. 1971. P.40.

(79) Ibid. P.36.

(80) Bessey Report. Op.cit. P.216.

TABLE V - Schools in Kenya by Province according to Population

Province	<u>Served</u>	Population per square kilometre	
Prov- ince	No. of schools	Pop. in 1000's	
Eastern	1,419	1,907	1 school per 1,343
Western	851	1,328	" 1560 *
Nyanza	1,319	2,122	" 1,608 *
Rift Valley	1,155	2,210	" 1,913 *
Central & Nairobi	1,130	2,185	" 1,932
Coast	467	944	" 2,021 **
North- Eastern	31	126	" 4,064 * too bad a state

The greatest variation shown here is at the top end of the scale where Eastern has 1 school per 1,343 and North-Eastern at the bottom with 1 per 4,064, the others or more or less on a par. As will be seen from the figures below and the Map of Primary schools in Kenya distribution of schools follows very closely the areas with highest density of population.

In some areas where density is high the local authorities have started schools by self-help schemes. One school per 4,000 people may be felt entirely the demand in North-Eastern

Province	Population per square kilometre
Central	127
Coast	11
Eastern	12
North-Eastern	2
Nyanza	169
Rift Valley	13
Western	162

The situation is rather more complicated than the figures reveal however because in many provinces such as North-Eastern and parts of the Rift Valley, etc. there are nomadic people scattered over a wide area and access to schools is thus limited or impossible for many.

In general, it would seem that in Central, Western, Nyanza and parts of the Rift Valley provinces, people are fairly well served with schools.

It is partly too a question of supply and demand. In some areas where demand is high the local communities have started schools by self-help schemes. One school per 4,064 people may in fact satisfy the demand in North-Eastern

Province where classes average only 31 students. The question is whether the demand is low because of the nomadic life of the people and the distances pupils would have to travel to school, or because the people are not interested in education?

A Ministry of Education Official tells the story that in 1972 a Provincial Commissioner was told by some Maasai Elders that they were worried about the behaviour of the local primary headmaster, for they said that they had paid him fees yet he still wanted them to send their children to school!

Relating the figures to the question of the length of journey to school, it is not surprising that there were relatively few complaints on this score as most ex-students interviewed were from Central, Nyanza and Western Provinces.

(3) School Work too Tiring

The actual work done at school proved to be too tiring for many students. This does not seem surprising when one considers the methods used in many schools, formal teaching, and rote learning, usually involving students sitting in their desks for long periods facing and listening to their teachers tell them things. The New Primary Approach is being used successfully in many schools, but others are still using old-

fashioned and often poor methods of teaching that bore and tire students. (81)

Furthermore it seems obvious that the pupils who are doing badly at school will be the ones who feel most tired and jaded. When a child is progressing well he will not feel tired, but will enjoy his work. Uncertainty, and a sense of failure, cannot but bring on a feeling of tiredness. (82)

No students complained of an inadequate diet that might have contributed to their feeling of tiredness, although some reported going to school on little more than a cup of tea. In poorer homes deficiencies in their diet must affect some students though.

(4) Facilities at School

The complaint about lack of suitable books has received some support from outside investigation, and as late as 1972 it was stated that the "supply of books for children in primary schools in particular is inadequate", (82) also the teachers were not much better served for it was reported that there was an "evident need for more books for teacher's

(81) Bessey Report. Op.cit. P.32.

(82) Bessey Report. Op.cit. P.149.

use. Not only do they need copies of the teacher's guides and other course materials being used by the classes in their care, but they are also in great need of wider and deeper reading material for themselves...."(83)

The same mission also reported lack of storage in the classroom, lack of equipment, lack even of a flat working surface, and classes that were open to thieves and animals. (84)

A recent small random survey by the History Department of Kenyatta College revealed a shortage of suitable books, ranging from a complete lack of them or sharing them by the pupils. Materials for visual aids were almost completely lacking in schools.

A situation as described above has an effect on the morale of teachers in two ways. Firstly, it encourages them to drop more modern teaching methods in favour of dictation or the writing of copious notes on the blackboard. Secondly, it leads them to doubt their own importance in the educational system and in society as a whole.

The morale of teachers is an important factor in a

(83) Ibid. P.150.

(84) Ibid. P. 33.

successful educational system if morale is low for whatever reason standards will fall.

(5) Repeaters

As mentioned in Chapter III, repeaters and withdrawers are closely related in practice and a large proportion of premature leaving is a consequence of repetition. The problem of repeaters is a serious one in Kenya, and amongst other effects causes many pupils to withdraw from primary schools because of the extra costs it imposes upon them and their feeling of failure.

Brownstein found that it was a serious problem in 1964 in Embu, Kitui, Kericho and Nyanza and more recent studies have shown the problem to be increasing. (85) Sheffield and Fordham talked of the high number of repeaters in primary schools in 1967 (86).

(85) Brownstein, I. Staff Paper, Institute for Development Studies. 1966.

(86) Fordham, P. & Sheffield, J.R. "Continuing Education for Youth and Adults", in Sheffield, J.R. (ed). "Education, Employment and Rural Development". E.A.P.H. 1967.

The Ministry of Education gives the following figures for 1971:- (87)

Standard I	10,307	repeaters	or	3.3%
" II	8,438	"	or	3.2%
" III	8,037	"	or	3.4%
" IV	7,404	"	or	3.5%
" V	6,187	"	or	3.4%
" VI	9,200	"	or	5.4%
" VII	26,082	"	or	15.0%
TOTAL	75,655	(percentages worked out from total enrolment). (88)		

Recent research into the phenomenon of repeating has thrown serious doubts on the accuracy of these figures however but the truth is difficult to ascertain even for the Ministry of Education which does try to control the problem. King's research in 1971 brought the problem into sharp focus when he produced convincing evidence of repeating in great numbers in Standard VII which caused a 'banking up' of students often right down to standard I. (89) His

(87) Ministry of Education. Op.cit. 1971. P.42.

(88) Ibid. P.26.

(89) King, K. "Primary Schools in Kenya", I.D.S. 1971, P.9.

views have found support from the mission on curriculum development in Kenya which gave as its estimate for standard VII a figure of 40%⁽⁹⁰⁾. Which the high survival rates at this level seem to confirm. For example in standard VI in 1970 there were 154,603 students enrolled and in standard VII in 1971 there were 173,150⁽⁹¹⁾. Standard VI and Standard VII figures follow this pattern for all recent years, i.e. they show no withdrawals as the lower standards do in large numbers but a massive increase which can only be explained in terms of repeating.

Students and staff cooperate in hiding the numbers of repeaters and many children change their names so that the Provincial Education Officer cannot spot them on the school rolls.⁽⁹²⁾

These findings by King and the estimates of the mission on curriculum development have also found support in a recent study of primary schools in Nyeri. Amongst the findings here was the fact that only 37.5% of the total students reached standard VII without repeating any class,

(90) Ministry of Education "A Study of Curriculum Development in Kenya". Nairobi, 1972. P.212.

(91) Ministry of Education Annual Reports for 1970 & 1971 Pages 29 and 26 respectively.

(92) King, K. Op.cit. P.9.

adding to these the standard VII repeaters, the final figure was only 19% who went through primary school without repeating. (93) Somerset who carried out this research found two patterns of repeating however. One group repeated only Standard VII and these were the most successful students. The second group repeated standards lower down the school and tended to be the slower learners. (94) These are the ones who find that the cost to them of primary education is higher than to talented children and many withdraw. Somerset's data also helps partly to answer the question of why repeating is such a big problem in Kenya today? His work shows that there is an enormous advantage in repeating. This confirms the findings of King also who gives the second part of the answer which is that during the years 1965-1973 standard VII has become concerned exclusively with gaining entry to Secondary schools. This also reflects the worsening job prospects in Kenya for primary leavers. (95)

We are led on from this to a consideration of the role of C.P.E. in the selection process.

(93) Somerset, *Op.cit.* P.123.

(93) International Labour Office Geneva, *Op.cit.* P.526.

(94) *Ibid.* P.527.

(95) King, K. *Op.cit.* P.1.

(6) The Certificate of Primary Education

To quote the mission on curriculum development in Kenya, "The title of this examination is a misnomer, since the main function of the examination is to select entrants to secondary schools. Moreover, the certificate, which is awarded to all candidates, certifies attainment in only part of the curriculum and so is not a certificate of all-round primary education;"(96)

Competition for places in government maintained or assisted schools is fierce as before mentioned, only about 13% were successful in this sense in 1971.(97) As a selection device the Certificate's efficiency is still not certain as no research in this area has yet been completed in Kenya though some is being undertaken at the University of Nairobi. Preliminary studies have cast serious doubts on its validity however.(98)

As it stands at present the examination is also open to serious criticism as a terminal examination (see the quotation at (96) above) although some think that it

(96) Bessey Report. Op.cit. P.128.

(97) Calculated from figures obtained from the Statistical Digest. Op.cit. P.419, and Ministry of Education Report 1971, P.55.

(98) International Labour Office, Geneva, Op.cit. P.519.

could be made suitable with slight modification.⁽⁹⁹⁾
One of the things about C.P.E. that is certain is that as it stands at present, its use as a selection device and the way it is marked, is a prime cause of repeating and withdrawal.

There were over 170,000 candidates in 1971 and given such big numbers a machine-scored multiple choice objective test seems inevitable.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Children can and do improve their scores in these tests by practice and repeating. This in turn leads to a demand for such practice, and so we are led on to the consideration of the primary curriculum in Kenya. A consideration of what is actually taught however rather than what the official curriculum calls for.

(7) The Primary School Curriculum

The mission on Curriculum Development in Kenya said "The aims stated in the 1967 syllabus are not being fully realised in the classroom." The mission discussed this failure with many groups of teachers throughout Kenya. Their spoken evidence and written memoranda coming from a wide variety of schools seems to leave little doubt as to the cause. They drew attention to the devastating effect of the

(99) Ibid. P.524/525.

(100) Ministry of Education, Annual Report 1971
Op.cit. P.26.

C.P.E. on education throughout the upper primary school".⁽¹⁰¹⁾

They go on to say that because of pressure from pupils to concentrate on examined subjects, the average teacher in standard VII neglects some of the important branches of the curriculum, such as environmental subjects like agriculture and crafts. Further the subjects taught they reported as being taught badly, with drill and rote learning, practicing of multiple-choice tests, and learning useless information, unrelated to the students experience.⁽¹⁰²⁾

King's work in 1971 supports this view, and he reports that the repeaters in the upper primary standards impose their will upon the teachers and refuse to spend time on non-examined subjects like handicrafts and Swahili. They even resent time spent on experiments in 'New Science' and 'New Mathematics' and just want to learn principles and definitions for the examination.⁽¹⁰³⁾

This approach is not limited to standards VI and VII of course, for parents and students want to anticipate C.P.E. at all levels. As already quoted even at nursery school level parents resent "wasting time" on craftwork.

(101) Bessey Report. Op.cit. P.32.

(102) Ibid. P.128.

(103) King, K. Op.cit. P.17.

The pressure on the government to build more nursery schools would seem to be another symptom of the attitude. How else is this pressure to be explained in a country where the average per capita income is so low, and where nursery school would seem to be a luxury?

One does not need much imagination to see the effects of all the above on a child in primary school who does not expect to go on to secondary school. He is learning nothing of real value to him as an individual, or to help him obtain his future livelihood. The sensible ones who realise this withdraw and save their money.

The question of what is actually taught in primary schools and how it is taught cannot, but affect causes of withdrawal that have already been considered. As we have seen ex-students do not complain about teaching methods, but not because the methods used are stimulating but rather because the students know no better. Many unqualified teachers with very poor academic backgrounds have always been employed in primary schools. Such people using drills, and rote learning, in poorly equipped classrooms cannot stimulate students to learn things themselves, to 'find out'.

But many students have no other standards of comparison, only the withdrawers may realise that hunting with

one's dogs in the Aberdares is at least more fun, and equally if not more rewarding.

Silvey found that generally "Education meant to students in Uganda formal academic instruction in stone buildings, leading to a mastery of abstract knowledge and the greatest rewards". (104) This is all reminiscent of Alvin Toffler's view of western education as an educational system adapted to the world of factories, and industrialism where "The inner life of school thus became an anticipatory mirror, a perfect introduction to industrial society. The most criticised features of education today - the regimentation, lack of individualisation, the rigid systems of seating, grouping, grading and marking, the authoritarian role of the teacher - are precisely those that made mass public education so effective an instrument of adaptation for its place and time". (105)

This is an accurate description of education in Kenya, with bells ringing to announce changes of time and subject for no apparent reason except perhaps to instill children with the 'all-important' concept of time.

It is not surprising that many children withdraw

(104) Silvey, J. "The Occupational Attitudes of Secondary School Leavers in Uganda", in R. Jolly (ed). "Education in Africa Research & Action". P.26.

(105) Toffler, A. "Future Shock", New York, 1970. P.400.

from this system, what is more surprising is that more do not, but battle on in defiance of all the odds.

(E) EXOGENOUS FACTORS IN KENYA

(1) Inability to Pay Fees

This topic has been dealt with at some length in Chapter V and it is sufficient to add here that it will remain a factor in Kenya until primary schooling is free, for it will be a long time before most families will find it easy to pay fees, etc. and it may well be a long time before the Government can afford to make primary schooling free. Remission of fees is already granted to about 20% of pupils however. (The decision as to who shall receive remission is taken by the school committee which then applies to the District Education Officer of the Ministry of Education, who allocates his district's quota to the most deserving cases).

Of the 9.1% of ex-students who gave inability to pay fees as the sole reason for withdrawal many had special problems that made their position impossible. Death of the father was most common here, or his marriage to a second wife and his subsequent loss of interest in the children of the first marriage.

(2) Conditions at Home

It might seem on first thought that the problem of unsuitable conditions at home is one to be discussed under the heading of economic problems, it is the contention here however that for the main part this is not so, but relates almost entirely to the educational system. Children in primary schools in Kenya complain of lack of facilities at home for study purposes, that many homes have no suitable facilities in terms of space or lighting cannot be doubted. That students are expected to do school work at home is also a fact. They are in a very competitive world in primary school and must do extra work if they are to achieve the high marks they need at C.P.E. and to avoid repeating. If the system were not so competitive, and if the children and parents looked at primary education differently, homework would not be necessary, and the question of facilities at home would not be relevant. This subject will be returned to later, of necessity, in the Chapter on Recommendations.

(3) Child or parents become convinced that he will not be 'successful'

When an analysis of the educational system in Kenya at the primary level is undertaken, inevitably the problem of the Certificate of Primary Education has to be considered. Payment of fees, attitudes of parents and pupils, conditions at home, fear of realisation of ultimate 'failure', how the

curriculum is taught, all these things and more bring one to the C.P.E. and its use as a means of selecting those children who will be fortunate enough to get to government maintained secondary schools.

More will be said about this later in the Chapter. Here it is enough to point out that parents and students worry about 'failing' because they see primary education merely as a stepping-stone to secondary education and ultimately a 'good job'. To them it has little or no value apart from this. Teachers and schools inevitably reflect this attitude in their assessment of a student's progress. This assessment is related to the progress he is making on the road to a good C.P.E. If his progress by this measurement is unsatisfactory the child at a very early age is marked down as a 'failure'. There is no 'self-measurement' in all this, i.e. attempting to find out how well the pupil is doing compared to his best self.

"No one can do better than his best, all that comparing him with someone else does is to make him unhappy, insecure and envious...."(106)

The student is labelled a failure because he will

(106) Rowe, A. "Human Beings, Class and Education", in D. Rubinstein (ed) "Education for Democracy", second edition 1972. P.24/25.

not get a good C.P.E. and gain admission to a government secondary school. He may well pass C.P.E. but this is regarded as of no value as a leaving certificate. It means nothing to him or his parents for nowadays jobs are rarely available for a C.P.E. leaver, or at least the sort of jobs he is aspiring to. The jobs that may be available he feels he could probably have got anyway without the expense and effort of attending school, and he places little value on whatever he has learnt at school for did it not aim at one single goal?

It might be argued that this is a result of the attitudes of students and parents and this attitude decides in fact what is taught in schools. That it is not the fault of the educational system, but what came first in Kenya its present system of education or the parents' attitude to it? In fact the system of education as it developed in the colonial period was seen by Africans and others as a system of selection designed to produce the African clerks and teachers, etc. that were needed by the Colonial Administration. By obtaining a series of certificates a man could escape from rural poverty into the new urban world of comparative wealth and prestige. The African was often castigated for this attitude later. The "Binns Report" 1952 recommended that the exam-ridden system of education be changed so as to help destroy the African's desire for

certificates leading to clerical jobs. Whilst deploring this attitude however the report did place much of the blame for this on educators in Kenya. (107)

Since Independence the situation has not changed nor have attitudes. For children and parents, education is a way of winning certificates leading to a good career. The route is paved with examinations which are highly competitive in that only the top few are taken for further education e.g. after C.P.B. or K.J.S.E. or the East African Certificate at 'O' or 'A' level. Job opportunities are shrinking after each level, pressure on places is increasing as the system expands most rapidly at the bottom, and the standards demanded become higher and higher. In such a situation how else can students and parents be expected to view education.

The child may have worked hard and well, he may have extended himself fully along a few avenues of development (although other abilities of his have probably been neglected or ignored) yet his self-esteem is damaged, perhaps his potential is unfulfilled, and he ends up frustrated. He is branded and brands himself a failure.

(107) Colonial Office and Nuffield Foundation, "A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa". Colonial Office, 1952. P.75.

(4) Pregnancy

A few girls, as reported complained that they became pregnant by their teachers but it is not contended here that teachers are largely responsible for these pregnancies. It is sufficient to say the obvious in the case of teachers, i.e. that they are abusing the trust of pupils, parents and the community when such incidents take place.

The problem of pregnancies is obviously a serious one when such a large percentage 40.8, of girls give such a reason for prematurely leaving school. What is the true figure for those interviewed? Many did not disclose the true reason for leaving and it was discovered later. How many more really left for that reason?

[100] See a study, "The Needs and Social Organization of the Suburban Working Woman, October, 1972, p. 27/28.

CHAPTER VII

RECOMMENDATIONS

(A) REMEDIES FOR EXOGENOUS CAUSES

(1) Parents' Attitudes

In the long-run parents will only change their attitude to education either when they themselves have received an education, or if the benefits of education are apparent, or made apparent to them. It is difficult to imagine a situation in the short-run where parents will be prepared to pay for schooling with little regard for the economic benefits in the way of improved career prospects for their children. In the developed countries of the world parents are still very concerned with the career opportunities that education opens up. (Despite the fact that in the U.S.A. a recent study seems to show that schooling makes little significant difference in this respect).⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ What Kenya could do is attempt to convince both children and parents that besides offering better opportunities for some children in the obvious way that it offers them the chance to get a 'white-collar' job, education enables children to improve their lives by increasing their

(108) Bane & Jencks, "The Schools and Equal Opportunity" Saturday Evening Review, October, 1972. P.37/42.

ability to help themselves. They must be helped to see that because schooling makes the child dissatisfied with his poor rural environment this does not necessarily have to leave him frustrated and a mis-fit. His dissatisfaction can be channelled, with help possibly from developmental agencies, into informed attempts to lift himself up almost by his own bootstraps.

Only when primary education is free is it likely that most parents will allow their children to go to school although job opportunities are limited. Even then compulsion will be necessary in rural areas as parents will want the child to help on the family land.

The mention of the help of developmental agencies above was intended to reinforce an important theme recurrent in this thesis, that none of the remedies suggested will be of much help in reducing premature withdrawal without serious work being undertaken to develop the rural economy. A theme that will be returned to and expanded in this work. Any campaign launched to encourage parents and children to join and remain in a school will have to emphasise the importance of schooling for girls. There is still a tendency apparent from the survey that education for girls is regarded as a luxury by many people including some of the girls. The wastage figures for 1970-71 show

that a bigger percent of girls withdraw than boys after standard One⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ which was the pattern of previous years. This attitude is reflected in the enrolment figures for primary schools in 1971 when a total of 881,007 boys were enrolled and only 644,491 girls (42%)⁽¹¹⁰⁾ despite the fact that according to population figures the sexes are about equal in numbers⁽¹¹¹⁾. It hardly needs arguing that women are playing a vital role in national development in all countries, and that their influence on their children and therefore a nation's children is often paramount. In a child's formative years, which increasingly we are becoming aware are the most important ones, the mother is usually the moulder of a child's attitudes and character. The African tradition of a woman confined to her home is now outmoded. Although there is still a tendency even among educated African men to regard education of girls as a threat to their supremacy in the home and therefore to be discouraged or limited.

(109) Calculated from Ministry of Education Annual Reports 1970 and 1971.

(109) Pages 75/76.

(110) Ministry of Education. Op.cit. 1971. P.26.

(111) Statistical Abstract. Op.cit. 1971. P.16.

(2) Community Attitudes

The attitude of a community or tribe will also have to be changed by a public campaign designed to show them that by standing still they are in fact falling behind their fellow countrymen. One of the few Masai interviewed about premature withdrawals was himself an undergraduate. He said that he was looked down upon by his people who still admire the cattle-owning warrior. They are unaware of, or indifferent to, the fact that economically and politically they are at an increasing disadvantage in a developing country like Kenya.

It is not intended to imply in the foregoing that Kenya is not trying to convince its people of the value of education. The Government has steadily pursued a policy to this end, what is suggested is that it should be intensified and go hand in hand with the other policies suggested in this Chapter. In the survey 72% of the teachers, headmasters and chiefs interviewed advocated such a campaign, whilst 78% of them also suggested regular parent/teacher meetings to follow-up that campaign once children have enrolled in school.

(3) Large Families

The problem of large families is a serious one for many Kenyans and not less for the Government, for with an

estimated rate of growth of 3.3%⁽¹¹²⁾, Kenya's development plans are doomed to failure unless the campaign for family planning is successful. A possible intensification of this campaign is all that can be suggested here.

(4) Pregnancy

What remedies can be applied here? Possibly sex education in schools combined with moral education. The health, careers and future lives of these girls are all put into jeopardy by such early pregnancies. The moral education should also of course aim at the boys to remove the idea that girls are 'fair game'. Perhaps the traditional mores are breaking down and are not being replaced by any recognisable codes of conduct. Children are being taught the three 'Rs' and little else at school, and because of their 'education' the home is losing its hold on them.

To strengthen the plea for action in this area a quotation from one girl might serve:

"I became pregnant by my teacher. My parents forced me to marry him and now life is not worth living".

(112) Ibid. P.12.

(B) REMEDIES FOR ENDOGENOUS FACTORS

(1) The Curriculum

A feeling of failure causes many withdrawals from primary school. It is contended here most strongly that no child should be made to feel a failure in the eyes of his school teacher, relatives, friends and more important in his own eyes. In order to avoid this secondary school entry should not be made the criterion of success or failure in Kenya primary schools. A curriculum and allied certificate must be devised, or a structure established, that does not use secondary school entry as the goal of primary school work. At present however, Kenya cannot afford to allow more than a limited number of students to continue beyond primary level, and in any case the 'carrot' of secondary school entry may be necessary to induce students to enrol and parents to pay their fees for primary school. What is needed though is a curriculum that prepares a student more fittingly for his future life, which in most cases means and will continue to mean for many years to come, life in the rural sector. (113)

There has been much argument in the past amongst educational planners about whether children should be

(113) I.L.O. Op.cit. P.3.

taught agriculture and vocational skills in primary schools. In this study of the students who answered the relevant question on the questionnaire 58.2% said that looking back they would prefer to have learnt such things as carpentry or motor repairs etc. The teachers who were questioned were 100% unanimous in recommending vocational work in schools so that children might earn a living by use of them instead of being unemployed when they leave school.

Nonetheless it is doubtful whether parents and new students would accept such a programme. They look to education to lift them out of the grind of the rural way of life, and would regard vocational training as a plot to hold them back. It is not that such suggestions entirely ignore the needs of rural areas, but that they ignore what parents want from schools.

"To establish special schools for rural children, where the curriculum deliberately attempts to keep them on the land, is to thwart their hopes and ambitions for their children and for their own old age". (114)

A hundred teacher trainees were asked during the course of this study whether they thought parents and children would accept such a curriculum and they were unani-

(114) Griffiths, V.L. "Fundamentals of Educational Planning", Unesco No. 7. 1968. P.16.

mous that it would be a completely unacceptable programme. These trainees are in close contact with the people of the rural areas from where most of them come themselves, they are well aware therefore of the attitudes and hopes of parents in Kenya.

This is all very understandable when one considers the origins of modern schools in Kenya which were introduced by missions, and the colonial government, to skim-off the brightest students into 'white-collar' jobs in the administration. Parents still look for the same 'benefits'.

A second approach to this problem of a suitable curriculum is to suggest that rural schools should follow much the same syllabus as town schools and pupils be given an equal chance to join secondary schools, but rural science and vocational skills should be taught as alternatives to regular items in the syllabus. This would help those who failed to get "white-collar" jobs. Where this has been tried however it has failed.

"One country.....has completely abandoned it after a trial of about a decade. In another, no more than 2% of school leavers in a group of rural schools, teaching rural science, were found to go back voluntarily to farming".⁽¹¹⁵⁾

(115) Griffiths, V.L. Op.cit. P.17.

(14) It is also wasteful to give all a rural education or agricultural training if not all are going into agriculture. Also it is difficult to provide suitable teachers for this work. Kenya finds it difficult at present to provide enough primary school teachers fully competent to teach the core subjects let alone agriculture or vocational subjects. It is also futile to blame schools for the flow of youth to the towns. It is education as such that widens youths' horizons, not particular lessons. They might be taught respect for agriculture and physical labour but "the function of education in general and the appeal of schooling for the individual is that it supplies an escape from physical labour". (116)

What then should primary schools provide? The first essential would seem to be functional literacy, followed by some skills and attitudes relevant to their future lives. V.L. Griffiths has suggested the following objectives for rural education to go hand in hand with a full-scale development programme:-

Skills:

- (a) reading - e.g. labels and instructions
- (b) writing - e.g. for advice and keeping records
- (c) calculating - e.g. yields and keeping accounts

(116) Anderson, C.A. Fundamentals of Educational Planning. Unesco no. 5, 1967. P.31.

(d) Handiness - for all the odd-jobs in home and farm.

Knowledge and Understanding:

(a) of change (some appreciation of the fact that the modern world is one of continuing and rapid change, and that change once and for all is not enough)

(b) of economics (some understanding of price movements, and the relationship of taxes to services)

(c) of science (an elementary insight into scientific method)

(d) of hygiene and food⁽¹¹⁷⁾

He is supported in this approach to the problem of primary education by A. Calloway⁽¹¹⁸⁾, M. Wolfe⁽¹¹⁹⁾ and J. Versluys⁽¹²⁰⁾ among many others.

Adding to the quantity of factual knowledge is not the problem, but changing the quality of thinking very much, is. What is also important is that the above attitudes and

(117) Griffiths, V.L. Op.cit. P.22.

(118) Calloway, A. "Fundamentals of Educational Planning", Unesco. 19

(119) Wolfe, M. "Prospects in Education", no. 2, 1969, P.16.

(120) Versluys, J.D.N. Prospects in Education, no. 2. 1969. P.28.

understandings should not be taught through adding to the curriculum isolated subjects such as agriculture, but through making sure that all the teaching is aimed at propagating these ideas and attitudes. In this way they will become part of a student's make-up and thinking.

The practical difficulties of introducing such changes in Kenya quickly and effectively are fairly obvious. The present teaching staff for a start could hardly be expected to take the initiative in this, and would need considerable assistance and possibly re-training to achieve the ideal, but Kenya could use the present curriculum, the New Primary Approach, which is an attempt to move in this direction at least in some subjects. The syllabuses of all subjects should be reviewed, and a team of experts established to prepare teachers handbooks making suggestions in detail for new ways of approaching the material. They could be helped in this by Inspectors, the Kenya Institute of Education, and by in-service courses for primary teachers. None of this will be effective however until the hold of the Certificate of Primary Education (is broken) on primary schooling in Kenya. As mentioned in Chapter VI the mission on curriculum development in Kenya 1972 found that the NPA held much promise for primary schooling in Kenya but teaching was dominated by the drive to pass C.P.E. sufficiently well to enter a government-maintained secondary

school. The multiple choice tests in preparation for the examination. They also found that repetition pays because

(2) The Problem of Secondary Selection

As we have seen success in C.P.E. and by that is meant not passing, but passing so well as to secure a place in a government-maintained secondary school, is all important for a child's future.

"If he passes well and enters a government secondary school he has a good chance of ultimately entering a job where his income may reach 10,20, or even as much as 100 times the national average. But if he fails, his lifetime earnings may not amount to much more than those of someone with no formal education". (121)

With around 180,000 candidates the problems of marking are enormous and have been solved by use of a computer. Of necessity this means the use of 'objective testing' where 25% correct answers can be obtained by luck. (122) No longhand is used in the examination and thus students ability in written English has suffered. Both Somerset and King have found that teaching in Standards VI and VII suffers enormously because these classes are dominated by students and repeaters who want to do nothing but

(121) I.L.O. Op.cit. P.517.

(122) Ibid & King. Op.cit.

practice the multiple choice tests in preparation for the examination. They also found that repetition pays because students can improve their scores by practice.

Non-examined subjects like Swahili and Handicrafts or agriculture are in practice erased from the timetable to continue this practising. 'Guides' to the examination are sometimes preferred to teachers, and where a school makes heavy use of them the results improve. King found evidence that repeating was much more rife than Ministry of Education statistics lead one to believe, and is supported in this by Somerset and the mission on curriculum development. (123)

All these evils stem from an examination that probably does not even do the job it has been given efficiently. For although no study has yet been completed that followed through a group of students to see how they performed in secondary schools, what work there has been suggests that it does not select well. (124)

"What is needed is to put an end to the Certificate's being the sole arbiter of a child's educational

(123) Bessey Report, Op.cit. P.212.

(124) I.L.O. Op.cit. P.519.

destiny". (125)

What could be devised to take the place of C.P.E? Many proposals have been made including giving children two examinations, one a terminal one after the primary cycle, and the other used to select those most suitable for secondary schooling. This would not seem to solve any problems though as most students would still insist on taking both, and would expect the same sort of coaching for the selection examination with all the concomittant evils.

The I.L.O. team in 1972 recommended changes to try to eliminate the many faults of the present system. Simply they proposed a basic cycle of education lasting 8 or 9 years, that is through the present primary cycle and into the two first years of secondary school. In these later two years more time would be given to prevocational work to cater for the majority of students who would be leaving school to find work. They would also concentrate on developing "basic skills, reasoning skills and practical skills". (126)

They then proposed a fairly complicated scheme of quotas for secondary school places for the different

(125) Ibid. P.520.

(126) I.L.O. Op.cit. P.243.

schools in Kenya, and students would sit a multiple-choice examination which would decide their fate. They would have been tested continuously during their school careers to determine those worthy to go on with formal education. Also ample provision of 'second chances' for students would be made allowing late entry to the upper secondary streams.

The proposal seems excessively complicated, and it is contended here that not only must it work well, it must be seen by both pupils and parents to be working both well and fairly.

The suggestion to extend schooling into the first two years of secondary school has some merit in that it does mean that when students leave they will be more or less of employable age, and selection should be more accurate because students are chosen later.

What is needed in Kenya is a selection test so devised that not only does it select those best suited for secondary work and beyond, but which encourages the skills, knowledge and attitudes needed by all school-leavers. It must give no advantage to repeaters, and so must not allow students to improve their grades by practice as can be done at present. (127)

Furthermore, pupils must have birth certificates so that none of them can gain an advantage because they are competing in the same class with younger children.

Such a test by eliminating repetition and a sense of failure in students at all stages of primary schooling, would go a long way towards eliminating premature withdrawal.

It will not be easy to devise a test of this kind but it probably can be done. Anderson has argued strongly for such a test at the end of a basically primary cycle of seven years, a testing that is of "basic skills and cultural understanding" followed by two more years of schooling and another examination to be combined with the results of the first examination and used as the means of selection for an intensive secondary course. (128)

Professor Indire has also argued for an improved test at the end of the primary cycle and has expressed confidence that one can be devised for local use. (129)

The mission on curriculum development urged that a research and Development Unit be set up in the Examination Section

(128) Anderson, J. Institute for Development Studies, Staff paper no. 5, 1970. Appendix A. P.1.

(129) Indire, F. "Daily Nation", Feb. 27th, 1973. P.16.

of the Ministry of Education to:

".....to experiment with scholastic aptitude tests with a view to their inclusion in the battery of selection tests. It would be necessary to validate such tests for Kenya, but since aptitude tests, largely derived from American models, have for some time been used in West Africa and Zambia it should not be necessary to spend years on "longitudinal research" before adapting and adopting tests of which the validity have been proved elsewhere".⁽¹³⁰⁾

H.C.A. Somerset has been experimenting to devise such a test for Kenya schools but the results of his efforts have not been published so far.⁽¹³¹⁾

In the meantime however a start must be made to change the system at present in operation. This might be done by using course work marks from the whole of a child's school career to partly determine whether or not he is amongst those best suited to go on to secondary school. The mission on curriculum development have recommended such a proceeding. Professor Indire has also strongly advocated

(130) Ministry of Education Curriculum Development, P.133.

(131) King, K. Op.cit. P.26/27.

such a step. (132) This would mean allowing a percentage of marks awarded to come from school assessments. This system has obvious dangers and would put a great strain on teachers as Anderson rightly maintains (133). Nonetheless it could be tried. Teachers would have to be provided with suitable forms for assessing pupils and they would have to be trained to evaluate a student's work along the right lines. If in the beginning only a small percentage of the total marks allocated could be awarded in this way no great harm would be done, and a great deal of good might accrue. These assessments could be applied in areas of a student's learning where the kind of "developmental skills" outlined by Griffiths might be assessed. In this way some of the work in primary schools that is at present ignored so as to concentrate on C.P.E. papers could be given a useful place in the curriculum. If the scheme worked well the percentage of marks allocated to school assessments might be increased.

If such a test as described is introduced and/or course work assessment successfully introduced, the beneficial results would enable primary schooling in Kenya to be transformed. It would then be unprofitable to repeat a standard, sterile teaching and rote-learning could be elim-

(132) Indire, F. Op.cit. P.16.

(133) Anderson, J. Op.cit. Appendix A. P.2.

inated, and new methods could be introduced without an inhibiting 'back-wash' effect from the terminal examination ruining all attempts to improve learning at the primary level. Teachers would be able to widen the scope of their teaching and stimulate their pupils on an individual basis and according to each individual's abilities and interests. The idea of 'failure' could be removed because the work done at primary level could become valuable for itself, and students and parents could be led to appreciate this. The numbers of premature withdrawals in such a situation could not but fall off.

(3) Teachers and Teaching Methods

Until changes are made on the lines suggested above no significant improvement can be made in the quality of teaching and the methods used in Kenya Primary Schools.

As we have seen C.P.E. so inhibits teaching that its effects reach down even to nursery schools.

Once changes are made however new methods must be promoted with the emphasis on learning rather than teacher's instruction. The role of the primary school should be to get children to accept learning as a pleasure. They should want to learn because they value knowledge.

They must also be regarded as individuals at diff-

erent stages of intellectual, social and physical development. The teacher should pay attention to their individual strengths and weaknesses which 'traditional' lessons do not allow. The 'traditional' lesson tends to be aimed at a group in one class, either the average members or the brighter children. The result is boredom or frustration for some, and this may lead to withdrawal.

The modern primary school must cater for the creative needs of children and encourage each one to make his own peculiar contribution to the work of the group. It should also demonstrate to each child and to the group that everyone has something of value to contribute, and that these contributions cannot necessarily be graded in order of merit, nor should they be.

The child and the group must be encouraged to explore the world around them, as is natural for children anyway, the results of this exploration should be recorded and assessed by children themselves guided by the teacher. Primary schools need to provide a vast array of materials for children to use, collect and analyse. Many of these materials are comparatively cheap or can be collected by the children themselves from the local area.

A good and more detailed account of the type of

learning process that should take place in primary schools and that could take place in those in Kenya was prepared in an essay in the recommendations of the mission on curriculum development. (134) Here it is sufficient to quote a general aim for primary education from their report:-

"The teachers should be concerned not so much with total knowledge of 12 or more subjects but with creating a balanced programme involving seven aspects of education namely:

moral

literary and linguistic

mathematical and scientific

creative

aesthetic

practical skills

physical development".

What is also of great important is that the school should not aim to compare one child with another, but only to compare what he has just achieved with what he achieved previously. Equally important is that "as well as producing children who are capable of working at their own intellectual level, the school must give emphasis to the development of the child in other fields - self-confidence,

(134) Bessey Mission. Op.cit. Pages 207/9.

initiative, responsibility, respect and understanding for others....."(135)

These methods will be difficult for teachers to introduce at first and again they will need help to bring such changes about. Help that is from the Kenya Institute of Education, from the Ministry of Education through its various officers, and in-service training in the new methods. They are being used successfully outside Kenya and can be used to great advantage here, even though their introduction may have to be slow at first and perhaps limited to a few carefully chosen areas. As the Bessey Mission has stated though the New Primary Approach can be used to introduce these methods successfully if the bad effects of C.P.E. are eliminated. (136)

(4) Facilities at School

If modern methods are to be introduced it is essential that facilities at schools are improved and changed too. What is needed is plenty of books aimed at many levels of attainment, art materials, craftwork tools, mathematical materials and science equipment.

(135) Mitchell, J. "Freedom in the Junior School" in Bernsten, D. (ed.) "Education for Democracy" 1972. P.100.

(136) Bessey Mission, Op.cit. P.39.

These materials etc. will be used by the children at different times, different that is for each child perhaps. The classroom will thus not present a regimented appearance at all times with rows of desks all facing the teacher who is the fountain of knowledge. In fact the whole school will lose its factory like appearance and children will be busy in every part of it, and completely outside it at times.

This means replanning school design for new schools and replanning the use of the total school environment for old ones. It can be done.

In such an environment as these methods and the new use of facilities will provide, children will enjoy school, they will not feel bored or regimented, or that what is happening that is foreign to them and has no relationship to the real world that they know outside. Any tendency on their part to escape from an aliene world, that previously they found tiring, difficult or destructive of self-confidence and esteem, will fall away and in large measure should disappear.

Children who learn in such an environment can go on from primary school ready to benefit to the full from secondary, technical, or even vocational training.

The others, probably the majority, who will leave school at the end of the primary cycle, will return of necessity to the rural sector with interests, attitudes and above-all the self-confidence to help them promote their own welfare and that of their community, given any kind of a chance.

(4) Overcoming the Rural Sector

(5) A Campaign

If such changes are made in primary education, parents and children in Kenya may come to place a high value on education, even if the primary cycle is all that a child will go through. This will then reduce withdrawals considerably, for secondary school places will not be the only goal of families. But this will only happen if a campaign is launched to help parents and children to see what the schools have to offer. The campaign will point out the benefits of functional literacy, e.g. it could quote the South American miner who having been through a functional literacy course said "before it was as though I were not alive". (137)

As time passes and job opportunities fail to keep

(137) Magueres, C. "La Promotion Technique du Travailleur Analphabete. 1966. P.141.

pace with the expansion of the educational system the obvious rewards to education will diminish, and it will be more and more difficult to convince parents that the cost of schooling is not excessive.

(6) Developing the Rural Sector

The one essential factor that will ensure the success or failure of such a campaign is the need to develop the rural economy. Parents and children must see that returns to effort in the rural areas is on a par with those in the urban sector. "Any good primary school will widen a child's horizons and create expectations that primitive farming cannot fulfil. The social framework of agriculture must be modernised at the same time".⁽¹³⁸⁾ Nothing else will convince them of the need to educate their children if secondary places are not available. They would be better-off perhaps investing their money in developing their land rather than spending it on school fees only to produce an 'unemployed' child. Who could ever convince them of "the value of education for its own sake"? Which parent anywhere in the world believes that this is good enough for his child? People in positions of privilege all over the world buy a privileged education for

(138) Lewis, W.A. "Readings in the Economics of Education". UNESCO, 1971. P.137.

their children to ensure them a position in society and a good career. Education may offer other rewards but they come a very poor second in a competitive system. "he is to face parents and urge them to send their children to primary school if there is little hope of a secondary place, only to be asked "But sir, where does your child go to school?"

The drift to the town seems inevitable in all countries and seems unlikely to be stopped.⁽¹³⁹⁾ Nor is it desirable to stop it provided that opportunities exist in the towns for the immigrants. But until that stage arrives in Kenya young people will have to see a good future on the land if they are to be kept there.

If this is not done education that offers little or no hope of escape from the rural sector will not attract, nor will it hold students.

Already there may be signs not only that premature withdrawal is increasing but that enrolment may be falling off. In Kisii District 113 classes had become uneconomical to run because of poor enrolment, and 229 teachers are to lose their jobs.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

(139) Toffler, A. "Future Shock", *Op.cit.* P.81.

(140) Muhoro, J.G. Secretary of the Teachers Service Commission reported in the East African Standard 27th Feb., 1973. P.5.

(7) Conclusion

The findings of this study have been that the main causes of withdrawal from primary schools in Kenya are results of failures in the educational system itself, and necessarily general recommendations have been made to eliminate these causes. At present we have the sad and largely unnecessary situation where a general description of educational systems in developing countries fits Kenya exactly. V.L. Griffiths wrote this description of existing conditions at large in 1968:-

"The teacher will usually have had some secondary education but will not be the cream of his generation. Nor is he often brought into touch with progressive influences. Even if the local inspector of schools is progressive, his visits will be infrequent....The kind of teaching in the school is of crucial importance. On the whole, it tends to stress learning for repetition and for examinations rather than learning for understanding and for use in varied circumstances. Syllabuses are prepared by a central authority, and the teacher partly, from customary attitudes to authority, partly from lack of confidence, does not like to deviate much from what is suggested. Reference books for the teacher are few, and textbooks, so far as they exist are not sufficient to offer alternative courses. Other teaching aids and practical apparatus are almost non-existent.

The criterion of good learning is reproduction in the examination". (141)

These are some of the curses of primary education in Kenya today that lead to many evils including premature withdrawal, and ironically the basic cause is excessive competition at all levels including primary school. This situation is ironical when one remembers one of the recommendations of the Kenya Commission on Education 1964, which having noted and regretted that competition in Kenya schools existed "to an astonishing degree", went on to say that one of the objectives of education in Kenya should be to lessen this competition because:

"An excessively competitive spirit in our schools is incompatible with our traditional beliefs and must be restrained. Every young person coming from our schools must be made to realise that he has a valuable part to play in the national life". (142)

If fact competition has intensified since that report was published and is ruining primary education in Kenya, for children are falling out of the race branded 'failed this' or 'failed that'.

(141) Griffiths, V.L. Op.cit. P.25/26.

(142) Kenya Education Commission Report 1964, P.25.

"We must make a determined effort to blunt the edge of competition, for we cannot build a nation out of 'failures'." (143)

(1) A limited breakdown into

This study was a random survey that was limited by lack of resources limited by and large to the more populous and accessible areas of Kenya. With the time and resources available it was impossible to administer the questionnaire to ex-students in the more remote areas, although a few nomadic Masai and Samburu were interviewed. Finding students who have withdrawn from primary schools is a difficult and time-consuming task if one goes out into the rural areas as was done in this study. There is need in Kenya for more extensive and intensive research, especially in the more remote areas where many nomadic peoples are found. Peoples whose problems and attitudes will probably be different from those of people in the settled and more populous areas. Or they may have the same problems and attitudes but with different stress and importance for the purposes of the study. A quite different pattern of causes of withdrawal may also emerge and different remedies be needed - different in kind or emphasis.

(143) Ibid. P.24.

CHAPTER VIII

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER
RESEARCH

(1) A Detailed Breakdown into Provinces and Local Areas

(2) This study was a random survey that was by sheer lack of resources limited by and large to the more populous and accessible areas of Kenya. With the time and resources available it was impossible to administer the questionnaire to ex-students in the more remote areas, although a few nomadic Maasai and Samburu were interviewed. Finding students who have withdrawn from primary schools is a difficult and time-consuming task if one goes out into the rural areas as was done in this study. There is need in Kenya for more extensive and intensive research, especially in the more remote areas where many nomadic peoples are found. Peoples whose problems and attitudes will probably be different from those of people in the settled and more populous areas. Or they may have the same problems and attitudes but with different stress and importance for the purposes of the study. A quite different pattern of causes of withdrawal may thus emerge and different remedies be needed - different in kind or emphasis.

Such a study or series of studies might best be

carried out at a micro level with ex-students from particular schools being traced, and from schools in particular locations, like the study referred to in Chapter III taking place in Ethiopia.

(2) Deeper and More Detailed Research

What is most needed perhaps is a study where possible correlations between a large variety of factors should be looked for. A suggested list using the results of the other studies and this study in Kenya would include

- the qualifications of teachers,
- facilities at school,
- teaching methods and materials,
- staff attendance,
- distance to staff housing,
- teacher/student ratios,
- the school-community relationships,
- school organisation and administration,
- age and status of the school,
- socio-economic status of the family,
- family and communities interest in education,
- amount of domestic work done by child,
- conditions at home,
- diet and health of children,

the educational background of parents,
the participation are otherwise in pre-
primary schooling.

It might be useful to undertake pilot schemes
which would vary many of these possible influences to see
their effects on students.

What is also needed is research to discover if
special groups have special withdrawal problems in areas
where tribal mixing has taken place, or where some have a
special language problem. We also need to know if student
or parental choice of school programmes could help.

If some of the remedies suggested in this study are
to be brought into effect it would be of value to know
what they are likely to cost, and if they are too expensive
in the short-run, whether cheaper alternatives could be
introduced as temporary measures.

Research on a provincial basis must also be carried
out, that is a check must be kept to see that unexpected
rates of withdrawal do not occur on a purely local or
provincial basis. Statistics must be kept of withdrawals
rates in schools and areas and should be part of the inform-
ation collected by the Ministry of Education so that re-

searchers can watch these rates, and trace cohorts through a school etc. They could also discover if there is an inverse correlation between withdrawals and average rates of enrolment, as has been suggested. (144)

What we need to know also is what parents expect from school. Everyone is convinced that the answer to this question is known, but educational planners must be certain of the facts based on real evidence, on a local and national basis.

What is needed also is evidence as to whether it is best to issue textbooks and keep them at school to prolong their lives, or to make parents buy them and thus let children have the use of them at home.

We need to investigate the relation between poor attendance, repetition and withdrawals, and to see if in fact repeaters come from those who attend well.

The families of withdrawers should be compared with the families of the 'stay-ins' who have the same incomes, for how do we explain the fact that some poor students

(144) Anderson, C.A. "The Social Context of Educational Planning", Fundamentals of Educational Planning, No. 5. IIEP 1967. P.14.

struggle on and some do not? (145)

What is the difference between 'within-year' withdrawers and 'between-year' withdrawers. Is the former due to non-school factors like farming peak periods and the latter to other factors? Or is there no important difference between the two?

Is there a general language problem posed by the use of English as the eventual major language of learning?

It would also be of value to know the probable effect on the problem of withdrawals of free schooling and free books. Would it solve the problem., for in Japan it was 25 years after the introduction of compulsory education before the problem of withdrawals was eradicated. (146)

One further point that needs investigation is whether courses in adult education should include instruction in how to help children through school?

In addition statistics must be kept on withdrawals

(145) Cervantes, L.F. "The Drop-out: causes and cures". 1965. P.102.

(146) Koizumi, K. & Amano, I. "The Process of Eradicating Wastage in Primary Education: Japan's experience "Research Bulletin of the National Institute for Education Research. 1976. P.96.

by all schools and should be collated and acted upon at the national level.

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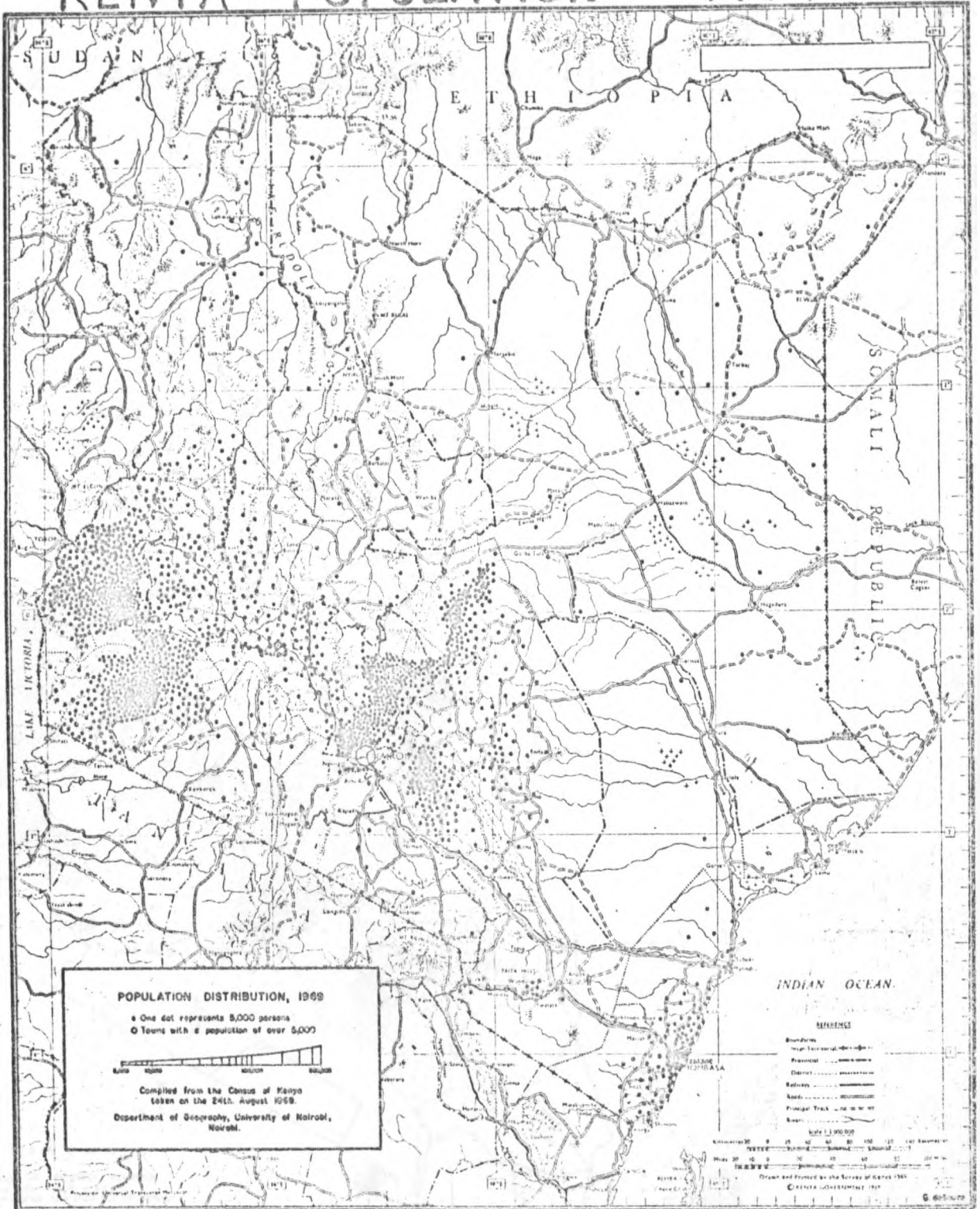
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KENYA POPULATION - 1969

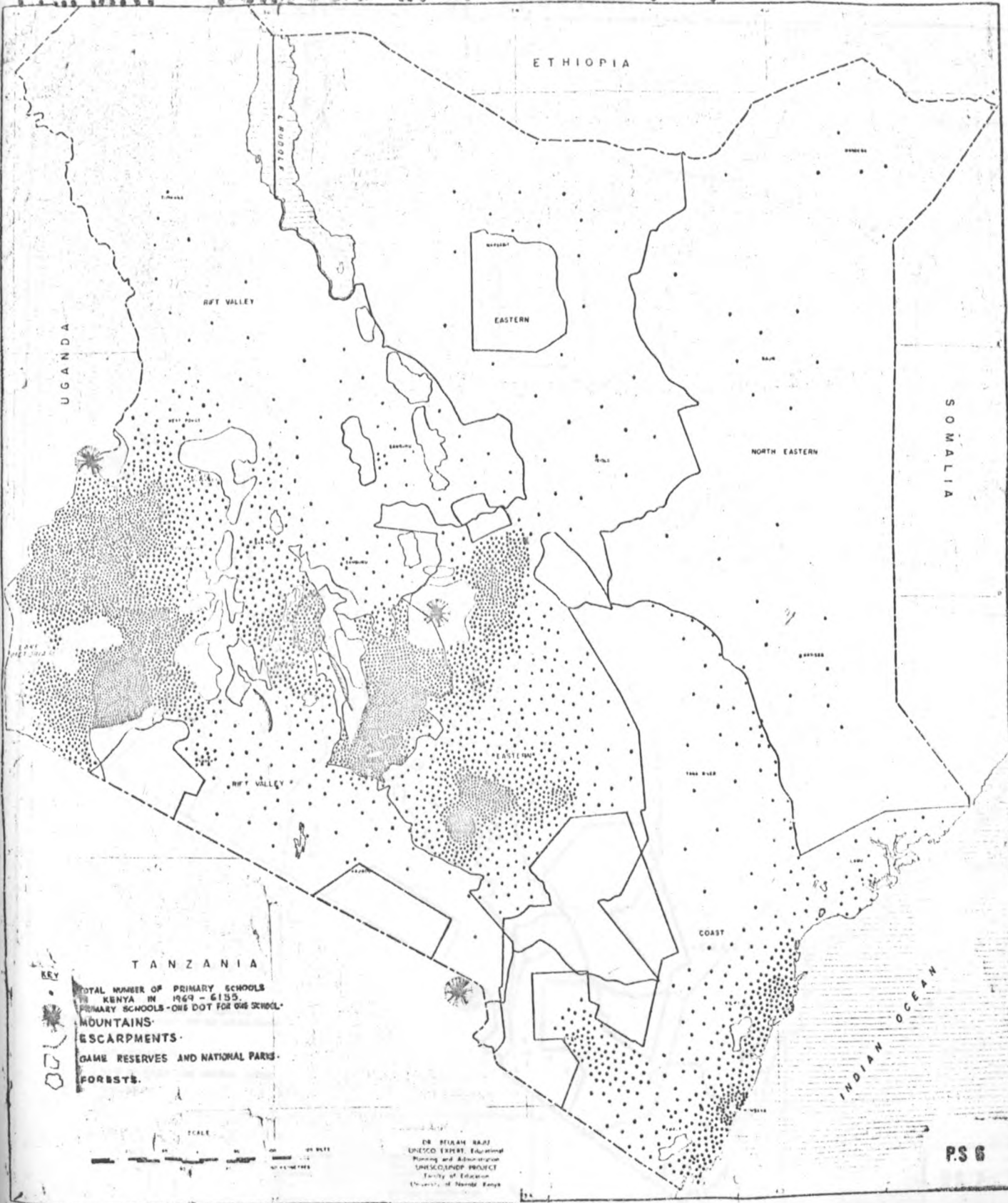
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POPULATION ESTIMATES, 1969
 (1969 estimates are based on a 1961 census and a number of surveys)

KENYA POPULATION - 1969

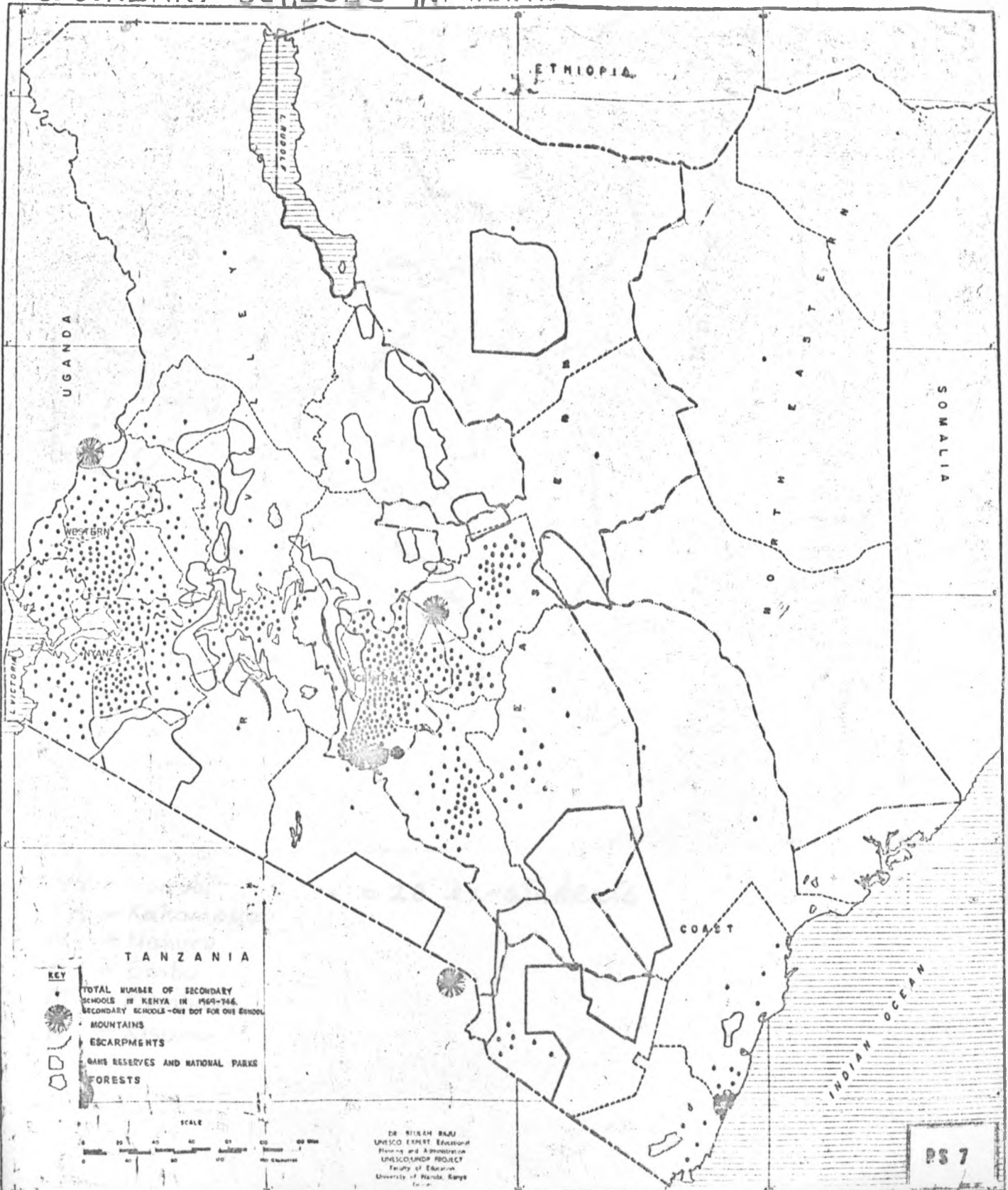


PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN KENYA - 1969



Appendix III

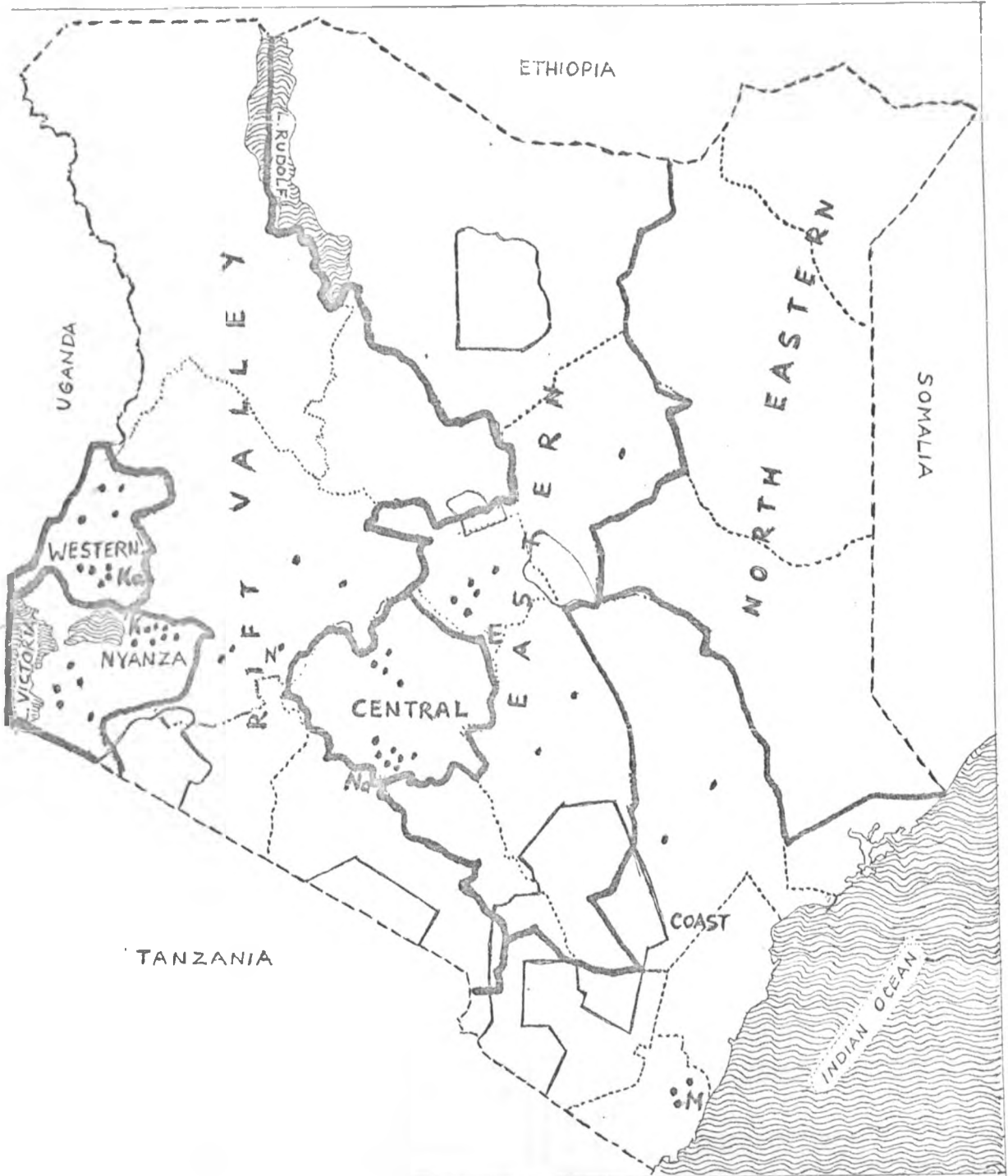
SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN KENYA-1969



Survey Area

Appendix IV

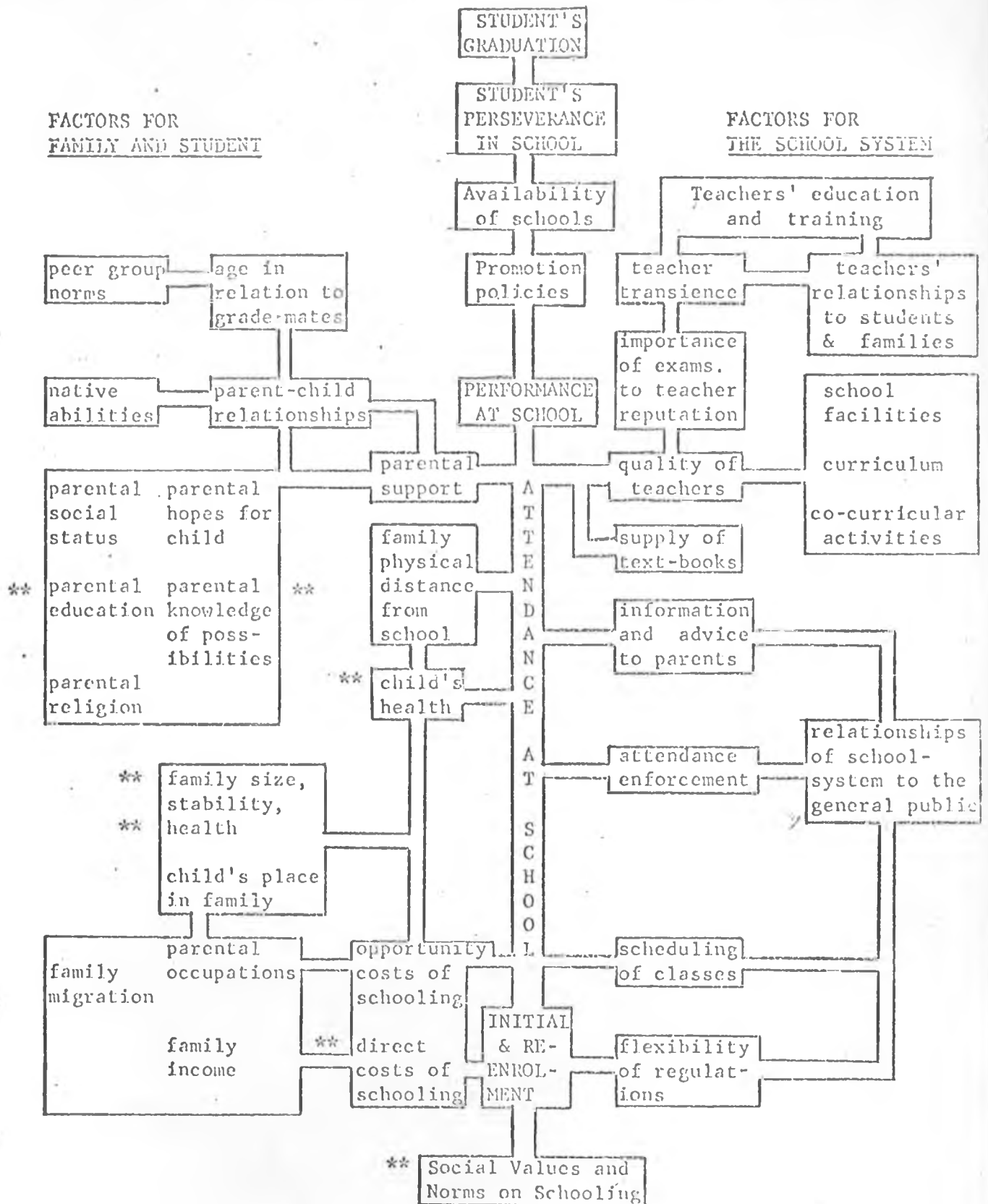
KENYA



- Na - Nairobi
- Ka - Kakamega
- N - Nakuru
- E - Embu
- M - Mombasa
- K - Kisumu

• = 20 ex-students

Diagram of the determinants of perseverance and dropout in school. (147)



** : non-school factors susceptible to intervention by the government.
 (147)Oxenham, J.C.P. Op.Cit.