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MATERIAL, PEDAGOGICAL, AND SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES
IN KENYA'S PRIMARY SCHOOLS AND THEIR IMPACT ON EDUCATIONAL OUTCOME

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BACKGROUND

This paper analyzes the ways in which the Kenyan educational system, an integral part of society, incorporates the main features of both the regional and social differentiations which characterize the nation fifteen years after independence. The analysis of the inequalities in the crucial first level of the educational system draws upon several sources: a 1979 in-depth study by the author of primary schooling in four districts; national data collected by the Central Bureau of Statistics for the Ministry of Education, and additional field work in the pastoral areas undertaken in 1980. /1

The four districts which are discussed in this analysis of the major types of inequities in Kenyan primary education were selected to highlight the socio-economic regional disparities within Kenya's borders. These disparities have their roots in the country's colonial history which established a pyramid of privilege which has remained virtually unchanged to the present day. The regions at the forefront of the colonial economy were first of all the urban areas, the hub of European business and social life. Second, came a number of districts, largely in the area of Mount Kenya and in the central band of the Great Rift Valley which were the enclaves of European settlement. Following closely behind these areas were a majority of the African Districts whose major preoccupation was with subsistence production and selling labour to settler agriculture. Below, in the pyramid of regional differentiation were a range of districts, mainly in the semi-arid areas and in the arid regions occupied by nomadic pastoralists, which at the time of independence showed the effects of almost total colonial neglect. /2

Since independence, agrarian reforms, such as the government's policies on credit and the allocation of development resources and facilities, introduced after independence, have tended to concentrate development in the historically advantaged regions and among the classes of the so-called "progressive" farmers and businessmen. This process has widened the differences in wealth, income and children's life opportunities which began with colonialism and which then as well as now are mediated by the main features of the educational system.

At the time of independence, in Kenya, as in all other former

colonies, it was the possession of the necessary educational credentials which almost exclusively tended to determine and justify selection to elite positions. With these positions came wealth, power and social status. Moreover, in the absence of more direct economic and political interventions to equalize wealth, power and status, education was made to appear as the proverbial panacea for all ills, individual and societal, and the nation accepted a meritocratic ideology which aimed less at the equalization of wealth and status than the equalization of opportunities to compete for the most privileged positions in the society. /3

In the educational field, this view was translated into a system which uses examinations to select, promote and later confer rewards. The catchwords of Kenya's contemporary educational practice have become expansion, equality of opportunity and advancement by merit. These are efficacious on two counts. On the one hand, the existence of opportunities for some to move from the lower to the upper ranks in society tends to ease some of the incipient tensions associated with inequality. On the other, by offering a personal escape route from low status, they tend to weaken interest in collective efforts by those who remain. /4

Despite the many pronouncements and the actual mobility of some individuals, it should never be assumed that in Kenya education is, or has ever been, an open arena. At the regional-level, the initial development of education was always associated with how closely a district was integrated into the colonial economy. In turn, this relationship influenced the social demand for education and the amount of funds the Local Native Council and the people were willing to devote to the improvement and expansion of education within the area. This state of affairs particularly affected the development of education in the arid and semi-arid areas of the country which pursue a nomadic pastoral life. In the post-independence period, the historical advantages and disadvantages of various regions have tended to cumulate; at the individual level, access to education always has been related to wealth.

METHODOLOGY

In order to study the Kenyan school as an integral part of society, i.e. to incorporate the main dimensions of existing regional and social differentiation, a stratified design was chosen. First, four districts were

selected as being representative of various stages of socio-economic development. Within the districts, schools of different types and quality, as are generally found in the rural and urban areas of the country, were selected for intensive study. /5

The four districts selected for more thorough analysis were Garissa in Northern-Eastern Province, Kiambu in Central Province, Kisumu in Nyanza Province, and Nairobi, the nation's capital and extra-provincial district. Within these four districts are to be found the most significant sources of socio-economic differentiation. First, the choice of Nairobi allows examination of the acute differentiation between town and country, a differentiation which also seems replicated in microcosmic ways in the three largely rural districts, when town or market centres are compared with the rest of the countryside. The contrast between the districts which were either part of, or were the closest to, the European settler enclave and those which were somewhat slightly more peripheral is provided by Kiambu and Kisumu Districts. In the former, the colonial emphasis on cash-cropping left not only a well-established system of plantation agriculture but also the benefits of the infrastructure and the social amenities which were provided to support the European presence. In the latter, subsistence farming was, and largely continues to be, the mainstay of the majority of the people. Of course, these differences are not always clearly demarcated since in each region there are also entrenched social cleavages, say, among the different strata of the peasantry, and since each region has had its share of the European presence. The final district, Garissa, represents the many districts in the arid or semi-arid regions of Kenya, which did not attract direct European presence and which as a result basically has remained the backyard of the colonial and post-colonial Kenyan society. /6

Within the district, schools were chosen in such a way as to reflect their historical social class. During the colonial days, this was determined by race; after independence, by the social class background of the clientele they catered for. In contemporary Kenya, six different school types can be observed. There are two varieties generally found in the rural areas: the typical primary school catering to poor peasants and pastoralists, and the town or market-place school catering for middle-level or rich peasants. For

lack of better terminology we have dubbed these two rural school types "Country Rural" and "Country Town", respectively.

In the bigger urban centres, school types were delineated by the historical racial division of labour among African, Asian, and European, in that ascending order. With the post-independence substitution of names, schools formerly catering for Africans, Asians and Europeans, are known as "Category A", "Category B" and "Category C" schools, respectively. There is also the category of private-run schools found in both rural and urban areas. The number of these schools has increased markedly since independence. The schools are largely owned by religious organizations (like the Catholic Church) and profit-minded "educationists" and cater for the elite, and even for some middle-level and rich peasants.

In the subsequent analysis, it will be shown that the six school types are differentiated in all regards: social composition, quality of the school plant and allocation of pedagogical materials and school equipment.

Socio-economic status (SES), the key variable used to look at social differentiation in the Kenyan society, is a computed additive index of father's and mother's education, father's occupation, nature and type of business owned and family monthly income in Kenya shillings. After observing the frequency distribution, the computed SES index was divided into three categories of "High", "Middle", and "Low" SES to denote three roughly hierarchical social class groupings in the Kenyan society. For our analytical purposes, the High SES group represents the bourgeoisie and the upper strata of the petty-bourgeoisie. The Middle SES group represents most of the petty-bourgeoisie, some of the more skilled workers, and rich and middle-level peasants. The Low SES group represents the mainstream of the working class, poor peasants and pastoralists. /7

REGIONAL DIFFERENTIATION: EDUCATIONAL ACCESS AND PROGRESSION

Official league statistics (Table 1) speak of much educational progress, and the country boasts of an average enrolment figure of about 89 percent (1978 data). However, these trends become questionable if they are subjected to rigorous analysis. In fact, primary school enrolment figures attest to the regional disparities in socio-economic development described in the introductory remarks. The higher a district's overall socio-economic

Table 1. Kenya: Primary School Enrollments by District as Percent of Estimated School Going Age (6-12 Years), 1970-78

PROVINCE AND DISTRICT	1970 %	1971 %	1972 %	1973 %	1974 %	1975 %	1976 %	1977 %	1978 %
CENTRAL									
1. Kiambu	102	109	110	116	136	131	136	132	131
2. Kirinyaga	71	76	84	110	125	125	120	114	120
3. Murang'a	102	107	111	118	140	138	141	134	134
4. Nyandarua	89	95	102	109	124	132	131	117	120
5. Nyeri	105	109	115	119	133	136	141	134	133
COAST									
1. Kilifi	36	35	41	42	67	63	68	63	62
2. Kwale	37	38	42	44	77	77	78	72	70
3. Lamu	32	29	34	55	98	126	132	152	126
4. Mombasa	65	64	67	67	75	74	72	70	68
5. Taita-Taveta	79	80	78	86	109	114	116	106	113
6. Tana-River	39	45	45	35	61	72	70	62	58
EASTERN									
1. Embu	75	77	88	94	120	121	125	122	123
2. Isiolo	51	62	49	57	67	69	77	63	65
3. Kitui	68	64	69	75	109	108	110	111	115
4. Machakos	91	100	98	104	143	145	147	140	139
5. Marsabit	27	31	38	36	41	46	44	41	45
6. Meru	67	70	78	78	105	105	99	100	100
NAIROBI									
1. Nairobi	78	83	84	87	87	89	90	85	82
NORTH-EASTERN									
1. Garissa	14	17	16	18	20	19	20	18	16
2. Mandera	5	5	7	10	17	10	11	12	12
3. Wajir	6	9	10	13	13	13	13	19	18
NYANZA									
1. Gusii	54	58	60	67	120	128	121	104	90
2. Kisumu	44	53	56	57	111	110	93	89	86
3. Siaya	63	64	69	69	114	118	115	108	82
4. South Nyanza	43	41	43	42	96	90	77	81	72
RIFT VALLEY									
1. Baringo	41	43	54	59	92	103	103	117	91
2. Elgeyo Marakwet	38	44	47	51	83	90	94	85	95
3. Kajiado	45	51	55	59	67	79	81	87	82
4. Kericho	16	46	43	48	80	82	93	87	85
5. Laikipia	67	83	91	102	127	137	146	148	150
6. Nakuru	48	68	74	158	116	122	132	127	131
7. Nandi	54	58	63	64	109	118	121	113	100
8. Narok	27	30	34	34	49	60	61	58	64
9. Samburu	15	20	22	22	26	25	28	26	27
10. Trans Nzoia	46	60	56	69	128	139	140	127	127
11. Turkana	6	6	8	10	15	12	11	11	1
12. Uasin Gishu	42	53	47	55	90	94	101	101	109
13. West Pokot	20	28	38	38	62	60	66	71	66
WESTERN									
1. Bungoma	75	70	75	75	125	125	123	127	147
2. Busia	66	56	63	62	110	114	113	110	100
3. Kakamega	69	69	80	82	123	130	138	130	103

Sources: 1. Enrollment data from Ministry of Education Annual Reports. 1978 figures estimates from education officials.
 2. School-going population based on district population projections, 1970-1980, Kenya Statistical Digest. (Nairobi: Central Bureau of Statistics, Vol. X, No. 3, Sept. 1972) Table 6, pp. 5-7.

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development, the higher is its school enrolment. Hence, enrolments are highest in the relatively richer agricultural districts of the Central Province, Eastern Province, Nyanza, Western Province and the Rift Valley. They are lowest in the arid and semi-arid districts of the North-Eastern Province, the Coast and the Rift Valley. Intra-provincial differentiations also can be noted (as between the arid and the agricultural districts of the Eastern, Coast, and Rift Valley Provinces).

This relationship is shown by an examination of the primary school enrolments in the four districts selected for intensive study (Table 2).

Table 2. Primary School Enrolments in Four Representative Districts as Percent of Estimated School-Going Age (6-12 years).***

DISTRICT	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Nairobi	78	83	84	87	87	89	90	85	82
Kiambu	102	109	110	116	136	131	136	132	131
Kisumu	44	53	56	57	111	110	93	89	86
Garissa	14	17	16	18	20	19	20	18	16

SOURCE: Ministry of Basic Education, Nairobi.

Further, even though enrolment figures for the 1970's seem to indicate rather high overall gains, this fact largely camouflages a number of rather serious issues in Kenyan education and its interface with the society. For instance, general enrolment figures do not speak of differences in access and school progression between the sexes. Nationally, boys make up about 53 percent and girls constitute only 47 percent of the primary school enrolment. These aggregates are misleading. Although enrolment ratios in the relatively more advanced agricultural districts are near parity, inequality in educational access between the sexes rises sharply and reaches the high point of 80 percent males and 20 percent females in some districts in the arid and semi-arid pastoral areas. In addition, even in the districts which have near parity sex enrolment ratios, this does not necessarily speak of equality in educational participation. Girls drop out more rapidly than boys, and there

are fewer girls at the higher levels of the educational system.

There are also interrelated issues of repetition, dropouts and inter-district migrations which are concealed within the overall gains of the 1970's. Statistical analyses show that enrolment figures of over 100 percent are the result of high repetition rates (hence, of over-aged children in the school system), and inter-district migrations of pupils. High dropout rates in all districts further belie the high enrolment statistics (Table 3). We have presented empirical evidence elsewhere to show that government attempts to democratize the educational system (i.e. to improve access and retention through such measures as the attempted "abolition" of school fees and construction of boarding schools in the arid and semi-arid districts) was met by unexpected failure. /8 In fact, from all available evidence, we concluded that in spite of those measures, and probably to some extent because of them, educational opportunity has become even more unequal. Below, we will try to elucidate briefly some of the issues which seem important.

In terms of the prevailing educational theory and practice, grade repetition constitutes a contradictory relationship. First, repetition should not exist because of an official policy favouring automatic promotion between grades. High repetition rates, however, predominate in all grades of primary school (Table 4). Second, there seems to be two types of grade repetition, that operating in the lower rungs of primary school (Standards 1-4) and that to be found in higher grades (Standards 5-7).

Analysis shows that repetition in the lower grades is a result of pupils' re-entry into school after prior dropout due to problems related to educational costs. Repetition in higher up grades is related to the secondary school selection exam. Previous research /9 showed that repetition in those grades often results in a dramatic improvement in the selection exam. Naturally, this encourages higher repetition rates. Since officially repetition in the higher grades is restricted, parents tend to send their children to another district. These inter-district migrations (as indicated by negative dropout rates in school flows' analysis, see Table 3) are usually into the arid or semi-arid districts of the country where pupils are most unlikely to be detected. The effect of this is to pre-empt boarding places in

Table 3. Average Annual Dropout Rates (%) by District/Municipality and Standard

PROVINCE	DISTRICT	STANDARD					
		1	2	3	4	5	6
CENTRAL	1. Kiambu	9	5	4	6	1	11
	2. Kirinyaga	11	4	6	4	3	20
	3. Murang'a	8	4	4	5	4	10
	4. Nyandarua	8	4	5	8	6	10
	5. Nyeri	10	3	2	4	1	13
	6. Thika Mun.	9	4	1	5	-6	-2
COAST	1. Kilifi	23	12	12	15	2	15
	2. Kwale	22	9	15	8	5	8
	3. Lamu	9	5	4	-2	-7	-2
	4. Mombasa	3	3	2	3	-7	7
	5. Taita-Taveta	11	5	7	7	1	9
	6. Tana River	36	20	18	15	1	2
EASTERN	1. Embu	12	6	5	4	-6	9
	2. Isiolo	28	16	11	9	-7	-6
	3. Kitui	12	8	11	12	2	12
	4. Marsabit	21	5	10	5	9	-4
	5. Masaku -	11	6	8	11	2	5
	6. Meru	18	9	8	11	2	-3
NAIROBI	1. Nairobi City	2	2	3	3	3	10
NORTH-EASTERN	1. Garissa	29	14	10	10	3	-1
	2. Mandera	22	16	15	18	15	8
	3. Wajir	-3	5	2	15	-2	-1
NYANZA	1. Gusii	14	1	3	8	-4	3
	2. Kisumu District	12	5	9	14	3	-3
	3. Kisumu Mun.	3	-1	5	4	1	11
	4. Siaya	17	3	8	10	-7	-15
	5. South Nyanza	21	-4	7	14	4	-3
RIFT VALLEY	1. Baringo	11	-1	5	5	-8	-4
	2. Nakuru Dist.	10	1	4	6	-3	2
	3. Kericho	17	6	4	8	-7	-3
	4. Laikipia	-2	-7	-1	-7	-3	3
	5. Nakuru Mun.	7	3	8	5	-1	1
	6. Narok	23	9	8	6	-1	-7
	7. Kajiado	11	2	-7	4	-9	1
	8. Samburu	29	10	8	9	-2	5
	9. Elgeyo-Marakwet	14	4	9	11	-9	5
	10. Nandi	26	7	12	11	-2	-4
	11. Trans Nzoia	17	1	8	10	-3	5
	12. Uasin Gishu	13	7	11	13	-7	5
	13. West Pokot	23	2	2	-2	-15	-4
	14. Turkana	28	16	13	18	2	9
	15. Eldoret Mun.	-7	-7	1	-2	-16	5
	16. Kitale Mun.	16	7	13	15	1	10
WESTERN	1. Bungoma	23	4	4	11	-5	-7
	2. Busia	24	7	8	11	-5	3
	3. Kakamega	11	3	9	9	-2	3
KENYA TOTAL		13	5	7	8	-1	3

SOURCE: J.A. Nkinyangi, "Socio-Economic Determinants of Repetition and Early School Withdrawal at the Primary School Level and their Implications for Educational Planning in Kenya.", unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Stanford University, 1980, p. 159.

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Table 4. Average Annual Repetition Rate (%) by District/Municipality and Standard

PROVINCE	DISTRICT	STANDARD						
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
CENTRAL	1. Kiambu	10	10	10	12	12	16	22
	2. Kirinyaga	4	5	6	6	6	8	22
	3. Murang'a	7	8	8	8	7	9	22
	4. Nyandarua	2	5	6	7	6	8	25
	5. Nyeri	11	12	11	12	12	14	27
	6. Thika Mun.	9	7	8	8	6	9	20
COAST	1. Kilifi	2	2	2	3	3	2	19
	2. Kwale	4	4	4	3	3	5	16
	3. Lamu	5	4	5	4	4	8	18
	4. Mombasa	1	1	2	3	2	3	11
	5. Taita Taveta	6	6	7	6	6	7	16
	6. Tana River	5	4	4	4	2	3	21
EASTERN	1. Embu	4	3	4	4	4	6	19
	2. Isiolo	1	2	2	1	2	3	17
	3. Kitui	4	4	4	4	3	5	19
	4. Marsabit	8	8	8	9	8	16	18
	5. Masaku	3	4	4	4	3	6	14
	6. Meru	2	2	2	2	2	2	6
NAIROBI	1. Nairobi	3	4	5	6	6	8	10
NORTH-EASTERN	1. Garissa	7	4	4	3	3	2	13
	2. Mandera	4	3	3	3	3	6	8
	3. Wajir	2	1	2	2	2	4	12
NYANZA	1. Gusii	2	2	2	3	2	3	12
	2. Kisumu Dis.	4	4	4	4	4	7	20
	3. Kisumu Mun.	4	5	6	6	6	7	9
	4. Siaya	5	5	5	5	5	8	12
	5. South Nyanza	3	3	3	3	2	3	13
RIFT VALLEY	1. Baringo	5	5	5	6	4	10	9
	2. Nakuru Dis.	4	6	6	7	8	11	13
	3. Kericho	3	3	4	5	4	6	10
	4. Laikipia	3	5	6	7	6	8	22
	5. Nauru Mun.	5	6	8	9	10	14	16
	6. Narok Dis.	8	6	6	6	6	7	15
	7. Kajiado	9	6	6	6	7	7	11
	8. Samburu	7	7	9	9	10	13	19
	9. Elgeyo-Marakwet	3	3	3	5	4	5	12
	10. Nandi	6	6	6	6	5	10	11
	11. Trans Nzoia	3	3	3	3	3	5	15
	12. Uasin Gishu	4	4	4	4	4	6	8
	13. West Pokot	4	4	3	4	4	5	12
	14. Turkana	6	4	2	4	3	5	17
	15. Eldoret Mun.	0	1	2	3	3	5	7
	16. Kibale Mun.	2	2	2	2	2	6	5

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schools meant for pastoral children. In addition, these in-migrations also offset the government's positive discrimination and equalization programmes enacted in favour of pastoral areas especially in secondary school admission.

Also of great policy significance is the relationship between socio-economic status and grade repetition. At the individual level, our empirical investigations based on 1978-79 field data show that repeaters in the upper grades of primary school are more likely to be from those families which best can provide the necessary tuition, additional books, private coaching and other necessary preparation in order to ensure selection to secondary school. When it is possible for poor peasants and pastoralists to amass scarce resources so that their children also can have a second chance, it is at the expense of younger offspring who either have to drop out of the lower primary grades or else must mark time there while the fate of those in the final class of primary school is being decided. This effectively establishes a link between grade repetition in the two levels of primary school.

What we have said about the relationship between socio-economic circumstances and grade repetition at the individual level also seems to hold true at the regional level. The relatively wealthier districts of the country also have the highest repetition rates. Naturally, these are the same districts which take up the lion's share in secondary school admissions each year.

From the foregoing discussion, it can be concluded that where a child grows up sharply determines his or her educational opportunities. And since type and level of schooling obtained remain the chief vehicles for upward social mobility in the Kenyan society, inequality in educational opportunity and educational outcome at the district level can only go to augment already existing regional disparities in all spheres of the society.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION AT THE SCHOOL PLACE

The Question of Educational Costs

A distribution of pupils by school type and family socio-economic status (Table 5) shows the stratified nature of the Kenyan educational system.

Table 5. Distribution of Pupils in 47 Primary Schools by School Type and Socio-Economic Status, 1978-1979 (N=2525 pupils)

SCHOOL TYPE	NO. OF PUPILS	SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS		
		Low	Middle	High
		%	%	%
Country (Rural)	883	81.1	17.7	1.2
Country (Town)	131	68.7	27.5	3.8
Category A	441	51.0	43.3	5.7
Category B	438	15.8	56.4	27.9
Category C	400	9.8	33.3	57.0
Private	232	9.9	10.3	79.7
TOTAL	2525	46.0	31.2	22.8

Chi-X² = 1313.1, DF = 10, p < .0001 Missing cases = 565 (18.3%)

In our brief introduction, we argued that differentiations were first created historically through the racial division of society during the colonial period. After independence, these demarcations were justified in more or less functional terms. We also noted that since in Kenya education is not "free", /10 major income differences among the different social classes seriously influence parents' ability to meet educational costs. Income differentials also greatly affect parents' ability to provide, first, the kind of home background, and then, the kind of school which can enable a child to take the most advantage of existing selection procedures. Major differentiations in financial outlays for children's education indicate the embedded inequality in the society. These are observable at all levels: regional, rural/urban, school type, social class.

At the regional level, Nairobi parents spend three, four and twelve times more on their offsprings' education than do the parents of the

Table 6. Comparative Educational Cost Outlays in Four Representative Districts, 1978-79 (N=3033 pupils)

DISTRICT	NO. OF PUPILS	MEAN (Kshs.)	STANDARD DEVIATION	COEFFICIENT OF VARIATION
Nairobi	1076	1302.9	1678.9	1.29
Kiambu	826	460.3	553.1	1.20
Kisumu	637	296.6	463.6	1.56
Garissa	494	113.7	68.0	0.60
TOTAL	3033	668.4	1167.2	1.75

F = 209.2 with 3 & 3029 DF, $p < .0001$; $\eta = 0.41$; Missing cases = 57, (1.8%)

agricultural districts of Kiambu and Kisumu and the pastoral districts of Garissa, respectively (Table 6). Urban parents spend more than three times more

Table 7. Comparative Educational Cost Outlays Between Rural and Urban Parents, 1978-79 (N=3033)

RESIDENTIAL STATUS	NO. OF PUPILS	MEAN (Kshs.)	STANDARD DEVIATION	COEFFICIENT OF VARIATION
Rural	1357	296.1	469.1	1.58
Urban	1696	969.8	1443.8	1.49
TOTAL	3033	668.4	1167.2	1.75

F = 272.1 with 1 & 3031 DF, $p < .0001$; $\eta = 0.29$; Missing cases = 57 (1.8%)

money on their children's education than do rural parents (Table 7). The size of the coefficients of variations indicate a lot of intra-regional variation, a sign of embedded social class differentiations which are explored statistically below.

Table 8 shows that in the stratified public school system, the prestigious Category C schools which cater for part of the nation's privileged are at least three, five, and ten times more expensive than countryside schools (both Country-Rural and Country-Town) and urban schools (Category A and B) which cater for the peasantry and local traders, the workers, and the lower and middle level of the petty-bourgeoisie, respectively. The costs in the private schools, catering for the majority of the national elite, are at least two, six, eleven, and twenty-one times more expensive than in Category C, B, A, and both categories of rural

Table 8. Differences in Educational Costs Among Different School Types in Kenya, 1978-79 (N=3033 pupils)

SCHOOL TYPE	NO. OF PUPILS	MEAN (Kshs.)	STANDARD DEVIATION	COEFFICIENT OF VARIATION
Country (Rural)	1222	166.7	137.1	1.12
Country (Town)	208	155.9	97.0	0.62
Category A	480	299.5	469.5	2.05
Category B	466	548.1	460.8	0.84
Category C	416	1524.5	1564.9	1.03
Private	241	3283.5	1370.4	0.42
TOTAL	3033	668.4	1167.2	1.75

F = 851.8 with 5 & 3027 DF, $p < .0001$; $\eta^2 = .076$; Missing cases = 57 (1.8%)

schools, respectively.

Table 9 shows that members of the high socio-economic status group spend at least three and up to eight times more money on their children's education than middle and low SES groups, respectively.

Table 9. Differences in Educational Cost Outlays Among Parents of Different Socio-Economic Status, 1978-79 (N=2486)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	NO. OF PUPILS	MEAN (KShs.)	STANDARD DEVIATION	COEFFICIENT OF VARIATION
Low	1140	249.9	370.7	1.48
Middle	776	594.3	825.6	1.39
High	570	1992.7	1870.6	0.94
TOTAL	2486	757.0	1246.3	1.65

F = 546.4 with 2 & 2483 DF, $p < .0001$; $\eta^2 = 0.55$; Missing cases = 604 (19.5%)

In a multiple regression analysis, school type, family background, and location of school yielded a cumulative R^2 value of 0.60. This means that these variables together explain 60 percent of the variance in educational costs in Kenyan primary schools.

The full impact of family socio-economic background and its influence on educational outcome is channelled through the conduit of educational costs. Among the families of low socio-economic status, the deprivations of their economic position are reflected in the persistent expulsion of their children from school for failure to pay tuition costs and other charges (Table 10). Attendance is also strongly related to a district's socio-economic circumstances. Children in Nairobi, Kiambu, Kisumu, and Garissa missed school 8.2 percent, 16.4 percent, 24.1 percent, and 29.2 percent of the time, respectively. Since expulsions naturally coincide with erratic attendance patterns, this eventually leads to school retardation and dropout

Table 10. Differences in School Attendance Rates Among Pupils of Different Social Background, 1978-79 (195 days = 100%)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	NO. OF PUPILS	DAYS MISSED %	DAYS ATTENDED		
			Mean	Std. Dev.	Coeff. of Var.
Low	1162	22.1	152	51	0.33
Middle	787	12.8	170	39	0.23
High	576	8.7	178	23	0.13
TOTAL	2525	15.9	167	42	0.26

F = 87.6 with 2 & 2522 DF, $p < .0001$; eta = 0.25; Missing cases = 565 (18.3%)

The impact of socio-economic status on educational outcome is well demonstrated in Tables 11 and 12 which are based on field data for the sampled children's actual educational outcome in 1978-79. Table 11 shows the direct

Table 11. The Relationship Between Pupils' Family Socio-Economic Background and Educational Outcome, 1978-79

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	EDUCATIONAL OUTCOME			NO.	%
	Promoted	Repeated	Dropped		
Low	71.8% (795)	9.7% (107)	18.5% (205)	1107	45.9
Middle	91.2% (684)	4.7% (35)	4.1% (31)	750	31.1
High	97.8% (543)	1.8% (10)	0.4% (2)	555	23.0
TOTAL	83.8% (2022)	6.3% (152)	9.9% (238)	2412	100.0

$\chi^2 = 237.6$, 4 DF, $p < .0001$

effect of SES, and Table 12 is a comment on the mediation of the SES effect through the variable "school type". Even after controlling for grade of the child, sex and whether a child was in upper or lower primary, the fundamental and statistically significant influence of SES on educational outcome was not reduced or eliminated. This underscores the pervasiveness of social background and how this factor is demonstrated through the different educational realities children of different social classes go through.

Table 12. The Relationship Between School Type and Educational Outcome, 1978-79

SCHOOL TYPE	EDUCATIONAL OUTCOME			NO.	%
	Promoted	Repeated	Dropped		
Country (Rural)	70.9% (847)	10.6% (127)	18.4% (220)	1194	40.4
Country (Town)	75.4% (147)	4.1% (8)	20.5% (40)	195	6.6
Category A	83.5% (401)	6.3% (30)	10.2% (49)	480	16.2
Category B	93.7% (434)	4.1% (19)	2.2% (10)	463	15.7
Category C	98.3% (402)	0.7% (3)	1.0% (4)	409	13.8
Private	98.1% (212)	1.9% (4)	0.0% (0)	216	7.3
TOTAL	82.6% (2443)	6.5% (191)	10.9% (323)	2957	100.0

Material, Pedagogical and Socio-Psychological Differences Among Schools

Differential educational outlays for children's education reflect the basic inequalities which exist in the Kenya society, but when reinforced by other features of the schools, the emerging picture becomes all the more

disturbing. Disparities in the allocation of teachers, educational equipment, materials and facilities can only increase the advantages of an already privileged social background.

As if prior historical endowments were not enough, the present allocations of teachers by district also closely follow the lines of historical advantage or disadvantage. Garissa and Kisumu lead in numbers of untrained teachers; Kiambu and Nairobi, on the other hand, excel in qualified teachers. /11

Table 13. Distribution of Primary School Teachers in 47 Schools by School Type and Professional Qualification, 1978-79 (N=845)

SCHOOL TYPE	NO. OF TEACHERS	PROFESSIONAL QUALIFICATION (%)					
		Untrained	Primary 3 & 4	Primary 2	Primary 1 & Secondary 1	Graduate	
Country (Rural)	239	(54) 23	(52) 22	(64) 27	(69) 29	(0) 0	
Country (Town)	63	(4) 6	(14) 22	(23) 37	(22) 35	(0) 0	
Category A	175	(2) 1	(18) 10	(55) 31	(100) 57	(0) 0	
Category B	161	(3) 2	(14) 9	(40) 25	(104) 65	(0) 0	
Category C	135	(1) 1	(1) 1	(8) 6	(119) 88	(6) 4	
Private	72	(2) 3	(2) 3	(0)	(39) 54	(29) 40	
TOTAL	845	(66) 8	(101) 12	(190) 22	(453) 54	(35) 4	

In the distribution of available teachers, the lowest calibre (untrained, P₂, P₃ and P₄) preponderate in the schools catering for the lower social classes (Table 13). On the other hand, the best teachers (P₁, S₁ and even Graduates) teach in the schools catering for the privileged classes. It follows that teachers with the greatest number of years of basic education and professional experience teach in the relatively more endowed districts and school types.

In the 47 primary schools visited in 1978-79, there were also serious differentiations in the availability of textbooks and teaching materials of all kinds (including chalk and pencils) as well as acute differences in the school plants. The privileged schools boasted such facilities as swimming pools, sports facilities of all kinds, libraries, teaching aids (projectors, duplicating and photocopying machines) staffrooms, and so on; the schools catering for the lower social classes are lucky to have even the minimum essentials.

It is difficult to capture in statistical terms the serious paucity in all educational materials or the socio-psychological climate in the schools catering for the lower social classes. It was not unusual, for example, to encounter five or more children sharing a basic textbook. When they were thoroughly frustrated by this arrangement, they often tore the book into equal portions among themselves. The failure of the government School Equipment Scheme to deliver materials to rural schools on time underlies many such frustrations. Again, it was not unusual to find a rural school which had gone without chalk or exercise books for up to six months, or even a whole year.

These problems were not restricted to the rural schools. Right in Nairobi, there were vast differences in the delivery of equipment and other materials among the schools catering for the different social classes. Naturally, it was the Category A schools, catering for the workers and the poor of the town, which suffered from late or even non-delivery of materials.

The frustrations resulting from this situation leads teachers to ask parents to provide materials which are supposed to be handed out by the schools. The effect is to increase educational costs for the people who can least afford it. And as is often the case, the end result of inefficiencies in government provision penalizes the underprivileged social classes and curtails their educational access or progression.

Moreover, it was found that the interaction between teachers and education officials, and between teachers and parents is directly related to school type (Table 14). The relatively more endowed schools had been visited by education officials and inspected more often than the lower category schools. Further, relations between teachers and parents were more regular and cordial in the schools catering for the relatively more privileged

social classes than in schools catering for the not so privileged. Upper-class parents visited the schools much more regularly to consult with teachers about their children's education. Parents and teachers knew each other well and seemed to have a good working relationship.

In the relatively less endowed schools, however, working relations between parents and teachers were often sour and based on "monetary" concerns (payment or non-payment of school dues) and school discipline. In fact, it is not far-fetched to suggest that relations are actually antagonistic. It therefore becomes easy to understand the sentiments

Table 14. Interactions Between Teachers and Parents and Between Teachers and Education Officials in Schools of Different Types, 1978-79 (%)

SCHOOL TYPE	NO. OF TEACHERS	TEACHER-PARENTAL		TEACHER-ED. OFFICIALS	
		Regular	Rare-None	Regular	Rare-None
Country (Rural)	142	56	44	56	44
Country (Town)	31	42	58	64	36
Category A	61	47	53	63	37
Category B	56	75	25	68	32
Category C	53	94	6	36	64
Private	38	00	0	24	76
TOTAL	381	66	34	54	46

teachers' perceptions of parental support for education expressed in Table 15. It is the perfect story of the victim blaming the victim.

In the less endowed schools, one often met sullen, recalcitrant parents who had been summoned to explain (sic) why their children were being sent home regularly for non-payment of school dues. It was also usual to meet parents who had been invited to administer the cane to instill proper school discipline (sic) in their children.

Table 15. Teachers' Perceptions of Parental Support for Children's Education in Schools of Different Types, 1978-79 (Percent)

SCHOOL TYPE	NO. OF TEACHERS	PARENTAL SUPPORT	
		Lukewarm	Active
Country (Rural)	140	69	31
Country (Town)	30	70	30
Category A	59	81	19
Category B	57	46	54
Category C	53	21	79
Private	38	21	79
TOTAL	377	56	44

Regarding school discipline, it is perplexing to find that attitudes and mannerisms which are considered a part of normal adolescent behaviour, and even part of pupil-teacher and pupil-class interaction in the privileged school system, e.g. chatting with teachers at break time, chatting with others in class, taking one's time when the school bell rings to summon pupils to an activity, etc., in the case of the majority of the alternative school system provoked severe caning by the teachers. During our visits to schools, we witnessed quite a number of child beatings and were amazed at what little provocation it took for the teachers to severely cane the pupils.

Ill-trained, overworked, underpaid, maligned and still expected to turn tricks at the secondary school selection examination! That is the story of most of the Kenyan primary school teachers. Some of their more cruel antics should be understood in the context of the alienation and dehumanization that the dismal conditions in the majority of the country's rural primary schools engender. We found the teachers to be turning out "meek" children who could not communicate properly with either their teachers or their peers. This sense of "resignation", together with what

have been referred to as the "injuries of (lower social) class", must contribute independently to the serious differences in /12 educational as well as career aspirations which characterize Kenyan children of different social classes (Tables 16 and 17).

The fact that parents of different social classes value different characteristics in children and have different aspirations for their children must be a function of differences in their conditions of life. Educational differences among parents, for example, above and beyond their importance as determinants of occupation, probably contribute independently to the variations in their values.

Table 16. Parental Socio-Economic Background and Offsprings' Educational Aspirations, 1978-79

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	NO OPINION	PRIMARY	O- LEVEL	A- LEVEL	UNIV.	NO.	%
Low	5.3% (59)	6.5% (72)	23.8% (262)	13.5% (149)	50.9% (561)	1103	45.9
Middle	5.3% (40)	2.1% (16)	11.2% (84)	15.5% (116)	65.8% (493)	749	31.1
High	7.1%	0.5%	4.3%	7.6%	80.5%	553	23.0
TOTAL	5.7%	3.8%	15.8%	12.8%	62.3%	2405	100.0

The objective socio-economic and socio-psychological differences which have been described are understood and appreciated differently by children of the different social classes. The children of the upper classes are acutely aware of their status and privileged positions; the ultimate alienation and the height of poor social class consciousness is expressed by pupils of the lower social classes who feel that their schools are among the best in the whole world. This poor social consciousness, however, is not very different from what is manifest at the beginning of every year when secondary school selection results are out and the nation debates as to who is to blame for the dismal performance in the majority of the country's schools.

Table 17. Parental Socio-Economic Background and Offsprings' Career Aspirations, 1978-79

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	NO OPINION	TEACHER	CLERICAL	PROFESSIONAL	NO.	%**
Low	5.3% (58)	32.7% (358)	35.5% (389)	26.5% (290)	1095	46.2
Middle	5.1% (38)	22.9% (170)	33.7% (250)	33.8% (284)	742	31.3
High	10.7% (57)	9.6% (51)	23.7% (126)	55.9% (297)	531	22.4
TOTAL	6.5% (153)	24.5% (579)	32.3% (765)	36.8% (871)	2368	100.0

** Percentage figure may not add to 100 because of rounding

APROPOS EDUCATIONAL OUTCOME

Through field data we have shown that despite the high hopes harboured by parents of the lower social classes for their children's education, a substantial number do not even complete primary school. Educational costs largely explain this premature withdrawal or dropout from the school system. The price paid by the poor are school expulsions, slack attendance patterns and eventual dropout for those who in the end are defeated by educational costs.

In this section, we attempt to show that those who are not eliminated in the attrition process are subsequently eliminated at the end of primary school when they sit for the competitive secondary school selection examination (Certificate of Primary Education, CPE). We hope it will be clear that as before, this outcome is as much a result of embedded structural cleavages which define educational opportunities and possibilities for children of different regions and social background as it is a function of pupils' school experience (i.e. their history of school expulsions, attendance record, disjointed learning, etc.).

Table 18. 1978 CPE Scores in Four Representative Districts (N=426)

DISTRICT	ENGLISH		MATHS**		Mean	S.D.	NO.
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.			
Garissa	55.3	12.4	50.0	12.1	54.6	15.7	67
Kisumu	63.0	15.4	59.9	15.7	59.8	17.2	88
Kiambu	68.3	20.0	62.8	17.6	65.4	19.4	113
Nairobi	85.6	16.4	72.8	16.9	78.0	18.8	158
TOTAL	71.6	20.2	63.9	18.0	67.2	20.2	426

* $F = 67.3, 3 \text{ \& } 422 \text{ DF, } p < .0001; \text{ eta} = 0.57$

** $F = 34.4, 3 \text{ \& } 422 \text{ DF, } p < .0001; \text{ eta} = 0.44$

*** $F = 34.3, 3 \text{ \& } 422 \text{ DF, } p < .0001; \text{ eta} = 0.44$

Table 18 points out the strong relationship which seems to exist between regional economic and social circumstances and pupils' performance in a standardized examination like the CPE. The table also suggests that although there is some variation within districts, the performance is nevertheless highly correlated with a district's level of socio-economic development. The greatest variation among the districts is in the English Language and General papers. The rural districts are also more similar to each other in all respects than they are to Nairobi. On the other hand, there is an average 30 percentage point difference in the English Language paper between Garissa, a pastoral district, and Nairobi, which is both urban and the country's most advanced district. But it is also to be noted that Nairobi is still a whole 17 percentage points ahead of Kiambu, one of the country's leading agricultural districts. Although these regional differences are minimized somewhat in the Mathematics and General papers, Nairobi still stands out ahead of the other three districts, which follow in its foot-steps according to their rough order of socio-economic development.

The English Language and General papers, probably more so than the Mathematics paper, underscore the effects of differential exposure to

knowledge and the huge gulf which separates rural and urban children's future educational possibilities in the competitive Kenyan society.

Table 19 and 20 illustrate this effect through the differences in performance in the school system.

Table 19 indicates how the social characteristics of a school are also reflected in the examination performance of its pupils. On the average, urban schools have better scores than rural schools. As is also to be expected, schools catering for the more privileged in the Kenyan society perform considerably better than the schools catering for the under-privileged. The relatively high eta values of between 0.51 and 0.71 indicate that there is a strong correlation between school type and performance in the CPE examination. In particular, the exceptionally high performance in Private and Category C schools should be noted. Most of the children who took the CPE examination in these schools in 1978 were admitted to prestigious government secondary schools in 1979.

Table 20 summarizes the relationship between pupils' social economic background and their performance in CPE. Relatively large eta values of 0.57 and 0.53 in the English Language and General papers indicate once again the comments we made about the effects of differential exposure on performance in

Table 19. 1978 CPE Scores Broken Down by School Type (N=426)

DISTRICT	ENGLISH*		MATHS**		GENERAL***		NO.
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
1. Country (Rural)	57.5	14.6	55.5	15.6	56.8	16.7	166
2. Country (Town)	58.1	15.9	53.6	14.5	57.0	15.6	32
3. Category A	74.3	17.2	63.2	14.7	64.4	15.5	69
4. Category B	81.3	14.8	72.4	16.7	74.3	18.9	74
5. Category C	91.9	10.7	75.6	16.1	85.7	15.3	59
6. Private	96.5	7.1	81.1	13.2	91.0	12.9	26
TOTAL	71.6	20.2	63.9	15.5	67.2	16.4	426

* F = 83.3, 5 & 420, p < .0001; eta = 0.71

** F = 30.1, p < .0001; eta = 0.51

*** F = 44.7, p < .0001; eta = 0.59

Table 20. 1978 CPE Scores Broken Down by Pupils' Socio-Economic Status (N=371)

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS	ENGLISH*		MATHS**		GENERAL***		NO.
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
1. Low	62.2	17.4	57.1	15.3	59.3	18.0	180
2. Middle	77.0	17.9	67.8	17.6	69.8	16.8	110
3. High	90.8	12.7	78.0	16.1	86.5	15.8	81
TOTAL	72.8	20.4	64.8	18.2	68.4	17.2	371

* F = 87.4, 2 & 368 DF, $p < .0001$; $\eta^2 = 0.57$

**F = 49.0, $p < .0001$; $\eta^2 = 0.46$

***F = 70.7, $p < .0001$; $\eta^2 = 0.53$

these two subjects. In the data on this table there is a clear summary of the effects of prior social advantage with all that it means in terms of cultural reproduction through the medium of a socially stratified educational system whose real base is a differentiated allocation of material, physical and pedagogical resources among schools.

Table 21 is a breakdown of 1978 CPE scores by whether in fact pupils progressed upwards with their education (i.e. were admitted to secondary school), failed for a second chance at the secondary school selection examination, or merely terminated their educational aspirations at that point. In other words, the table tries to illustrate the basis on which the fate of thousands of Kenyan children was sealed in terms of onward educational progression and possibly future lifechances as well.

The full meaning of the information contained in this table, and what it says about the dynamics of the Kenyan educational system, only becomes clear when it is looked at in relation to the preceding tables. For all the subjects, the minimum mean scores to facilitate selection to secondary school were very high. Analysis at the district level shows that, on the average, only children from Nairobi had scores equivalent to or above

Table 21. 1978 CPE Scores Broken Down by Pupils' Actual Educational Outcome in 1979 (N=411)

EDUCATIONAL OUTCOME	ENGLISH*		MATHS**		GENERAL**		NO.
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
Promoted	82.3	16.9	72.6	15.1	77.1	18.2	282
Repeated	59.1	11.2	50.6	10.7	54.0	13.2	58
Dropped	53.1	13.3	0.8	11.7	50.3	11.0	95
TOTAL	72.2	15.4	64.4	14.5	67.6	16.1	411

* F = 149.6, 2 & 408 DF, p < .0001

** F = 110.6, p < .0001

*** F = 120,4, p < .0001

the necessary means for upward progression. Among the different school types, only children from the privileged Category C and private schools fulfilled this criteria. Children from Category B schools almost did not make it. At the level of pupils' family background, only children from high socio-economic status went beyond these minimum requirements. Again, although these are only average trends which do not address themselves to the dispersion in scores, they nevertheless create an image of inequality in the Kenyan educational system which, as we have tried to show, is quite real in terms of what it means in different people's life-chances

SOME CONCLUSIONS REGARDING EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

What have been the responses to the educational disparities that we have discussed? At the level of policy formulation there have always been efforts to treat the educational sphere as if it were an independent sub-system. This is seen for example, in the way the educational system is made the whipping boy of societal ills which range from unemployment to poverty while at the same time it is offered as a panacea of all ills, individual and societal. This is also seen in the kind of policies which

which are initiated, as for example, those meant to improve access and school progression. In a society in which educational acquisition is actually a rather expensive affair, policies to improve access and school progression are formulated and implemented quite apart from an overall framework to uplift income levels for the majority of the people. Of course, such touchy matters as ways and means of narrowing the systematic differentiations which exist in cost and allocation of resources among schools catering for the different social classes are issues swept under the carpet.

In the relatively less developed districts, government efforts have largely centred on prescribing educational training of a formal or non-formal kind instead of making interventions of a more direct economic nature. In the pastoral areas, for example, planners seem to have failed to see the link between economic and school participation. We have argued elsewhere that since livestock development ventures have generally failed, pastoralists therefore remain at the periphery of the money market. In very simple terms, they are not able to afford the rather exorbitant educational costs in the boarding schools expressly built for them to overcome years of neglect in this area as well to improve enrolment and increase school retention. /13

Since official policies seem to be restricted to matters of access, especially among hitherto underprivileged communities, our discussion will be restricted to this aspect. In particular, we will address ourselves to what this means in terms of provision of boarding facilities. This is an important question since rigorous analysis of this programme tends to reveal other than the intended results. If the boarding school programme had succeeded, we would expect to find high enrolment rates and better school retention rates in these districts. In addition, we would expect to find the boarding schools teeming with children indigenous to those districts. Evidence already offered in regard to prevailing low enrolment rates and high dropout figures completely disproves the first proposition. Evidence which we present below also seems to suggest that the second proposition is false. In fact, analysis of school data and current trends in Kenyan education seems to indicate that the dynamics of competition in the secondary

school selection examination are working in such a way as to completely negate the government's intentions in this regard.

Our analysis of district-by-district school flows from 1970 indicates very strong inter-district migrations of pupils. This was not surprisingly since it was expected that curbs on grade repetition in upper primary as a measure of improving school efficiency at those grades would result in some inter-district migrations. What was not expected was the magnitudes of the migrations and the directions they took. When this phenomenon was found to occur nationally, attempts were made to compute its magnitude and to locate its end. Table 22 points out the districts where in-migrations took place consistently during the 1970's and gives some indications of the magnitude of the those in-migrations.

Table 22. Indications of Pupils In-Migration into Arid and Semi-Arid Districts, 1970-79 (Percent of Enrolment)

DISTRICT	PERCENT IN-MIGRATION
Lamu	7
Kitui	?
Isiolo	7
Marsabit	4
Meru (probably Tharaka)	3
Garissa	1
Wajir	2
Baringo	8
Laikipia	3
Narok	1
Kajiado	9
Samburu	2
Elgeyo-Marakwet	9
Nandi	4
West Pokot	15

It should be stressed that the data shown on the table may under-estimate the in-migration. In fact, this is very likely the case given possible errors in enrolment figures and almost certain under-estimations in repetition rates, both used to reconstruct school flows. Moreover, magnitudes should also be understood in a purely relative sense. In real terms, in districts which have very low enrolment figures, such in-migrations can be substantial in absolute numbers. This appears to be the case with West Pokot which had an in-migration of 15 percent at one point.

We should also point out that we have found such errors as "under-reporting" grade repetition actually a boon in terms of helping to indicate directions of pupils' migration. This is clear from the formulation of the dropout problem and repetition. There is very little grade repetition in lower primary, but there are very high dropout rates. Conversely, in upper primary there is almost no dropout problem but a high repetition rate. The majority of would-be dropouts have already left primary school by this stage and those who continue into upper levels of primary school are really a rather select group. Hence, pupils who appear to drop out here are really those pupils who have migrated to other districts. In simple terms, pupils who move from one district to another are like a river which disappears underground only to reappear elsewhere to wash new shores with the same waters. When in-migrations are substantial, they tend to appear in school flows statistics as negative dropout rates.

During field work in 1978-79 as well as during the months of August - November, 1980, inter-district migrations of pupils were noted in the excessive numbers of pupils from the agricultural areas in boarding schools meant for arid/semi-arid areas. Table 21 gives a sampling of some of the schools which were visited at different times, the numbers of boarders enrolled, the proportion of boarders from out of district or catchment area, and the probable origin of the "immigrants" according to interview with school teachers.

It becomes clear that inter-district migrations do not just attempt to beat the rules forbidding grade repetition in upper primary, but also to exploit existing compensatory policies in favour of the relatively

less developed districts: of boarding facilities and preferential secondary school admission procedures. According to field interviews, this process has been brought about by a near proverbial belief in the power of boarding schools to certify pupils for secondary selection.

Table 23. Select Boarding Schools in a Number of Arid/Semi-Arid Districts, Proportion of Boarders from Out of District or Catchment Area, and Probable Origin of the 'Migrant' Children, 1978-79, 1980

DISTRICT	SCHOOL	NO. OF BOARDERS	%	OUT OF AREA	ORIGIN
EMBU (Mbeere)	Gwakaithi	40		80	coffee areas of district; Meru, Masaku, Kitui, Kiambu, Muranga
	Siakago	60		42	
	Kanyuambora	60		7	
	Kiamuringa	58		83	
	Iriamurai	52		6	
LAMU	Mokowe	50		40	Mombasa, Kilifi, Central Province
TANA RIVER	Kipini	5		50	Mombasa, Kilifi
KILIFI	Bamba	60		67	Mombasa, Kitui
	Kibarani	120		37	
KWALE	Waa	138		88	Mombasa
TAVETA	Timbila	37		49	Mombasa
WEST POKOT	Ortum Boys	206		97	agricultural division of Kapenguria; Kisumu, Uasin Gishu, Trans Nzoia, South Nyanza, Central Province
	Ortum Girls	206		67	
	Nasokol	234		67	
	Tartar	179		92	
	Kacheliba	140		46	
	Sigor	50		28	
	Kodich	116		32	
Kapenguria	230		95		
TURKANA	Kaputir	97		7	Kisumu, South Nyanza, Lodwar division
ISIOLO	Garba Tula	200		75	Meru
GARISSA	Bura	198		75	Meru, Kitui, Masaku, Central Province

SOURCES: Field interviews and school data.

This belief first started with the boarding schools in the arid/semi-arid areas. The thinking went like this: for the relatively more economically endowed parents of the agricultural areas, the boarding schools in the arid areas cost relatively little (Kshs. 180 per year tuition fee). Moreover, since the schools were located in remote areas of the country, it was assumed that pupils had a better opportunity to dedicate themselves to the rigors of the secondary school selection examination without much distraction. But one man's cup of tea can be another man's poison. Since these supposedly cheap schools required that parents also provide a bed, bedding and cutlery, besides paying up tuition costs and other incidental expenses, this meant that for relatively poor communities operating at the fringes of the money economy, the institutions remained effectively closed.

The mystification of boarding school is now beginning to have the kind of dynamic which is leading to the construction of boarding schools even in agricultural areas where the proximity to schools is sometimes less than 3 kilometres (Table 24). One of the really disturbing features of this new

Table 24. Examples of New Developments in Primary Boarding Schools in Some Agricultural Districts, 1980.

DISTRICT	NO. OF SCHOOLS
Nyeri	4
Kirinyaga	5
Murang'a	3
Kiambu	10
Nakuru	10
Kericho	10
Bungoma	10
Kakamega	12

development is in how public facilities built of everyone's sweat, fundamentally the poor peasants who are the majority in most rural areas and

who contribute the bulk of the financial input and labour requirements, are in the end only utilized by the privileged members of the community or by people from out of the locale who can afford the often exorbitant fees charged in such schools.

The meritocratic ideology upon which social justice in Kenya is based makes social divisions in the society palatable by cleverly substituting the idea of equality of opportunity. This ideology is fundamentally contradictory equality. On the one hand, it presupposes inequality since "opportunity" means "the opportunity to rise to a higher level in a socially stratified society". On the other hand, it presupposes equality since it implies that the inequalities embedded in this stratified society have to be counteracted as much as as possible so that individuals can really develop their individual attributes.

Our analysis has shown how strong and pervasive is the influence of the entrenched distinctions of social class upon educational opportunity, Kenya's widely preferred avenue towards upward mobility for everyone. It therefore follows that equality of opportunity can only become a reality in a society without social classes.

FOOTNOTES

1. This research was financed by the Kenya Education Sector Analysis.
2. Kabiru Kinyanjui, "Regional and Class Inequalities in the Provision of Primary Education in Kenya 1968-73: A Historical and Socio-Economic Background" (Harvard University: Graduate School of Education, Ph.D. Qualifying Paper, December 1977).
3. D. Court, "The Educational System as a Response to Inequality in Tanzania and Kenya", Journal of Modern African Studies, vol. 14, No. 4, December 1976.
4. D. Court, op. cit.
5. For a detailed explication of the method of this study, see J.A. N'Kinyangi, "Socio-Economic Determinants of Repetition and Early School Withdrawal at the Primary School Level and their Implications for Educational Planning in Kenya", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1980.
6. For how this came about historically, see R.M.A. van Zwanenberg with Anne King, An Economic History of Kenya and Uganda 1800-1970 (London: MacMillan, 1975).
7. For validation and theoretical arguments, see J.A. N'Kinyangi, "Socio-Economic Determinants of Repetition and Early School Withdrawal...", chapters 2-5, and 7.
8. For some discussion in this regard, see J.A. N'Kinyangi, "Education for Nomadic Pastoralists: Development Planning by "Trial and Error", paper presented at the Conference on The Future of Pastoral Peoples: Research Priorities for the 1980's, sponsored by the Commission on Nomadic Peoples of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in collaboration with the Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, Nairobi, August 4-8, 1980.

9. K. King, "Primary Schools in Kenya: Some Critical Constraints on Their Effectiveness", in D. Court and D. Ghai (eds.), Education, Society and Development.
10. For support of these arguments, see J.A. N'kinyangi, "Society and the Educational System: Public Policy and School Failure in Kenya", paper presented at the 23rd Annual Meetings of the African Studies Association, Philadelphia, October 15-18, 1980.
11. Presently, the government uses 'merit' for placement of teachers into various teaching grades. Until recently, however, teachers' classifications were determined by their educational background and subsequent training, as follows:

<u>Professional Classification</u>	<u>Years of Basic Education</u>	<u>Years of Professional Training</u>
Graduate	at least 3 of University	-
Secondary 1 (S1)	4-6 years of Secondary	1-2
Primary 1 (P1)	4 of Secondary	2
Primary 2 (P2)	2 of Secondary	2
Primary 3 (P3)	7 of Primary	2
Primary 4 (P4)	Some primary	-

12. The expression is from the title of R. Sennett's and J. Cobb's best selling book, The Injuries of Class (New York: Basic Books, 1973).
13. For evidence, see J.A. N'Kinyangi, "Education for Nomadic Pastoralists..."