

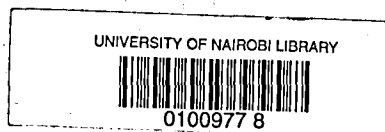
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UNEMPLOYMENT OF EDUCATED
YOUTH IN RURAL KENYA: A
STUDY OF UNEMPLOYED FORM
FOUR LEAVERS IN MURANG'A
DISTRICT

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PAUL NYAGA MBATIA



A Thesis submitted in partial
fulfilment of the Degree of
Master of Arts (in Sociology)
in the University of Nairobi.

1987.

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

Mbatia

.....
MBATIA PAUL NYAGA

This Thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as University Supervisors.

Mauri Yambo

.....

Dr MAURI YAMBO

Judith Mbula Bahemuka

.....

Dr JUDITH MBULA BAHEMUKA

now prof.

Dedication:

To my late Aunt, Priscilla Njeri Mwangi
who did not live to see the end of this work
and to my little daughter Wambui - who was
born when the work was almost complete.

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MBATIA PAUL NYAGA
NOVEMBER, 1987.

ABSTRACT

The study explores the much-debated problem of unemployment in Kenya. It focuses on employed and unemployed former leavers in Murang'a District who were the interviewees. The study mainly attempts to generate knowledge about the interviewees in Kenya and to clarify controversial issues related to the problem. Three hypotheses are tested to find out factors that influence ownership of local resources and employment status of the youth in Murang'a District.

The study found *inter alia* that most leavers were poor performers hence have limited opportunities for further training. Moreover, due to financial constraints, only 20% of them succeeded in acquiring technical skills.

The average age of leavers was 22 years. However, due to the fact that most of them were single (88.2%), most parents considered them as underage and therefore not entitled to ownership of local resources such as land.

Both categories of leavers were receiving incomes below the district's poverty line (797 Shillings in 1983) per month. Hence, they were living in poverty like the 'working poor'.

Skilled leavers were found to be more marketable than the unskilled. However, the presence of some unemployed skilled leavers reveals that technical training is not a panacea for the unemployment problem.

In conclusion, it is recommended that rural youth groups be assisted, more appropriate jobs be created and a national study on unemployed former leavers be undertaken.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgement	}
Abstract	}
<u>1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION</u>	
1.1 Statement of the problem	1 ✓
1.2 Justification of the study	5 ✓
1.3 Scope and objectives of the study	8 ✓
1.4 Definitions of key terms	9 ✓
<u>2. CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW</u>	
2.1 Unemployment of Primary School Leavers	13 ✓
2.2 Education and unemployment; Is education causing unemployment?	17 ✓
2.3 Whose responsibility?	28 ✓
<u>3. CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY</u>	
3.1 Area of study	36
3.2 Sampling	38
3.3 Methods of data collection	42
3.4. Problems encountered in the field	43
3.5 Limitations of the study	45 ✓
3.6 Hypotheses	45
3.7 Methods of data analysis	48
<u>4. CHAPTER FOUR: BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS OF FORM FOUR LEAVERS IN MURANG'A DISTRICT</u>	
4.1.0 Presentation and discussion of data	56
4.1.1 Individual attributes of all leavers	56
4.1.2 Types of Secondary Schools attended	58
4.1.3 Leavers' Performance in K.C.E. examination	58
4.1.4 Mobility of leavers after school	59

4.1.5 Plans after School	61 ✓
4.1.6 Learning of Technical Skills by leavers	62
4.1.7 Implementation of leavers' plans after School	63
4.1.8 Marital Status of the School leavers	65
4.1.9 Size of Parents' Family	65 ✓
4.1.10 Occupation of leavers' Parents	67 ✓
4.1.11 Major sources and expenditure of family income ...	68
4.2.0 Attributes of unemployed leavers	69
4.2.1 Major sources of income and expenditure of income → by unemployed leavers.	69
4.2.2 Income of unemployed leavers	70
4.2.3 Main activities involved in	71 t
4.2.4 Ownership of assets	73
4.2.5 Forms of assistance leavers expect from parents ..	75 ✓
4.2.6 Leavers' experience in the world of work	77
4.2.7 Leavers' expectations after School	77
4.2.8 Process of job seeking by leavers after School ...	78
4.2.9 Selectivity of leavers in the rural areas	79 /
4.2.10 Leavers' inability to get jobs	82
4.2.11 Relevance of education in the labour market	82
4.2.12 Self-employment activities	84 ✓
4.2.13 Migration of leavers in search of jobs	85
4.2.14 Experience while in search of jobs	85
4.2.15 Employment preferences	86
4.2.16 Involvement in rural groups or organizations	87
4.3.0 Attributes of employed leavers	88
4.3.1 Occupation of the employed leavers	88
4.3.2 Length of time in the job and how job obtained ...	89

4.3.3	Leavers' expectations after leaving School	89
4.3.4	Selectivity of employed leavers	90
4.3.5	Experience before getting job	93
4.3.6	Availability of job opportunities in the rural areas	93
4.3.7	Amount earned by employed leavers	94
4.3.8	Involvement in rural groups or organizations	95
5. CHAPTER FIVE: <u>ANALYSIS OF FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE</u> <u>EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE YOUTH, AND THEIR</u> <u>OWNERSHIP OF LAND AND OTHER ASSETS IN</u> <u>MURANG'A DISTRICT:</u>		
5.0	An analysis of factors that influence employment status of the youth, and their ownership of land and other assets in Murang'a District	96
5.1.0	H1: The ^{educational} <u>educational background</u> of the youth influence their <u>employment status</u>	97
5.2.0	Ownership of land and local assets	103
5.2.1	H2: <u>Age, sex and marital status</u> influence the system of <u>ownership</u> of local Resources such as land and <u>farm tools</u> in the rural areas	104
✓ 5.2.2	Regression analysis	107
5.2.3	Factors that influence ownership of local assets (excluding land) in Murang'a District	108
5.3.0	H3: Individual <u>characteristics</u> and family background of the leavers influence their <u>employment status</u> in the rural areas	117
5.3.1	Key factors that influence employment status of the leavers in Murang'a District	120
5.3.2	Employment status and year left school.....	124
6. CHAPTER SIX: <u>SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS</u>		

6.0 Summary, conclusion and recommendations	128
6.1 Major attributes of form - four leavers (unemployed) in Murang'a District	128
6.2 Interaction with parents	129
6.3 Expectations and adjustment of leavers in the world of work	130
6.4 Attributes of employed leavers	131
6.5 Factors that influence employment status of the leavers and their access to local resources	132
6.6 Recommendations	134
Bibliography	137
Appendix	147

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Table Number:</u>		<u>Page</u>
1	Distribution of Leavers By Administrative Boundaries/Agro-ecological zones	56
2	Distribution of Leavers By Sex	57
3	Division Attained By Leavers In K.C.E Examination	59
4	Learning of Technical Skills By Leavers ..	62
5	Number of Children in Learning Institutions	66
6	Major Sources of Income for Unemployed Leavers	70
7	Main Activities of Unemployed Leavers	72
8	Why Parents Had Not Given Land To Leavers .	75
9	Selectivity of Leavers	80
10	Jobs Regarded As Suitable By Employed Leavers	91
11	Employment Status of The Leavers And Type of Secodary School They Attended	98
12	Employment Status And Leavers' Performance In 'O' Level Examination	100
13	Ownership of Local Assets (That Excludes Land) Among The Unemployed Leavers By Age Group	104
14	Ownership of Land (A Local Resource) By Marital Status	106

15	Predictors of Ownership of 'Local Assets' (Excluding Land) In Murang'a District	110
16	Predictors of Ownership of Land In Murang'a District	114
17	Employment Status of Leavers And Their Skills	118
18	Predictors of Employment Status In Murang'a District	120
19	Employment Status And Year Left School	125

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

It is an accepted fact that unemployment is a problem in all countries - both developing and developed. The International Labour Organization (ILO, 1972: xi) observes that:

While the developed countries have managed to reduce open unemployment to about 3% to 6% of their labour force, the comparable figures for other parts of the world are frequently 10%.

Here in Kenya, Republic of Kenya (1986) shows that the rate of unemployment is projected to rise to 20.4% by the year 2000. This observation suggests that the problem is already there and increasing.

Mouly and Costa (1974) observe that until very recently, economists and policy makers in developed and developing countries alike have been content to rely on economic growth to solve the problem of unemployment and poverty, which is implied. In this respect, Kenya emphasized high and growing per capita income as one of its major objectives in its first development plan (see Republic of Kenya, 1966). The goal of economic growth was seen as complementary to other policy objectives such as high level of employment, reduction of poverty, and inequality. However, Blaug (1974) observes that despite the impressive rate of growth enjoyed by developing countries in the 1950s and 1960s, the unemployment situation worsened rather than improved. Ghai (1970: 1) points that:

despite substantial growth enjoyed in most sectors of the economy, Kenya faces one of the most serious unemployment problems in the continent.

This experience has helped the developing countries to realize that having high economic growth as a goal is not enough - for it cannot overcome the many socio-economic problems such as unemployment, poverty and inequality, all of which are prevalent in these countries.

Today, many scholars are of the view that unemployment in developing countries is concentrated among the young, who are in the 14 to 25 age bracket. Todaro (1977: 199), for example, notes that:

the incidence of unemployment is much higher among the young and increasingly more educated in the 15 to 22 year age bracket.

Makau (1985: abstract) supports this view when he points out that: rising unemployment of school leavers has been a major feature characterising the Kenyan economy since 1960s.

Maclure (1979), Mouly and Costa (1974) and Blaug (1974) also support the above view. This study supports Ghai's view (1971) that the problem of unemployment in Kenya is rapidly merging into that of school leavers. And since most school leavers do not have land where they can be gainfully employed, the youth tend to be the most affected category of the unemployed population in Kenya. As will be discussed later, this point partly captures the essence of this study.

Blaug (1974) contends that there is mass unemployment among the primary school leavers in nearly all developing countries. In Kenya, the rapid growth in the number of secondary schools and the consequent sharp increase in the number of secondary school.

leavers since the 1960s, indicate that unemployment among the secondary school leavers is not a new phenomenon in the Kenyan economy. This point becomes clear when a comparison is made between the demand and supply of the leavers in the Kenya's labour market.

According to Central Bureau of Statistics 1969, 1970, 1975 1985, the number of secondary schools more than tripled during the period 1960 to 1965 - having risen from 91 schools to 336. By 1984, this number had reached 2,396. Consequently, the number of secondary school leavers has also increased rapidly over the years. Data from the Central Bureau of Statistics (1975) and those of 1980 show that from 1972 to 1977, the number of leavers more than doubled - having increased from 26,217 to 55,878 by 1984, the number of secondary school leavers was more than four times larger than in 1972 - having reached 112,677. The rapid growth of the number of the secondary school leavers implies that their supply into the labour market has been high. This is the condition of supply in the labour market.

The demand for the school leavers in the labour market can be understood by analysing data on the unemployment creation - especially in the modern sector where leavers aspire to get wage employment. According to the Republic of Kenya (1979), it was expected that 50,000 persons would be employed in the modern sector every year during the plan period. However, over the years, it has been difficult to meet the target. From 1980 to 1981, for example, wage employment went up by 18,500 - an increase of 1.8% (see Central Bureau of Statistics, 1984b). On the other hand, in 1981 87,191 leavers were produced. Assuming that 40% (34,876 leavers)

of the leavers joined form five or training institutions, the remaining 60% (52,315 leavers) out-numbered the wage employment available (18,500). The situation becomes worse when leavers of the previous years are taken into account.

The above data are in line with the projections of Republic of Kenya (1970), which estimated that during the plan period, approximately 70,000 school leavers would be in possession of form four education and were expected to enter the labour force. Further, the plan projected that by the end of the plan period (1974), less than half of these leavers would be able to find wage employment which they aspire for.

From the above figures, it is clear that expansion of the education system which started in mid 1960s, has not been matched by a corresponding expansion in job opportunities especially in the modern sector. The study therefore supports Kinyanjui's view (1972: 33) that:

the unemployment of secondary school leavers which started to be significant in 1968 is increasing and will continue to do so in the coming years.

As will be shown in the next chapter, the government and people of Kenya have started taking seriously the growing problem of unemployment among school leavers. The Ominde Commission (1964) on education expressed a strong concern about the primary school leavers. But the first survey of the problem of school leavers was that of the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCCK 1966). Other early studies include that of Anderson (1966), Kericho Conference (1966), and ILO (1972). Other relevant studies will be cited and discussed in the next chapter.

Unlike past studies, most of which have focused on unemployment in general, this study concentrates on a specific category of the unemployed population - namely, the secondary school leavers in rural Murang'a. An attempt shall be made to explain why they opt to stay in the rural areas, why they claim to be unemployed, whether the leavers turn down rural opportunities open to them and their general response to the problem. Specifically, the study attempts to answer the following questions:

- (a) What are the key factors that explain the unemployment of secondary school leavers in Murang'a district?
- (b) How do school leavers respond to unemployment, and how do they adjust themselves to rural life after leaving school?
- (c) What are the effects of unemployment problem on the youth in particular and on the society in general?

1.2 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

As has been implied in the statement of the problem, there are many reasons why there should be a serious concern on the problem of youth unemployment. Mbithi (1975: 3) states that: the problem of unemployment of youth has become recognized as perhaps the most critical of all other forms of unemployment owing to the fact that their population include school leavers, who are the most active job seekers and a foundation of more efficient and trained manpower.

Hence, due to the fact that most of the unemployed population are in this category of active and educated manpower, the problems that affect them need to be studied. Moreover, the achievement of

a higher standard of living also requires that the potential labour force of a country (including the youth) be utilized to its full capacity.

Mureithi (1983) also cites reasons for studying the problems of the youth. He argues that it is necessary to study the youths' problems since the youthful stage in human development is very critical for it marks the age group when the youth is weaned into adulthood. He (1983: 3) further argues that:

youth unemployment could therefore be extra ordinarily destructive to the self confidence of young people

[.....]. Apart from causing such problems as apathy, and delinquency, youth idleness represents a serious wastage of human resources.

Youth unemployment normally affects those between the mid-teens and mid-twenties (Todaro, 1977: 199) - a decade during which boys and girls achieve adult status and when they leave school to join the world of work. Maclure (1979: 1) explains this point when he says:

finding a job is part of achieving an identity, a definition by which one knows oneself and is known by others.

Since youth unemployment introduces uncertainty at a critical stage of human development, the problem should be studied in order to come up with policy measures to solve it. If uncontrolled, the problem can be a cause of discontinuity in the personality development of the youth.

Among other reasons, the study focuses on the problem of the educated unemployed youth for the following specific reasons:

(a) The number of unemployed educated youth is already considerable

and increasing at an alarming rate. This point has already been verified by the figures given earlier showing the supply and the demand situation of school leavers in the Kenya labour market.

- (b) The unemployed educated youth form a burden not only to their families but also to the society at large.
- (c) The condition of prolonged unemployment accentuates inequality, which already exists.
- (d) The problem contributes heavily to the process of rural to urban migration. According to Todaro (1977: 219), "most migrants are the young who are between the age of 15 and 24 and who have completed a given level of education."

The process therefore removes part of the most active population from the rural areas, thereby lowering their rate of development.

- (e) Moreover, migration to cities and towns overburden city and town facilities respectively.
- (f) The persistence of the unemployment problem among the educated youth results in other social and economic problems such as juvenile delinquency and crime, frustration, and others cited earlier (see Turnham, 1971: 19)

segregation

1.3. SCOPE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Field work was carried out in Murang'a district in the Central Province of Kenya. This is a very densely populated district - it is in fact the fourth most densely populated rural district in the Republic. Consequently, land pressure has been high, suggesting a high magnitude of the problem. The study covers three administrative divisions in Murang'a. These are Makuyu, Kangema and Kiharu.

The study focuses on 1981 and 1984 secondary school leavers (Cohorts). A total of 188 secondary school leavers - both employed and unemployed were interviewed from the three divisions of the district. Details of how sampling was carried out and the area of study will be given in a later chapter.

The study has three basic objectives:

- (a) To generate useful knowledge about the unemployment of educated youth in rural Kenya - by studying unemployed secondary school leavers in Murang'a district.
- (b) To recommend some policy measures that can help to solve the ever increasing problem of unemployment.
- (c) To clarify some controversial issues related to unemployment, such as the major causes, who to blame or whether opportunities exist in the rural areas for the educated unemployed youth.

In all, the study attempts to give a general view of unemployment in Murang'a district.

Three terms are central to the discussion in this study.

These are:

- (a) Unemployment
- (b) Labour force
- (c) Youth

For the purpose of this study, the terms are defined as follows:

Unemployment

Scholars have not come to a consensus on the definition of the term unemployment. Ndegwa (1975: 2) defines an unemployed person as: a person who has no opportunity to perform those tasks for which he is culturally adapted.

However, though this definition has no financial bias, many of our school leavers do not know the specific tasks to which they have been culturally adapted. Hence the definition is not appropriate to the study.

Blaug (1974: 3) suggests a way of estimating those unemployed, rather than giving a definition. He states that:

the simplest approach is to count everybody without work who is actually seeking employment at going wage rates.

However, the above approach only refers to what is generally regarded as visible unemployment. It leaves out those who have given up looking for jobs due to the persistently high rates of the problem.

Like the definition by Blaug (1974), that of Turnham (1971: 19) is also not comprehensive. Turnham's definition includes:

those members of the population who are seeking work or additional work at going wage rates and who are not in fact employed.

The above 'definition' also excludes those unemployed who are not active job seekers like the already frustrated school leavers.

This study defines unemployment as:

Consisting of members of the labour force who are either seeking income generating work since they are not working, or not seeking income generating work though not working.

The study emphasizes income generating work, since the major goal of seeking employment is to be able to generate income needed to sustain one's living. Though the definition may not claim to be comprehensive, at least it serves the purpose of the study by including the inactive category of the unemployed who are excluded by most of the definitions given by scholars.

Labour Force

According to Zuvekas (1979: 300), the term labour force includes: all employed persons and unemployed workers seeking work at the time for employment survey or census.

This definition obviously excludes those unemployed who do not seek work - for example the already frustrated school leavers.

The United Nations (1973: 293) uses the term labour force:

"to refer to the economically active population."

It is the segment of the population whose function is to produce the goods and services needed to satisfy the requirements of the whole population. This definition is inappropriate as it excludes those who are potentially active but unemployed.

In the Republic of Kenya (1966: 99), the term labour force

includes:

persons who are unemployed (ie actively seeking employment). It excludes persons in school, keeping house and unable or unwilling to work.

This study modifies this definition to suit its purpose, and thus defines the term labour force as:

all those who are economically active, whether employed or unemployed.

Youth

Gachuhi (1973: 3) argues that the definition of the term youth is problematic since:

... each society defines someone as youth depending on what is under consideration.

In the same society, there could be a social cultural definition, cross culturally one would get different definitions.

Mbithi (1975: 3) points out that the United Nations Organization (UN) defines youth as:

the population between ages of 14 and 25 years.

Hence, the UN emphasizes the age criterion in defining the term; but within such a category of age, there are many different sub-categories of youth - for example, the educated and uneducated. Within the sub-category of educated youth, there are differences along educational qualifications, experiences and skills acquired, for example. As implied by the heterogeneity of this age category, sampling them would be very difficult especially when

available funds, personnel and time are limited. For this reason and others cited elsewhere, the study uses the level of education as the basis for defining the term.

In this context, the term 'rural educated youth' will be used to refer to:

those who have sat for Kenya Certificate of Education (K.C.E.), formerly East African Certificate of Education (E.A.C.E.), and who reside in Murang'a district.

The term 'school leavers' will also be used interchangeably to refer to the same group. Otherwise, where confusion is bound to arise, the study shall specify which school leavers are being referred to. This definition helps the study to deal with a specific category of the unemployed youth. This also made it easy to sample the units of analysis, while keeping the research size manageable within the given time.

2.0 CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

The main objective of this chapter is to review the available literature on the unemployment of secondary school leavers in particular and school leavers in general.

Since the unemployment of secondary school leavers is of recent origin as compared to that of primary school leavers, studies focusing on the former are not as widespread as that of the latter. As a result, the available literature on school leavers mainly focuses on standard seven leavers. This study will shed some light on the unemployment of primary school leavers before discussing the major themes derived from past literature on unemployment in general. This will help to generate useful information from the education - unemployment debates which have been there in Kenya since late 1960s.

X/2:1 Unemployment of Primary School Leavers

The concern with unemployment among the primary school leavers in the Republic of Kenya dates back to 1963 when the Christian Council of Kenya Youth Leaders' Conference passed a resolution to undertake a special study of the employment and training of primary school leavers. The findings of the study that followed are contained in what we now call the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCCK) Report (1966). The study by NCCCK raised three important questions related to primary school leavers:

- (a) What happens to those primary school leavers after they leave school?
- (b) Where do they go?
- (c) What do they do?

As shown in chapter one, these are some of the issues raised when trying to study the form four leavers. Answers to the above

three questions would enable the present study to pin point areas where new policies are needed.

The major finding of the study by NCKK (1966) was that by then, nobody knew what happened to the primary school leavers in E.A. This was why it was recommended that a scientifically based survey be initiated without delay. However, despite the relevance of the findings of NCKK to this study, the study (by NCKK) was done more than two decades ago hence requires an update.

A study by Anderson (1966:5) focuses on standard seven leavers from Kiambu, Kirinyaga and Nyeri districts in the Central Province of Kenya. He questions:

Whether the primary school leaver has any knowledge about the job market he/she is going into and the degree of realism with which he/she accepts his/her probable lot.

He contends that though the leavers are engaged in some activities, they are active job seekers and sometimes migrate. This is also the view shared by Mbithi (1975) who categorizes school leavers as the most active job seekers. The above observation thus shows the need to provide school leavers with meaningful work. To achieve this goal, Anderson suggested the need to review the present situation amongst the primary school graduates, their knowledge, their aspirations, their education, their interest and their occupation. These are some of the variables that the current study shall attempt to measure in the first hypothesis (H1).

Brownstein's study (1972) also deals with primary school graduates.

His study questions the system of education that we have in Kenya today and the relationship between education and development. He points out that opportunities for young people are limited and suggests that Kenya is heading for a crisis in her educational system. He contends that such a crisis may have economic and political effects on the rest of the society. He foresees that Kenya will be faced with major secondary school leaver problems in the years ahead. In fact, this is what characterizes the Kenyan economy today.

The above three studies were done in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Since the unemployed of today include other categories of the youth, these studies definitely require an update. The focus on secondary rather than primary school leavers in the current study is an attempt towards this goal. Moreover, though it is now clear that the problem of unemployment is related to many other factors like distribution of local resources, these studies tend to overemphasize the contribution of the factor of education. Yet most scholars now agree (see Kinyanjui, 1974; Gakuru, 1979; Makau, 1985; Mureithi, 1983 and Emmerij, 1972) that solutions to the unemployment problem in Kenya have to be sought beyond the educational system. Nevertheless, the three studies suggest useful variables that are included in this study, such as: level of education and leavers' aspirations and interests.

Many other studies have also magnified the role of education in worsening the unemployment situation among the primary school leavers.

Maleche (1976), for example, concentrates on standard seven graduates in order "to investigate the problems of unemployment among them". Though he notes that changes in school curriculum alone cannot solve the problem, he still emphasizes changes in the educational system in the recommendations that he proposes. Nevertheless, his other sound recommendations - such as improving the performance of the entire economy and rural development - should not be belittled. Moreover, the first hypothesis of this study focuses on the relationship between education and unemployment, a relationship that Maleche attempts to explain.

The foregoing discussion centres on the relationship between education and unemployment among the primary school leavers. But King (1976) recognized that the victims of today are the form two and four leavers. Earlier on, Kinyanjui (1972) had exposed the problem of secondary school leavers when he found an increasing proportion of the unemployed secondary school leavers which rose from 1% to 14.8% for the 1965/67 and 1968 cohorts respectively. Observations by King and the findings of Kinyanjui help to suggest new areas that require further research.

Thus far, the relationship between education and unemployment has been clearly derived as a major theme of this study. This theme will be discussed in detail in the next section. Suffice here to say that education is just a part of the complex Kenyan society. Hence correcting the system/society via changes in the educational system alone is expecting too much from a 'part' of a 'whole'.

MAJOR THEMES IDENTIFIED

Apart from the reference made to studies on unemployment of primary school leavers, the current study made reference to previous work on unemployment in general. From such references, two themes emerged as of significance to the study - namely:

(a) Relationship between education and unemployment

(b) Whose responsibility - education or who?

Since the study focuses on the unemployment of school leavers, the two themes are centered on education and unemployment. By discussing these themes, the study will be able to bring out major tentative suggestions and arguments propounded by scholars.

2 Education And Un^memployment: Is Education causing Unemployment?

Though the unemployment problem is both multidimensional and dynamic in nature, only a few studies have viewed and analysed it from that perspective. Even those that recognize that it is a complex problem fail to consider its complex nature when analysing its major causes. The subject of this section is to verify the above two interrelated contentions.

The studies that recognize that the problem of unemployment is complex include the Republic of Kenya (1970: 103), which states that:

Unemployment and more particularly underemployment are Kenya's most difficult and persistent problems ... the complexity of the problem stems from the fact that there are several kinds of unemployment: Urban, rural underemployment, and educated unemployed.

However, when it comes to identifying the causes, the Republic of Kenya (1970) cites two related factors:

(a) expansion of school enrolment, which far outstrips the ability of the economy to provide wage jobs.

(b) the curriculum in the schools which has been unable to prepare students for the employment conditions that they may meet upon leaving school.

Many other studies have also cited the quantity and/or quality of the school outputs as the major factors causing the problem.

King (1976: 1), for example, contends that:

the single most obvious contribution to the job crisis has been the unparalleled speed with which the school system has expanded over the past

two decades:

To him, it is the quantity of the school output that causes the problem.

Republic of Kenya (1979: 38) also cites the quantity and quality of the school output as the major cause of unemployment:

first, the number of jobs requiring the skills which students have upon leaving school is not growing as rapidly as the number of school leavers. Secondly, leavers have unrealistically high expectations and often turn down realistic employment opportunities which they consider beneath them. Thirdly, graduates may find their education does not provide them with the skills needed to qualify for medium wage job opportunities.

Though the study recognizes the complexity of the problem by viewing it as three fold, it also fails to go beyond the factor education in identifying the causes.

A study by Mbithi (1975) identifies four aspects of the problem which are:

- (a) Low productivity and underutilization of the labour force.
- (b) Low levels of income especially for the self-employed.
- (c) Shortage of work opportunities for those willing and able to work.
- (d) the frustrated school leavers.

However, like studies cited above, he also fails to identify other factors that cause unemployment except the education system/school.

Blaug (1974: 8) has discussed both the Colombia Report (1970) and Kenya Report/ILO (1972) at length. He states that the two Reports:

take the view that the problem of educated unemployed is essentially one of the mis-match between job expectations generated by the traditional education system and the job opportunities provided by the labour market.

Though these two Reports reduce the problem of unemployment to that of mis-match between leavers' aspirations/expectations and job opportunities that exist in the job market, the Reports have a wider perspective on how to solve the problem when proposing measures to deal with it. In particular, the Kenya/ILO Report (1972: 10) notes that:

the school leaver problem in Kenya is more complex than is often assumed. It is an over-simplification to consider it essentially as an excess of new school leavers over new job openings for which their educational qualifications are required.

Due to the complexity of the problem, Blaug (1974: 8):

Proposes to deal with the problem by combined attack on the content of formal education and on the structure of monetary incentives provided by the labour market.

However, despite the wider approach of the two Reports in dealing with the problem, the two do not address themselves to such issues as the distribution of local resources and the system of land tenure - both of which are key factors related to the unemployment problem in rural Kenya.

Jolly (1973: 29) also recognizes the multidimensional aspect of unemployment and identifies three different aspects of the problem:

- (a) the shortage of work opportunities.
- (b) the under employment and under utilization of labour in addition to open unemployment.
- (c) attitudes and job expectations, particularly amongst the young and educated.

Unlike studies cited above Republic of Kenya, 1970; King, 1976; Republic of Kenya, 1979; and Mbithi, 1975) which cited causes which are related to education system/school,(Jolly 1973) identifies a wide range of causes:

- (a) inadequate demand.
- (b) deficiency of supply.
- (c) mis-match between individual expectation and abilities and employment opportunities.
- (d) inadequate institutions and market distortions.
- (e) and inequalities in land ownership.

However, despite the range of causes enumerated by Jolly (1973), his study was not based on one particular country - but on a range of countries (developing). Hence, while some causes might be operating in one country, they might not be operational in others. Moreover some of the identified causes are too general. He needs to specify which type of goods for example are in question when he cites inadequacy demand and deficiency of supply as causes. Despite the generality of the factors that he cites, Jolly (1973) cites school attitudes and expectations which are based on one's educational background - a variable that will be measured and tested in the first hypothesis (H1). Moreover, Jolly's study (1973: 11) concurs with the view in this study when he states that:

tracing the whole range of various causes leads to analysis which involves the whole socio-economic structure and touches on almost every element of development strategy.

The list of studies that cite the quality and quantity of school output as the major causes of unemployment is almost endless. And since this study is constrained by both time and money, it cannot do any better than mentioning and discussing a few more in passing.

Republic of Kenya (1976) also holds that the problem is caused by enormous expansion of the education system - that is to say, the large quantity of the school output. Harbison (1971: 8) shares the same view when he states that:

education is a major determinant of who gets job

Todaro (1977) is another relevant study to cite at this point to advance the view that education causes unemployment.

In contrast to the above 'School of thought' that holds that the educational system/school is the major cause of unemployment, the second 'school of thought' holds a different view. The latter school of thought does not view educational system as the major cause of the problem. It thus criticizes the first school of thought for seeking solutions within the educational system alone. Before giving the study's stand on the issue, we shall first present the argument propounded by the 'Second School of thought'.

Studies by Kinyanjui (1974) and Gakuru (1979) help to explain the major argument of the second school of thought. Kinyanjui's study (1974: 1) first doubts the genuineness of the solutions offered by leaders when he points out that:

while the concern shown for rising unemployment of school output is perhaps sincere we have often wondered whether solutions offered by leaders are really genuine.

He identifies three major 'fallacies' in regard to the problem of unemployment among secondary school leavers - two of which are committed by the first 'School of thought':

- (a) The argument that the unemployment of school leavers is seen as the inability of the school system to produce people with practical skills.
- (b) The argument that school leavers (the victims) are to be blamed due to their margalistic aspiration coupled with white collar mentality.

(c) The argument that there are employment opportunities for school leavers outside the major towns of Kenya.

The first two 'fallacies' are in line with the views of the first 'School of thought' that cite the educational system as the major cause of the problem and hence tend to seek solutions within it.

Kinyanjui holds a different view when he notes that unemployment is an economic problem which needs a restructure of the whole economy and the distribution of the economic benefits.

Accordingly, he argues that such issues as land ownership, control of local resources are all important in creating job opportunities especially in the rural areas. This argument forms the basis of the study's second hypothesis (H2) which attempts to relate ownership and age, sex, and marital status. This might help to explain whether lack of access to local resources has any influence on the incidence of youth unemployment in the rural areas.

While Kinyanjui's study (1974) suggests that employment opportunities are non-existent in the rural areas, many other studies tend to support the contrary view - that employment opportunities do in fact exist in the rural areas. By recommending that students should, through career guidance, be encouraged to take jobs in the rural areas, Republic of Kenya (1974) suggests that such opportunities exist. Ouko (1986: 4) emphasises this (latter) point when he contends that:

youth of this country should be asked to accept jobs which are available without choosing. Kenya had a fairly unique situation where unemployment existed side by side with vacant positions mainly in agriculture.

The famous slogan, especially immediately after independence, of 'GO back to the Land' can be viewed as an outgrowth of the above contention that opportunities exist in the 'Mashambani'. However, this slogan is contrary to Callaway's view (1963) and Ghai's view (1971).

Even if we accept the view that resources/opportunities do in fact exist in rural areas, this study would still question the accessibility of such opportunities/resources to rural youth. This point is brought out more clearly by Mbithi (1975) who cites the work of Mary Douglas in Kasai Province of Congo - who exposes the problem of 'delayed bachelorhood'. Similar to this province, in the rural areas of Kenya, a man/girl/youth acquires the right to use land, possesses resources only after getting married. By testing H2, it will be possible to tell whether marital status influences the right of ownership in the rural areas of Kenya. Moreover, this may also suggest whether it would be realistic to seek a solution in the rural areas as leaders suggest.

Though Kinyajui's outlook (1974) is wider, his study is not comprehensive. His study is a 'discussion paper' about issues related to the unemployment of school leavers. Moreover, though he has termed other people's arguments as fallacies, he has not given enough evidence to prove how and why they are fallacious. Finally, he errs by holding that the problem is an economic one - yet the problem has some social dimensions and implications, which the present study seeks to highlight

Gakuru (1979:6) also attempts to show that unemployment and other socio-economic problems are not determined by the education system in Kenya.

What the education system has done is to
INTERACT with the already unequal socio-economic
system.

The present study shares the same views with Gakuru (1979) when he cites the structure of the society and particularly the failure of the economy to industrialize and modernize at a rate that absorbs the entire labour force - as the root cause of unemployment problem. Accordingly, to solve a basic problem like that of unemployment requires a coordinated reorganization of the socio-economic institutions and not isolated education reforms.

Emmerij (1972:415) also disagrees with those who claim that education is causing unemployment when he contends that:

there is widespread agreement that the frequent
and repeated assertion is more of a slogan than
anything else and must therefore be seriously qualified ...

Interestingly, though the slogan has not been qualified in most developing countries, education reforms have been recommended and implemented as the best measures to solve the problem in these countries. The introduction of the recent 8-4-4 system in Kenya's education system, for example, can be viewed in this light. As argued elsewhere, this study still holds that such reforms in the education system will not offer magical solutions unless accompanied by other reforms especially in the political economy of our society. Other studies that fall under the second school of thought include that of Peil (1971), Republic of Kenya (1973) and Hanson (1980).

Thus far, this study has attempted to discuss two opposing schools of thought that tend to explain whether the education system/school is a major cause of unemployment or not. And since the views concerning the major causes of the problem are so diverse, the discussion would be incomplete if we left out the studies that do not fall within the above two schools of thought.

Mureithi (1983) attempts to explain why the problem of unemployment/employment exists. He argues that the problem basically exists because there exists a disequilibrium situation in that demand for work places EXCEEDS the supply of such work places. In other words, the demand for modern sector jobs that leavers aspire for is higher than their supply in the labour market. This point is supported by the data given in chapter one of the study. An important point to note here is that whatever the cause(s) of the problem, it is as a result of a disequilibrium situation between the demand and supply of jobs in the labour market. Mureithi (1983) isolates three culprits for special attention: population growth, the weakening rural sector and technological constraint.

Other studies, for example, Republic of Kenya (1983) and the thirteenth Inter-African Public Management Seminar (1974) cite a range of causes that include scarcity of land, inappropriate technology, imbalanced education system, attitude and aspirations, civil strife and disturbance in socio-economic structure of the society, and dualism.

To conclude the first theme of this study which deals with the major causes of unemployment, this study emphasizes here as elsewhere that no single factor can be held/cited as the major cause of the problem. Though many studies have cited the educational system/school as the major cause, this factor is viewed as just one of the many factors that contribute to the problem.

In general, this study views the present structure of the Kenyan society - which is characterised by many types of imbalances noted in the literature, as the ROOT CAUSE of the unemployment problem. As Gakuru (1979) argues, education is one of the many factors that determine the problem. What this factor (education) does is to interact with other factors such as a high rate of population growth and income disparity. This is why the education system tends to feature so prominently as a major factor. Moreover, like many other factors, the education system does nothing to the already existing disequilibrium situation in the labour market. This point is also noted by Blaug (1974) : 11) when he states that:

education may not create the overall surplus labour market but once it exists, it does nothing to alleviate it and probably makes it worse.

On the causes of unemployment, the present study concurs with the ILO (1972 : 2), which argues that:

there is not one cause of the employment problem but many. Most of these causes are, in one way or another, aspects of imbalances - the imbalances between the growth of the labour force, the urban population and education and

the over-all growth of the economy, and the imbalance between peoples' aspirations and expectations of work and the structures of income and opportunities available.

:3 WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY?

It can indisputably be said that despite a lengthy education - unemployment debate in Kenya since 1963, leaders and scholars are still at variance when it comes to the question of who to blame. Studies by Mbithi (1975), Blaug (1974) and Nyerere (1967), for example, have centred on reasons why the educational system/school or its products should be held responsible for the unemployment problem of school leavers. Other studies for example, by Gakuru (1979), Kinyanjui (1974), Peil (1971), Hanson (1976) and McQueen (1963) are opposed to the above argument. Viewed this way, the discussion of "whose responsibility?" becomes a derivative of the foregoing analysis - of whether educational system is the major cause of the problem or not. As will be clarified by the studies cited in the section, blame has been laid upon:

- (a) The school leavers themselves (victims) - who are seen to harbour high and unrealistic aspirations coupled with a white collar mentality.
- (b) Educational system/school - which fails to impart practical skills to the leavers.

$$u = f(\text{unrealistic aspirations, Edu. System})$$
$$\Rightarrow \frac{\partial u}{\partial K} = \text{edu. system}$$

This study attempts to discuss the above two controversial claims with reference to the available literature in order to expose their validity or invalidity.

Since the second theme of 'whose responsibility' is a derivative of the first one, the former theme will be reviewed in reference to the latter. Accordingly, the literature cited falls into two

Categories: that which holds education in general as responsible and that which defends it.

Studies that cite educational system/school as a major cause of the problem also tend to blame the system by implication. As such, studies by Republic of Kenya (1970), Republic of Kenya (1979), Republic of Kenya (1976), Harbison (1971) and Todaro (1977) are relevant ones to cite at this point. Specifically, while Todaro (1977: 199) blames the outdated content and dubious quality of education at all levels, Republic of Kenya (1979: 38) blames the victims who:

leave school with aspirations that are unrealistically high and often turn down realistic employment opportunities which they consider beneath them.

King (1976) follows the same trend when he points out that schools have social and psychological impact upon those who go through them. This implies that should leavers fail to fit in the new environment after school, then the school/educational system should share the blame.

Unlike the above studies, most of which blame the educational system in general, Mbithi (1975) is specific in explaining why the system should share the blame. He contends that the educational system has been blamed in the past in terms of:

- (a) Context of curriculum which alienates youth from their immediate environment.
- (b) Imparting no practical skills to the youth.
- (c) Teaching techniques which do not generate initiative and self-reliance.

A point to note here is that though the above specific blames imply that the problem can be solved if students were equipped with practical skills, a study by Yambo (1986) has proved otherwise. His study reveals that even products of technical

Schools/Institutions like Youth Polytechnics (YPs) and Harambee Institute of Technology (HITs) are increasingly becoming victims of the unemployment problem. Yambo's study (1986: xiv) found that the national rate of unemployment among Yp leavers was 17.8% and 9.4% among H I T leavers.

On the question of responsibility, Blaug (1974) cautions that though education is not responsible for the overall surplus labour, it does nothing to alleviate the situation. He cites two more reasons to show why education in developing countries should be blamed for the problem.

(a) Education is said to promote the flight from farming and rush to urban areas - thereby converting disguised rural unemployment into open unemployment.

(b) Since education absorbs funds that might have been devoted to the direct creation of jobs, in that sense, it contributes to the problem.

But Gakuru (1979: 5) observes that:

long before school leavers started roaming in towns unemployed, the favourable income earning opportunities in large towns had attracted more rural adults than available jobs.

Hence education should not be taken as the sole determinant of the migration to cities - as argued by Blaug (1974).

Unlike many other studies which have discussed the problem of unemployment in general, Blaug (1974) is specific in pointing out that education authorities have a more immediate responsibility for youth unemployment than for general unemployment and poverty.

This suggests the distinction that should be made when analysing the different aspects of the problem and the different categories of the victims. This point has been echoed by Callaway (1963) when he points out that we should not band these young people together as if they were homogeneous. Consequently, the third hypothesis H3 attempts to test the relationship between leavers' individual differences and their employment status. Such differences include age, sex, skills and marital status.

Nyerere (1967: 10-14) also tends to blame education when he questions its role in the society and even cites four aspects that make it dysfunctional and hence responsible for the problem:

- (a) It is elitist and designed to meet the needs of a few.
- (b) Alienates the participants from society, especially secondary school leavers.
- (c) Makes students believe that knowledge can only be got from books or from educated people.
- (d) The system removes out of productive work some of healthiest and strongest members of the workforce - students.

Though he over-emphasizes curriculum changes like Maleche (1976), Nyerere (1967:18) notes that the problem is not a matter of school organization. This is so because:

Social values are formed by family, school and society - by the total environment in which the child develops.

The above observation by Nyerere (1967) is also given by Peil (1971) who also gives a reason why the school system/education should not be blamed. In writing on education as an influence on aspirations and expectations, Peil (1971: 1/19)

states that the:

education system is given credit for providing workers with qualifications needed to help countries to develop and a great deal of blame for any failure of school leavers to fit in the society.

While schools are blamed for giving unrealistic aspirations to leavers, leavers are blamed for clinging to these aspirations and expectations in a situation where wage opportunities are increasingly becoming scarce. However, as argued elsewhere, Peil (1971) and Nyerere (1967) are right when they argue that students attitudes are not influenced by schools alone - but also by the family, peers and society. This view is also shared by Kinyanjui (1974) who observes that schools are part of the whole society hence are more of a product of the society than a force for changing it. What is regarded as high and unrealistic expectations and aspirations of the leavers are not reinforced by the school alone, but also by other factors like the social economic status (SES) of one's family, sex and age.

Accordingly, the study's third hypothesis (H3) attempts to find out whether individual characteristics of the leavers and their family background influence their employment status in the rural areas. Hanson (1980:3) helps to highlight this point when he cautions that:

in any discussion of unemployed leavers or their plight, it must be remembered that differences between categories exist and are often over-looked, both in specific studies and in hasty generalizations.

he current study can be viewed as a response to the above
cautionary remark.

While some studies blame the education system/school for
turning leavers away from farming (Nyerere, 1967; Republic of
Kenya, 1979 and Blaug 1974), others (Gakuru, 1979; Kinyanjui, 1974;
Hanson, 1980 and Mcqueen 1963) attempt to give reasons to justify
the above phenomenon. Hanson (1980), for example, points out
that there are sound reasons that support youths' negative attitudes
towards agriculture - for example, rural poverty, scarcity of available
land and lack of capital to modernize farming. This point
explains/justifies why leavers migrate to urban areas.

Mcqueen (1963: 6) goes further in explaining the negative attitudes
of school leavers towards farming and observes that

"School leavers are not opposed to farming per se."

He therefore negates the view that school leavers have unreali-
stically high aspirations which are a hindrance to their well being.

Comerford (1969) even specifies two sets of factors which help to
determine such educational aspirations of the fourth form secondary
school pupils in Kenya. He identifies:

- a) School type and quality
- b) Educational and occupational background of the pupils'

family - as the two important factors in shaping leavers'
aspirations. In the current study, an attempt is made to find
out whether school type and total family income have any influence
on the employment status of the leaver. These two factors forms
the basis of the study's first and third hypotheses.

As has been argued above, school leavers are not unrealistic as such - they tend to leave areas characterized by poverty and scarcity of resources to those where they can make a fortune. And to highlight this point, Republic of Kenya (1974) observes that if they fail to get jobs that they aspire for, leavers are ready to scale down their aspirations. Hence, leavers actions/behaviour can be viewed as a response to the disparity that exists between rural and urban wages and opportunities. As long as urban wages continue to be higher, leavers will aspire to get them. Moreover, migration from rural to urban areas will continue under such a situation of income disparity (Kinyanjui, 1974).

In conclusion, this study notes that due to the complexity of the unemployment problem, it is not valid to lay the blame on a single factor - education - just as it is misleading to cite the same factor as the cause. True, the education system contributes heavily to the unemployment of school leavers, but this is just one aspect of the whole problem. The education system is not responsible for the widespread poverty and under employment in the rural areas - both of which are aspects of the problem. And as stated earlier, the whole question of the major cause and blame revolves around the present structure of the Kenyan society - which is characterized by many imbalances that have been mentioned above. Consequently, the problem of unemployment cannot be solved by emphasizing practical skills in the school curriculum. On this point Elkan (1973: 221)

tes the work of John Anderson who states that:

the new faith in practical skill training that
has developed amongst parents and students must
be treated very cautiously.

his observation concurs with the findings of Yambo (1986) and the
argument of Philip Foster cited in Blaug (1974).

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CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Area of Study

The research was carried out in Murang'a district in the Central Province of Kenya. The district has an area of 2,476 square kilometers. Murang'a town, the district headquarters, is 83 kilometers North of Nairobi.

The district is bordered to the North by Nyeri district, Kiambu district to the South, Kirinyaga, Embu and Machakos to the East and Nyandarua district to the West. It has five administrative divisions - Kiharu, Kangema, Kigumo, Kandara and Makuyu. It has a total of 26 locations and 132 sublocations. (see Muranga District Development Committee 1984)

This is a very densely populated district. According to the District's Development Committee (1984), Murang'a has four out of five divisions having densities of over 260 persons per square kilometer. The high density compares with other leading districts of Kenya - Kisii, 395 per square kilometer; Kakamega, 294 persons per square kilometer; and Kiambu, 280 persons per square kilometer. Murang'a is thus the fourth most densely populated rural district in the Republic. Consequently, land pressure has been very high suggesting a high magnitude of underemployment and unemployment problems. This has resulted in considerable out - migration in search of employment and land settlement opportunities. Due to its proximity to Nairobi, the rate of migration over the year has been significant. According to the District's Development Committee (1984), 8% of the Nairobi population claimed to have

been born in Murang'a by 1979. But despite the significant number of outmigrants, some of the educated youth still reside within the district. As said earlier, the study attempts to focus on this category of the youth in order to explain the type of activities that they engage in, the causes of their unemployment, and the type of associated problems that they face,

By 1983, the district had a total of 344 primary schools and a total of 142 secondary schools. The total population of secondary school students was 25,912, giving an average of 39 pupils per class. (See Murang'a District Development Committee 1984). From the above figures, it is clear that the district produces over 3,000 secondary school leavers every year. Hence, since 1980, over 21,000 secondary school leavers have been produced. This point partly explains why data were collected from the district.

In terms of climate, the district can be divided into three climatic regions: the western equatorial climate, the central region with sub-tropical climate and the eastern part having semi-arid conditions. The above three climatic regions correspond to the three agro-ecological zones respectively which are: high potential, medium potential and the low potential zone.

Cash crops grown include tea in the high potential zones, coffee in the central region and cotton, pineapples and sisal in the low potential zone. The last two cash crops are mostly grown in the plantation farms within the zone

Sampling

As stated earlier, the unit of analysis in this study is the individual secondary school leaver in Murang'a district. Since the district produces over 3000 secondary school leavers every year, given the limited time and funds, it was absolutely necessary to sample the population

In the sampling process, the administrative divisions and locations were used in order to get a representative sample of the whole district. Principles of non-probability sampling and probability sampling were employed as shown below.

The district has three distinct agro-ecological zones which are high, medium and low potential zone. A representative sample of the district should thus include leavers from these three agro-ecological zones. The study drew a division from each of the three agro-ecological zone. But since the administrative boundaries of the five divisions do not correspond with the agro-ecological boundaries, the criterion of size was adopted to select the three divisions from each zone. This means that the largest division in a given zone was selected. Accordingly, Kangema, Kiharu and Makuyu divisions were selected to represent the high, medium and low potential zones respectively.

In the above procedure, non probability principles of sampling were used to select the three divisions from a total of five in the district. The procedure is appropriate after dividing the district into three strata. Using the criterion of size ensures that the three 'strata' (zones) are adequately represented. Otherwise, if probability principles of sampling were used at this stage, some strata (zones) could

have remained unrepresented, while others could have been over-represented.

In the second stage of selecting the sample (locations), probability principles of sampling were employed. Due to the limitation of time and money, only one location was selected from each of the three divisions already selected. By adopting the simple random sampling technique, four locations were selected: Kanyenyaini from Kangema division, Weithaga from Kiharu division and Makuyu and Ithanga from Makuyu division. Two locations from Makuyu division (the least densely populated division in the district), were selected since it was difficult to get the targeted number of leavers from Ithanga location which had been initially selected. We had to randomly sample the locations of the division again in order to draw another location (Makuyu). By selecting four locations from the district, the study was able to cover 15.4% of the total locations (26) in the district.

Before discussing the final step in the sampling process, a few things need to be clarified. First, the study focuses on those cohorts of 1981 and 1984. Since the study is interested in the experience of the leavers after leaving school, it was assumed that the cohort of 1981 had a reasonable experience in the world of work since they left school. The study tries to compare the experiences of the 1981 cohort and those of the 1984 cohort, which was relatively new in the world of work. This might help the study to verify claims cited earlier (for example, by Republic of Kenya, 1974) that the number of years stayed after school help to change the attitudes of the leavers towards different types of work. By selecting cohorts of only two years, rather

than of a range of years, the study was able to focus on a larger number of leavers (of the selected years) rather than just a few as the case would be if the study had sampled leavers from a range of years.

As noted earlier, the district produces at least 3000 leavers per year - assuming that the leavers are evenly distributed over the years. And since there are 26 locations within the district each location therefore produces an average of 115 leavers per year. Since these are minimum figures, the study does not include those who migrate to towns and other areas in search of employment opportunities. Due to time and financial constraints, the study sought to interview 75 leavers per location. To make the study more scientific, the study also included the employed youth in the sample and used them as the control group. As much as was possible, the study tried to ensure that for every two unemployed leavers interviewed, one employed leaver was also interviewed. This implies that the ratio of unemployed leavers to that of employed was made to approach 2:1. A higher number of unemployed leavers was maintained since the study basically focuses on the unemployment problem of the educated youth in rural areas. In the end, the study was able to interview 135 unemployed leavers and 53 employed leavers. This means that 28.2% of the total sample of 188 was composed of the employed leavers, while the remaining 71.8% was of the unemployed.

Though the study had intended to give equal weight to the two years in question, it later became difficult to cover equal number of leavers for the two years. The fact that leavers were not evenly distributed as earlier assumed made it difficult to cover the same number of leavers for the two years in question. In all 78 leavers of 1981 were interviewed and 110 leavers of 1984. As mentioned earlier, it was sometimes very difficult to get

leavers of 1981 - most of them were said to have migrated to urban areas. Consequently, though the study sought to interview 225 leavers, only 188 leavers were finally interviewed. Nevertheless, 83.6% of the targeted sample was covered.

The third stage of sampling was done within the four selected locations. Here, nonprobability principles of sampling were again employed. In getting leavers from the locations, the snowball (mudball) technique was adopted. After getting the first respondent/leaver, he/she assisted the researcher to get others either of the same year or of the other earmarked year. Within the location, research assistants were employed who assisted the researcher by taking him round the locations and in identifying respondents. The five research assistants who were employed were also leavers who had been interviewed before employing them. Help was also sought from the local people who also helped to direct the researcher and thus to trace the leavers in the locations. However, despite the assistance given by leavers themselves and by the local people, many problems were encountered in the course of the field work which will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

What has been described above constitutes what is called quota sampling - a type of area sampling which is different from probability sampling. Moser and Kalton (1958: 127) state that:

What distinguishes quota sampling from probability sampling is that, once the general breakdown of the sample is decided..... and quota assignments are allocated to interviewers, the choice of the actual sample unit to fit in this frame work is left to the interviewers.

They continue and contend that:

it is therefore a method of stratified sampling in which the selection within the strata is non-random.

By following the above sampling procedures, the study succeeded in drawing a representative sample of the secondary school leavers from Murang'a district. All the above stages were strictly followed in order to safeguard the study from the threats of both validity and reliability - which would make it impossible for the study to generalize its findings.

3:5 Methods of Data Collection

This study uses primary data. The data were collected by administering an interview schedule - which is attached in the appendix. The fieldwork covered a period of three months - August, September and October, 1986.

All interviewing was done by the researcher himself - research assistants only helped the researcher to trace the leavers within the locations. This enabled the researcher to get responses to most of the questions - most of which required a lot of probing. The interview schedule contained questions that would enable the researcher to test the three hypotheses and others that would help him to suggest solutions to the unemployment problem affecting the educated youth in rural areas.

The interview schedule was made up of three parts, the first part that contained questions related to the background of the leavers, the second one, that contained questions for the unemployed leavers, and the last part, that had questions for the employed leavers.

All the interviews were carried out confidentially - in the presence of only the respondent and the interviewer. Before the respondents were interviewed, they were briefed on the purpose

of the study and were also assured that their responses were treated confidentially. The researcher tried the best he could to explain the purpose of the study in order to avoid biased answer from some leavers. At first, some of them had the impression that the researcher had gone there to interview them in order to recruit them later.

Apart from interviewing, direct observation was also employed in the process of data collection. Observations were made on the activities that the youth claimed to be doing; for example, farming and business. The researcher also observed parents' assets like cash crops, livestock and all forms of capital in the farm which helped him to estimate their monthly income. The researcher also visited the local clubs in the evening to find out how the youth spent their leisure time. He also participated in their discussions which enabled him to learn about the difficulties which such clubs faced.

A few unstructured questions were also administered to a few parents and local leaders such as chiefs and sub-chiefs - all of whom expressed a lot of concern about the problem facing the young people in general. Most of the parents were very keen on enquiring what the government was doing to solve the problem.

3:4 Problems encountered in the Field

As mentioned earlier, this study faced many problems in the course of field work. In Ithanga location, for example, it was impossible to get even half of the targeted number of leavers from each location (75). Hence the researcher had to sample the locations again in order to cover a reasonable number from two locations within Makuyu division. This was due to the fact that Makuyu division is the least densely populated division in Murang'a district.

As with other tracer projects, many difficulties were faced in tracing leavers of 1981 and 1984. Most leavers especially of 1981, were said to have migrated to towns or elsewhere in search of employment opportunities. Consequently, the research assistants and the researcher himself had to walk for long hours before landing on a leaver of either 1981 or 1984. The walking was especially tedious at Makuyu, Ithanga and Kanyenyaini Locations. In Makuyu division, it was very hot and dry and in addition there were no means of transport within the locations. At Kanyenyaini location, the weather was always wet and very cold. Since the place is very hilly, and there were no means of transport within it, walking in some areas was not only difficult but at times very risky. Hence a lot of determination and perseverance was required in order to complete the fieldwork within those three months.

A part from the problems faced in tracing the leavers, the study also encountered other problems when dealing with the leavers and at times with their parents. The researcher had a difficult time in explaining and convincing leavers that the interview was quite different from those that they normally attend when seeking for employment. The conversation before the interview required a lot of patience on the part of the researcher. Parents, especially, were very inquisitive about what could be done by the government to benefit their children after the interview. Taking into account that most of the parents were illiterate, the researcher found himself in a difficult position in explaining to such parents how the government's socio-economic policies are formulated and implemented. For this problem, the researcher exploited the only advantage he had of the language (ie could fluently speak the local language) and managed to explain the purpose of the research, though after lengthy conversations.

However, despite the above problems, the study managed to cover 83.6% of the targeted sample of 225 leavers within a period of three months.

3:5 Limitations of the study

Like any other study, this has its own limitations. First, the study accepts that its sample size is quite small. If adequate funds and time were available, a larger sample would have been preferred. Normally, larger samples give better results and hence are more reliable. This makes generalizations more valid and reliable.

Secondly, though the researcher explained the purpose of the study to the leavers before interviewing them, some of them might have exaggerated their problems in order to win sympathy from the researcher. Consequently, leavers could have underestimated both their monthly income and their parents' income. What has been given as a monthly income either for the leavers or for the parents should therefore be taken as an estimate.

Other responses to sensitive questions should also be taken with caution. The question of whether one would prefer to work in a rural or urban area if both opportunities are offered is a good example. Most leavers could have 'preferred' rural areas as a way of showing the researcher that they were not selective at all. It was unfortunate that the nature of the study could not have done without such questions.

3:6 Hypotheses

The study has three hypotheses which are tested in chapter five. The operational definitions of the key variables of the hypotheses form the subject of this section.

H:1 The Educational Background of Youth Influences their

Employment Status

Independent Variable

Independent variable in H 1 is the educational background of the rural youth. This refers to those qualities that the rural youth attain and/or acquire from the secondary school they attended and which later form part of their personality'. Variable indicators for this variable are: (a) Type of school attended (b) Division attained.

(a) 'Type of School Attended'

Secondary schools are grouped into five categories which are: (i) National (ii) Government aided (iii) Mixed (iv) Harambee (v) Private.

National Schools are full boarding high schools which are fully maintained by the government and which select their 'inputs' from all over the country.

Government aided are either full boarding, boarding and day or day high/secondary schools, partly maintained by the government and which have a local bias in selecting their 'input!!

Mixed schools refer to either (i) or (ii) which have introduced at least a harambee stream within their system.

Harambee schools refer to those secondary/high schools which are mainly maintained by the local community with minimum assistance from the government in terms of teaching staff.

Private schools refer to secondary/high schools that are fully maintained by an individual, a few individuals or by a company. These schools receive no assistance from the government.

NB The five categories of schools have been reduced to three

categories in chapter five in order to apply chi-square test appropriately. This point is elaborated in the critical section of chapter five.

(b) 'Division Attained'

This is measured by the aggregate of the leaver's six best subjects following the guidelines of the Kenya National Examination Council as given in the 'O' level syllabus.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable in H1 is 'Employment Status' of the rural youth. This is the leavers' status in the world of work. On the basis of this status, the following indicators were employed to measure the dependent variable: (a) Employed leavers
(b) unemployed leavers.

(a) 'Employed leavers'

This refers to those leavers who are engaged in activities/work that generate a reasonable and regular flow of income after a given period of time. All income (including that of leavers) is calculated on a monthly basis in this thesis. The definition includes even those who are in self-employment.

(b) 'Unemployed leavers'

This refers to those leavers who do not receive a constant and reasonable income after a given time, as payment for what they do. This definition includes even those leavers who receive substantial financial assistance from their parents. The definition also includes both active and inactive job seeker who meet the above conditions.

H2: Age, Sex and Marital Status Influence The System of Ownership of 'Local Resources' Such As Land and Farm Tools In The Rural Areas

Independent variables in H2 are Age, Sex and Marital Status. Age in this context refers to the numbers of years lived since birth. To be able to crosstabulate age with other

variables, leavers' age is grouped into two categories: 15 - 24 age category and 25 and over age category.

Sex refers to the gender of the leavers. One was classified as either male or female.

Marital Status refers to the status of a leaver in terms of marriage - whether a leaver is married, single or separated, irrespective of whether she/he has children.

Dependent variable in H2 is the 'system of ownership of local resources' in rural areas. Local resources are divided into two categories: land and local assets. The latter category includes farm tools, all types of tools needed by those who had technical skills but unemployed, and other assets that are required by the youth to make themselves self-employed. In the testing of this hypothesis, the most important local resource, land, is considered on its own.

H3: Individual Characteristics and Family Background of The Leavers Influence Their Employment Status in the Rural Areas

In H3, the independent variable are 'the individual characteristics of the rural youth and their family background. Individual characteristics of the rural youth refers to both ascribed and achieved aspects of a rural leaver which consists of his/her personality. These variables are represented by the following indicators: age, sex, marital status and skills attained either from a technical institute or from any college. 'Family Background is measured by the monthly income of the leavers' parents.

3:7 Methods of Data Analysis

In analysing the data, the following statistical tools have been employed:

(a) Descriptive Statistics

(b) Inductive or inferential statistics

In this study, both the descriptive and inferential statistics have been calculated by means of a computer. Specifically, the study uses the statistical package for the social sciences (SPSS) programme in computing all the statistics (see Nie et al, 1970).

(a) Descriptive Statistics

These statistical tools perform the first function of statistics - that is to say, they afford condensed and summarised description of units with regard to enumerable or measurable characteristics (Hagood, 1969). They are thus summarizing measures which are used to condense raw data into forms which supply useful information efficiently. Descriptive statistics that are used in this study include: mean, range, and standard deviation. The definitions of these three statistics are given here below.

(i) Mean (\bar{X})

This is obtained by summing the individual values (X) and dividing by their total number (N). Thus $\bar{X} = \frac{\sum X_i}{N}$

The mean is sometimes called a measure of central tendency, for it tells a researcher about the main or central characteristics of a distribution of score. (Prewitt, 1975: 121).

(ii) Standard Deviation

This statistic measures dispersion of scores from the mean. It refers to how much an individual score is greater than or less than the mean of the set of scores. The SPSS Programme uses the following formula in computing standard deviation(s):

$$s = \sqrt{\frac{\sum_{i=1}^N X_i^2 - N\bar{X}^2}{N-1}}$$

Standard deviation(s) can be manually computed using the following formula:

$$s = \sqrt{\frac{\sum (\bar{X} - X)^2}{N}}$$

The square of the standard deviation (s^2) gives another measure of dispersion known as variance.

(iii) Range

This is the difference between the maximum and the minimum score in given data. Hence:

Range = maximum score - minimum score.

(vi) Kurtosis

This is a measure of relative peakedness or flatness of the curve defined by the distribution of cases. A normal curve has a Kurtosis value of zero. More peaked (narrow) distributions have a positive value of Kurtosis, while a negative value means that it is flatter than a normal curve (Nie et al, 1970: 185)

(b) Inferential Statistics

In contrast to descriptive statistics, inferential statistics deal with methods of drawing conclusions or making decisions about populations on the basis of samples. The basic ideas of descriptive statistics prepare the way for inference, hence have been outlined first (see Wallis and Roberts, 1956: 155).

The inferential statistical tools that are used by this study are: (i) Crosstabulations (ii) Measures of association (iii) Chi-square (iv) Regression analysis.

2370
12.580

(i) Crosstabulation

Crosstabulation:

is a joint frequency distribution of cases according to two or more classificatory variables (Nie et al, 1970: 218).

Such tables simultaneously tabulate the sample on two or more separate dimensions in such a way that the reader can see the interrelationship between a respondent's score on one variable (dimension) and his score on a second (and/or third) variable(s) (Prewitt, 1975).

These joints frequency distributions can be summarized by a number of measures of association such as contingency co-efficient (C) and Phi, and can be analysed by certain tests of significance, such as chi-square test. In this study, the above-mentioned measures of association and the chi-square test of significance are used to analyze and to summarize these tables which have been employed in chapter four and five.

(ii) Measures of Association

A measure of association indicates how strongly two variables are related to each other. Such a statistic indicates to what extent characteristics of one variable and characteristics of another variable occur together. While some measures of associations such as contingency coefficient only indicates the strength of relationships between variables, other measures such as pearson product - moment coefficient, symbolised by r, gives both the strength and direction of such relationships.

The following is a brief summary of the measures of a association that have been used in this study.

(a) Contingency Coefficient (C)

This is a measure of association which is based upon chi-square. It is denoted by C hence its formula is:

$$C = \sqrt{\frac{X^2}{X^2 + N}}$$

It can be used with a table of any size, has a minimum value of zero but the maximum value it can take depends on the size of the table (Nie et al, 1970: 225). The contingency coefficient is used when both variables in the table are measured at nominal level. This fact makes it difficult to use C to show the direction of the relationship.

(b) PHI (ϕ)

This measure of association is also based on Chi-square and hence is appropriate for variables measured at nominal level scale:

PHI (ϕ) takes on the value of 0 when no relationship exists, and the value of 1 when the variables are perfectly related i.e. all cases fall just on the main or the minor diagonal (Nie et al, 1970: 224).

It is most appropriate for a 2 x 2 table.

(c) Pearson Product - Moment Correlation Coefficient (r)

This measure of association (Correlation) measures the direction and the strength of relationship between ^{two} variables. The coefficient tells us whether two variables are related across a sample of units:

It indicates whether the relationship is positive or negative, and whether it is weak or strong.

(Prewitt, 1975: 135). The Pearson correlation coefficient can take a value from - 1.00 (perfect negative correlation) through 0 (no relationship between the variables) to + 1.00 (perfect positive correlation). The formula of computing r is:

$$r = 1 - \frac{\text{Standard error squared}}{\text{Standard deviation squared.}}$$

The above formula implies that the smaller the standard error is in relation to the standard deviation, the higher the value of r (correlation).

The correlation coefficient (r) helps in calculating the percentage of variance explained in the dependent variable due to a change in the independent variable. This value is given by the square of the correlation coefficient (r²).

In this study, correlation coefficient (r) is only used when dealing with variables that are measured at interval or ratio Scale. Prewitt (1975: 148) cautions that:

The Pearson correlation coefficient was devised to be used with data measured at the interval or ratio level of measurement.

Moreover, statistical theorists advise against using r when dealing with variables that have been measured at low level scales.

(iii) Chi-Square (χ^2)

This is a test of statistical significance which helps us to determine whether a systematic relationship exists between two variables. It measures whether something observed differs significantly from something expected (chance). The formula for χ^2 is:

$$\chi^2 = \frac{(\text{observed} - \text{expected frequency})^2}{\text{expected frequency}}$$

$$\chi^2 = \frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$$

Chi-square test of significance assure that both variables in the table are measured at the nominal level. This condition is ensured throughout the study. Moreover, the risk of getting a chance finding is maintained at 0.05. (5%) level. Consequently, any hypothesis is accepted as a true finding at or beyond the 95% level of confidence or certainty.

(iv) Regression Analysis

Regression analysis is used to predict the exact value of one variable from knowledge of another variable (Predictor). It helps to answer the question of how much an increment in one variable produces an increment in another (dependent) variable (see Prewitt, 1974: 36).

The study applies two closely related techniques of regression analysis, namely multiple regression and stepwise regression.

Multiple regression is an extension of the bivariate correlation coefficient to multivariate analysis. It is a general statistical technique through which one analyses the relationship between a dependent variable and a set of

independent variables:

It allows the researcher to study the linear relationships between a set of independent variables and a dependent variable while taking into account the interrelationships among the independent variables (Nie et al, 1970: 8).

Stepwise regression is very similar to multiple regression.

It allows a researcher to determine from among the set of independent variables (predictors), that which best explains the dependent variable. Through the application of stepwise regression, the study is able to determine the individual contribution of each predictor (in explaining the dependent variable) while taking into account interrelationships among the predictors.

The two techniques are only appropriate when the variables have been measured at or above the interval level scale. For this reason, the study has made use of the dummy variables where appropriate, in order to make use of regression analysis even where variables were measured at nominal level scale. More details on transformation of nominal scale variables into dummy variables have been given at the relevant section of this thesis in chapter five.

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404.1.0 BACKGROUND, CHARACTERISTICS OF FORM FOUR LEAVERS IN MURANG'A DISTRICT

This chapter presents and discusses the findings of the study, using descriptive statistics such as the measures of central tendency which include the mean, mode and median. Simple tables and percentages are also used to make the discussion more elaborate. Rigorous analysis of data and testing of hypotheses will be the subject of the next chapter.

4.1.1 Individual Attributes of All leavers

(21) 10

As stated before, the 188 respondents interviewed were from three administrative divisions of Murang'a district. The distribution of the respondents per administrative division is presented in table 1.

TABLE 1: Distribution of Leavers by Administrative boundaries/Agro-ecological Zone

Adm. Division	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency	Agro-ecological Zone
Makuyu	48	25.5	Low
Kangema	72	38.3	High
Kiharu	68	36.2	Medium
Total	188	100.0	

The notable difference in the relative frequency between the low agro-ecological zone (represented by Makuyu), and the medium and high agro-ecological zone (represented by Kiharu and Kangema respectively), can probably be explained in terms of differences in the densities of population. Suffice here to state that Makuyu division is the least densely populated of the five divisions that constitute the district.

This study shed some light on the individual attributes of the four leavers that were interviewed. Some of the major attributes such as sex and age are presented and discussed here - others will be discussed later.

TABLE 2: Distributions of Leavers By Sex

Sex	Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency
Male	113	60.1
Female	75	39.9
Total	188	100.0

Of the total sample of 188 cases, 60.1% were males while 39.9% were females. This finding supports the casual observation made in the field that there were more male leavers than females. This finding might suggest that the rate of admission in secondary schools among females is lower than that of males.

Age ranged from 16 years to 28 years with a mean of 22 years. However, the modal age was 21 years. This shows that the majority of the leavers are over 18 years and hence qualify to take up many types of employment as required by Kenya's labour laws. Moreover, the finding supports Mureithi's contention (1983) that most of these youth are at a critical stage in their human development. As Nyerere (1967) argues, this category of young people constitutes the healthiest and strongest part of the country's labour force, hence all efforts should be made to utilize its potential.

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4.1.2 Types of Secondary Schools Attended

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The sample drawn included leavers from all types of Schools, which were categorized as: National, Government aided, Harambee, Mixed and Private. Mixed schools had the highest contribution in the sample in terms of leavers (46.8%), followed by Harambee (33.5%) and National (11.7%). Government aided had 4.8% while Private schools had 3.2%. Since most of the Government aided secondary schools had added Harambee streams to their schools, this explains why the contribution from purely Government aided to the sample was very minimal. The inclusion of leavers from all type of schools was important in order to find out whether school type and quality affect leavers' employment status in the world of work (Somerset, 1969).

From the above data, it is clearly shown that about one - third of the leavers considered were products of Harambee schools (33.5%). And since these schools are well known for their poor academic achievement, this suggests that the majority leavers resident in rural areas are the poor performers. An attempt is made here to focus closely on the performance of such leavers to prove the above contention.

4:1:3 Leavers Performance in K.C.E. Examination

From the study's findings, no leaver had a division one, 13 leavers (7.2%) had division two, 82 leavers (45.3%) had division three, 64 leavers (35.5%) had division four, while 22 leavers (12.2%) had failed and never got a certificate. This is best illustrated by a table.

TABLE 3: Division Attained by Leavers in K.C.E. Examinations

Division	Number of Leavers	Percentage	Performance
One	0	0	Good
Two	13	7.2%	Good
Three	82	45.3%	Fair
Four	64	35.4%	Poor
Failed	22	12.2%	Poor
Total	181	100.0%	

NB: 7 observations were missing.

From table 3, it is clear that almost half of the leavers (47.6%) can be considered as poor performers. Such leavers have limited opportunities open to them in terms of further training and employment. They cannot even qualify to join teaching Colleges or other technical institutions such as Harambee Institutes of Technology (HIT) or various agricultural institutes within the country - which require a minimum of division three. This point may explain why they are reluctant to migrate to towns and prefer to reside in rural areas not knowing what to do next. Some of them resort to casual employment around their home areas in an attempt to make their ends meet. Others cling to hopes of getting wage employment in towns through the influence of their well-off parents, relatives or friends.

4:1:4 Mobility of Leavers after School

The study attempted to trace the mobility of the leavers especially immediately after school. One finding is that the

majority of leavers (51.3%) go home immediately after school where they were residing upto the time of data collection. A few leavers reported that they had gone home immediately after School, then went to town or elsewhere looking for jobs and after failing to get them, had returned home, where they were at the time of data collection. Such leavers accounted for 14.9% of the sample. Other leavers (8.0%) reported that they had gone home immediately after school, under took a course at a technical institute, and after failing to get a job had decided to stay home. However 9.1% of the total leavers (188) claimed to have found jobs locally, while 5.9% reported to have worked elsewhere after school, but all were unemployed at the time the research was being done.

The above data suggest that only a small population of leavers (14.9%) reported to have migrated to town or elsewhere looking for jobs. The majority of them probably aware of their poor academic performance, had not bothered to look for jobs outside their local areas. This point will be explained in detail later in the chapter.

As for the length of time stayed at home, 4.7% of leavers reported to have stayed at home for twelve months, 46.2% of leavers had stayed for 24 months, while 11.4% had stayed for 56 months. The last category consists of those who had left school in 1981. This finding shows that the sample consisted of real rural residents.

Unlike what would be expected of leavers, most of them (82.2%) claimed not to have stayed in Nairobi at all - a place where leavers are believed to flock in large numbers in search of employment opportunities. Probably this can be attributed to leavers' poor academic performance.

4:1:5 Plans After School

Most studies cited in the literature are of the view that leavers have high and unrealistic aspirations and expectations when they leave school and join the world of work. Such studies include Republic of Kenya (1970), Republic of Kenya (1979), Mbithi (1975), Blaug (1974), Jolly (1973) and Todaro (1977). This study tried to look for evidence to prove the validity of the above claim by asking the leavers to give their plans upon leaving School.

The findings of this study show that 31.0% of the leavers had planned to join various technical institutions to undertake a course, 22.5% had planned to join teaching or nursing colleges, 20.9% had planned to further their academic studies while 17.8% wanted to get wage employment. Only a small percentage (4.2%) had planned to be self-employed. Farming as an activity was not popular among leavers - only 0.5% had planned to undertake farming.

The question to raise here is whether leavers' plans, which indicate their future educational and occupational aspirations, are unrealistic as argued by many scholars. Kariuki (1976:2), for example, cites many studies to:

Show that students especially in developing countries have or seem to have unrealistic educational as well as occupational aspirations ... since there is little career guidance provided in school, most of them have unrealistic choices.

However, the findings of this study support the contrary view that leavers are realistic since 31.0% of them had planned to acquire

technical skills, 20.9% had planned to further their studies and 22.2% to join teaching/nursing colleges. It is thus evident that 74.4% of the leavers felt that they were not well prepared to join the highly competitive labour market upon leaving school. This finding reflects the leavers' understanding of the forces that operate in the Kenyan labour market where unskilled labour is highly discriminated against and poorly paid. The leavers' awareness is further manifested by the very fact that only 17.8% had planned to search for jobs immediately after school. The hypothesis implied that educational background is related to leavers' unemployment will be statistically tested in the next chapter.

4:1:6 Learning of Technical Skills by Leavers

Though the study found that 31.0% of leavers had planned to undertake courses in technical institutions upon leaving school, only 20.2% of them achieved this goal. This left 79.8% being unskilled. The types of course that leavers reported to have undertaken are presented below in table 4.

TABLE 4: Learning of Technical Skills by Leavers

Types of courses	No. of Leavers	Percentage	Whether Skilled or not Skilled.
Tailoring	8	4.3	Skilled
Mechanic	5	2.7	"
Carpentry & Masonry	5	2.7	"
Driving	4	2.1	"
Catering	3	1.6	"
Accounts	3	1.6	"
Teaching	2	1.1	"
Typing	1	0.5	"
Secretarial	1	0.5	"
Others	6	3.2	"
Nil	150	79.8	Unskilled
Total	188	100.0	

Tailoring seemed to have been the most popular among the leavers. This is probably so due to the fact that it is open to both male and female leavers. Moreover, one can easily utilize the skill gained in making oneself self-employed by hiring a sewing machine locally in order to make ends meet. Many leavers had in fact done so in order to earn a living locally. It is also notable from table 4 that the traditional courses for males were also very popular - they constituted 36.8% of the skilled leavers.

From table 4, it is also clear that more male leavers had undertaken courses than females. However, as will be shown later, the relationship between sex and whether one had undertaken a course was found to be very weak. Other relationships between courses undertaken and employment status of the leavers will be analysed in the next chapter.

4.1.7 Implementation of leavers' Plans after School

As suggested in the literature, leavers' plans and expectations were claimed to change especially after staying unemployed for a time. The Republic of Kenya (1974: 89), for example, states that: Most (school leavers) remain unemployed for long periods - say two or three years - before they settle for lower paid or more manual jobs than they had wanted.

This contention suggests that School leavers change their original plans after leaving school.

According to the findings of the study, 41.4% of the sample reported to have changed their original plans after school - leaving 58.6% who had not changed. As mentioned earlier, some of the major original plans of school leavers upon leaving school included: joining teaching or nursing colleges, to advance in their academic studies, joining various technical institutes to undertake courses, getting a job or starting a business. The fact that 58.6% do not change their plans shows that most leavers do not change their plans at all or they take more than five years before changing their plans.

Those who changed their plans gave many reasons for doing so. The highest percentage of those who had changed their original plans (51.3%) mentioned their poor academic performance. Others (27.6%) of those who had changed their plans claimed to have done so after they realized that their original plans could not work; after realizing that their plans were unrealistic. Only a small proportion 9.2% claimed to have found a better alternative.

Many reasons were also given by those who had not changed their original plans. Most of them (86.3% of those who had not changed their original plans) reported that they were still working on their plans (mentioned earlier) with a hope that they would finally materialize. A small proportion (13.6% of those who had not changed their original plan) reported that their original plan had worked as was expected.

Though it is quite difficult to prove whether leavers' plans are unrealistic or not, it is evident from the above data that between first and fifth year after leaving school, most of them do not change their original plan. During such an interval, most leavers are still clinging to their original hopes or expectations. This indicates their firm determination in realizing their dreams.

4:1:8 Marital Status of the School Leavers

As was expected, most school leavers were single - of the total sample of 188 cases, 165 (88.2%) were single while 21 leavers (11.2%) were married. Since there were 10 cases of single mothers, 31 respondents reported to have families of their own.

The above findings help to support an important demographic observation that education helps to delay marriages. To be specific, the data indicate that by the age of 22 years, which is the average age of school leavers in question, most of them are not married. And since marriage among the Kikuyu marks the end of youthful stage and initiates one into adulthood, most of the school leavers are therefore regarded as young people despite their age. This point explains why most parents were reported to be reluctant in allowing the school leavers to inherit their properties like land. Mbithi (1975), cites the work of Mary Douglas in Kasai Province of Congo to show the relationship between marital status and ownership. This relationship forms the basis of the study's second hypothesis (H2) and will be statistically tested in chapter five.

4:1:9 Size of Parents' Family

The number of children per family was found to be normally distributed with a Kurtosis value of 0.001 and standard deviation

of 3.052. 45.5% of the families considered had 6 - 8 children. The average number of children per family was seven. These data reflect the true picture of the whole district which as earlier stated ranks fourth as the most densely populated district in Kenya (See Muranga District Development Committee 1984).

The study also considered the number of children in learning institutions in order to assess the dependency burden per family within the district. The distribution is given in table five

TABLE 5: Number of Children in Learning Institutions

Number of Children	Frequency	Per centage
Nil	34	20.0
1	9	5.1
2	19	11.2
3	20	11.8
4	33	19.4
5	27	15.9
6	21	12.4
7	6	3.5
9	1	0.6
N/A	18	-
Total	188	100.0

From table five, the average number of children in a learning institution was found to be three. Since the average number of children per family was found to be seven, this implies, that 43% of each family constituted of the so called 'School children'. The relationship between this finding and the major

expenditure of family income will be shown later in the chapter.

The study also enquired about the number of employed and unemployed brothers/sisters as a way of assessing the socio-economic status (S.E.S) of the leavers' family. The study found that 42.6% of the sample had no employed brothers/sisters, 17.8% had two employed brothers/sisters while 8.9% had three employed brothers/sisters. The findings show that almost half of the sample could not benefit from the usual assistance that is given by one's employed brother(s)/sister(s). In such circumstances, leavers are left to rely either on themselves or on their parents.

In addition to the above, slightly more than half of the leavers (52.7%) reported that they had 1 - 4 unemployed sisters/brothers. While some unemployed sisters/brothers were living in rural areas, others were reported to have migrated to towns in search of jobs. The point to make here is that the unemployment problem was found to affect other categories of the youth which were not included in the sample. It also emerges from the above data that half of the families considered had at least one unemployed person at the time of data collection.

4:1:10 Major Occupation of Leavers' Parents

Farming, business, carpentry and masonry were found to be the major occupations of the fathers. The study found that 36.8% were farmers, 14.1% were businessmen, while 7.0% were either masons or carpenters. Another 7.0% were found to be teachers either in secondary schools or primary schools.

As for mothers, 56.2% were found to be housewives as well as farmers, 27.2% were found to be housewives only, while 5.6% were business women. Only 4.9% of them (mothers) were reported to be in teaching.

An attempt was made to categorize parents' occupations as either wage employment or self-employment. While 28% of fathers were found to be in wage employment, only 6.7% of mothers were wage earners. This implies that 34.7% of parents were wage earners leaving 65.3% in self-employment activities - which were dominated by farming.

From the above data, it is notable that a higher percentage of women (93.3%) was engaged in self-employment activities than men (72.0%). Since the major self-employment activity in both cases was farming, it can be logically inferred that most of the farming in the district is done by women. This is evident when it is taken into account that a higher percentage of males stay outside the farm leaving women as the heads of the households in terms of farm labour.

4:1:11 Major Sources and Expenditure of Family Income

Farming, wage and business were found to be the three major sources of income. Of the total sample, 37.1% mainly relied on farm sales, 34.7% relied on wages while 13.2% relied on business profits as their major sources of income. These findings show that about 50.3% of the family income was generated from self-employment activities. Other sources of income includes aid from employed family member(s).

As was expected, expenditure of the family incomes was mainly on education. Over half (50.5%) of the families cited school expenses as their major expenditure. Basic needs that included feeding, clothing and other household needs were reported to be the major expenditure by 28.2% of the sample. Only 5.3% of the sample spent their income in developing their shambas. Other types of expenditure noted include paying farm labourers

and building. These findings help to support a well known fact that most of the government's expenditure (over 30%) is on education. This is so due to the fact that over 60% of Kenya's population consist of children most of who are in 'School'.

4:2:0 Attributes of Unemployed Leavers

This section deals with the 135 cases of unemployed leavers, the rest 53 cases of the employed leavers will be discussed in a later section. As already implied, 71.8% of the total sample consisted of the unemployed leavers while the remaining 28.2% was of the employed. The ratio of employed to that of unemployed approaches 1:2 which was the study's target. As earlier mentioned, the study's main focus was on the unemployed - the few cases of employed were used as the control group of the study. Since the section deals with the 135 cases of the unemployed leavers, there will be at least 53 cases which will be considered as missing (those employed)

4:2:1 Major Sources and Expenditures of Income by Unemployed Leavers

The findings of this study show that a large number of leavers (48.9%) continue getting financial assistance from parents even after leaving school. However, just over a third (36.3%) engages in casual jobs to earn some income needed to meet their basic needs. This point helps to clarify King's claim (1976) that school leavers are not engaged in doing 'nothing'. It is important to note that though the school leavers are engaged in some activities, they are active job seekers as will be shown later. This finding concurs with the view of Anderson (1966) and Mbiti (1975). Table 6 summarizes the sources of income for the unemployed leavers.

TABLE 6: Major Sources of Income for Unemployed Leavers

Major Sources	Number of Leavers	Percentage %
Parents	66	48.9
Casual employment	49	36.3
Self-employment activities	7	5.2
Employed Brothers/sisters	7	5.2
Others	6	4.4
Not Applicable	53	--
Total	188	100.0

Taking into account that most parents considered were poor (for 51.4% of them were earning less than 1000 shillings per month), it is evident that the assistance given to the leavers by such parents is far from being adequate. Hence this category of young people can be regarded as what Mbithi (1975) calls the 'working poor'. It is also evident from table six that over half (54.1%) of leavers can be regarded as 'dependents' since they rely on other people who provide them with financial assistance. This point shows why their unemployment problem should be given top priority by Kenya's planners and decision makers.

4:2:2 Income of Unemployed Leavers

The income of the unemployed leavers ranged from 0 - 650 shillings per month with an average of 162 shillings. The modal group was that which was earning/receiving 100 shillings per month. This group consisted of 18.7% of the total number of the unemployed. 16.4% were receiving/earning 50 shillings per month, while 15.7% received/earned 200 shillings per month.

To give a clear picture of the distribution of income for the unemployed, cumulative percentages are used. In summary, the study found that over a half of leavers 52.2% were receiving/earning 100 shillings or less while 20% were receiving 200 shilling or less. This implies that only about 20% were receiving/earning 200 shillings or more per month. As mentioned earlier, this proves that leavers are no better than those normally referred to as the 'working poor'. To say the least about leavers' income, it is too small to enable them to meet even the three basic needs of food, clothing and shelter adequately. The implications of the low level of income will be discussed in later chapters.

As for expenditure of the meager income, about 70% of the leavers spend it to meet the basic needs - of food and clothing. 11.9% reported that they spent it on traveling - mainly in search of 'better jobs'. Only a few leavers (5.2%) claimed to spend part of their income on entertainment.

4:2:5 Main Activities Involved in

Leavers were found to be engaged in a range of activities - most of which did not generate incomes to them directly. Table 7 shows the major types of work leavers do. This helps to answer the questions raised by NCKK (1966: 15) of "After school - what? What happens to leavers?; where do they go and what do they do?"

TABLE 7: Main Activities of Unemployed Leavers

Type of work	Number of Leavers	Percentage
Farm work only	72	53.3
Farm work and House work	28	20.7
House work only	26	19.3
Casual Jobs	5	3.7
Other	4	3.0
Not Applicable	53	---
Total	188	100.0

From table 7, it clearly emerges that the majority of the leavers spend their time providing their labour to the parents' farm. Farm work included such activities as digging, weeding, picking tea/coffee, feeding cattle, fencing and many others. Housework alone was done by 19.3% of the 135 cases. This included such work as cooking, fetching water, washing and keeping the house. It was interesting to note that housework was not restricted to females only - there were a few cases of males who performed housework roles. This shows that the traditional division of labour based on sex is not as rigid as it used to be in the past.

Since most leavers are not married and do not own local resources such as land and household utensils, it can validly be deduced that 93.3% of the 135 cases spend their time in their parents' farms. This point can justify why leavers depend on their parents for their financial demands. However, the financial support from parents is far from adequate and is sometimes not

forthcoming. This point has been elaborated before when discussing the incomes of unemployed leavers. This fact was cited by many leavers as a major source of conflict between the parents and leavers.

As noted earlier, Murang'a is a very densely populated district where the problem of land is widespread. Sizes of peoples' farms are quite small - with an average of three to five acres. On such farms, it was observed that most of the leavers were indeed being underutilized - while working in their parents' farms. As Mbithi (1975) argues, they get frustrated when they stay for years doing the type of work that they never expected. They even get more frustrated when they consider the meagre income that they receive - despite the energy that they spend in the parents' farms. They work hard yet live in poverty - another point that suggests why unemployment should be given top priority by planners and decision makers.

4:2:4 Ownership of Assets

As argued elsewhere, the question of ownership is very important in most African societies. In such societies, one acquires the right of ownership only after getting married (see the work of Mary Douglas in Mbithi 1975). As has been pointed out, the majority of the leavers (83.7%) were reported to own no assets. Assets here include local resources like land, livestock, capital goods like farm tools and any other resources that can enable somebody to generate some income. Only 16.3% claimed to own simple assets. Of those who reported to own assets, most (87.0%) only owned simple tools like panga, jembe and axe.

Since most leavers did not own assets, a very high percentage (93.8%) were reported to rely on the parents' assets. Those who were doing casual jobs for example, were using parents' farmtools like ^{fork}, jembe, panga or axe. Parents were willing to let the leavers use such tools since most of the time leavers were engaged in activities within the parents' farms.

The above findings help to explain why it is very difficult for leavers to engage in self-employment activities as advised by leaders and planners. Without the assets, they can do little to make themselves self-employed.

Since land is one of the basic assets which is regarded highly in rural areas, the study attempted to find out whether leavers/youth own land in the area of study. On this issue, it was found that 92.5% of the leavers owned no land - in fact only 10 leavers (7.5%) claimed to own land. The finding also helps to explain why it is difficult for leavers to make themselves self-employed by "taking farming seriously" as suggested by leaders (see Ouko, 1986). For those who owned land, almost all of them (99.2%) owned two hectares or less.

The above findings support Kinyanjui's criticism (1974) when he doubts the genuineness of the solutions offered by our leaders. He specifically criticizes those who still believe that there exist opportunities for leavers in the 'Mashambani'. Ouko (1986) and Republic of Kenya (1974) are a few cases to cite - both of which still hold that the old slogan of 'Go Back To The Land' of the 1960s, can still help to solve the unemployment problem facing the youth today. Without the assets, the youth can do very little to solve the problem. They cannot engage in

self-employment activities as they are increasingly being advised by our present leaders. The relationship between ownership and employment status of the youth will be analyzed in the next chapter.

An attempt was also made to get reasons why parents had not given land to the youth/leavers. Reasons given are presented in table 8

TABLE 8: Why Parents Had Not Given Land To Leavers.

Reasons	Number of leavers	Percentage
Parents land too small	11	9.1
Younger brothers/sisters still depend on it	14	11.6
Leaver considered as 'young'	36	29.8
Leaver does not need land now	21	17.4
Leaver a female	22	18.2
Other	17	14.0
Not applicable	67	-
Total	188	100.0

From table 8, it is evident that almost a third (29.8%) of leavers did not own land since their parents considered them to be 'young'. And since the average age of leavers was found to be 22 years, this might suggest that they are considered as 'young' not in terms of years but in terms of their marital status.

According to Kikuyū customs, women do not have the right to inherit the parents' assets/properties.

This point explains why 18.2% of the sample had not been given land. It was also interesting to note that **not all** leavers are interested in acquiring land from parents. Indeed, 17.4% of the leavers responding claimed that they did not need land by then. This category could be of leavers who still held high hopes of getting wage employment elsewhere, rather than settling down to start farming.

From table eight, one can clearly note the strong influence of the society's tradition on the land tenure system. In fact, 48% of the reasons given by the youth, as to why parents had not given them land - are based on the society's traditional system of land tenure. And unless it is modified/changed, the youth/leavers will still remain dis-advantaged in terms of land ownership.

4:2:5 Forms of Assistance Leavers expect from Parents

The study found that 93.7% of the unemployed leavers expected parents to continue giving them various types of assistance. The major types of assistance included sponsoring them to undertake courses in technical institutes. This category consisted of 35.8% of these leavers. 14.2% of those who expected further assistance wanted their parents to assist them in getting jobs. Other types of assistance included giving them land and initial capital to start business.

It also emerged from the above data that only a few leavers 5.8% expected to be given land by their parents. This point enhances the point made earlier that not many leavers are interested in taking farming as an occupation. Otherwise, it could also be the case that the leavers were aware that parents' shambas are too small to be sub-divided further.

4:2:6 Leavers' Experience in the World of Work

As was expected, almost all leavers (97.0%) agreed that life was really difficult after school. Leavers expressing this feeling were distributed as follows: 22.0% claimed that life was difficult due to financial problems that they faced, 20.6% reported that life was difficult because they found it hard to live up to students' aspirations, while 16.8% attributed the difficulties to the inadequacy of the assistance given by parents. It was also found that 9.2% thought that life was difficult since they worked so hard, yet they received too little income in return. The above findings support the study's earlier contention that the school leavers' problem of unemployment can be seen as that of 'working poor'. Other minor reasons given include: that parents regard leavers as a burden; that education alone cannot enable one to get a job and many others.

As indicated in the literature, the hard realities that confront leavers in the world of work are problems that leavers cannot solve by themselves - hence they should not totally be blamed. Their unemployment is part of the general unemployment problem facing the country.

4:2:7 Leavers expectations after School

Unlike what one would expect, not all leavers expected to get jobs immediately after school. At least a small proportion of them were probably aware of the prevailing conditions in the job market. Consequently, while 75.9% of leavers expected to get jobs, 24.1% did not.

For those who expected to get jobs, the highest percentage (35.8%) wanted to join teaching. This was probably due to the fact that this is one of the few professions that most of them knew they would qualify for. A reasonable percentage (20.8%) expected to take up clerical or secretarial jobs. Technical jobs

like mechanics, carpentry, masonry and driving attracted only 14.9% of the leavers. Finally, business attracted only 3.0%, which can be explained by the fact that leavers already knew that raising the initial capital to start business would be a problem.

What would be inferred from the above findings is that at least leavers aspire for jobs that they know they can qualify for. Whether such jobs exist in the job market or not is another issue altogether. It is also notable that not all leavers aspire for white collar jobs as contended by many studies cited earlier in the literature (see Republic of Kenya, 1979; Mbithi, 1975 and Todaro, 1977). At least some leavers (14.9%) aspired for what can be regarded as blue - collar jobs. This might suggest that what is important in leavers preference or aspiration is not so much the nature of work but the income generated. This evidence may support Kinyanjui's suggestion (1974) that what is needed to solve the problem of unemployment (and or rural - urban migration) is a review of the monetary sector of the economy. Mbithi (1975) also supports this view. If well rewarded, at least some leavers are ready to take up even such blue-collar jobs as carpentry, masonry and mechanics. The relationship between leavers' high expectations (based on their educational background) and their unemployment situation will be the subject of chapter five.

4:2:8 Process of Job seeking by Leavers after School

Studies by Anderson (1966: 5) and Mbithi (1975) suggest that school leavers form 'the most active category of job seekers' in the Kenyan population. The term active is used here to mean "any type of effort made by the leaver to get a job". Such efforts included: attending interviews locally or elsewhere, migrating to towns or elsewhere looking for job or consulting

friends/relatives etc. Leavers claimed to use the following ways in looking for jobs: 32.9% of leavers were reported to be attending or to have attended interviews at various places while 16.5% were reported to have consulted friends/relatives by the time of data collection.

The study found that 21.4% of the leavers were not active job seekers though they were unemployed. This finding helps to enhance a point made earlier that the category of the unemployed should not only include those who actively look for jobs but also those who are inactive though unemployed. As argued elsewhere, this is why Turnham's definition (1974) of the term unemployment was considered as inadequate for the purpose of the study. Leavers who were not active job seekers reported to be putting no efforts in looking for jobs. Such leavers gave various reasons to explain why they were inactive in the job market: 32.1% reasoned that their academic qualifications were poor, 24.5% claimed to have known the prevailing conditions in the labour market by then, and 11.3% reported that they had nobody to assist them to get a job. Other minor reasons given include: that parents had promised to sponsor them in order to undertake a course or that the leaver was too busy in the parent's farm.

4:2:9 Selectivity of Leavers in the Rural Areas

In trying to measure selectivity of leavers in the job market, the study asked the question of whether opportunities existed locally which leavers considered unsuitable for them. The findings are presented in table 9.

TABLE 9: Selectivity of Leavers

Job opportunities exist considered unsuitable	Number of Leavers	Percentage
Yes	86	64.2
No	49	35.8
Not Applicable	53	—
Total	188	100.0

On the question of selectivity, the study found that 64.2% of the leavers agreed that opportunities existed within their locality which they considered unsuitable for them. The rest 35.8% disagreed. The term 'Unsuitable' is used in this context to mean 'work that did not match with the status of the leavers for various reasons'. The following types of work/jobs were given as existing but which leavers considered 'unsuitable' for themselves (presented in descending order): casual work, digging, farm labourer, picking coffee/tea, factory labourer etc.

Leavers gave many reasons why they considered the above work/jobs unsuitable - which implies/indicates the basis of their selectivity. Only the major ones are presented here. As indicated elsewhere, the major reason that was given as a basis for selectivity was the low income offered for such jobs. For this reason, over a third (33.7%) of the leavers considered such jobs/work to be unsuitable for them - hence did not take them though they existed. The finding supports Kinyanjui's argument (1974) and the study's contention made earlier that to solve the present problem of unemployment, a review of the monetary sector is needed. Mbithi (1975) is also of the same view when he suggests changes in the structure

of monetary returns offered for various jobs. This finding therefore suggests that the low level of income offered for some jobs is a factor that can partly explain the situation of leavers' unemployment in Kenya.

A small percentage (11.6%) of leavers argued that such jobs are meant for the uneducated while 7.0% claimed that such jobs were tedious. Other reasons given why leavers consider some jobs unsuitable include: that by doing such jobs one would lower one's dignity, that such jobs would not utilize leavers' education and that one would be harassed by the employer while doing such jobs.

The above discussion clearly shows that the selectivity of leavers is mainly based on monetary returns and social status that leavers have already achieved through schooling. To solve the problem of what most people refer to as 'leavers' high expectations', the two variables have to be considered. It is also notable that leavers do not select jobs without a reason - in fact they have genuine reasons why they are selective. However, irrespective of the above reasons, some people continue blaming the leavers because of being highly selective.

In concluding the above discussion, one observes that most leavers are selective - in that they do not take any job/work that is open to them. The question that the study attempts to answer is whether they are justified in so doing. A point to note here is that leavers are aware of the considerable amount of money that has been invested in educating them by their parents during their school days. Accordingly, taking jobs that are not reasonably paid would be tantamount to showing that education is not a worthwhile type of investment - which would be contrary to leavers' view of the benefits of schooling.

For this reason, 33.7% of leavers were selective. Suffice here to say that there seems to be a traditional belief in our modern society that one goes to school in order to get a 'good' job which is well paid. This helps to explain why low income paid and one's social status were the two bases of leavers' selectivity.

4:2:10 Leavers' Inability to get Jobs

A range of reasons were given to explain why leavers had difficulties in securing employment upon leaving school. The highest percentage of leavers (23.1%) argued that high competition in the job market had made it difficult for them to get jobs - some even pointed out that in some interviews, they were competing with form six leavers who had better academic qualifications. This point suggests that the problem of unemployment affects other categories of the Kenyan labour force - not only the form four leavers. 20.9% claimed that they had no influential friends/relatives to assist them in getting jobs. Only a small percentage (10.4%) attributed their failure to get jobs to the academic performance. The small percentage of the latter category shows that only a small percentage of leavers blamed themselves (due to poor academic qualifications) - for failing to get jobs.

4:2:11 Relevance of Education in the Labour Market

The study found that the majority of leavers (88.1%) accepted that formal education is still useful in the job market in various ways. Of those who accepted its relevance, 43.3% reported that such education can easily help one to fit in some jobs for example in the clerical type of jobs. Others (28.3%) claimed that one can easily join teaching and use the formal education while doing the job. Another category of the leavers (10.8%) argued that formal education is useful since employers always recruit those with good academic qualifications. Other minor reasons were also given to justify the relevance of formal education.

ence despite the lengthy debate on whether formal education is still relevant or not (see Makau, 1983), most leavers gave sound reasons to explain its relevance.

The few (11.9%) who did not view formal education as useful also gave various reasons in explanation. While 29.4% of this category supported the view that formal education is too theoretical, 17.6% claimed that their level of education was too low in Kenya's highly competitive job markets, and therefore not useful. Other minor reasons were also cited to explain why formal education was considered as not useful by the leavers.

The above views of the leavers clearly show that from their own point of view, education of whatever type can only be considered as useful if it enables one to secure employment. To this effect, even technical type of education might be considered as irrelevant if the trainees fail to get jobs after the completion of their courses. This suggests that the problem of the leavers' unemployment does not lie so much in the education system - but in the growth of the economy. This point clearly emerges from Yambo's Report (1986) which states that 17-20% of leavers from youth polytechnics were unemployed by 1986. Suffice here to say that unless the rate of economic growth is raised, the problem of youth unemployment will loom large among the economic problems facing Kenya now and in future. To achieve the goal of higher economic growth rate, such issues as rural development, industrialization, land tenure reforms, and a fair distribution of benefits need to be given serious attention by Kenyan leaders and decision makers.

4:2:12 Self-Employment Activities

In Kenya, a long campaign has been waged to encourage the youth to take up self-employment activities such as farming and business. Plans are even underway to provide loans to the youth without security in order to enable them to be self-employed. On the question of whether the youth in question had tried these activities or not, 82 leavers out of 135 claimed to have engaged in such activities while the remaining 53 had not. For the 82 leavers who had engaged in self-employment activities, 39.8% had tried farming, 8.2% had tried poultry and the same percentage (8.2%) had tried business.

For the leavers who had tried to be self-employed, they mentioned many problems that they had encountered. Only the major ones are cited here. 38.8% of them had faced the problem of inadequate capital, 12.8% cited the problem of inadequate water and pests, and 10.3% claimed that capital was inadequate and that there was no ready market for their products. As has been suggested in the literature, the youth cannot be self-employed unless they are provided with the necessary capital - either in the form of land finance or farm implements - needed to achieve the goal of self-employment in the rural areas. Unless the problem of initial 'capital' is solved, the goal of self-employment will remain a dream to our youth - despite the on-going campaign to encourage it.

The 53 leavers who had not tried to engage in self-employment activities also gave various reasons. The three major ones are cited here. 40.0% lacked the initial capital needed, 23.8% lacked interest in such activities, while 12.7% still had hopes of getting wage employment.

Others claimed that land and water were a problem and hence they could not even practice farming. In this category, it is also clear that lack of capital emerges as the key factor that hindered the youth from engaging in self-employment activities.

4.2.13 Migration of Leavers In Search of Jobs

As mentioned earlier, Mbithi (1975) characterizes the youth as the most active job seekers in Kenya. The findings of this study support the above view for it was found that 61.5% of the leavers had at least gone to towns/elsewhere looking for a job. Leavers reported to have searched for jobs in various places: Nairobi (31.0%), Murang'a the nearest town (29.8%), and other towns and rural areas. It was noted that those who had a fair performance in their K.C.E examination had a higher mobility than the poor performers. This observation suggests a correlation or an association between leavers performance and their rate of migration.

4:2;14 Experience while in Search of a Job

Many types of experiences were given by those who had gone to look for jobs in towns or elsewhere. Among the popular experiences includes that one cannot get a job unless when backed by an influential person, that most employers are corrupt, that there are so many unemployed people in the labour market and that jobs are also scarce even in towns. These experiences may help to explain why leavers - especially those with poor academic qualifications, - are increasingly opting to stay in rural areas, rather than flocking in urban areas as has been the case in the past. The above experiences help to reveal that while jobs are scarce in the labour market, the few that exist are distributed via 'dubious means'. This problem has been cited elsewhere and was echoed by the respondents during the time of data collection.

The 38.5% of leavers who did not migrate in search of jobs also had reasons to explain their behaviour. 13.5% of them claimed that they already knew about the job market, while an equal percentage claimed that at least somebody either in town or elsewhere was still assisting them to get a job. Others (11.5%) reported that they had nobody to accommodate them in town/elsewhere while 9.6% claimed that they were not well informed about the job market. The latter category include those who claimed that they had not known of any existing vacancies in towns or elsewhere - hence had not migrated. Some other minor reasons given include: that leavers had no money to enable them travel; that they were not aware of any existing vacancy anywhere; that they were waiting their parents to sponsor them to undertake courses in technical school and many others.

The above findings reveal clearly that most leavers are well informed about the forces operating in the labour market. Their choices and preferences are mostly based on the conditions prevailing in the labour market. To this extent they should not be regarded as unrealistic - as some leaders and studies suggest.

4:2:15 Employment Preferences

Unlike what was expected, the majority of the leavers (80.0%) claimed that they would prefer to work in rural areas rather than in towns if job opportunities were offered in both places. Only 20.0% preferred to work in urban areas.

Leavers gave various reasons why they preferred to work in rural areas: they argued, for example, that life in rural areas was relatively cheaper, that one would be near the parents and

that one would practice farming. Urban areas were preferred due to the following reasons: that business is more profitable and hence promising, need for a change of scene or to be away from parents who are at times very authoritarian.

A point to note here is that the above preferences may not be quite reliable since leavers may have affected a bias for rural areas since that is where the data was being collected. They may simply have liked to impress the researcher. As stated earlier, some leavers still thought that the researcher was in a position to assist them to get jobs especially after the end of the study. Hence most of them would not have liked to be categorized as selective. However, if their preferences were sincere, this shows that the present development strategy of District Development Focus (DDF) may help to retain the youth in the rural areas. Through the District Development Funds, projects will be started and manned using local resources including the 'idle' labour force. This might help to open up more opportunities for the youth within their district. Hence, the strategy of D D F might help to control the famous drift of leavers from rural to urban areas. However, it is too early to comment on its success.

4:2:16 Involvement in Rural Groups or Organizations

The study also sheds some light on the organization of youth groups in rural areas. The reason for this is to find out whether such groups make any effort to solve the problem of unemployment that affect their members. The study found that 82 leavers (61.7%) were members of different groups - that included sports clubs, church group/choir and music bands. Only 51 leavers out of the 135 (38.3) were not affiliated to any organization.

Among the notable functions of such groups included: offering a place to spend leisure time, playing games,

singing and assisting the needy members. Some groups had the objective of raising money to invest - a move that would enable them to assist their most needy members financially. The role that such groups can play to solve the unemployment problem will be the subject of the concluding chapter of the study. Solutions cited by leavers and the question of who to blame will be discussed in the same chapter.

The above section has almost exhausted the attributes of the unemployed leavers. The next section of this chapter presents and discusses the attributes of the employed leavers - the control group of the study.

4:3:0 ATTRIBUTES OF EMPLOYED LEAVERS

This section concentrates on the 53 employed leavers who constituted 28.2% of the sample and who formed the control group of the study. An attempt is made here to present and discuss their major characteristics. The findings of this section will be compared with those of section two where appropriate.

4:3:1 Occupations of the Employed Leavers

After categorizing occupations as either self-employment or wage employment, this study found that 60.8% of the employed leavers were self-employed while the rest 39.2% were wage earners. Of 53 employed leavers, 27.5% were engaged in business, 7.8% were in tailoring and 5.9% were subsistence farmers. Other major types of occupations for employed leavers include: clerical (17.6%), teaching (13.7%) and casual work (11.8%).

From the above findings, it is clearly shown that most employed leavers are in the category of self-employment activities. Most likely, they engage in self-employment activities after failing to get wage employment upon leaving school. This indicates that if efforts were made to assist leavers to be self-employed as suggested earlier, the problem of unemployment could probably be reduced.

4.3.2 Length of Time In The Job And How Job Obtained

The length of time in the job ranged from one month to fifty six months with an average of about three months. The latter category (those who had stayed in the job for fifty six months) of leavers included those who left school in November of 1981 and got jobs immediately. However, most employed leavers reported that they had worked for a period of twenty four months - hence had a lot of experience on the job that they were doing. In all, the study found that 78.4% of the employed leavers had worked for two years or less. Only about 9.8% had worked for three or more years. Taking into account that some leavers were about five years old in the world of work, this shows that very few of them are successful in getting jobs immediately after leaving school. It is after staying for such a time that some leavers decide to be self-employed.

As noted earlier, in the present structure of the Kenyan society and the labour market, one needs some assistance in order to get a job. Consequently, the study found that 60.8% of the employed leavers had been assisted in obtaining employment either by parents, friends, other members of their family or by relatives. Only 37.7% had succeeded in getting employment through their own efforts. It was also notable that most of the assistance given had been from parents. As argued elsewhere, parents should be advised to continue assisting leavers until they (leavers) settle.

4.3.3 Leavers' Expectation After Leaving School

On the question of whether one was in the job that one

expected to get after leaving school, the study revealed that only 19.6% of the leavers were in the 'right' job, 80.4% therefore had jobs that they had not expected to have. These findings help to show the difference that exists between the leavers' expectations while leaving school and what they actually find in the world of work. Only a few leavers are therefore able to meet their school expectations in the world of work. As suggested in the literature, soon after leaving school, most of them 'adjust' their expectations in order to fit in the life situation outside school (see Republic of Kenya, 1979).

The main reasons given why leavers accepted jobs not of their choice include: the many financial problems faced while unemployed and lack of a better alternative. They were thus forced to take up any opportunity that came their way.

4.3.4 Selectivity of Leavers.

Despite the fact that the majority of leavers held jobs that they had not expected to take while leaving school, some could still categorize jobs as either suitable or unsuitable for themselves. 68.6% of the employed leavers for example, regarded some jobs as suitable and others as unsuitable for themselves. Only 16 employed leavers (31.4%) could not give their job preferences. Table 10 presents the jobs that leavers regarded as suitable.

TABLE 10: Jobs Regarded As Suitable By Some Employed Leavers

Types of Jobs	Number of Leavers	Percentage
Clerical	27	77.2
Technical	3	8.6
Army/Police	3	8.6
Office work	2	5.7
Not Applicable	153	---
Total	188	100.0

Jobs that the 35 employed leavers regarded as unsuitable include all types of casual employment such as digging, farm or factory labour, bar maid/man, manamba and house girl.

Taking the leavers' preference as a measure of selectivity, it is notable that in the case of the employed leavers, about 68.6% of them can be considered as selective. In the case of the unemployed, if failure to take up an existing opportunity is taken as a measure of their selectivity, it was found that 64.2% of the unemployed can be regarded as selective. These findings reveal that there is not much difference in selectivity since the two categories are equally 'selective'. Reasons as to why leavers are selective have been discussed elsewhere in this study with respect to the unemployed. The reasons equally apply to the employed.

On the question of why some jobs were regarded as unsuitable, various reasons were given by the employed leavers: 28.8% (of those who expressed their preference) argued that income earned from such jobs was too low. Among unemployed leavers, 33.7% were

selective on this basis. This also reveals that there is little difference in the leavers' judgement of the level of income offered for the two categories of leavers (employed and unemployed). For the two categories of leavers, the major basis for selectivity is the level of income - as has been argued earlier in the literature. However, while 25.7% of the selective employed leavers argued that the above jobs do not utilize their education, only 4.7% of the 'selective' unemployed leavers gave this reason. This shows that employed leavers are more concerned with the utilization of their education while at work than the unemployed ones. It was also found that while 14.3% in the case of employed leavers claimed to be selective since income was low and the job tedious, only 2.3% fell in this category in the case of unemployed.

Other minor reasons given by the 'selective' employed include: that such jobs would force leavers to mix with the unemployed who always humiliate them, and that one would be harassed by the employer while doing such jobs. These reasons are similar to the ones given by the comparable category of the unemployed leavers.

The above reasons show that leavers are aware of the higher status that they have acquired through schooling. To this extent, the act of going to school can be seen as playing a part in alienating the leavers from some environment (or work roles) as Nyerere (1967) argues. While doing the same job with uneducated youth, leavers tend to feel that there was no purpose in having gone to school. Leavers even pointed out that taking such jobs would in fact discourage those who are still in school and

are about to join them in the world of work. However, this is only valid to those who hold that the purpose of going to school is only to enable one to get a job. A point to note here is that there are many social and economic benefits that a society enjoys when most of its members are educated - irrespective of whether they are employed or not. Hence, leavers' view on the purpose of education can be termed as **narrow and individualistic** in outlook. A holistic approach is better. However, at this point, it cannot be denied that education partly helps to shape the expectations of those who acquire it via schooling. The hypothesis implied will statistically be tested in chapter five.

4.3.5 Experience Before Getting The Job.

As with the unemployed leavers, virtually all employed leavers reported that they had faced many difficulties while unemployed. Such problems included financial, idleness, frustration and many other social problems. As has been argued earlier, such problems can force one to engage in illegal activities or to turn into a social deviant. Hence, all efforts should be made to solve the problem. In addition, the country at large can benefit by utilizing one of the most active segments of its manpower.

4.3.6 Availability of Job Opportunities In Rural Areas.

Of the 53 employed leavers, 28 (52.8%) accepted that there existed job opportunities in rural areas which leavers had turned down. This can be compared to 63.7% in the case of the unemployed. This might suggest that the unemployed leavers were slightly more selective than the employed. It can thus be interpreted that the unemployed leavers fail to get jobs partly due to this reason. Jobs that were reported to exist and which leavers had turned down included such types of casual/manual

work as digging and picking tea/coffee . In summary, it is clear that for both categories of leavers, over a half can be considered selective.

4:3:7 Amount Earned by Employed Leavers

The amount earned by employed leavers ranged from shillings 200 to 2240 per month, with an average of about shillings 697 per month. Modal income was shillings 600 per month while the median was shillings 639 per month. Hence, about half (52.0%) of the leavers were earning shillings 600 or less per month. With an income of about shillings 600, the group constitutes what Mbithi (1975) calls "the working poor". Though they earn some income, it is too little to enable them to keep up with the modern ways of life. Most of them though employed still live below the district poverty line, which was about shillings 795 per month in 1983 (see Murang'a District Development Committee, 1984). Indeed, the study found that 60.0% of the employed leavers were living below the district poverty line.

With the above level of income, leavers reported that they spent their incomes mainly on food, rent and clothing - in other words, on their basic needs. Moreover, some leavers had the responsibility of assisting their brothers and sisters who were still in school. Only 8.2% of the leavers reported that they were saving part of their income.

The low level of leavers' income probably restricted most of them from joining financial institutions or cooperatives. Only 21.6% of them claimed to be members of savings and credit cooperatives, and only one leaver had borrowed money from such an institution. This clearly shows that most leavers had no investment prospects while in the type of jobs that they were doing during the course of this study.

4:3:8 Involvement in Rural Groups/Organizations

Unlike the case of unemployed leavers where 61.7% were found to be members of various groups/organizations, only 47.9% of employed leavers claimed to be members of such rural groups/organizations. Probably the little time left after work was not enough to allow the employed leavers to engage in such activities. This might be more so especially among the self-employed who might be involved in their business even beyond six o'clock in the evening.

The employed leavers who belonged to such groups/organizations cited many objectives of such groups/organizations: giving financial aid to their needy members, uniting the members, raising money for investment, playing games and entertaining people in church among others.

The above section gives most of the major attributes of the employed leavers. A comparison between these leavers and those unemployed shows that the two categories are almost equally selective. With respect to the average income earned by employed leavers per month, the data show that they are no better than the so called 'working poor'. Hence both categories of leavers can be viewed as those with inadequate incomes to meet the numerous needs necessitated by the modern ways of living. Both categories of leavers live in poverty. Consequently, some recommendations are made in the last chapter of the study which can help to solve their problems - if they are implemented.

CHAPTER FIVE:

5.0 AN ANALYSIS OF FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE YOUTH, THEIR OWNERSHIP OF LAND AND OTHER ASSETS IN MURANG'A DISTRICT

This chapter attempts to examine and interpret the relationship among the major variables of the study. More complex statistical tools than simple descriptive statistics will be applied to achieve this goal.

The relationships between nominal and/or ordinal level variables are examined and interpreted through the application of the following inferential statistics: chi-square χ^2 , contingency co-efficient (C) and PHL (ϕ). While chi-square will be applied to test the statistical significance of such relationships, the other two statistics will be used, where appropriate, to measure the strength of such relationships. As Nie et al (1970: 224) argue, PHL (ϕ) "is suitable for a 2 x 2 table", while contingency coefficient "is appropriate for tables of any size" (see Nie et al 1970: 225). PHI (ϕ) takes the value of zero up to +1 while contingency coefficient (C) has a minimum value of zero, leaving the maximum value to be determined by the size of the table.

Some nominal or ordinal scale variables have been transformed into dummy variables. This makes it possible to include such variables in the computation of complex statistics such as Pearson Product Moment correlation coefficient r and r^2 . While r measures the strength of simple correlation between variables measured at or above interval scale, r^2 measures the explained variations in such relationships. The study also makes use of multiple R and its square R^2 - which assists in predicting or

explaining the dependent variables from the knowledge of the independent variables.

Many studies cited in chapter two hold the view that education in general tends to worsen unemployment especially in developing countries like Kenya. Such studies include Maleche (1976), Brownstein (1976), Republic of Kenya (1979), Blaug (1974) and Harbison (1971). These studies suggest that schools, or the educational background of the leavers, have a substantial impact on the situation of unemployment among the school leavers.

The above view is opposed by a 'second school of thought' which holds the contrary view regarding the factors that influence the problem of unemployment in general. In particular, studies by Gakuru (1979), Kinyanjui (1974) and Emmerij ((1974) all tend to go beyond the factor education to explain unemployment among school leavers. Emmerij (1972), for example, argues that it is a mere 'slogan' to contend that education causes unemployment. He concludes that unless such a 'slogan' is qualified, it cannot be accepted.

The above contrasting views form the basis of the study's first hypothesis (H1).

5.1.0 H1: The Educational Background of the Youth Influence their Employment Status.

Table 11 relates leavers' employment status to the type of school attended. Type of school attended is used in this context as an indicator of the leavers' educational background.

TABLE 11: Employment Status of The Leavers and Type of Secondary School They Attended

Employment Status	Type of Secondary School Attended			Row Total
	Govt. School	Harambee	Mixed	
Employed leavers	6 (19.4)	18 (28.6)	28. (30.1)	52 (27.8%)
Unemployed leavers	25 (80.6)	45 (71.4)	65 (69.9)	135 (72.2%)
Column Total	31 (100.0)	63 (100%)	93 (100.0)	187 (100.0%)

NB: Only one observation was missing. Figures in brackets indicate column percentages. The category 'mixed' includes government aided schools with at least a harambee stream and private secondary schools.

$\chi^2 = 1.2$ with 2 df. Not significant at 95% confidence level.

C = 0.09.
Cont. coef.

From table 11, it is evident that government schools had the lowest percentage of employed leavers (19.4%), followed by Harambee (28.8%), leaving the 'mixed' category with the highest percentage. As argued by Keller (1975: 2) government aided schools tend to provide qualitatively better education than Harambee Schools. Consequently, government schools are better in terms of performance than Harambee secondary schools. It can therefore be argued that the leavers from purely government aided schools who perform better than those from other secondary schools do not take job opportunities that exist in the rural areas indiscriminately. On the other hand, poor performers from Harambee and the mixed category probably exploit any opportunity that comes their way.

If that is so, it may be explained by the fact that such leavers (poor performers) have no hope of joining either Harambee Institutes of Technology (HITs) or teachers' training colleges - both of which require at least a division three.

Nevertheless, the relationship between employment status and the type of school attended was only statistically significant at 50.0% confidence level - far below the study's acceptance level of 95%. Hence, type of secondary school attended did not significantly influence the employment status of a leaver. The association between employment status and type of school attended was also found to be very weak as indicated by the small value of C (0.09).. This shows that the relationship between the two variables was not only statistically insignificant but also weak. The small value of C (0.09) suggests that other factors exist that influence employment status - rather than education background as indicated by 'type of school attended'. This finding therefore supports the views of the 'second school of thought' which attempts to explain unemployment beyond the factor 'education'. (see Gakuru 1979; Emmerij, 1972 and Kinyanjui, 1974).

TABLE 12: Employment Status and Leavers' Performance
in '0' level Examination

Employment Status	Divisions attained in '0' lever Examination		Row Total
	Divisions 2 and 3	Divisions 4 and above	
Employed leavers	25 (26.3)	24 (27.9)	49 27.1%
Unemployed leavers	70 (73.7)	62 (72.1)	132 72.9%
Column Total	95 100.0%	86 100.0%	181 100.0%

NB: Number of missing observations = 7. This includes all those who could not reveal their '0' level performance for various reasons.

$\chi^2 = 0.05499$ with 1 df NOT significant at 95% confidence level. PHI = 0.02.

Table 12 sheds some light on the relationship between leavers' performance in their '0' level examination and their employment status. In other words, an attempt is made to show whether the division attained determines the employment potential of a leaver in the labour market. Data are presented in table 12.

The data show that the level of employment is lowest (26.3%) among leavers who perform best - those who attained divisions two or three. To put it differently, 73.7% of those who had division two or three were unemployed- the highest percentage in the two categories. Though the difference in percentages is not large, the finding suggests that those who perform fairly well probably turn down most employment opportunities.

Indeed, it was observed from the raw data that out of the 13 leavers who had division two, only 2 of them (15.4%) were employed. Probably such leavers (with good grades) are more selective for they still have high hopes of getting better wage - paid jobs using their good grades. On the other hand, poor performers have probably realized that their poor grades cannot stand the stiff competition in the labour market and hence take any job opportunities that come their way indiscriminately. It was noted during the time of interviewing that leavers who had division two and three were the ones who had high hopes of joining teacher training colleges, agricultural institutes and other technical institutes that match their good performance. Consequently, such leavers were reluctant to take any job that came their way. Such leavers even claimed to have applied to such institutes and colleges and were eagerly waiting to know the results. With good performance they argued that they could still get better opportunities than most of those that existed in the rural areas - most of which are casual, manual and poorly paid.

Table 12 also reveals that most of the rural educated youth (both employed and unemployed) are poor performers in general - those with division three and above. From the raw data, it was noted that there was no leaver with division one and only 13 had division two - constituting 7.2% of the valid cases (181). The finding captures the general trend in Kenya whereby the educational system only takes care of those

with division one and two and a few with a strong division three. This point has been noted by Gakuru (1974:1-3) who states that "formal education in Kenya is highly selective ... the first selection is done right at the initial entry point ..." His data on the average performance of the form four leavers during the period 1963 to 1973 compare well with those of this study. He found that "on average 28% of the leavers had division four, 56% had division one, two and three while the rest 16% failed". The comparable figures for this study are 35.4%, 52.5% and 12.2%.

Despite the above tentative observations, leavers' performance did not influence their employment status significantly. The relationship is only significant at 20.0% confidence level - far below 95% level. Moreover, the relationship is quite weak as indicated by the value of PHI (0.02).

In conclusion, it can be argued that of the two educational factors that the study considered, none significantly influenced leavers' employment status. On the basis of the strength of the relationship between educational background and employment status, it is evident that the two variables are weakly associated. This implies that there are other factors that are significantly associated with leavers' employment status. Accordingly, the study's findings concur with the views of the 'second school of thought' that explain the causes of unemployment beyond the factor education. These include the views of Gakuru (1979), Kinyanjui (1974), Emmerij (1972), Peil (1971), and Hanson (1980). These studies see education as only one of the many factors which

explain unemployment.

5.2.0 Ownership of Land And Local Assets.

The issue of ownership of local resources, especially land, is central when focusing on the problem of unemployment as shown in chapter two. Ownership of resources like land becomes a prominent issue especially when it is argued that opportunities exist in 'Mashambani' for the young people. Ouko (1986) for example argues that the youth should be asked to accept jobs which are available especially in the agricultural sector of Kenya's economy. This implies adopting the famous slogan of 'Go Back To The Land'. However, Mbithi (1975) had cited problems that youth face when it comes to the issue of ownership. This problem is also echoed by Manundu (1987 :B11) when he notes that "10% of HIT leavers of any category of skill needed tools but did not own them". The study attempts to find out whether age, sex and marital status of leavers influence the system of ownership of local resources such as land in Muranga district. In this study, local resources are divided into two categories: land and "other local assets". The latter category called simply "Local assets" in the discussion that follows, includes farm tools, all types of tools needed by those who had technical skills but unemployed, and other type of assets that are required by the youth to make themselves self-employed. The most important local resource, land, is considered on its own.

Since the discussion of ownership of local resources is done vis-a-vis the potential of the unemployed leavers in making themselves self-employed, the study only considers ownership of local resources by the unemployed leavers. Suffice here to mention that the major focus of this study is on unemployed leavers - who badly need assets if they are to make themselves self-employed as advised by local leaders.

5.2.1 H2: Age, Sex And Marital Status Influence The System of Ownership of Local Resources such as Land and farm tools in the rural areas.

The second hypothesis (H2) is tested in this study using a combination of two types of statistical tools of analysis, namely: cross-tabulation and regression analysis. While cross-tabulation is used in this context to reveal the relationships that are statistically significant, regression analysis summarizes the combinations of factors considered in explaining ownership of local resources.

TABLE 13:

Ownership of Local Assets (that excludes land) Among unemployed leavers By Age Group.

Ownership of 'local Assets'	Age of unemployed leavers.		
	15-24 Years	25+Years	Row total
Own Local Assets	13 (11.1)	9 (50.0)	22 (16.3%)
Do not own local Assets.	104 (88.9)	9 (50.0)	113 (83.7%)
Column total.	117 (100.0%)	18 (100.0%)	135 (100.0%)

NR: Figures in bracket indicate column percentages.

$\chi^2 = 17.7$ with 1 df significant at 99.0% confidence level, PHI = 0.36

It can easily be seen that from table 13, ownership of 'local Assets' (like farm tools) is much less frequent among the 'younger' leavers than those aged 25 years or more. While half of the older leavers owned 'local assets', only 11.1% of the younger leavers were in such a category. This finding suggests that younger leavers have little access to ownership of 'local assets' such as building tools and farm tools. Since the majority of the leavers fall in the category of 15 - 24 years (86.9%), this implies that most of leavers resident in rural areas either do not own such tools or have little access to them. This finding concurs with that of Mary Douglas cited in Mbithi (1975). As argued in chapter two, 'local assets' such as farm tools, building tools and capital are necessary for self-employment. This point is also raised by Yambo (1986) who notes that though tools by themselves are not a sufficient condition for self-employment, they are nevertheless important in making oneself self-reliant. Indeed, Yambo (1986) found that 10% of the YP leavers interviewed needed tools but had never owned them. Some of his sample units had resorted to wage - employment as a way of solving the problem of non-ownership of tools. To try to solve the problem of ownership of assets, most HITS, for example Murang'a, have made it compulsory for parents to equip their children/leavers with the necessary tools before they are fully admitted in the institution to undertake any course. The difference between the percentage of those who did not own 'local assets' in the study (83.7%) and over 10% in case of Yambo's study (1986) can probably be explained by differences in the unit of analysis and/or sample size.

The relationship between age and ownership of 'local assets' (excluding land) was found to be significant at 99.0% confidence level. Hence the conclusion made was that age had a significant influence on ownership of 'local assets' among leavers. The value of PHI of 0.36 suggests that the relationship between the two is quite moderate. Detailed analysis of the strength and direction of the relationship will be given later under the section of regression analysis.

TABLE 14: Ownership of Land (a Local Resource) by Marital Status

Ownership of Land	Marital status of unemployed leavers		
	Single leaver	Married leavers	Row Total
Own Land	5 (4.1)	5 (41.7)	10 (7.5%)
Do not own Land	117 (95.9)	7 (58.3)	124 (92.5%)
Column Total	122 (100.0%)	12 (100.0%)	134 (100%)

NB: Number of missing observation = 1. Numbers in bracket indicate column percentages.

$\chi^2 = 17.22$ with 1 df significant at 100.0% confidence level

PHI = 0.36.

While only 4.1% of the single unemployed leavers owned land, a relatively higher percentage of married leavers (41.7%) owned land. Hence married leavers were at an advantage in regard to the issue of ownership of land. This finding supports the point made earlier that among the Kikuyu, one only acquires the right of ownership or inheritance, after getting married. And since most of the interviewed leavers (91.0%) are single, table 14 exposes the problem of accessibility of land among rural youth. This prevents

the leavers interested in farming from undertaking it in order to make themselves self-employed as advised by leaders (see Nyerere 1967). The finding suggests that leavers in Murang'a will continue having little or no chance to own land as long as tradition persists. This point has been elaborated before.

The relationship between marital status and ownership of land was also found to be statistically significant at 100.0% confidence level. This implies that marital status has a significant bearing on their ownership of land. The strength of the relationship is also moderated as indicated by the value of PH1 (0.36). The relationship is discussed in details later in this chapter.

5.2.2 REGRESSION ANALYSIS

In this section, an attempt is made to give a summary of all the factors/predictors that influence the dependent variables that were considered in H2. On the basis of the weak relationships found in tables 13 and 14, it was suggested that other factors exist that can help to explain ownership of 'local assets' and land in Muranga district. Consequently, it was found necessary to consider other predictors in the regression list of H2. Regression analysis is therefore adopted for this purpose. Specifically, stepwise regression (that also entails multiple regression) is applied - in order to predict a single dependent variable from a given number of independent variables (predictors). Nie, et al (1970:321) point out that multiple regression as a descriptive tool has an important use in "... controlling other confounding factors in order to evaluate the contribution of a

specific variable or set of variables".

Dummy variables have also been used for the variables that were measured at nominal scale level - without which regression analysis could not have been possible. Nie, et al (1970:373) state that "dummy variables are most commonly used when a researcher wishes to insert a nominal scale variable into a regression equation ". They further state (Nie, et al 1970:374) that such variables are created by "treating each category of a nominal variable as a separate variable and assigning arbitrary scores for all cases depending upon the presence or absence in each of the categories Since they have arbitrary values of 0 and 1, they may be treated as interval variables and inserted in a regression equation . . ."

5.2.3 Key Factors That Influence Ownership of Local Assets (excluding land) in Muranga District.

Initially, it had been hypothesized that only the age of leavers, their sex and marital status influenced ownership of assets in rural areas. In the regression analysis, other predictors, namely 'course undertaken in a Technical institute' by a leaver or any form of training undergone and total family income of a leaver are also included in the regression list. In this study, all leavers who had attended and completed a course in any of the various technical institutes or colleges are regarded as skilled. The rationale behind including other predictors has already been given in the introductory part of this section.

In this study, regression analysis is used in an attempt to find:

- (a) the joint contribution of the independent variables in explaining the dependent variable - ownership or 'local assets' and land in case of H2.
- (b) The individual contribution of the independent variables in explaining the variation in the dependent variable.
- (c) the simple correlation between each predictor and the dependent variable.

The summary table of the stepwise regression analysis is given below. The predictors (independent variables) are presented in a descending order. In other words, the first predictor is the one that explains the greatest amount of the variance in the dependent variable. The second predictor (independent variable) is the one which next explains the greatest variance in the dependent variable jointly with the first predictor - given that the effect of the first independent variable/predictor has been taken into account. The last independent variable least explains the variance in the dependent variable individually. But when operating jointly with the other independent variables, it accounts for the total percentage of the explained variance by all the predictors in the regression list.

TABLE 15: Predictors of ownership of 'Local Assets' (excluding land)
in Muranga District.

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Predictors ie independent variables.	Multiple R	% of Joint Explained variations (R ²)	% of individual Explained variations.	Simple r	r ²
1 Age of leavers in years ✓	0.34654	12.0%	12.0%	0.34654	12.0%
2 *Leavers' marital status (married) ✓	0.39686	15.8%	3.8%	0.29087	8.5%
3 *'Skilled' leavers	0.41218	17.0%	1.2%	0.05062	0.3%
4 Total family income of leavers ✓	0.41861	17.5%	0.5%	0.04896	0.2%
5 *Sex of leavers ✓	0.42031	17.7%	0.2%	0.12930	1.7%
Total		17.7%	17.7%		

NB: Predictors indicated with a asterisk(*) have been converted into dummy variables.

Category of 'skilled leavers' refers to those leavers who had undergone any form of training either from technical institutes, or colleges or elsewhere.

'Total family income' means the total monthly income of the leavers' parents.

Table 15 shows multiple regression, stepwise regression and simple correlation between bivariate relationships. While column one and two show multiple regression, column three indicates stepwise regression. Column four and five depict the simple correlation between bivariate relationships.

It can be noted from column two that 'age of leavers' and marital status' (married) explain 15.8% while operating jointly. When a third predictor (skill status of a leaver) is included in the equation, the three predictors explain 17.0% of the variance in the ownership of 'local assets (excluding land). Finally, when all the five predictors are considered, they explain 17.7% of the variance in ownership of 'local assets' - while operating jointly.

From column three, it can be noted that age alone has the greatest explanation of the variance in ownership of 'local assets' - when operating individually. Marital status (married leavers) explains 3.9% while operating individually. Sex of leavers has the lowest explanation of variance in ownership of local assets with individual explanation of 0.2%.

Simple r in column four indicates the strength and direction of the correlation between each predictor and ownership of assets. The strongest correlation in table 15 is between 'age of leavers' and ownership of 'local assets' - when r is equal to 0,35. The relationship between the two is also positive - implying that the older the leaver, the higher the chances of owning 'local assets' (and land, as will be shown later) in Murang'a district. However, by any standard, the correlation between 'age of leavers' and ownership of 'local assets' is quite weak. It is therefore concluded that age as a factor does not determine ownership of 'local assets'. Nevertheless, the fact that the two variables are positively related

tends to support finding by Mbithi (1975) who revealed that the youth have little access to ownership of local resources in general by citing the work of Mary Douglas in the Kasai Province of Congo.

The correlation between marital status (married) and ownership of 'local assets' (excluding land) is also positive but weak as indicated by the value of r (0.3). This implies that other factors exist that influence ownership of 'local assets' (excluding land). However, the finding concurs with that of Mbithi (1975) which reveals that ownership in general among many African societies is exclusively restricted to those who are married. As the data show, 'being married' is positively related to ownership of 'local assets'. As argued earlier, since most of the leavers considered are single, the study exposes the problem they face in terms of ownership of 'local assets'. Manundu (1987) has also echoed the above problem. This may hinder leavers from undertaking farming, carpentry or building as a way of making themselves self-employed.

Leavers who had undergone any form of training ('skilled leavers') were less likely to own 'local assets' as indicated by the negative sign of r . The relationship between the two is weak as shown by the magnitude of r . The same applies to the relationship between 'total family income' and ownership of 'local assets'. The latter correlation indicates that the higher the total family income per month, the less likely for a leaver to own 'local assets'. Probably, leavers from such families are provided with all they need by their parents and hence do not require 'local assets', such as farm tools, to make themselves self-employed.

* The correlation between sex (males) and ownership of 'local assets' is weak but positive - as indicated by the value of r (0.13). This only suggests that male leavers are more likely to own 'local assets',

and support the Kikuyu tradition which favours males in terms of ownership in general. However, the fact that this correlation is weak suggests that sex is no longer as major a factor influencing the ownership of 'local assets' as it used to be. This indicates a change in the society's tradition.

In conclusion, it was observed that as had been hypothesized, age and marital status (married) emerged as the key factors influencing ownership - among the five factors that were considered. Sex is not a key factor as had been hypothesized. By considering the total percentage of explained variation given by the five predictors, it is concluded that other factors/predictors exist that also influence ownership of 'local assets'. This point is supported by the fact that the value of r in each case is rather low.

TABLE 16: Predictors of ownership of land in Murang'a District

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Predictors ie Independent Variables	Multiple R	% of Joint Explained Variation R ²	% of individual Explained variation	Simple r	r ²
1 Age of leavers in years	0.17364	3.0%	3.0%	0.17364	3.0%
2 *Leavers' marital status (married)	0.20349	4.1%	1.1%	0.15449	2.4%
3 *Sex of Leavers	0.21007	4.4%	0.3%	0.09764	1.0%
4 Total family income	0.21379	4.6%	0.2%	0.08810	0.8%
Total	-----	4.6%	4.6%	-----	

NB: Predictors indicated with asterisk (*) have been converted into dummy variables. 'Total family income' refers to the total monthly income of leavers' parents. Reason why 'Total family income' has been included in the regression equation has already been given in the introductory part of this section.

Table 16 presents factors considered in the study as paramount in influencing ownership of land in Murang'a district. As in the case of 'local assets', age emerged as relatively the major factor that influences ownership of land. Indeed, this factor/predictor explained 3.0% of the variation in ownership of land while operating individually.

When operating jointly with marital status (married), age explained 4.1% of the variance in ownership of land. In all, the four factors that the study was able to consider only explains 4.6% of the variation in ownership of land when operating jointly. This is a very small percentage implying that the four factors that had been considered as major ones in influencing ownership of land, have little bearing on it (ownership of land). It is therefore concluded that there are other factors that influence ownership of land in Muranga district. It is important to note that the individual contribution of the factor sex in explaining the variance in ownership of land is minimal. This suggests that sex is no longer a key factor influencing ownership of land in Muranga district, as was the case in the old days. During that time, females had no right to own land at all - an implication that the tradition has changed over time.

In general, the correlation between each of the four predictors and ownership of land is quite weak. The correlation between each independent variable (age, marital status and sex) and the dependent variable (ownership of land) is positive. This implies that in the case of age, the older the leaver, the higher the likelihood of owning land. As for sex, male leavers seem to be favoured in terms of ownership of land - but the correlation is quite weak. Finally married leavers have better chances of owning land than single leavers. This also support the work of Mary Douglas cited in Mbithi (1975).

In concluding the discussion of hypothesis two (H2), it can be argued from the above finding that young and single leavers have little possibility of owning land in Muranga district. And since

most leavers are 'young' and single, they tend to be handicapped by the society's traditional system of ownership of land and local assets. This finding may suggest why very few leavers have undertaken farming seriously despite the continuous advice given to them by leaders. Leavers do not have land and have very little access to it. Ironically some studies have blamed leavers (victims) for failing to exploit opportunities that are believed to exist in the 'mashambani'. Such studies include Ouko (1986), Todaro (1977) and Harbison (1971). In particular, Todaro (1977 : 99), contends that "... often they (leavers) turn down realistic employment opportunities which they consider beneath them". Such studies hold the view that leavers have unrealistically high aspirations that are based on their educational achievement.

The above discussion should not be taken to mean that provision of land is a sufficient factor in making leavers self-employed through farming. More efforts should be made in the country to make farming a more rewarding occupation so as to attract this category of the labourforce. As it is, farming in Kenya seems to be one of the lowest paying occupations. It can be observed that most farmers in the country are poor. Accordingly, farming as an occupation cannot attract the majority of the rural leavers who are relatively young and hence ambitious in life. There is need to demonstrate that by applying modern technology, farming is a profitable undertaking. This is what is being done in the large scale farms in Nigeria where some of the youth have been settled and employed.

work

5:3:0 H3: Individual Characteristics and Family Background of
the Leavers influence their Employment Status in the Rural Areas *type*

In testing this hypothesis, the individual characteristics to be considered include age, sex, whether a leaver has undergone any training (whether skilled or not), type of school attended and marital status. The total monthly income of the leaver's parents is used as an indicator of the leaver's background.

It is argued in this thesis that, as was shown in the literature review, differences exist between different categories of the youth and even within the same categories. Such differences seem to have a bearing on the employment status of the youth. This point is echoed by Hanson (1980) who cautions that differences exist between the general category of unemployed youth. Differences exist, for example, in their level of education, in their age, in skills attained and many others. Unfortunately, as Hanson (1980) argues, most studies have often overlooked such differences and hence make hasty generalizations. Such differences can be biological, social, economic or educational. The study attempts to examine whether such differences within the category of the unemployed form four leavers in Murang'a district influence their employment status. This goal is achieved through the application of cross-tabulation and regression analysis.

TABLE 17: Employment Status of Leavers and their Skills

Employment Status	Skill status of Leavers		
	Skilled Leavers	Unskilled Leavers	Row Total
Employed Leavers	17 (44.7)	35 (23.5)	52 (27.8%)
Unemployed Leavers	21 (55.3)	114 (76.5)	135 (72.2%)
Column Total	38 (100.0%)	149 (100.0%)	187 (100.0%)

NB: Figures in bracket indicate column percentages. Number of missing observation = 1. Leaver is regarded as 'Skilled' if he/she had undergone any type of training either in a college, technical institute or elsewhere and acquired some 'knowhow' related to the type of job/work aspired for.

$\chi^2 = 7.090$ with 1 df, significant at 97.11% confidence level. PHI = 0.2.

Table 17 indicates that of the 38 skilled leavers, 44.7% were employed. On the other hand, of the 149 unskilled leavers 23.5% were employed. This finding suggests that attaining of skills has a bearing on employment status of leavers. In other words, skilled leavers were more 'marketable' than their counterparts who were unskilled. The fact that 55.3% of skilled leavers were unemployed reveals that not all skilled leavers manage to secure employment. Hence, the problem of unemployment tends to affect both skilled and unskilled leavers. Yambo (1986) has also stressed this point when he found that 17.8% of the YP leavers and 9.4% of HIT leavers were unemployed during the time of interviewing. The difference between Yambo's finding (1986) and the study's finding can probably be explained by the difference in the unit of analysis. Suffice here to state that while Yambo's study (1986)

focused on leavers from YPs and HITs, this study focused on leavers from secondary schools - whether skilled or not. Yambo's finding was therefore based on those who had acquired technical skills either from YPs or HITs.

Despite the above difference, (on the unit of analysis), the two studies tend to support the view of Elkan (1973:221) who contends that "the new faith in practical skills training must be treated very cautiously".

The above observations notwithstanding, the data show that skilled leavers were better placed in the labour market than their counterparts. While 44.7% of the 58 skilled leavers were employed only 23.5% of the 149 unskilled leavers were unemployed. This finding is in line with the studies that advocate the change in the School curriculum - so as to emphasize practical skills in school. Such studies include Mbithi (1975), Maleche (1976) and Republic of Kenya (1979). In fact, the introduction of the 8 - 4 - 4 system can be viewed in that light.

In conclusion it can be argued that though undertaking a course/undergoing a training (to be skilled) tends to improve the employment status of the leavers, emphasizing of practical skills should not be expected to offer a magical solution to the problem of unemployment. As argued in the introductory part of this study, the unemployment problem is multidimensional in nature and hence requires a range of strategies to solve it. One strategy can only succeed in solving one aspect of the problem. This is why Elkan (1973) cautions those who have faith in practical skills as a solution to the problem. His caution is supported by the data given in table 17 and Yambo's finding (1986).

The effect of undergoing a training or undertaking a course (being skilled) on leavers' employment status was found to be statistically

significant at 97.11% confidence level. Hence, having undergone a training/undertaken a course (being skilled) significantly influenced a leaver's employment status. However, the relationship is rather weak as indicated by the value of PHI (0.2). This goes along to support the above argument that there are other factors that influence leavers' employment status. Such factors also need to be considered when seeking remedies to unemployment. This point is elaborated by Jolly (1973).

5.3.1 Key Factors (Predictors) that Influence Employment Status of the Leavers in Murang'a District

An attempt is made here to find both the joint and individual effects of the factors considered to influence the employment status of the leavers. This goal is attained through multiple and stepwise regression analysis, the summary of which is given below.

TABLE 18: Predictors of Employment Status in Murang'a

Predictors	Multiple R	% of Joint Explained Variance R^2	% of Individual Joint variation (Stepwise coefficient)	Simple r	r^2
*Skilled leavers ✓	0.21645	4.69%	4.69%	0.21645	4.69%
*Marital status (Married) ✓	0.25913	6.72%	2.03%	0.14363	2.06%
Leavers' age ✓	0.26723	7.14%	0.42%	0.14808	2.19%
Total family Income ✓	0.26950	7.26%	0.12%	0.02901	0.08%
*Sex of Leavers	0.27069	7.32%	0.06%	0.06087	0.37%
Total	—	7.32%	7.32%	—	

NB: * = The variables that have been converted into dummy variables.

In the variable 'marital status', Married = 1, otherwise = 0.

In the variable sex, male = 1, female = 0. In the variable

skilled leavers, undertaken a course = 1, otherwise = 0

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In comparison with other predictors, undergoing a training/undertaking a course (which implies that one is skilled) emerged as the best predictor. This predictor (being 'skilled') explained 4.69% of the variable in employment status while operating individually. Marital Status (married) explained 6.72% of the variance in employment status while jointly operating with the first predictor. In all the five predictors explained only 7.32% of the variance in employment status while operating jointly. This is an indication that employment status/unemployment has many aspects - hence can only be explained fully by a larger set of factors.

Having undertaken a technical course and/or having undergone training in order to acquire 'skills' individually explains 4.69% of the variance in employment status - the greatest explanation among the five predictors. This finding tends to support the 'school of thought' that advocates the change in the school curriculum which does not impart 'skills' (practical) to the students. Such studies include the Republic of Kenya (1979: 38) which contends that "... graduates many find their education does not provide them with the skills needed to qualify for medium wage opportunities." Other studies that support the above view include Todaro (1977), Harbison (1971) Republic of Kenya (1976) and Ibithi (1975).

The correlation between 'being skilled' and employment status is quite weak but positive as indicated by the value of r (0.23). This suggests that while other factors exist that influence employment status, trained/skilled leavers are more 'marketable' in the labour market than their counterparts who are unskilled. Despite the above observations, as argued elsewhere, undertaking a course should not be taken as the only remedy to solve the unemployment problem (see Yambo, 1986; and Elkan, 1973).

Marital status (married) explained 2.03% of the variance in employment status while operating individually. The correlation between marital status (married) and employment status is weak but positive as indicated by the value of r (0.14). This finding enhances a point noted earlier that married leavers stand a better chance of getting a job than single leavers. Moreover, married leavers are favoured by the society's traditional system of ownership which can also help to uplift one's employment status.

Age of leavers only explains 0.42% of the variance in employment status while operating individually. However, though the correlation between this predictor and employment status is quite weak ($r = 0.15$), the positive aspect of the correlation supports a point made earlier that 'older' leavers (for example those of 1981 Cohort) are more likely to get jobs than 'young' leavers (for example, the 1984 cohort). This is in line with the findings based on table 16 discussed earlier.

Total family income was not very important in explaining variance in employment status. It only explains 0.12% of the variance while operating individually. The correlation between total family income and employment status was weak and, unlike what would be expected, negative - as indicated by value of r (0.03). This implies that leavers from well-off families (in terms of income) are less likely to get jobs than those from poor families. This can be interpreted to mean that probably such leavers from well-off families are quite comfortable while living with their parents even when they are unemployed. Consequently, 'high income families' can be seen as offering, a base for selectivity to their school leavers.

Such school leavers (from rich families) can afford to be selective since they do not have pressing needs like those from poor families.

Sex was the poorest predictor of the employment status - this predictor alone only explained 0.06% of the variance in employment status. This finding also enhances a point made earlier that neither sex is discriminated against in the labour market. This is also supported by the weak correlation between sex and employment status - as indicated by the value of r (0.06).

Table 18 gives a summary of the predictors of employment status that the study was able to consider. The finding tends to elaborate the view of Hanson (1980) who cautions that differences exist between the general category of unemployed leavers. As pointed out earlier, such differences have been overlooked while discussing the problem of unemployment in general. Suffice here to state that even in a relatively homogeneous category of unemployed leavers (for example, form four leavers in question), 'differences' exist in terms of sex, age, year left school, marital status, skill status and family background. This point is echoed by Callaway (1963) who also cautions that scholars should not band young people together as if they were homogeneous. The essence of H3 was to evaluate the impact of such differences on employment status.

After testing H3, the following findings emerged as of importance to the study:

- (a) That having undergone some training (implying one is skilled) significantly influenced the employment status of a leaver.

- (b) That among the predictors of employment status that the study was able to consider, having undergone some training and/or having undertaken a course (technical or non-technical) best explained the variance in the employment status of the leavers. On the other hand, sex was the worst predictor of the variance in employment status.
- (c) That the five predictors that the study was able to consider explained only 7.32% of the variance in employment status.
- (d) That in general, the correlation between each predictor and employment status was weak - the strongest correlation was between 'being skilled' and employment status with the value of $r = 0.23$.
- (e) Following from the above findings, it is concluded that other factors exist that are highly correlated with employment status and which can therefore be able to predict it (employment status) better. Suffice here to note that a strong correlation give better prediction - the converse of this is also true as shown in table 18.

5.3.2 Employment Status And Year Left School

As with other studies, apart from the relationships that were directly related to the testing of the study's hypotheses, other interesting and significant relationships were also found. One of them, namely, 'employment status' and 'year left school' is worth discussing. Data are presented in table 19.

TABLE 19: Employment Status And Year Left School

Employment Status	Year left School		Row Total
	1981	1984	
Employed Leavers	30 (39.0)	22 (20.0)	52 (27.8%)
Unemployed leavers	47 (61.0)	88 (80.0)	135 (72.2%)
Column total	77 (100.0%)	110 (100.0%)	187 (100.0%)

NB: Number of missing observation = 1. Figures in column indicate column percentages.

$\chi^2 = 9.511$ with 1 df significant at 99.0% confidence level

PHI = 0.23.

From table 19, it is clear that while over a third (39.6%) of the 1981 cohort were employed at the time of interview, only a fifth (20.0%) of the 1984 cohort were employed at that time. This suggests that leavers do not get jobs immediately after school - one has to stay for quite some time. The time stayed without employment is not definite for, as the study found, it may go up to 57 months. The study actually found leavers of 1981 cohort who had never secured any type of employment at all. Moreover, 47 leavers of 1981 cohort were unemployed at the time of data collection.

Table 19 also reveals that out of the 187 leavers responding, 72.2% were unemployed while 27.8% were employed. Though Yambo's (1986) unit of analysis was the individual leaver from the youth polytechnic (YP) or Harambee Institute of Technology (HIT), his

findings can still be compared with those of this study since both studies shed some light on the 'current employment status' or work roles of the youth. Yambo (1986:123) found that while 17.8% of the YP leavers were unemployed at the time of interview, only 9.4% of the HIT leavers were unemployed at such a time. His finding enhances the point made by Hanson (1980) regarding the differences that exist between categories and which should be taken into account when discussing the problem of unemployment. YP leavers, for example, are more affected by the problem than HIT leavers. Yambo's percentages of unemployed leavers are relatively lower as compared to that of this study. As mentioned earlier, this could be explained by the fact that unlike in the case of this study, Yambo (1986) was focusing on the 'technically trained youth' exclusively. Moreover, whereas the current study mainly focuses on unemployment problem in particular, Yambo's study (1986) focuses on 'technical training and work experience in Kenya'. Consequently, more weight was given to the unemployed leavers by this study during the time of sampling. The study therefore cautions that the percentage of employed leavers (27.8%) and that of unemployed (72.2%) should not be taken to depict the present situation in the country. The percentages were actually predetermined by the researcher even before interviewing to suit the purpose of the study.

The relationship between year left school and employment status was statistically significant at 99.0% confidence level. This is above the acceptance level of 95% implying that the number of years/months stayed after school influence the employment status of the leavers significantly. However, the relationship between the two variables is rather weak as indicated by the value of PHI (0.23).

This therefore suggests, that there are other factors that influence employment status. Such factors have been examined in the summary table of regression analysis.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, the main findings of the study are summarised and salient conclusions drawn. These help to answer questions raised in chapters one and two of this thesis. Recommendations and areas of further research are also pinpointed. The key findings that have a bearing on the study's major objectives are highlighted first. Most of such findings pertain to the unemployed form-four leavers.

6.1 Major Attributes of Form-Four Leavers (unemployed) in Murang'a District

Most rural based leavers interviewed were found to be poor performers - almost half of them (47.6%) had obtained division four or worse in their 'O' level examination. This implies that these leavers have very limited opportunities for further training. This can probably explain why most of them are reluctant to migrate to towns where there is high competition for employment.

It was also found that leavers were quite realistic in their plans after school. Almost a third of them planned to join various institutions for further training, such as HITs and YPs. They aspired to join institutions that they know are meant for them, such as the HITs and YPs. However, after school, only a fifth of them are able to join such institutions for further training - mainly due to financial constraints.

Most people consider leavers as underage in terms of ownership of local assets. This is so despite the finding that the average age of the leavers was 22 years. The fact that most leavers were single made it difficult for them to have access to such resources as land or other 'meaningful' assets which could enable them to

become self-employed. Nevertheless, being underage was not the only reason why the leavers had not been given local assets such as land by their parents, as shown below.

6.2 Interaction with Parents

About a half (48.9%) of the sampled rural leavers continued getting assistance (especially financial) from parents even after leaving school. Only about a third engaged in casual employment locally in order to sustain their survival. However, most of their time was spent on parents' farm, where they provided farm labour.

In general, it also emerged that the sampled leavers live in poverty - they earn/receive an average of 162 shillings a month. Despite the low income that they receive/earn, however, they are busy most of the time on their parents' farm. Hence, as King (1976) argues, they are not engaged in doing 'nothing'. This finding shows that the form-four leavers interviewed are no better than the so called 'working poor' (see ILO, 1972: 9). The incomes given to leavers by their parents at times generated conflict between the leavers and parents. As a result, some leavers claimed that they would prefer to work elsewhere in order to be away from 'authoritarian and mean' parents.

On the question of ownership of land, leavers gave reasons why parents had not given them land. These reasons are listed in a descending order of importance, with the most popular shown first.

- (a) parents considered the leaver as underage.
- (b) The leaver was a female, who, according to Kikuyu custom, was not allowed to own/inherit land.
- (c) Leaver did not need land - implying that the leaver was not ready to take up farming as an occupation.
- (d) Young brothers/sisters in school still depended on that

land. This implies the problem of scarcity of arable land in the district.

Even after entering the world of work, the leavers expected their parents to continue assisting them till they were sufficiently settled. Most leavers in particular expected parents to sponsor them to undertake technical courses in YPs or HITs. Others expected parents to assist them to secure employment. As argued earlier, left to themselves, leavers cannot solve the many socio-economic problems that they encounter after leaving school. It is therefore advisable for parents to continue assisting the youth until they settle. Unfortunately, some leavers reported that some parents abandon them immediately after they complete schooling.

6.3 Expectations and Adjustment of Leavers in the World of Work

Unlike what would be expected by most people, not all leavers expected to get wage employment after school - probably leavers/students are now aware of the prevailing conditions in the labour market. For those who expected to get such jobs, teaching in primary school was the most popular job. Interestingly, some leavers aspired for what could be termed as blue-collar jobs; for example, masonry, plumbing and driving. At least leavers aspired for jobs that matched their academic qualifications, hence were not unrealistic as some studies argue. In addition, the finding implies that leavers tend to be more keen on the income generated rather than on the nature/type of the job. If well paid, it is likely that leavers can take up even those jobs that they now regard as unsuitable for them.

The study found that indeed leavers are active job seekers and sometimes migrate (see Mbithi, 1975). They used such methods

as attending interviews, consulting friends and/or relatives as a means of securing employment in the labour market. The majority of them claimed to have attended interviews. This shows that they are active job seekers.

On the question of whether opportunities exist in their locality, the majority (64.2%) acknowledged that opportunities existed but which they considered unsuitable for themselves. Such opportunities were considered unsuitable mainly because the income offered was too low for them. They claimed that they could take up such jobs if well rewarded. Hence, the selectivity of the sampled leavers was mainly based on income offered rather than on the nature of the job.

The majority of leavers (82.2% of the unemployed) accepted that formal education is still useful in the job market. Consequently, most of them did not blame the educational system (which is formal) for their failure to secure employment as argued by some scholars. From their point of view, any system of education (whether liberal or technical) can be seen as useful to them only if it enables them to secure employment. However, this is a narrow and individualistic view of the role of education in the society. The role of education in the society should be viewed 'holistically', not individualistically.

6.4 Attributes of Employed Leavers

As for the employed leavers, 60.8% were found to be self-employed. Self-employment activities were dominated by business and tailoring. It should be noted that though the two categories of leavers aspired to be businessmen/businesswomen, not all business undertakings are viable to them in general. Consequently, leaders should assist and advise

leavers to take those self-employment activities that are attractive and viable for them. In general, business was found to be the most attractive activity among leavers (both employed and unemployed). On the other hand, very few leavers were convinced that farming using traditional methods is an occupation worth undertaking. Yet leaders continue to advise the youth to 'Go Back To The Land'.

The average earnings for the employed leavers was 697 shillings per month - which is very little income by any standard. These leavers therefore live below the district's poverty line which was about 795 shillings in 1983 (see Murang'a District Development Committee, 1984: 12). With such low incomes, leavers only afford to meet the very basic needs of food and clothing. Like their unemployed counterparts, the employed leavers were no better than the 'Working Poor'. Hence, the aspect of unemployment problem in Kenya includes not only people without 'paid work', but also those in employment who earn an income too small to sustain a reasonable standard of living. The effect of these two dimensions of the problem is to keep the country's standard of living far below the desired levels.

6.5 Factors that Influence The Employment Status of The Leavers and their Access to Local Resources

The relationship between educational background and employment status of the leavers was found to be very weak and insignificant. Hence, the educational background of a leaver was a poor predictor of the leaver's employment potential. This finding contrasts with the first 'school of thought' that sees the educational system as the culprit in terms of the unemployment problem. This implies that remedies for the problem have to be sought beyond the factor education. Otherwise, educational reforms as argued by scholars

(for example, Maleche, 1976) will not offer a solution to the problem.

While age significantly influenced ownership of 'Local assets', marital Status significantly influenced ownership of land. Since most leavers interviewed were 'under age', they had little access to local resources in general. The ownership of local resources in general favours the 'older' and married leavers. However, the statistical relationship between age and ownership of land is quite weak. This suggests that other factors exist (such as scarcity of local resources) that explain ownership of the local resources.

Among the five factors considered in the study, age emerged as the best predictor of the variance in ownership of 'local assets' (12.0%), while sex was the poorest predictor (0.2%). 'Local assets' included simple tools, such as farm tools, that leavers could use to make themselves self-employed. The five predictors were only able to explain 17.7% of the variance in the ownership of local assets. Among the four predictors of the most important local resource, land, the same factor age gave the best explanation (3.0%). The four predictors considered explained only 4.6% of the variance in the ownership of land.

Findings in this study support the new faith that leaders, parents and leavers have in the so called 'practical'/technical skills. Skill status significantly influenced employment status. In other words, skilled leavers were more likely to be absorbed in the labour market than unskilled ones. This is probably why most people in Kenya have more faith in technical skills than in formal education. However, paradoxically, Elkan (1973 : 221) cites the work of John Anderson and cautions that technical training is not a panacea for

unemployment problem. The point has also been clarified by Yambo (1986) - who reveals that the problem now affects even those who are technically trained/skilled. The study also found that there was little sexual discrimination in the labour market, since the variable sex was the poorest predictor of the employment potential of a leaver.

Finally, the study found that 'older' leavers (both in terms of age and the number of years after school) are more favoured in the world of work than 'younger' ones. As a result, the 1981 cohort had a higher percentage of employed than the 1984 cohort. Probably, the 1981 cohort had more experience and knew more about the dynamics involved in securing employment in the Kenyan Labour market than their 'younger' counterparts of 1984. However, this should not be taken to mean that 'older' leavers have no problem in the world of work.

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that both the unemployed and employed leavers are faced with a common problem of 'inadequate incomes'. Measures suggested should therefore be able to achieve the following basic goals:

(a) Creating more jobs.

(b) Creating jobs that generate reasonable or adequate incomes to those doing them.

6.6 Recommendations

On the basis of the findings of this study, the following recommendations can be made.

1. Since there are sound reasons why farming as an occupation does not attract the youth, the government and parents should try and promote other non-farm activities where the youth can be self-employed. More attractive courses should moreover be introduced

in YPS and HITs which can assist the youth later to be self-employed. Such courses include electrical installation, electronics, refrigeration, welding, mechanical trade, panel beating, spray painting and accountancy, etc. (see Kasina, 1987: B23).

2. Parents should be advised to answer the question of 'After School What?' for their youth. They should be advised to continue assisting the youth until they (youth) settle sufficiently in the world of work. Just as one learns by doing, leavers lose by not doing. Hence, efforts should be made to reduce the number of years that leavers stay at home before they join other institutions for further training.
3. The problem of unemployment among Form-four leavers is now a national problem in Kenya. Accordingly, time is ripe for a national study which would reveal how leavers from different districts/ environments are affected by the problem. Such a study would suggest valid national strategies for controlling the problem. It would also provide much needed data on the educated unemployed - especially in the rural areas.
4. A specific study should also be undertaken focusing on the school leavers who are self-employed. Such a study would explain why such leavers are in the category of the so called 'Working Poor'. In addition, such a study would tell the type of self-employed activities that are best suited to the leavers.
5. Education Planners should be cautious when emphasizing technical education in the country's educational system. Otherwise, the new problem of 'technically trained people without paid work' might continue to worsen. The technical courses offered in the relevant institutions must be matched with both the local

and national manpower needs of the country. This is in line with the views of Kasina (1987).

6. Rural youth groups such as sports clubs should be recognized and given the same status as the rural womens' groups. These groups can be very useful in promoting the welfare of the youth in the rural areas. Since these groups consist of active members of the labour force, they can be very productive if recognized, assisted and effectively utilized. At the moment, some of the rural youth groups have undertaken some simple projects in business as a way of improving their welfare.
7. To solve the problem of unemployment, efforts should be directed towards the creation of more jobs within the economy. Changes in the educational system should be seen as a secondary remedy for the problem. Studies are therefore warranted in the area of 'job creation' which should pinpoint the potential areas where jobs can be created at limited cost. Such studies should recommend the types of jobs that should be created; these must be the types of jobs that utilize the available skills within the economy. The International Labour Organization (ILO) which is about to undertake a multi-million shilling project in this area should go by such recommendations. The Organization's move is appropriate and timely. The major challenge to all Kenyans is to stimulate the economy to generate appropriate jobs for the country's labour force.

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APPENDIX

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

DEPT. OF SOCIOLOGY

P. O. BOX 30197

NAIROBI

A RESEARCH ON UNEMPLOYMENT OF EDUCATED YOUTH IN RURAL KENYA

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

AUGUST, SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1986

CONFIDENTIAL

Good day. I am a student from the University of Nairobi. I am carrying out a research on unemployment of the form four graduates in this area. I am visiting the graduates and asking them questions about their unemployment and their life after school. The information given will help the Government later in formulating policies that can help to solve the problem. I would be very grateful if you would help me with your answers.

Division _____ Location _____
Sub location _____ Village _____
Date of interview _____
Name of interviewer _____

1. Information about The Graduate

- 1.1 (a) What is your name? _____ Sex _____
(b) When were you born? _____
(c) When did you sit for your K.C.E./E.A.C.E. exam? _____
- 1.2 (a) In which school were you? _____
(b) What type of school was it? _____

	National	Govt. Aided	Harambee	Private
Boarding				
Day				
Both				

(c) Were you a boarder or a non-resident? _____

(d) How was your K.C.E./E.A.C.E. performance?

Subjects	Grade
(1) _____	_____
(2) _____	_____
(3) _____	_____
(4) _____	_____
(5) _____	_____

- (6) _____
- (7) _____
- (8) _____
- (9) _____

Total subjects passed _____ Division _____

(e) After leaving school, where did you go? _____

(f) For how long did you stay there? _____ (month).

(f) What were your plans immediately after leaving school? _____

(h) Do you still have these plans in mind or have you changed them?

Yes _____ No _____

Explain in either case _____

1.3 (a) What is your marital status?

Single _____ Married _____ Divorced/seperated _____
 other (specify) _____

(b) Do you have a family of your own?

YES _____ NO _____

(c) In either of the above, do you have children that you rear?

YES _____ NO _____ If yes how many are they?

Small children not yet in school _____

Children in primary school _____

Other (specify) _____

Family size _____

(d) If you do not have a family of your own, how large is the family of which you are a member? i.e. your parent's family?

Number

Number of children (parent's) not yet in school _____

Number of children in primary and nursery school _____

Number of children in secondary school _____

1.3 including those in training institutions _____
Employed brothers and sisters _____
Brothers and sisters out of school but unemployed _____
size of the parent's family _____

1.4 (a) What is the main occupation of your parents?

Father _____ Mother _____

(b) What are the main sources of income of your parents?

<u>Sources</u>	<u>Amount earned per month</u>
Wage employment (specify) _____	_____
Business (specify) _____	_____
Farm Sales _____	_____
Contribution from other members of the family _____	_____
Others (specify) _____	_____

(c) Total income per month _____

(c) What are the main ways in which the income is spent? (specify amount spent in each case)

2 Information About the Unemployed Graduates

2.1 (a) Since you are unemployed, where do you get some income to meet your basic needs and how much do you get from each source?

<u>Sources (specify)</u>	<u>Amount received per month</u>
(1) _____	_____
(2) _____	_____
(3) _____	_____
(4) _____	_____
(5) _____	_____

(b) How do you spend your money (Rank)?

(c) What kind of assistance do you get from your parents? _____

(d) Do you get any type of assistance from else-where?
YES _____ NO _____ If yes
specify _____

2.2 (a) How do you spend your time?
In the morning _____

In the afternoon _____

In the evening _____

(b) What are the main activities that you are involved in _____

2.3 (a) Do you have some farm tools or other assets that you own?
YES _____ NO _____

(b) If yes, name them
(1) _____ (2) _____ (3) _____
(4) _____ (5) _____ (6) _____
(7) _____ (8) _____ (9) _____

(c) Are there some household tools that you are not allowed to use?
YES _____ NO _____

(d) If yes name them
(1) _____ (2) _____ (3) _____
(4) _____ (5) _____ (6) _____
(7) _____ (8) _____ (9) _____
(10) _____ (11) _____ (12) _____

(e) Why do you think you are not allowed to use them? _____

2.4 (a) Do you plan your daily routine or is it planned by your parents?
By Graduate _____ By Parents _____

(b) If by your parents why? _____

(c) What type of decisions are made by your parents for you? _____

(d) Do you think there are some decisions that your parents should allow
you to make by yourself: YES _____ NO _____

(e) If yes name them _____

(f) Do you think there are some things that your parents owe you or should
do for you at present? YES _____ NO _____

(g) If yes, name them (in order of priority) _____

2.5 (a) Do you have a piece of land of you own? YES _____
NO _____

(b) If yes, how large is it? _____ (acres).

(c) How have you acquired it?
Bought _____ inherited from _____
other (specify) _____

(d) If bought, where did you get the money from? _____

(e) If you do not have land, do you have plans of acquiring it?
YES _____ NO _____

(f) if yes, how do you intend to acquire it? _____

(g) Why do you think your parents have not given you a piece of land to cultivate? _____

2.6 (a) Since leaving school, what has been your experience in the world of work? _____

(b) Did you expect to get a job immediately after leaving school?

YES _____ NO _____

(c) If yes, what kind of a job did you expect to get? _____

(d) Did you make any effort to look for the type of job that you considered suitable for you? YES _____ NO _____

(e) If yes, what kind of effort? _____

(f) If no, why? explain _____

(g) Do you still look for a job today? YES _____ NO _____

(h) Explain in either case _____

(i) Are there some job opportunities in this area which exist but which you consider unsuitable for you? YES _____ NO _____

(j) If yes, name them _____

(k) Why do you consider them as unsuitable? _____

(1) Can you list the kind of jobs that you regard as suitable for you and those that are not?

Suitable

Unsuitable

- | | |
|-----------|-----------|
| (1) _____ | (1) _____ |
| (2) _____ | (2) _____ |
| (3) _____ | (3) _____ |
| (4) _____ | (4) _____ |
| (5) _____ | (5) _____ |

2.7 (a) Explain why it has been difficult for you to get a job since you left school? _____

(b) Do you think the type of education that you got from school can help you to get a job? YES _____ NO _____

Explain in either case _____

(c) Have you put any effort in trying to make yourself self-employed?

YES _____ NO _____

Explain in either case _____

(d) If yes, what difficulties have you encountered? _____

(e) Do you think you are unemployed because there are no jobs or because the jobs that are there are unsuitable for your? Explain in either case _____

(f) Have you ever gone to town or elsewhere to look for a job?

YES _____ NO _____

(g) If yes, where and when? _____

(h) What was your experience? _____

(i) If not, why (explain)? _____

(j) Why have you opted to stay around yet you are unemployed?

Explain _____

(k) Would you prefer to be employed in rural or urban areas?

Rural _____ Urban _____

(l) In either case give reasons _____

2.8 (a) Are you a member of any organization (eg club)?

YES _____ NO _____

(b) If yes, name it and explain what it does? _____

(c) Are you an ordinary member or an official of that organization?

Ordinary member _____ Official _____

(d) If an official, what position do you hold? _____

(e) When do you meet with the other members of this organization?

(f) What are the objectives of this organization? _____

2.9 (a) Do you know any of your former School-mates who are now employed?

YES _____ NO _____

(b) If yeas, specify where they work and the type of work they do _____

(c) Who helped them to get the job? Individual efforts _____

their better K.C.E. grade _____ Friends _____

their parents _____ Other members of their family

(specify) _____ Other (specify) _____

2.10 (a) What do you think can be done to solve the problem of unemployment in rural Kenya? _____

(b) What or who do you think can be blamed for the present crisis of unemployment problem of educated youth in Kenya? _____

(c) What part do you think parents can play in solving the problem of unemployment among the school leavers? _____

(d) What part do you think graduates can play in solving the problem? _____

(e) And what part do you think the government can play? _____

(f) What are the general problems of the unemployed school leavers around this area? _____

(i) Give reasons why you regard some as suitable and others unsuitable _____

3. (a) What difficulties did you face before getting this type of job?

(b) Why do you think there are some form four graduates (like yourself) who are unemployed? Explain _____

(c) It is sometimes argued that most school leavers are unemployed because they are too selective. Give your opinion _____

(d) Do you think there are job opportunities in this area for the graduates which they have turned down because they regard them as unsuitable? YES _____ NO _____

(e) If yes, name them _____

4. (a) How much do you earn from this type of employment? _____

(b) How do you spend this income? (Rank)

(c) Are you a member of any cooperative? YES _____ NO _____

(d) If yes, name it, _____

(e) Have you borrowed some money from this cooperative?

YES _____

NO _____

(f) If yes, what have you done with the loan/or what do you intend to do with it? _____

(g) Do you save your money in a Bank? YES _____ NO _____

(h) If yes, how much have you saved todate? _____

(i) Are you a member of any other organization eg. a club?
YES _____ NO _____

(j) If yes name it and list its objectives _____

(k) Are you an ordinary member or an official of the organization?
Ordinary member _____ Official _____

(l) If an official, what position do you hold? _____

(m) How frequent do you meet with the other members of the organization?

5. (a) Who do you think can be blamed for the unemployment problem that face our country? _____

(b) What part do you think the unemployed graduates can play in solving the problem? _____

(c) What part do you think their parents can play? _____

(e) And what part do you think the government can play to solve the problem? _____

(f) How can these problems be solved? _____

Thank you very much for your cooperation.