# Access to Primary Education in Kenya: Learning from experience

Tony Somerset, CIE

## **Outline of Presentation**

#### 1. Primary school access during the Colonial period

The Beecher Report (1949) Impact of racial segregation

# 2 Since Independence: The first two UPE initiatives (1974 and 1979)

Macro-level evidence: National cohort survival curves

#### 3. The third UPE initiative (2003)

Micro-level evidence: The experience at two high-impact Nairobi schools

#### 4. The lessons of experience

Vulnerability of the marginal
Need for effective preparation
Disruptive effects of rapid population growth
Flight of the more-affluent to the private schools: the new segregation?

# Tensions among three goals

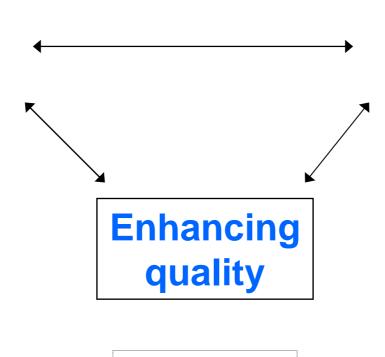
# Widening access

#### Internal voices:

 Popular demand (1930s onwards; fuelled by demonstration effect)

#### **External voices:**

- Universal declaration of Human Rights (Article 26, 1948)
- Human Capital Theory (1964 onwards)
- Millenium Development Goals (2000) World Bank
   / DflD support, 2002



#### Internal voice:

Examinations Council: performance tables (1979 onwards)

# Containing costs

#### Internal voices:

- Govt administrators, planners (1920s onwards)
- Colonial (European) politicians. Often invoked cost as façade for another concern: loss of political control (to late 1950s)

#### **External voices**

 IMF/World Bank Structural adjustment / cost-sharing (1986 to around 2000)

### Kenya primary education policy initiatives and their impact

(a) 1949 to 1974.						
Year	Major concern	Policy initiative	Impact			
1949	Cost	Beecher Report. (a) Primary school course reduced from five to four years; (b) Common Entrance Examination governing access to Grade 5 introduced.	<ol> <li>Transition rates to Grade 5 around 30% (late 1950s)</li> <li>Low dropout rates, Grades 1 to 4</li> <li>Substantial exam-year repetition bulge in Grade 4</li> <li>Continued concern about primary school (Grade 4) leavers</li> </ol>			
1961	Access	Transition rates to Grade 5 increased, leading to final abolition of Common Entrance Examination in 1964	<ol> <li>Massive rise in upper primary enrolments, starting with Grade 5 in 1961.</li> <li>Exam-year repetition bulge moved from Grade 4 to Grade 7</li> <li>School leaver concerns moved from Grade 4 to Grade 7</li> </ol>			

1962 Cost Payment of (a) local tax (GPT) and Grade 1 intake down 27% (190,000 to 138,000) (b) school fees required for school between 1961 and 1963. Other grades also down. enrolment. Requirements relaxed Intake growth resumed 1964 1964

grade (Grade 5 in 1977 etc)

1974 Access **First FPE initiative.** Lower primary 1. 152% rise in G1 intake, 1974 (Grade 1-4) fees abolished. 2. 1975-78: G1 intakes dropped back, but remained **Extended to upper grades as first 50% higher than 1973** fee-free cohort reached relevant

#### Kenya primary education policy initiatives and their impact

(b) 1978 to present.						
Year	Major concern	Policy initiative	Impact			
1978	Quality	Introduction of selection examination (CPE, later KCPE) league tables, by district and school	Created Incentive for schools to deny weaker students access to final primary grade ('sifting'). Exam-year (G7) repetition bulge ended; replaced by bulge in previous year. Substantial dropout between final two grades			
1979	Access	Second FPE initiative 1. Building levies and other parental	1. Massive increase in Gr 1 intake; maintained throughout 1980s (although with rising population,			

d lation. contributions prohibited **Grade 1 GER dropped)** 2. Free school milk introduced 2. Massive increases in dropout rates, especially Grade 1 to 2

1986 Cost Cost sharing. Parental 1. Little impact on cohort curves, suggesting that -88 contributions reinstated; to cover parental contributions had continued, in one form specified recurrent expenses or another, in most schools post -1979 (maintenance, materials). Aim to 2. No (long term) impact on Govt recurrent education budget: proportion back to 36% by 2003 reduce Govt recurrent education budget from 35+% to 'around 30%'

2003

1. Massive increase in Grade1 intake Access Third FPE initiative. 1. Parental contributions prohibited 2. Early indication that Grade 1 to 2 dropout rate 2. Free curriculum materials increased (textbooks, library books, science kits) -provided

# Access and costs: A 1949 perspective

The history of the last 30 years is dominated by the interplay of two factors - first, the enthusiasm of the educationists and, later, of the Africans (for expansion of provision), and secondly, the Government's attempts to keep pace with the growing financial requirements

African Education in Kenya (Beecher Report) 1949 Para 6

# Access, costs and quality (1949)

The story of the period 1911-1949... is that of the Government's attempt to build up an efficient and progressive education service ... and to provide the maximum funds which the Colony can afford. With this is the constant danger of the qualitative intention being lost in the dilution of quantity.

African Education in Kenya (Beecher report) 1949 Para 8

# 'Subversive' primary leavers (1949)

Large numbers (of primary school leavers) are said to join an idle section of the population. . . African chiefs and responsible African leaders indicated in evidence that they are much exercised by this element in African society, which, in their judgment, is capable of becoming a discontented and indeed subversive force . . .

African Education in Kenya (Beecher report) 1949 Para 173

# 'Suitable' primary school access (1949)

Some witnesses . . . indicated that the shorter a boy's stay in primary school . . . the more easily will he be absorbed into the agricultural and pastoral life of the country. Six years, it was suggested, is too long for the attainment of bare literacy; four years was suggested as a more suitable period for 'real' primary education.

African Education in Kenya (Beecher report) 1949 Para 171

# School Certificate (Grade 10) Passes in Kenya, 1944 and 1948

	All races	African Candidates
1944	79%	87%
1948	71%	93%

... the proportion of African students passing the School Certificate Examination is so high, and so much higher than that of the Colony as a whole, that there must be an uneconomic severity of selection...

African Education in Kenya (Beecher Report) 1949 Para 185

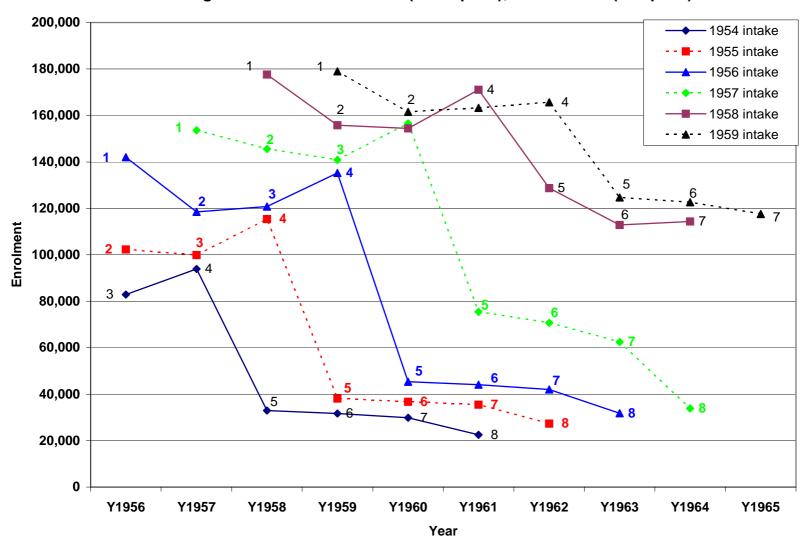
# Popular demand for UPE (1954)

Government wishes to state that it is well aware of the demands for the introduction of compulsory education for Africans up to primary standard... But the capital commitment alone rules out the possibility of these demands being acceded to immediately...

**Development Programme, 1954 - 1957** 

#### **Kenya Primary School Cohort Survival Curves**

Fig 1: Intakes 1954 and 1955 (incomplete); 1956 to 1959 (complete)



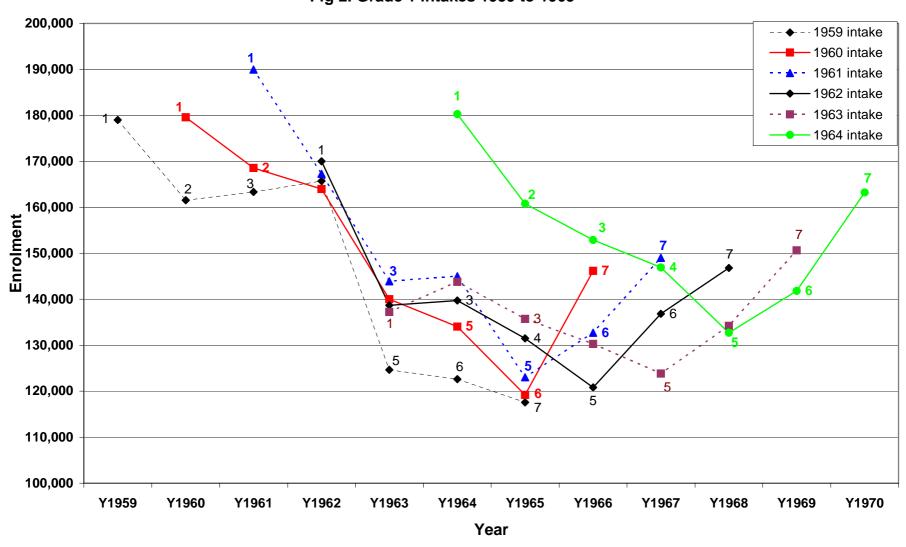
## **Concerns over Education Costs (1963)**

- 6.7. Expenditure on education (in 1961-62) exceeded any other single item and total share amounted to 16%, rather more than the whole agricultural and forestry group.
- 8.5. (There is a) need to bring into balance the recurrent budget through a combination of cost-cutting and revenue generation.

**Economic Survey, 1963** 

#### **Kenya Primary School Cohort Survival Curves**

Fig 2. Grade 1 intakes 1959 to 1963



## Impact of economy measures, 1962-63

9.3 It will be seen that there was a reduction in the rate of growth of pupils at primary schools in 1962 and a fall in 1963. This is a consequence of an *increase in school fees*, higher unemployment, and the *requirement that proof of tax payment be a prerequisite of enrolment*.

Economic Survey, 1964

# Kericho Conference, 1966: The primary school leaver problem

The Conference was most concerned about what happens, particularly to boys, after leaving primary school. The majority fail to get into a Government secondary school. While it is possible that they soon get over the first violent disappointment, they nevertheless frequently turn into the Kenya version of the worldwide 'problem teenager'.

**Conference Conclusions, para 81** 

# Kericho Conference, 1966: Prospects for UPE

... Kenya is already in the top bracket of nations relative to the proportion of total national income and public revenues being invested in education. It is inconceivable that these proportions can be greatly expanded in the future . . . While recognizing free universal primary education as the longterm objective, the Conference could see no immediate possibility of breaking out of the resource constraints so as to implement it.

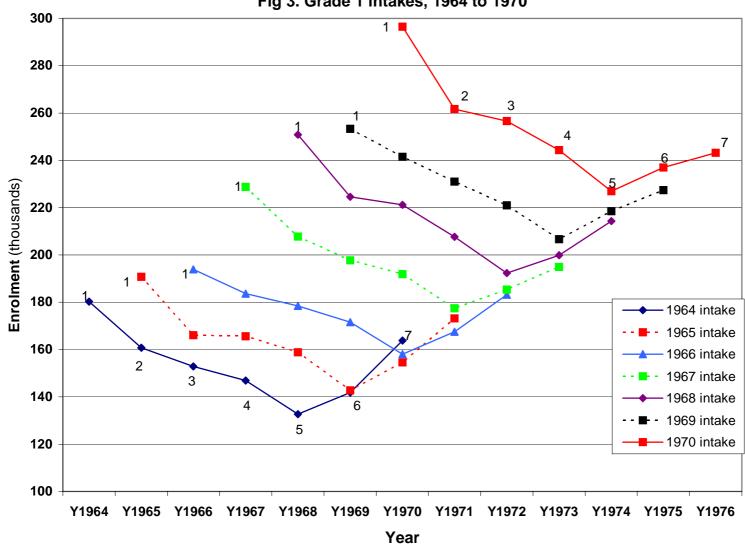
**Conference Conclusions, para 66** 

## **Education as investment**

9.1 The provision of physical capital resources is however not enough, for without men capable of using capital efficiently . . . sustained growth will be impossible. It is appropriate therefore (to consider) the human resources available to the country in the years ahead and in particular the *progress of education for the* supply of middle and higher level manpower

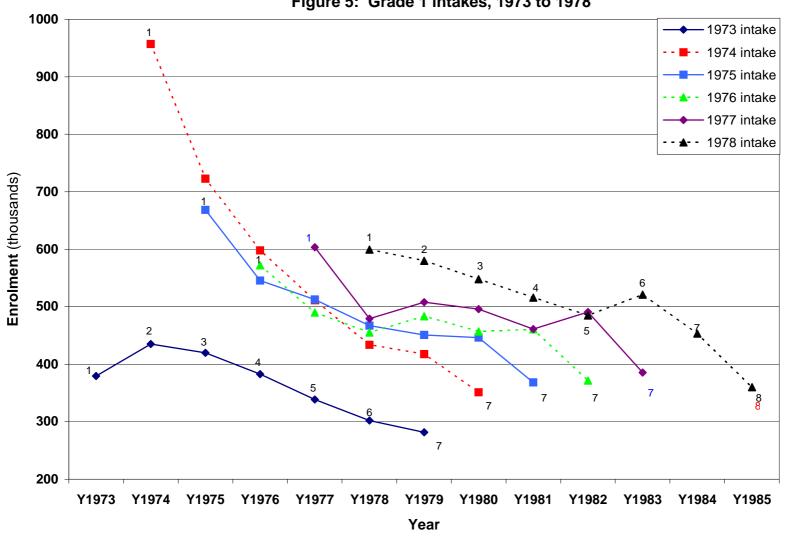
#### **Kenya Primary School Cohort Survival Curves**

Fig 3. Grade 1 intakes, 1964 to 1970



#### **Kenya: Primary School Cohort Survival Curves**

Figure 5: Grade 1 intakes, 1973 to 1978



Kisumu schools top in CPE exam

# Factors behind the poor show in rural schools

# TEACHERS 'CANED' OVER POOR CPE RESULTS

CPE row: Teachers not to blame'

Poor CPE results? 'Blame parents'

Heads rapped over poor exam results

Officials 'to blame for poor results'

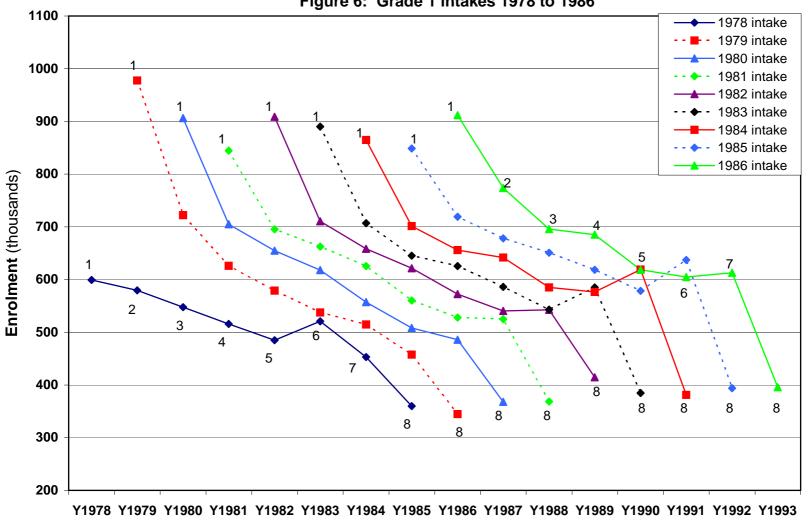
Teach students how to think for themselves, new study urges



"YOU'LL notice nobody's blaming the pupils, like in the old days — so perhaps there's something in this Year of the Child

#### **Kenya Primary School Cohort Survival Curves**

Figure 6: Grade 1 intakes 1978 to 1986



Year

## Cost sharing (1)

- 3.12 . . it is imperative that Government begin spending proportionally more on immediately productive services. . (including) . . . agricultural development and small scale industrialization. . .
- 3.13 As a consequence, the share of formal education, health and other basic needs expenditure will necessarily fall...

**Sessional Paper No 1, 1986** 

## Cost sharing (2)

• 9.49... the share of public expenditure on education has now become an issue of major concern. As of 1987, over 35% of the total public sector recurrent budget was taken up by education alone, compared to 15% in the 1960s and 30% in 1980.

Kenya Development Plan, 1989-93

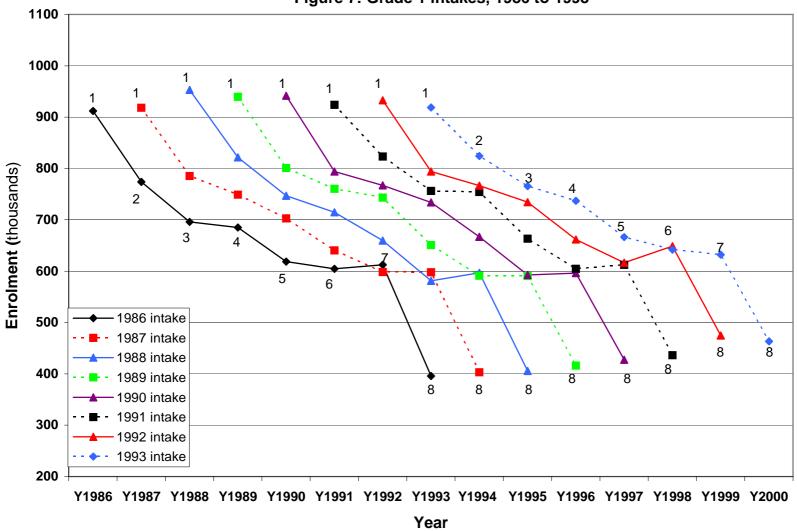
## Cost sharing (3)

 9.57 In line with the budget rationalization programme and the Harambee spirit, parents will be encouraged to continue with their commendable efforts in the establishment of school facilities and the provision of the equipment...

Kenya Development Plan, 1989-93

#### **Kenya Primary School Cohort Survival Curves**

Figure 7: Grade 1 intakes, 1986 to 1993



# Cost-sharing: A grassroots perspective

In the middle-class and upper-class (public) schools cost-sharing was successful. But in the poverty schools the impact was devastating

Principal of a Nairobi slum school (August 2007)

#### **Kenya Primary Cohort Survival Curves**

Fig 8: Intakes 1993 to 2005

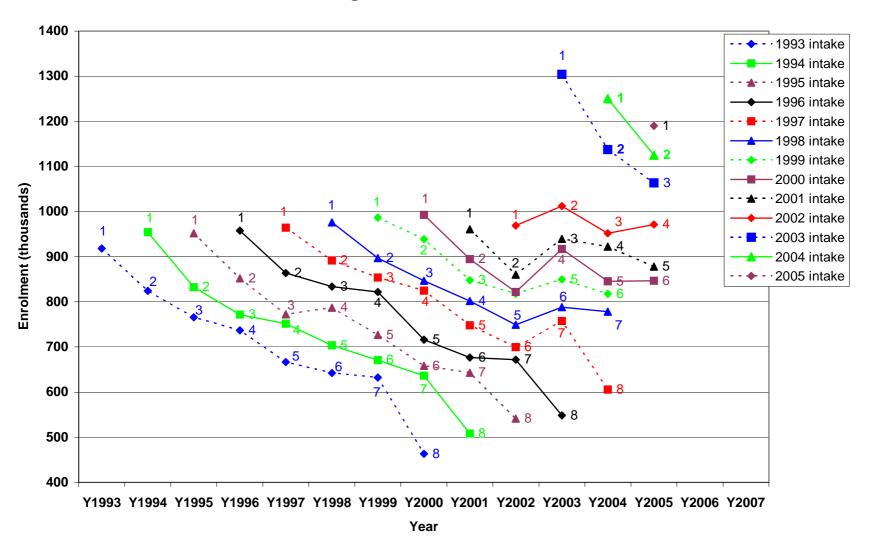


Fig 9 Nairobi City: Settlement Primary School Cohort Curves
Intakes 1997 to 2007

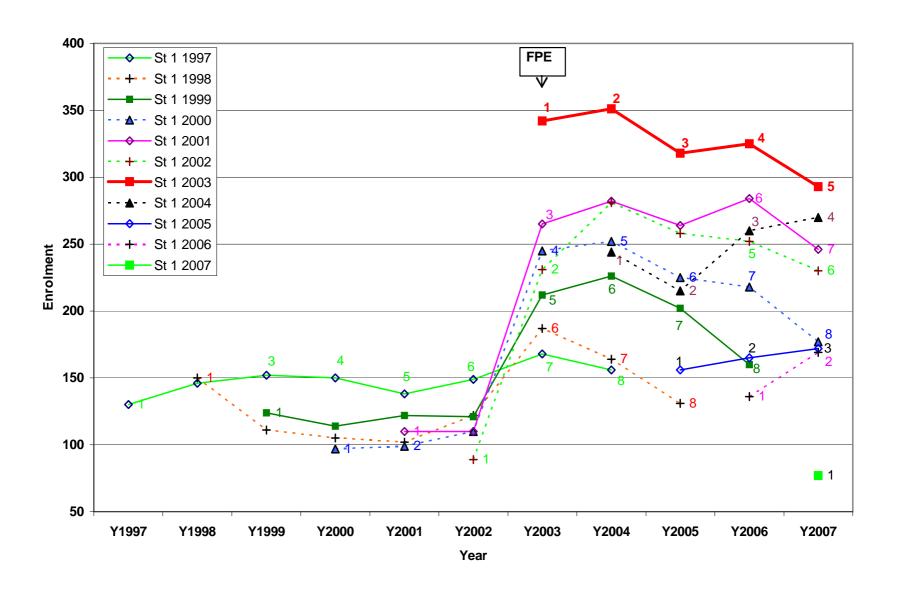
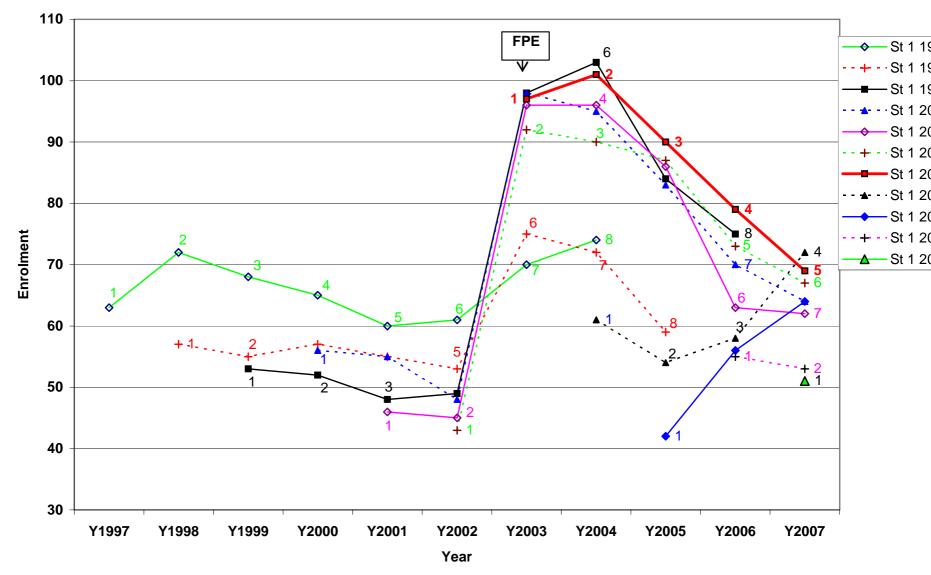


Fig 10 Nairobi City: Hillside Primary School Cohort Curves

Intakes 1997 to 2007



# The lessons of experience

Vulnerability of the marginal
Need for effective preparation
Disruptive effects of rapid population growth
Flight of the more-affluent to the private
schools: the new segregation?

## A Poem for Kibera

- Full of energetic, hardworking young men and women
- Some say you are full of thiefs, dirty and unhealthy people
- But whatever they say I know we can change you.
- I know you can be a better place
- Even though they say you are not worthy you will always be in my heart