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Implementing Educational Policies in Kenya

G. S. Eshiwani

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Implementing Educational Policies in Kenya

G. S. Eshiwani

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FOREWORD

The decades of the 1960s and 1970s witnessed dramatic quantitative growth in African education systems. Beyond expanding educational places, many African countries pronounced intentions to "reform" their educational systems, by adjusting the length of education cycles, altering the terms of access to educational opportunity, changing the curriculum content, or otherwise attempting to link the provision of education and training more closely to perceived requirements for national socio-economic development. Strong economic growth performances of most African economies encouraged optimistic perceptions of the ability of governments to fulfill educational aspirations which were set forth in educational policy pronouncements.

Sadly, the adverse economic conditions of the 1980s, combined with population growth rates which are among the highest in the world meant that by the early 1980s, education enrollment growth stalled and the quality of education at all levels was widely regarded as having deteriorated. In recognition of the emerging crisis in African education, the World Bank undertook a major review to diagnose the problems of erosion of quality and stagnation of enrollments. Emerging from that work was a policy study, Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization, and Expansion, which was issued in 1988. That study does not prescribe one set of education policies for all of Sub-Saharan Africa. Rather, it presents a framework within which countries may formulate strategies tailored to their own needs and circumstances. In fact, a central point which is stressed in the study is the need for each country to develop its own country-specific education strategy and policies, taking into account the country's unique circumstances, resource endowment and national cultural heritage.

The crucial role of national strategies and policies cannot be over-emphasized. In recognition of the centrality of sound policies as a basis for progress, in 1987 the Bank's Education and Training Department (the relevant unit responsible for the policy, planning and research function at that time) commissioned a set of papers by African analysts on the comparative experiences of eight Anglophone Eastern and Southern African countries, each of which had developed and issued major education policy reforms or pronouncements. The papers give special attention to deficiencies in the design and/or implementation processes that account for the often-yawning gaps between policy intentions and outcomes. The lessons afforded by the eight African case studies, along with a broader-perspective assessment of educational policy implementation, are presented in the papers by George Psacharopoulos (the overall manager of the set of studies) and John Craig. The eight country case studies are presented in companion reports.

By disseminating this set of studies on the implementation of African educational policies, it is hoped that the lessons of experience will be incorporated into the current efforts by African countries to design and implement national policies and programs to adjust, revitalize and selectively expand the education and training systems which prepare Africa's human resources, the true cornerstone of African development.



Hans Wyss
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ABSTRACT

This paper reviews the evolution of the Kenyan education system since independence from Britain in 1963. At the time of independence, very few resources were devoted to the education of Africans vis a vis non-Africans, resulting in critical shortages of trained manpower. Educational segregation and differentiation also reinforced racial and ethnic prejudices. After independence, education was to be a significant tool not only for social justice and rapid development, but also for the promotion of unity and "nationhood." The report outlines the institutional and legal steps that were taken to improve the educational system and traces its development through four five-year development plans. In the space of twenty years, the system has expanded dramatically and universal free primary education has been achieved, the progression of the system has been restructured, and the curriculum has been significantly revised, placing more emphasis on the technical and vocational skills which remain in high demand. However, educational development in the post-colonial period has been hampered by insufficient resources due to poor economic conditions, a high rate of population growth, teacher shortages, the need to balance native language with foreign language instruction, poor internal efficiency, and continued problems with curriculum relevance.

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1. AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

Kenya became independent in December, 1963, after nearly 80 years of colonial rule under Britain. Exactly one year later it became a Republic.

The present population is slightly over 20 million with a rate of increase of 4.1 per cent. Nearly 60 per cent of this population is under 20 years of age. This highlights the problem of dependence and shows the great burden the country has to carry in providing education.

Education at Independence

Formal education was introduced to the people of Kenya by missionaries as a strategy for evangelical success. The missionaries dominated the provision and administration of education throughout the colonial period. Some of the centers they established grew into large institutions and today are among the National Secondary Schools in the country.

Colonial education in Kenya was determined by a variety of factors, the main ones being the principle of self-sufficiency, the racial composition of the territory, and the idea that colonies should develop on their own resources in order not to be a drain on Imperial Treasury. Colonial administrators were to initiate and direct the development of social welfare in their respective territories and finance them from internal resources. Education in Kenya was organized on racial lines. It was argued that the different races in the country -- Africans, Asians, Arabs, and Europeans -- had attained different levels of social, political and economic development and that each needed the kind of education that would preserve its culture and prepare its people for their "appropriate" role in the society. This meant that there were different education curricula for each race -- different education systems within on country. Racial segregation in education remained until 1960, when it was abolished. The settlers wanted education that would produce enlightened workers who would be capable of taking instructions so as to be useful on the farms. But they were opposed to any attempts to make Africans aspire to equality with the white man; nor did they like education

that would make Africans self-sufficient in their rural areas, as this would threaten the supply of cheap labor for settler farms.

Segregation of the races by the Colonial Government resulted in severe neglect of African education. This has been evidenced by the fact that more resources and facilities were devoted to the education of non-Africans, who represented 3 per cent of the population, than were used to educate Africans, who represented 97 per cent.

Colonial education was inadequate in quantity and scope. Its objectives were narrow and restrictive. Table 1 shows the number of schools and pupils in both primary and secondary schools from 1961 to 1963. Out of a total of 25,903 pupils in secondary schools in 1962, 8,033 were Africans. These figures must be seen against the background of the larger African population compared to the other racial groups. In an ideal situation the number of African pupils should have been proportionally larger than the others.

Table 1

Number of Schools and Pupils in Kenya
1961 - 1963

Year	Primary		Secondary	
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
1961	7,725	870,448	104	21,369
1962	6,198	935,766	141	25,903
1963	6,058	891,553	150	28,764

Source: Ministry of Education

The restrictive effect of colonial policy on African education meant that, at the time of independence, a large majority of children of school age was not going to school, and a small number had passed through the system. This was reflected in the critical shortage of educated and trained local manpower

that was urgently needed for economic and social development of the new nation. Nor had the colonial system been concerned with national cohesion, since in a colonial setting there could be no sense of nationhood.

Instead, as has been said above, education was tailored to set races apart in a complex of relationships that ensured the domination of one group over others. Even among Africans, ethnic differences were manipulated to keep the various communities apart under the principle of "Divide and Rule". In the materialistic colonial society, the Africans came to see formal education as a means of earning a livelihood and a passage to modernity, which to them was represented by the European life style. The products of this system therefore saw their education as a personal achievement, not tied by an obligation to society.

Education and Independence

With independence in 1963, a different socialization process was needed to change racial and ethnic prejudices that had been nurtured over the years, in order to build a cohesive multiracial society, which the new Government had pledged itself to. It was important to prepare a psychological basis of "nationhood," and education was a significant instrument for doing this. Independence brought a new era that changed the occupational roles of Africans. They had to assume responsibility in the administration of the country. "Appropriate" education was necessary both in quantity and in quality to prepare them for the roles they were to play. Education had now to be a vehicle for rapid socio-economic development and change in a new system that was committed to offer equal opportunity and social justice for all citizens, and the eradication of poverty, ignorance and disease. It was to restore the African personality and recapture his cultural heritage, which was diminishing as a result of the imposition of an alien culture, while at the same time preparing the Kenyan society for its place in the modern international community. In order to meet these new challenges education required a new content and a co-ordinated national program. It could no longer be left in the hands of the Missions and therefore the new state had to assume responsibility for a secular educational system that also respected the faiths of all communities and individuals, while continuing to welcome the participation of Missions and other voluntary agencies.

Kenya has realized tremendous expansion in education since independence. This has been the result of a number of factors: the increasing public demand for more educational facilities, largely as a result of the increasing population; the Government's commitment to make education accessible to all Kenyans; and the pressing need for educated and trained manpower. The expansion of education in the post-independence period has been the result of a double pronged activity and co-operation between the general public and the Government. To most families in Kenya, education has been seen as a social investment promising socio-economic returns, and the education of their children is given the seriousness that this implies. This has been evidenced by the ready enthusiasm with which the Kenyan communities have been contributing funds to build especially new secondary schools under the national motto of "Harambee" -- the spirit of pulling together for development. Along with the expansion, has been the Government's commitment to democratize education by extending opportunities to areas which had been disadvantaged during the colonial period.

2. LANDMARKS IN EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Legal Framework

Table 2 (see Appendix) shows the landmarks in educational policy in Kenya between 1963 and 1985. It is evident from this table that the legal framework of Kenya's education has been created by the following policy documents and Acts of parliament:

1. The KANU Manifesto, already referred to, by which the Government committed itself to eventual provision of universal free education and spelt out other socio-economic aspirations to be met by education;
2. The Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, in which education was seen as: "Much more of an economic than a social service ... the principal means of relieving the shortage of domestic skilled manpower and equalizing economic opportunities among all citizens;
3. Education Act (1968), now under review, which put the responsibility for education in the hands of the Minister for Education and instituted various organs for the organization and management of education at all levels;
4. The Teachers Service Commission Act (1967) established a single employer and unified terms of service for all teachers;
5. The University of Nairobi Act (1970) established a national university;
6. The National Council of Science and Technology Act (1978) established a body to co-ordinate research in science and technology and advise the Government on relevant policy matters;
7. The Kenya National Examinations Council Act (1980) established a national body to administer examinations. Previously this was done by the defunct East African Examinations Council;

8. The Kenya Literature Bureau Act (1980) established a publishing body to print, publish and distribute educational materials.

Education in the Development Plan

The Country's Development Plans have sought to give practical and appropriate application to the objectives enunciated in the Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, namely economic growth, wider sharing of the benefits of property, closer integration, and amelioration of national disparities.

The Government's aims for Education in Kenya, as stated in the planning documents are: the expansion of educational opportunities; the production of skilled manpower; promotion of national economic development; universal primary education; and the promotion of national unity.

In the First Development Plan (1964/70), the emphasis was on economic expansion, Kenyanization and the expansion of education to provide the necessary manpower skills. In the second Development Plan (1970/74), the theme of vocational skills for self-employment was given priority in an attempt to provide economic and social balance between the urban and rural areas.

The Third Development Plan (1974/78), however, broke new ground in terms of educational policy. The plan stressed the constraints imposed on development by the underutilization of human resources and by the lack of appropriate skills at all levels. In brief, the education system (both formal and non-formal) was called upon to provide:

- a) the high level skills needed for Kenyanization and economic/industrial growth;
- b) the vocational/technical training for employment and self-employment;
- c) equality of educational opportunity for national integration and progress;

- d) attitudes favorable to development;
- e) on-the-job skills for agriculture and the informal sector;
- f) training in literacy and in basic areas as health, nutrition, child care, etc. to promote rural development.

The objectives proposed for the 1974/78 plan were therefore drawn up as follows:

- a) to promote universal primary education and remove fees from standards 1 to 4;
- b) to ensure access to higher and more specialized levels related to the nation's economic needs and that, moreover, the recipients of the benefits of this education should shoulder a greater part of its costs;
- c) to study the curriculum, methods of teaching and forms of selection presently practiced at the primary and secondary levels;
- d) to limit the resources needed to operate the present system and thus make available the additional manpower and finance necessary to change it; to reduce the annual growth in educational expenditure to less than 11% at the beginning;
- e) to exercise the closest control over the number and type of teacher trainees and over their deployment in schools;
- f) to restrict capital investment in the education sector to those projects most likely to improve the quality and content of the educational system.

As a follow-up to these specified objectives, the Government established in 1976 a National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies (NCEOP) with

a mandate to evaluate the educational objectives, structure, and content, define a new set of goals and formulate a program of action. The NCEOP drew the country's attention to the following:

- a) Rapid economic growth has been accompanied by growing unemployment among the educated, despite the enormous increase in education costs since independence;
- b) The formal education system has been seen by the majority of Kenyans as the best access route to the advancement of the individual, society and the economy;
- c) The objectives, content, and structure of education are highly selective;
- d) Education tended to reinforce disparities already existing between income groups, sexes, and regions of the country.

In order to bring educational priorities in line with the country's development strategy, the HCEOP Report suggested the following:

- a) Channeling of resources and incentives towards rural development with the aim of promoting employment creation;
- b) Reform of the education system in order to make it responsive to educational expectations and requirements of the rural population, thereby integrating education with local environment;
- c) Intensification and integration of non-formal education/training;
- d) Defining the national educational standard which all schools should attain;
- e) Reduction of regional disparities of educational opportunity;

f) Introduction of social ethics into the curricula.

The 1979/83 plan focusses attention on measures to alleviate poverty through continued growth of the economy, creation of income-earning opportunities, increasing the volume and quality of Government services, improvement of income distribution and provision of other basic needs, including basic education, nutrition, health care, water and housing. All education programs in the 1979/83 plan should, therefore, be seen within the context of the plan strategies. Education is important in the Basic Needs Strategy in two ways. It is itself a component of basic needs, both as basic education for children and literacy training for adults. Secondly, education and training are contributors to other components of basic needs, producing appropriately trained providers of services and products to the poorest -- health, sanitation, water, low-cost housing, agricultural extension etc.

The plan outlines the complex set of problems facing the education sector; high costs, demand exceeding supply, school leavers' unemployment, and so on. It recognized that education continues to be a dominant sector in the economy, accounting for 5.9% of GDP and 30% of the total Government recurrent budget. However, it cautions that further expansion and future improvement will have to be met within a framework of severe resource constraints.

The magnitude of the task of providing education for a rapidly growing school population has implications not only with respect to resources but also regarding the quality of education offered. From this perspective, the plan is committed to substantial improvement in the quality and relevance of education as well as the wider distribution, particularly of educational opportunities in less developed areas. The shift in educational development will be from the emphasis on mere quantitative expansion to a system which is diversified, functional, of improved quality, and efficiently managed. To overcome the problem of unemployment among school leavers, the plan proposes:

- a) expansion of employment opportunities;
- b) promotion of career guidance on employment prospects, particularly in rural areas;
- c) adapting the school curricula to make it more relevant to labor market requirements;
- d) expansion of training within the public and private sectors of the economy.

Studies and Review of Kenya's Education

As shown in Table 1, Kenya's education has been studied and reviewed from time to time since independence, with a view to effective planning and development as evidenced in the succeeding paragraphs:

The Kenya Education Commission (1964/65) was appointed to survey the existing educational resources of Kenya and advise the Government of Kenya in the formulation and implementation of national policies for education which:

- a) appropriately express the aspirations and cultural values of an independent African country;
- b) take account of the need for trained manpower for economic development and other activities in the life of the nation;
- c) take advantage of the initiative and service of the regional and local authorities and voluntary bodies;
- d) contribute to the unity of Kenya;
- e) respect the educational needs and capacities of children;

- f) have due regard for the resources, both in money and personnel, that were likely to become available for educational services;
- g) provide for the principal educational requirements of adults.

This was the first commission to make an exhaustive national enquiry into the whole of education in Kenya. It summarized what were to be objectives of education in Kenya as follows:

- a) Education is a function of the nation; it must foster a sense of nationhood and promote national unity;
- b) Education in Kenya must serve the people of Kenya and needs of Kenya without discrimination;
- c) Our public schools are an instrument of the secular state, in which no religion is privileged, but they must respect the religious convictions of all people;
- d) The schools of Kenya must respect the cultural traditions of the peoples of Kenya, as expressed in social institutions and relationships;
- e) 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 realize that he has a valuable part to play in the national life;
- f) Education must be regarded, and used, as an instrument for the conscious change of attitudes and relationships, preparing children for those changes of outlook required by modern methods of productive organization. At the same time, education must foster respect for human personality;

- g) A most urgent objective of education is to subserve the needs of national development;
- h) Education must promote social equality and remove divisions of race, tribe, and religion. It must pay special attention to training in social obligation and responsibility;
- i) An outcome of our educational provision must be adaptability to change.

A study of Curriculum Development in Kenya (1972) was made by an advisory mission to:

- a) review and evaluate existing curricula, syllabi and examinations and current efforts to develop them: to make recommendations for the development of new curricula that would be relevant to Kenya's needs;
- b) consider the allocation of responsibility for curriculum development;
- c) make recommendations concerning the supply training and retraining of teachers to prepare them to teach the new curricula;
- d) make recommendations concerning development of textbooks and other educational materials;
- e) make recommendations on facilities necessary within Kenya for the production and distribution of books and materials in sufficient quantities and for the application of new educational techniques;
- f) estimate the financial implications for future educational budgets in the light of the group's findings.

The University Grants Committee 1972-75 considered the financing of the expansion of the University of Nairobi and Kenyatta University College in relation to projected manpower needs of the country.

The National Committee on Educational Objectives Policies was appointed in 1976 to redefine Kenya's educational objectives and recommend policies to achieve these objectives within the financial constraints. The committee was to give consideration to:

- a) national unity;
- b) the economic, social and cultural aspirations of the people;
- c) the distribution of the benefits and costs of education;
- d) the need to relate education to employment opportunities and to the requirements of rural development.

A major policy change in Kenya's education system is to be found in the Report of the Presidential Working Party on the Second University (1981). Apart from recommendations on the establishment of the Second University, it recommended a restructuring of the education system from 7-(4-2)-3 to 8-4-4.

As recommended by Ominde (1964) and N.C.E.OP (1976), the Presidential Working Party reiterated that education:

- a) must serve to foster national unity;
- b) must serve the needs of the national development;
- c) must prepare and equip the youth with necessary skills, knowledge, values and attitudes;
- d) must promote social justice and morality;

- e) must foster, develop and communicate the rich and varied cultures of Kenya;
- f) must foster positive attitudes and consciousness towards others, since Kenya is a member of the International Community.

On the restructuring of the education system, the working party followed closely modification the recommendations of the NCEOP Report. Recommendation 121 of the NCEOP Report calls for a four-year terminal secondary education. The working party, in Recommendation 34, also calls for abolition of the A level segment of secondary education and urged that the entire educational system be equitably restructured. The Working Party recommended four years of university education. Table 3 shows the different structures of the educational system that have existed or been recommended between 1965 and 1985.

Change of curriculum towards technical and science oriented subjects was emphasized in the NSEO report and ILO report. The working party supported this aspect of education but called for relevance for rural development. In part, the working party recommended that "... discipline in the Second university should be oriented in developing an infrastructure that is necessary for rural Development."

The recommendation of the Makkay Report (1981) to introduce an 8-4-4 system of education was implemented in 1985. This is an entirely new structure with a curriculum which is technically and practically oriented. New subjects such as Kiswahili, music, arts and crafts, and home science have been introduced and have been tested in the new end-of-primary examination.

Table 3

Existing or Recommended Educational Structure in Kenya

1963 - 1985

	Mode 1 Existing by 1963-76	Mode 2 Proposed NCEOP	Mode 3 Proposed by Working Party Now Existing
Education Level	Years	Years	Year
Primary	7	9	8
Secondary	4 + 2	4	4
University	3	3	4
Total number of years	16	16	16

Source: Ministry of Education

3. IMPLEMENTATION

Kenya has had relatively many proposals in her educational system within the very short span of 20 years. This has been partly due to the emphasis the government and the people of Kenya have given to education and partly due to the way education has failed to respond to various national needs from time to time.

The study of the educational scene in Kenya reveals that not all the proposals that have been discussed above have been implemented. In the following paragraphs we will discuss briefly some of the proposals that have been implemented. In the following paragraphs we will discuss briefly some of the proposals that have been implemented and reasons that led to non-implementation of some of the proposals.

Perhaps the most important proposals that have been implemented are: establishment of various institutions in the educational system, including support services; achievement of universal free primary education; and the restructuring of the system from 7-(4-2)-3 to 8-4-4. The latter had a far-reaching impact on the whole system: there has been a significant change in the curriculum, emphasis being placed on technical and vocational skills. UPE has meant that more children in Kenya go to school than at any other time. There are nearly 5 million children in the primary school alone, representing 25 per cent of Kenya's population. Many institutions have been established to cope with the exponential expansion of the system. For example, between 1984 and 1985 alone, the Government established two universities and a university college.

Problems Experienced in Implementation

In looking at the development of education in Kenya in the last twenty years, one sees big strides which might paint a rosy picture of what the country has done and continues to do in the field of education. Kenya has, however, met with problems in the implementation of her educational programs. Some of these problems were inherited from the colonial system; others have

arisen in the process of educational development in the post-colonial period. These problems are highlighted below:

Poor Economy

Like all colonized territories, Kenya inherited a poor economy which gave development a difficult start. The problem has been aggravated by the unfavorable international economic situation, especially from the 1970s. Kenya's growth performance during the Third Development Plan (1974-78), for example, was dominated by fluctuations in the country's international terms of trade. The net effect of these fluctuations was a lower growth rate than originally anticipated -- 4.6% per annum as compared with the plan target of 7.4%. During the first two years of the Fourth Development Plan 1979/83, the GDP grew at only 3%, due mainly to decline in both agricultural production and prices. This unfavorable growth of the economy has meant a severe constraint on resources for all facets of development, including education. Kenya has tried to expand its educational facilities within available resources but has not been able to cope with the demand.

Population Growth

With a growth rate of 3.4% per annum Kenya's population growth is one of the highest in the world. It is one of the problems frustrating attempts to extend education facilities to all. As population and school enrollments increase, school facilities diminish and the communities and local authorities have to constantly come up with new educational buildings.

School Leavers and Employment

Related to the problems of population growth and economic performance is the problem of finding employment for school leavers. Kenya's education system, like others in the developing world, has not succeeded in inculcating realistic assessments of employment opportunities and favorable attitudes towards rural and manual work. The school leavers problem is large and its magnitude will grow in the future. It is projected that by 1987 more than 500,000 school leavers from different levels of education will be in the market looking for employment. The absorption of school leavers at a higher

rate in the future requires continued economic growth with rapid rural and agricultural development, population control and education reform.

Curriculum

The curriculum inherited from the colonial system was, for the most part, unrelated to local needs and required immediate modification. It was for this purpose that the Curriculum Development Research Center was created in 1966. The functions of the Center were later taken over by the Kenya Institute of Education. In trying to improve the content of education, Kenya has had a number of experiments or innovations. Some of these, such as the New Primary Approach (NPA), Modern Mathematics and the School Science Project (SSP), have proved unsatisfactory and have either been discarded completely or are being phased out. Relevance of education to current and future needs of the country is now a major preoccupation of education planners and administrators. It is now felt strongly that the general academic and certificate-oriented education that Kenya has had so far can no longer adequately meet the needs of a modernizing economy that requires more technological inputs and skills for its development. Thus the search for relevant education has been the subject of a number of review committees on education, whose aims have been to marry expansion with quality.

Shortage of Teachers

Despite efforts to train more teachers, the shortage of teachers remains a problem. It is aggravated by another problem -- "teacher wastage", especially of secondary school teachers who move from teaching to join other sectors of the economy (mainly private) for better remunerative offers. As a result one still finds a large number of untrained teachers in Kenya's schools.

Language

Formal education in most African states, including Kenya, is given in a foreign language -- the language of the past colonial power. Some students find such foreign language difficult to comprehend, and so their education may suffer, especially early primary education. They would probably have done better if the medium of instruction had been their local tongues. Associated

with the continued use of a foreign language in education system is acculturation of the modern African populations. But these foreign languages have also proved their usefulness as media of communications, hence facilitating discussions amongst many African states without the use of interpreters or translators.

4. A CRITICAL APPRAISAL

The criteria used for evaluating the record of educational policies adopted in Kenya are:

- a) internal efficiency (student retention, low wastage, higher earnings);
- b) external efficiency (better fit between the school and the labor market, low rates of unemployment, high productivity of the graduates, cost-benefit ratios);
- c) equity (access to the school system, incidence of the costs and benefits of education by socio-economic group);
- d) non-quantitative (national policy, Kenyanization, language).

It has already been noted that one of the significant outcomes of the policies that Kenya has pursued in her educational system is the exponential expansion of the system. Table 4 shows the enrollment in the primary and secondary school from 1,063 to 1,985. Court (1974) has said that despite its exponential expansion, education in Kenya has not been adequately responsive to the socio-cultural needs of the country. Court (1974) points out:

" ... The main feature of the period, has been linear expansion rather than structural reform of the inherited system."

He explains the force behind such an expansion in terms of powerful and pervasive private demand and suggests that:

" ... Perhaps the outstanding fact about education in Kenya has been that everyone has wanted it and wanted it more than any other single thing."

Motivation seems then to have been largely economic, complemented by perception of school as a useful guardian and, for others, by the sense of self esteem involved in providing school. Thus, demand for education increases while employment prospects worsen. The dramatic expansion occurring

after independence was a response to a shortage of middle-level manpower, and the consequences have been the school leavers problem, first affecting the primary school leavers and affecting secondary schools from 1968. And because the jobs for which the leavers are prepared are in town, urban migration has been an integral aspect of the school leavers problem. The problem of unemployment among school leavers will be discussed in more detail later in this section.

Table 4

Enrollment in the Primary and Secondary Schools

1963 - 1985

Year	Enrollment in the Primary School	Enrollment in the Secondary School
1963	891,553	29,261
1965	1,042,146	47,976
1967	1,133,179	88,779
1969	1,282,297	115,246
1971	1,515,498	140,722
1973	1,816,017	174,767
1975	2,881,155	226,835
1977	2,974,849	320,310
1979	2,698,246	384,389
1981	4,134,345	464,721
1983	4,570,444	545,053
1985	5,000,000*	600,000*

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Report 1975-1979
Economic Survey 1981, 1982

* Projections

It can be argued that one of the consequences of any educational system is the provision of social equality. Farrell (1982) had identified three facets of educational equality: equality of access, equality of survival, and equality of output (achievement).

The educational policies that Kenya has pursued during the past two decades have resulted into greater access to schooling especially at the primary school level, for its youth. One group that has realized a significant access to schooling has been women. The proportion of girls attending primary school has dramatically risen from 34% in 1963 to near-parity in 1986; at secondary school, the proportion has risen from 32% to over 40% over the period. However, at the University and other institutions of higher learning the proportion is still very low, 20% (Eshiwani 1985). Statistics on education show that regional disparities still exist despite the excellent national record. The semi-arid areas, the parastatic areas and areas where the Muslim religion is predominant had lagged behind other areas in education.

An important question that must be considered alongside that of access is the rate at which the education system retains those who enroll in it. The Ministry of Education, Science and Technology has estimated that the wastage rate (pupils who leave school prematurely) ranges from 30 to 47 per cent. The end of primary examination (the Kenya certificate of Primary Education) accounts for a significant proportion of the pupils who drop out the educational system. Table 5 shows that more than 60 per cent of those pupils who survive to Standard Eight drop out at this level.

The problem of school dropouts is further illustrated by the University Grants Committee, which estimated that out of 900,000 children who joined standard one in 1980 about 560,000 would sit for the end of primary school examination (KCPE) and only 220,000 would proceed to secondary school. Out of those who will join secondary school about 200,000 will sit for the O-level examinations and only 43,000 will proceed to the A-level classes. Less than 5,000 students will proceed to the university after the A-levels.

Table 5

The Transition from Primary to Secondary School:
The Opportunity Index

Year	KCPE/CPE Total No. of candidates	Form 1 Places	Opportunity Index
1963	103,400	19,000	18%
1983	354,407	123,076	35%
1985	334,336	130,000	39%

Source: Ministry of Education

The statistics in the above paragraph show that the educational system in Kenya is excessively competitive, resulting into a very steep pyramid.

External Efficiency

The importance and relevance of education is assessed by its ability to produce manpower which is relevant and can fit into the economy adequately. There has been an argument that the grant investment in education by most of the developing countries has not been matched by a comparable growth of economic opportunity. With 85% of the people living in rural areas and engaged in subsistence agriculture, the numbers in wage and salary employment remain small, whilst education has been expanding rapidly.

Unemployment is aggravated by what the ILO report has called:

" ... enormous imbalance in the range of opportunities, particularly the big differences in income and career prospects, status and pleasantness of work in urban, white collar jobs in the formal sector ... and the range of other occupation in the informal sector and in the rural areas."

Examinations have been used for selection and various job settings. In 1978, the then Minister of Education lamented:

"Our education system has put more emphasis on the production of qualified manpower, but there is much contradiction in the objectives in this context. For instance, while the endeavour to fulfil the nation's manpower requirements continues, the very system employed to do so spills thousands into the cold, making them redundant and superfluous in the production system."

Emphasis on production of qualified manpower has enabled Kenya to localize nearly all the top positions in the civil service as well as in the private sector. However, the educational system has not produced high level manpower in the area of science and technology. To a large extent, Kenya is still dependent on outside assistance in these areas. In order to tackle this problem, the Government recently made major changes in the school structure with a view to emphasizing technical subjects both at primary and secondary school levels.

Financing of Education

Kenya's education is financed from various sources, depending on the types of the educational Institutions. The Government-maintained institutions are financed by the Government out of funds voted by Parliament each year. Secondary schools prepare their annual budgets or estimates, which they forward to the Ministry of Higher Education headquarters through their respective Provincial Higher Education Officers. The estimates, indicating also the amount of fees to be collected from the parents, are then considered by the grants section of the Ministry which then gives out grants, less the amount of fees. The fees are retained by the schools as appropriations-in-aid. The Facilities Development Unit of the Ministry of Higher Education also grants funds for specific development projects in schools identified for the development of certain facilities. Normally, grant-aided schools submit the special requests along with their budgetary estimates, and such requests are granted on a priority basis and availability of funds.

Harambee Secondary Schools and Institutes of Technology are financed by the communities, which organize fund-raising meetings every now and again. They also charge fees and normally their fees are higher than those of Government-maintained institutions. The Government has come to the aid of some of these institutions by paying salaries of all or some of their teachers and at times by giving some development funds.

Private institutions are either run by church organizations or by individuals. Churches raise money to subsidize education in their schools, as well as charging moderate fees. Individual-run schools are profit-making and tend to charge large fees.

Financing of primary schools is done by the Government through the District Education Boards which prepare their budgets for equipment and submit them to the Ministry of Basic Education. Primary schools do not charge fees, since education for classes 1 to 7 is now free. However, the development of physical facilities, including teacher's houses, remains the responsibility of the committees through Parents Associations and School Committees.

Parents provide school buildings and teacher's houses for pre-primary education. The Government now undertakes the training of teachers and pays their salaries.

Tuition for university education is paid by the Government. But boarding, books, etc. are a responsibility of the students. The Government has, however, organized loan facilities for those students who need to borrow money in order to pursue their higher education. Salaries for all university staff and other university expenses are paid by the Government. Recently, a University Grants Committee has been established to advise the Government on how to finance University Education.

Apart from the local sources, Kenya has also benefitted from bilateral and multilateral agreements in the financing of education. These have been either in the form of grants/loans for the development of physical facilities, research and training locally, or scholarships and fellowships for studies abroad.

Since 1963, education accounts for the largest share of Government expenditure. Over 30% of the total Government budget is spent on education. According to Fine (1974), there is a financial crisis in Kenyan education. In his words:

"The current financial crisis in Kenya Education can be described as a situation in which a sizeable and growing percentage of Government recurrent expenditure is devoted to Educational budget."

The recurrent budget allocated to education is 35%, and it has been growing at the rate of 15-20% per annum whereas the rate of growth of total Government expenditure was about 10% per annum over the last decade. If this trend continues, education would absorb the Government's total expenditure in the near future and could absorb the entire budget. Most of this money voted for education is used to pay teachers' salaries as follows:

- a) Primary education, where 90% of expenditure is on teachers' salaries;
- b) Secondary education, where 65-70% of expenditure is on teachers' salaries;
- c) University education, where 60% of expenditure is on lecturers' salaries.

APPENDIX

Table 2

Landmarks in Education Policy Making in Kenya
1963-1985

Year	Event/Policy Reform	Remarks
1963	National Independence	The ruling party, KANU commits itself to universal free primary education.
1964	The Kenya Education	TORs: advise in the formulation and implementation of national policies for education
1964/70	The First Development Plan	Emphasizing economic expansion, Kenyanization of education to provide manpower skills.
1965	The Sessional Paper No. 10	Education seen as much more of an economic than social service -- the principle means of relieving the shortage of domestic skilled manpower for equalizing economic opportunities.
1967	The Teachers Service Commission Act	Established a single employer and unifies terms of service for all teachers.
1968	Education Act	Put the responsibility for education in the hands of the Minister for Education and instituted measures to

Year	Event/Policy Reform	Remarks
		streamline the administration of the Ministry of Education.
1970	The University of Nairobi Act	Established National University
1970/74	The Second Development Plan	Emphasized vocational skills for self-employment
1972	A study of curriculum development by an advisory mission	TORs: To review and evaluate existing curricular syllabi and examinations and current efforts to develop them. To make recommendations on teacher education, school facilities and financial implications.
1972	I.L.O. Report: Employment, Income and Equality: A strategy for increased productive employment in Kenya	Recommended abolition of the certificate of primary education, creation of vocational institutions and introduction of the quota system in the education system.
1972-73	University Grants Committee	Considered financing of university education expansion and manpower needs of the country.
1974/78	The Third Development Plan	Stressed the constraints imposed on development by the under utilization of human resources and by the lack of appropriate skills at all levels.

Year	Event/Policy Reform	Remarks
1974	Presidential Decree	Abolished fees for the first four classes of primary school: First step towards UPE.
1976	The National Commission on Educational Objectives and Policies	TORs: To redefine Kenya's educational objectives and recommend policies to achieve these objectives within the financial constraints.
1978	The National Council of Science and Technology Act	Established to coordinate research and direct research policy.
1980	The Kenya National Examinations Council	Established a national body to administer and conduct examinations.
1980	The Kenya Literature Bureau Act	Established a publishing body to print, publish and distribute educational materials.
1979/83	The Fourth Development Plan	Emphasis on alleviation of poverty through continued growth of the economy, creation of income earning opportunities, improvement of income distribution and provision of other basic needs including basic education, nutrition, health care, water and housing.

Year	Event/Policy Reform	Remarks
1981	The Presidential Party on the establishment of a Second University in Kenya	Reviewed the education system and recommended restructuring of the system to 8-4-4
1983	University Grants Committee Report	Made recommendations regarding the financing of university education: Education would continue to be financed by public funds, students would be expected to pay for their accommodations, food and books through a loan system.
1985	Kenyatta University Act	Established Kenyatta University
1985	New University Act	Established the Commission for Higher Education to promote university education and advise the Minister of Education, Science and Technology on the establishment of public and private universities in Kenya
1985	A restructured education system introduced (8-4-4)	The education system changed from 7-(4-2)-3 to 8-4-4.

Source: Author's research

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