

RELATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC RESOURCES AND THE
PERFORMANCE OF C.P.E. (A CASE STUDY OF GAITU SUB-LOCATION, MERU DISTRICT)

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Delivered to the Department

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INTRODUCTION

It is impossible to live without being educated. In the sense that every individual has to meet the impact of the environment. Formal education is greatly uplifted in most societies and so the parents seek a vicarious satisfaction in the scholastic achievement of their children. Certificate of Primary Examination (C.P.E.) is very important for that matter in a country like Kenya. This is because it is the backbone to other higher examinations. The young are hence subjected to educational conditioning and competitive pressures in order to pass examinations.

Hence education has now become an industry with children as the raw materials to be moulded into predetermined patterns like circus animals on which whips are cracked to make them perform in the arena of social approval.

The school is a sorting process that begins at an early age allocating students through tests, grades and tracking the future placement in the occupational hierarchy. The school is therefore the "traffic Police" for the prevailing division of labour in the social arena. Since C.P.E. is the first "road block" to determining which hierarchy one will join it is very crucial and this is why all the more the study has tried to unravel the stumbling block towards jumping this first "road block" in order to attain social status. But it should be pointed out that passing C.P.E. perse will not give one social status if you do not get employment to get income; But social status depends on the society's scale of judgement, that is different societies use different variables to rank people socially. These variables used to rank people socially also depends with time periods.

Mkangi has also pointed out that it is not just acquisition of an "education" which counts if one is to secure a job but rather the acquisition of a Qualificatory education.¹ Getting a certificate of primary education does not warrant you to get a job. That is C.P.E. may not qualify you to get a job, it may require you to be a little bit higher in the education pyramid.

Problem Statement.

Education, needless to say, is an important variable in any country and so much so in a country like Kenya, as a vehicle of social change. The topic on education and educational blockage especially at Primary School level has not been well explored in this country. It is for this reason among many that such a topic is very appropriate to survey at such a time when Kenya feels threatened by the social, political and economic problems which are partially due to the organisational structure of the educational pyramid, with primary school as its base. And that is why this study concentrates on the primary school.

It is a very important topic because the plight of school leavers and especially C.P.E. graduates has just started coming to light to those concerned. There is now a concern over those who do C.P.E. but they do not make it to secondary school or the fees is too high for them.

Mkangi has this to say on this line: Schools founded on harambee basis don't provide an easy alternative to government secondary schools for the poor because of the exorbitant fees in comparison to the government financed schools. It was partly to offset this that the National Christian Council of Kenya Pioneered the village polytechnics. Initially entry to village polytechnics was free and was meant to cater for those who had scored the lowest points. In other words the failures in the Certificate of Primary Education Examinations. But even here qualification and school fees have set in, thus eliminating many C.P.E. failures especially those coming from poor households, from their last chance"

According to my research findings based in Gaitu sublocation, it is not a wonder that those with high average income monthly they have more output of pupils to harambee secondary school on average than those with the low income on average. Those with high income on average contributes twenty eight point six percent to harambee secondary school while those with low average monthly income contributes eleven point four per cent on average to harambee secondary schools. Since harambee secondary schools were built with a view to at least help the low income household

children to be able to get this scarce resource (educational) one could have expected the poor households in Gaitu to have more pupils in harambee secondary schools on average.

However though the government has used alot of money in expansion of primary schools, attention has not been paid to these standard seven leavers after graduating in C.P.E. To my view also these village polytechnics do not play a very great role in easing the problem. After these standard seven graduates do a certain course in these polytechnics it is difficult for them to get employment either within the private or the public sector. It is also difficult for them to start on their own since they do not have initial capital. Hence unless a follow up is made on these graduates after completing their course in these village polytechnics, they will still end up in their original predicament.

Most of the studies done on this area for instance Somerset (1974)³, Kayongo male (1976)⁴ and Nkinyangi (1977)⁵, have tended to do comparisons between urban primary schools and rural primary schools. Actually to my view this dichotomy can be very misleading. This is because such results tend to overgeneralize where the existing situation in the rural areas is concerned. Such studies for instance, the one by Somerset based in Nyeri, tend to assume that rural Primary Schools do poorer than urban primary schools because they are in the rural areas, and there is a hidden assumption that rural primary schools are homogenous. This is too much a overgeneralization.

They overlook the fact that schools in the rural areas do poorly not because they are in the rural areas but it is because of the relative material deprivation compared to other primary schools, whether "Urban" or "rural". For instance there are "rural" primary schools which have been doing well in C.P.E. than "urban" primary schools.

Geographical determinism though it might play a role in influencing a schools performance at C.P.E. level, should not be overemphasized. As a result this study is going to concentrate on looking at "rural" primary schools within their own setting and not doing any comparison between "urban" and 'rural' primary schools.

This study has concentrated on the fact that rural schools are not homogeneous and that various differences exist even among themselves and this goes as far as determining who is to join form one in a good government maintained secondary school. This study has also assumed that rural community is not homogeneous, stratification exists. This is why I found it useful to use a holistic approach, that is considering many variables in order to be able to get a clearer picture of the phenomenon.

Inability to do well in C.P.E. is a nation wide problem. Many people wonder what is the cause of this problem. The following quotation shows the magnitude of this problem.

"Two out of ten sitting for this C.P.E. will make it, for others the long sleepless nights will be in vain. 80% do not stand a chance to continue with their formal education and their failure to join a secondary school will follow them up for the rest of their lives no matter how well they perform outside the school. This is the stark tragedy of C.P.E. syndrome. It is the syndrome that affects both parents and the pupils. Many a home has been broken following the trading of charges as to which of the partners (husband or wife) was responsible for bringing into the world a child who could not pass his first examination. Little do such parents realize that it is neither their child's fault nor in many cases theirs that the child could not get a place in secondary school or that the child "failed" C.P.E.. The blame should be in most cases be laid on the society's door that places a high premium on post primary education without providing enough places for those willing and able to embark on it. It is obviously that there is something wrong with an education system that condemns children at an impressionable age of twelve years to a race they have no chance to win. C.P.E. plays a very important role in the sifting process.⁶ "The sifting which this examination is supposed to perform explains the elimination of two thirds of children from secondary education"⁷

Rural communities which are mostly composed of peasants view education as a way of social mobility. The peasants put great attachment to education than the rich families. Mwangi argues that both the rich and poor families regard education as the only exit and that is why they invest heavily in their education⁸.

Hence the importance of education within this social category (peasants) and in rural areas in general cannot be underestimated. The peasants see education as a tool of social advancement, hence a way to enable their children to join the salarieds.

In general, the coming of colonialism had an adverse impact on the land tenure systems existing. This was greatly felt among the Kikuyu. Among the coast people this impact was not felt for they maintained their communal ownership of land. Colonialism led to individualization of land in the areas affected. Hence this impact was to create a landowner and landless classes where they previously did not exist.

Wolff has shown that methods such as taxation, land alienation, and pass system were used by European settlers to guarantee continuous supply of labour in their farms. The increasing availability and popularity of imported European, Japanese and American manufactures, also induced Africans to supply labour to settlers farms to enable them to purchase these goods.⁹

With these structural changes brought by Europeans or colonialism, it also shows the rise of urban workers. But it would be a misnomer to think that those people who ran to town were landless. One should consider the changes brought by monetary economy, which escalated peoples tastes and changes in attitudes towards life. Paying of taxes to the colonial government was a great factor which fuelled many people to urban areas especially during the colonial epoch or era.

Mamdani has also shown that land alienation led to subsequent formation of a class in Buganda. Most of the landless went to town expecting to get a job. Those who did not get jobs became criminals ¹⁰. To my view within this category of criminals, we have thieves, drug addicts and other habitual criminals which included pickpockets and "Makangaa" (This term "makangaa" is coined by Wamaru people to refer to those people who are usually found in bus stops and "matatu" stops and these try to persuade people to get into these "matatus". Generally the term is a derivation of "Askari Kangaa" which refers to administrative policemen. The Maru people considered the work of administrative police to be equivalent to idleness for they could be found in most times loitering in the villanges in order to get local brewed liquor, so "makangaa" in essence are idle but it is disguised, for economists they can say that the "makangaa" are disguised unemployed")

These social categories are the products of the structural changes brought about by colonialism. These social categories cannot be able to adjust to the abrupt changes but they cannot be able to adjust to this structural change for the structure is designed to produce "idlers" as one of its by products. Apart from the land being the peasants main resource and source of livelihood, it was also the nucleus of their social life. Hence a substitute had to be got and the second best substitute seemed to be education. The people found themselves caught up in a web of events of which Mau Mau was one of them. The struggle between the British and the Kenyans (Mau Mau) was firstly a struggle over scarce resources here symbolised by land, and secondly a struggle over changes in values in the society and education.

The issue of mushrooming of independent churches and the rise of 'bush' schools manned by Africans prove this point. The taking of land by whites was not a willing gesture on the parts of Africans. Most of the people affected were peasants and they had to shed alot of blood to get back their land. After independence the bogus land purchasing companies would have left the peasants in a predicament

if the government did not interfere. Since 92% of Kenya's population live in the rural areas, such a study is very important, because it will help to bring to light the problems involved in getting this scarce resource, education. Education is a scarce resource because its benefits are not free to every body who would like to get the maximum out of it. This is partly due to some hindrances or stumbling block on the process of trying to achieve it.

Viewing education problems especially at grassroot level will tend to reveal the inherent structural blockage or rather the problems which the rural community have to grapple with, in order to get this scarce resource, to enable them to feel comfortable in our competitive society. Uneven distribution of the existing meagre resources like income plays a major role in any society. Uneven distribution of income in its wake with cyclic problems produces vicious circles of poverty which will even affect children in primary school.

Of the schools studied that is in Gaitu. It has been found that income which the parents get may determine the quality of secondary school their child will join. Problems associated with failure to continue with formal education are increasing and so currently the outcry is to build village polytechnics in order to help these C.P.E. graduates. In Maru We have for instance Kithoka, Nkubu, Githongo and Kianjai village polytechnics among many in the district.

A great portion of those who sit for C.P.E. are unable to join form one as the following statistics show¹². Of those enrolled in standard seven in 1969 only 27% got a chance in secondary school. Of those enrolled in 1970, only 28% got a chance in secondary school. 72% had no chance of the 173,150 candidates enrolled in 1971 only 31% (53,480) got a place in form one. In 1972 only 34% got a place in form one. In 1973 only 33% got a place in form one. Hence these data show failure to join form one a real problem which requires attention.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY.

The study aims at not breaking into a virgin ground but rather, to add something to studies already done. The study concentrates on the "failures" and not "dropouts". Dropouts are considered to be those people who do not manage to reach up to standard seven and therefore invariably do not sit for C.P.E. "Failures" are considered to be those who successfully manage to complete standard seven but they do not "Pass" the examination. However it should be pointed out that there is a theoretical linkage between the "failure and "dropout" phenomenon.

Though the word "relative distribution" is used in the topic of this study, it has nothing to do with comparing two extreme groups in terms of Socioeconomic material affluence, but rather it has to do with differential socio-economic material advantage between a group which is materially deprived. That is comparing a group which nationally can be ranked to be poor. This study hence recognizes that even in the midst of poverty there is some differences in the distribution of socio-economic material advantages.

The period under investigation is between 1972 and 1982. This is the period that saw the abolition of fees from standard one to standard seven. Mzee Kenyatta abolished fees from standard one to standard four in 1974, and in 1978 Moi when he came to power abolished fees from standard five to standard seven. This period also saw the introduction of milk in primary schools. It was announced early in 1983 that 8: 4:4 system of education would be introduced. That is eight years in primary school, four years in secondary school, and four years in the University. C.P.E. is hence to be replaced by Kenya National Primary Examination (KNPE). This programme is supposedly to begin in 1985. Standard seven of 1983 is supposedly the last one to do C.P.E.

Some important events will be found to lie prior this period they would not be ignored and this is because the past has an important role to play with regard to the present. The period between 1972

and 1982 has been found to be very appropriate as the schools in the sample do not have long history, and so the question of getting rich available data is very crucial. It is within this period that the government did headcount as regard to teachers in order to uncover "fictitious" teachers, and also those appearing in the payrolls though they had ceased to be teachers either through death, resignation, retirement or for one reason or another. Hence this period is very important as regard this study.

Teachers who had reached up to standard four during colonial times, but were in their own category of "licenced-untrained" teachers, after independence, their services were to be terminated according to the Ministry of Education circular 1979. This is because they were short of the required standards within the teaching profession.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER ONE.

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CHAPTER TWO

WHY GAITU WAS CHOSEN

The fact that Gaitu has been chosen as a case study does not mean that it is the area which does most poorly, however, it is by some coincidence that it happened to be in the location which was the last in C. P. E. performance in 1982 in Meru District.

Mkinyangi has shown that to a greater extent the factors leading to failure and withdraws ("dropouts") are intervinved such as income of the parents and social class.¹³

The study by concentrating on the issue of standard seven will uncover the problems in this part of the rural area and show how they interplay to determine "success" or "failure" in the education system. The school in the rural areas reflect quite alot about the life of the majority. This is because poor living conditions of the people in the rural areas can be reflected in the poor structures of the Primary school buildings and this is because it is these same people who play a major role in the general improvement of the schools Kizerbo has this to say:

"The school in many underdeveloped countries is a reflection and a fruit of the surrounding underdevelopment, from which arises its deficiencies, its qualitative and quantitative poverty" ¹⁴

The study ignores the idea that underdevelopment is evenly distributed in the rural areas. The study has tended to put much emphasis on socio-economic resources with specific emphasis on income distribution. This is because distribution of these material resources is crucial in any country, starting right from a sublocation level like the one under study.

Many scholars have realized the importance of this variable, income. This is because income determines poverty on one hand, and wealth on the other. "A Planet cannot in any more than a country survive half free and half slave, half engulfed in misery, half careering toward the supposed Joys of almost unlimited¹⁵ Actually this commentary is trying to show that survival even for a planet is doubtful if this line between the haves and havenots is not tackled.

This study does not give much weight to the biological school of thought which sees genetical factors such like heredity of intelligence and psychological factors as the main contributing influence behind a child's performance in school however, this is not to deny their impact on child's personality as a whole.¹⁶

Gaitu is a zone having characteristics of remote area with extreme relative deprivation of material things and as the same time sharing characteristics of an area coming up and enjoying urban influences, hence this makes it a good representative area, a replica of rural areas in Kenya. It is a good representative sample because no area or rural area is completely cut off from urban influences. Hence a study

like this one can help to make logical generalisations to such areas in the Republic and hence if planning has to be done in case of education or rural development, knowledge got from this area can be of practical value.

So in summary Gaitu is a good replica of other rural areas in Kenya since it borders marginal areas, that is Tharaka and Giakii and also urban Centre which is Meru Town. So these characteristics make it to be a good case study.

SITE DESCRIPTION OF GAITU AREA

Gaitu Sub-Location is in Mwangathia Location. Mwangathia Location is part of North Imenti Division. Gaitu is in the South-easterly part of Meru Town. The Equator lies in its most Westerly point and it acts more as a boundary between Gaitu and the region popularly known as the "E' quator."

Gaitu has an altitude of 4225 feet above sea level which is approximately 1400 metres above sea level. Gaitu is about fourteen kilometres from Meru Town. Gaitu borders Giakii in its northerly part and Tharaka in its easterly point, its northerly point and also in the south easterly point. It is good to note that Tharaka is a marginal area and people lead a very vicarious and simple life. Nature itself is not very kind to Tharaka people. People live lives which are barely within survival line.

Gaitu is a settlement scheme area and it does not have a long history. Gaitu represents man's attempt to adjust to new environment.

Clanism as an ideology plays a very major role in deciding who is to go to Parliament just as racialism was used during Colonial times as a stepping stone to Parliament. I was told of a man who was always winning to go to Parliament because he had no father and had come with his mother. Women in Meru are considered that they do not have any clan or belong to any clan as long as they are not married. When they are married they automatically belong to the husband's clan.

This boy whose father was somewhere and was not known could not fit in any clan and so he was considered to be a neutral person who would not show favouritism. During the 1983 General Election he lost his Parliamentary seat. People came to realization that clinging to a person who would not bring development in the area and who has not brought development in the area, simply because of clan attachment would not take them far. So during the 1983 elections people in Gaitu could no longer listen to clan ideologies

to guide them to choose a leader. They were looking at the qualities of a person without caring which clan he comes from.

Here we see how the ideology of ancestry can be exploited in order to get access to scarce resources like power in our case and also land and education in some cases.

According to ingroup/outgroup theory it shows how people develop an attitude of viewing themselves as better people, better language, better dressed people, and then, the people who do not belong to the group are viewed as people who do not speak the same language as us, queer mannerisms people. Hence some people come to view themselves as the "best" and hence those who do not belong to their group as enemies.

W.A. Shack has shown how the Amhara ethnic group in Ethiopia looks at itself as superior than the other ethnic groups. So they expect other ethnic groups to copy their ways of life especially the Amharic language. The Gurage ethnic group who are looked down upon as an inferior group develops as a result very strong feelings against the Amhara. This factor of being looked down upon make them work very hard in order to develop their rural area, so that they prove the Amhara wrong. The Gurage also in retaliation refuses to learn Amharic language and as it has already been pointed out, they work very hard to improve their life especially economically and so ethnic associations are very strong in urban areas.¹⁷

Mbithi as also used this theory of ingroup/outgroup to analyse tribalism in Kenyan setting. He also argues that tribalism is a dynamic interaction process which might be designed to serve other ends other than those which reinforce ethnic identity.¹⁸

Mwangi has also shown that with such high unemployment among school leavers in Kenya, "tribalism" has sometimes become a more influential deciding factor in the distribution of jobs in the government and other bureaucracies than qualificatory education.¹⁹

Such attitudes of group feelings are usually exploited in order to get access to scarce resources like land, education especially in terms of getting scholarships to go abroad, then businesses, plots and houses in urban areas, and also power like in the case of my area under study (Gaitu).

Hence as scarce resources like land, jobs and businesses become

scarcer the stronger the identification role for instance "clanism" and "tribalism". "Tribalism" is "clanism" taken a step farther though "tribalism" takes place in urban centers where there is multiplicity of people from different ethnic groups.

Religion also plays a very important role in this area (Gaitu). There is the Roman Catholic Church and the Protestant Churches. These Protestant Churches are composed of the methodist church, presbyterranean church of East Africa (P.C.E.A.), Pentecost Assemblies of God (P.A.G.) and the East African Pentecostal Church (E.A.P.C.) Lastly we have the Independent Church which is a mixture of traditional beliefs and beliefs from these modern churches. The independent churches played a very important role in the revolutionary struggle or in the struggle for independence. In Kenya, but after independence they still persists and this is because the dreams which they had initially gave not been met to the full.

The P.A.G. has broken from the mother church, the East African Pentecostal church, just as the Protestants have broken from the Catholic Church. Religious struggles are greatly intensified in this area. It is good to note that religious struggles has nothing to do with spiritual matters or struggles over doctrines but is more on material things. Hence acquisition of power in the church is very important in order to get these material things.

I was told of an episode whereby an open conflict erupted around chaaria market, the main market centre in the area, over a piece of land nearby. So the P.C.E.A., the E.A.P.C., the P.A.G. and the Methodists had an open confrontation against the Catholics. So the Catholics lost the battle and surprisingly nobody build on that piece of land. Something unique to be noted is that though the P.A.G. and E.A.P.C. differs greatly from the methodist/PCEA in terms of doctrine they joined together to fight the Catholics in order to get the piece of land. They still have the old hatred against the "mother" Church.

The independent church did not take sides. To Afrocentric apologias they may argue this is because it has more of African values than the European ones. This can be the view of those students who can take time to believe anything bad can be found within African

societies. Such scholars are for instance, Michael Todaro (1977)²⁸

So now this brings us to the view that more often than not, the separation of churches is in most cases over the material things. We find how religion is used as an ideology to justify the legitimacy of landownership. Clanism and religion are hence two important ideologies used to get access to scarce resources in Gaitu. It is also good to note that on the process of the research I came to get very interesting information to show that the ideology of Clanism can be taken very far. Over 80% of the schools I visited, were affected by some "gangs" organised by local people to terrorise teachers who did not come from around the locality.

I was told of a case whereby teachers in one school lost two bicycles within a period of one term. The local people conspired with people beyond the vicinity of the school, so that they may steal from "foreign" teachers, live in an atmosphere of fear and insecurity and this may even affect their morale. It is good to note that this is the effect of Clanism taken further beyond its local boundaries. In this case if people have to deal with "foreigners" they forget their clan differences and they join hands.

In one case I learnt of an incident whereby the school was greatly affected when two teachers from different clans were fighting and it led to children joining each according to his or her clan. The fight grew to the extent that even the parents joined leading to some teachers throwing away records of the school in the toilets. This particular school was affected so much so that the government had to appoint a commission to run the school. This is one of the roles clanism can play in underdeveloping an area. Religion and clanism are two ideologies very common in Gaitu. Even if a person is freed from the shackles of clanism ideology one is not free from religious ideology which is also equally bad in its underdevelopment "mission" or role.

The major market center in Gaitu is Chaaria where we have the cotton ginnyery and an agricultural office, small market stores, small shops, bicycle repairing workshop and also the Assistant Education Officer's office is situated here. There is also a dispensary

and a posho mill here and Chaaria acts as a terminus for the matatus from and to Meru Town. Chaaria is an administrative centre of Mwangathia Location and it is here where the Chief meets with the Local "Wananchi" for the usual "baraza" and to settle various disputes.

Chaaria is coming up as an urban area and the rising of slums which is a critical factor in the growth of towns bears witness to this.

Gaitu is quite fertile and a lot of crops do well here. Food crops include maize, beans and potatoes and this helps to support the enormous population. Citrus fruits and also mangoes do well. Tobacco and cotton are the major cash crops of the area, with cotton taking the lead. Tanzanian beans is also important as a cash crop and as an important income earner of many households.

Gaitu is not well favoured in terms of communication. The physical features of the area and the general terrain betrays the communication pattern in the area. It is very problematic to go to Gaitu during rainy seasons as a result of bad roads which are not all weather roads. There is one telephone line and also one line of electric posts which all end at the ginnery. Sometimes one is tempted to wonder what Gaitu would have looked like in terms of communication without the ginnery. Donkeys and bicycles play a very major role in terms of communication.

Population wise, Gaitu was second in Mwangathia Location according to 1970 population census. According to this census Mwangathia contributed 3.3% of the District's total population (N=832,710) Mwangathia has the following sub locations and population totals according to 1979 census: 21

Gaitu	-	5,877
Kaongo	-	5,150
Igani	-	4,814
Gitia	-	5,886
Makandune	-	2,533
Kiamuri	-	4,236

Mwangathi Location had 27,496. People and it was second in the North.

Imenti Division only rivalled by Meru Municipality which had a population of 72,552. If population projections are done in the year 1982 with the assumption that the conditions which used to exist during and prior the 1979 census are still prevailing, and also assuming that the birth rate of 4% in Kenya also applies in Mwangathia, the following approximations based on the projection are got:²²

Gaitu	-	6,582
Kaongo	-	5,768
Igane	-	5,392
Gitie	-	6,592
Kiamuri	-	4,744
Makandume	-	2,635

In the case of important industries cotton ginnery is the most important. It serves the cotton growers of Tigania, Abothuguguehi and Tharaka Division. Cotton ginnery was started in 1979 but the Americans had sold to them machines which were not suitable for Kenyan cotton. I personally saw these machines for they are still installed although they do not process any thing.

So one finds that American Capitalists have intruded even in the rural areas and have underdeveloped them indirectly. This underdevelopment is because of the fact that a lot of time was wasted before the factory commenced. For it started work after it had bought machines from India and the work started by 20th May, 1980. It is also good to note that money which was used to buy machines from America was not refunded though the machines did not achieve the desired results. This was a very great loss to the ginnery as a whole and also to the government.²³

People employed especially as casual labourers in the ginnery are not well paid. If they work for a month they get about two hundred thirty four shillings.²⁴ It is from this amount that they have to pay a hundred shillings for a house in Chaanta Market as a rent. This is a factor to explain why many school leavers especially girls indulge in "malpractices" while still working in the ginnery for what they get can not make ends meet. There is no consideration for academics. The qualification is to carry a sack of cotton. This one finds that casual

labourers operate on the subsistence line or just on the survival line.

Cotton farmers are paid twice a month at three shillings and eighty cents a kilo. They are given free cotton seeds by the cotton Board of Kenya. This is to create incentives because cotton demands hard labour and so not many people are willing to venture into it.²⁵

However, despite the problems faced by the casual labourers cotton ginnery has contributed to the general improvement of the area. There could not have been murrum roads along Gaitu if there was no cotton ginnery. Telephone lines which help the local people especially in times of emergencies, could not have been there without cotton ginnery. The electric supply could not have been there without the cotton ginnery, and so the local people can get electricity cheaply than if they had to get it from Meru Town. The ginnery has contributed greatly especially in the field of communication in Gaitu.

EDUCATIONAL LANDSCAPE OF GAITU SUB-LOCATION

Gaitu contributes about 1.4% of the total number of Primary Schools in Meru District (N=672).²⁶ It contributes 33.3% of the total number of Primary Schools in Mwangathia Location (N = 32), and about 7% of the total number of Primary Schools in North Imenti Division (N = 149).

Gaitu has about 66 trained teachers which is about 33.3% of the trained teaching force in Mwangathia Location (N = 192) and about 2% of the trained teaching force of Meru District (N = 4347).

There was no teacher of S1 distinction in Gaitu Sublocation but there were three S1^s in Mwangathia Location which was about 2.4% of the S1^s in Meru District (N = 124). There was nobody of C.P.E standard within the untrained category. There was one teacher with no certificate of whatever calibre. He started teaching during colonial times and he had reached up to standard four and after teaching for sometime he was given licence to teach but according to the Ministry of Education, it was supposed to start getting rid of this category by the year 1979, but it seems

the process has taken too long.

On average there is a tendency for male teachers to be over represented both in the trained category and untrained category. The total number of teachers in Mwangathia Location is 290.²⁷ This is about 4.2% of the total teaching force in Meru District (N = 6639). There was no graduate teacher in the Sublocation or location. There was one graduate teacher however, in the whole of Meru District Primary School. He was stationed in Kianjai Division.

There is also a general tendency for most standard sevens to be having less than forty pupils per class and with some few exceptions boys tended to be more in standard seven. Probably this may be the reason behind boys doing well than girls in C.P.E., in rural areas as found by Kayongo Male (1976).²⁸

There was a general tendency or rather the general mean of the highest points got in these schools to be twenty seven points and the lowest mean being eight points.²⁹

In most cases the Primary Schools within the sample had no windows. In one of the schools I visited one is tempted to wonder how the children see, how they are writing because the classrooms were dark even during a very bright sunny day. So actually on the average even poor windows of any distinction seem to be more of a luxury rather than a necessity to be enjoyed by the rural Primary Schools.

The frequency of visits by the assistant Education Officers (AEO's) in the sampled schools seems to be once a year. In some extreme cases one come a cross a school whereby an E AEO visits a school once in every five years.

There is also a general tendency of the schools in the sample to be built near big roads. The schools also seem to follow big rivers in the area for instance Mariaara and Guatuu. Actually along river Mariaara, the biggest river in the area, it seems to be having the monopoly of the Primary Schools as per sample.

Probably it is because of the advantages enjoyed by being near

rivers and big roads that these Primary Schools are situated along them.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

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24. I bid
25. I bid
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CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

The importance attached to C.P.E. can be reflected in the increase of enrolment. This is because when the parents enrol their children in standard one their initial aim is for them to complete standard seven, do C.P.E. and then go to a good government secondary school.

The abolition of school fees from standard one to standard four in 1974 had very interesting consequences as Nkinyangi notes.³⁰ It led to crowding of children in schools, "toddlers" rushed to enrol in standard one, mature women worthy to be in the University, herd boys dressed in their herding attires all of them went to school. Classrooms to cater for this great population were limited and teachers were few and so this meant that pupils were to read under shades under special cleanings. Teaching materials were also few. Building fund and also watchmen fees drove the hardboys and the rest of their social class to where they came from, hence government intervention was negative.

Mkangi has also noted something similar to Nkinyangi. "At present formal education is in theory free for the first four years of Primary Education because of a presidential promulgation of 1973. But in practice parents have to pay more than before the abolition of school fees. Now adays a child may not be going to school because of non payment towards either building fund, equipment fund, sports activity fund, school uniform, or anyother "Contribution" that might be demanded by the school committee."³¹

The old name for C.P.E. was K.P.E. or Kenya Primary Examination. After 1966 it was not possible to "pass" or to "fail" K.P.E.. Instead every candidate was awarded a certificate of the examination. In 1967 standard eight was abolished only to reappear supposedly by 1985, and there was only classes up to standard seven.

The change of name from K.P.E. to C.P.E. also saw the rise of multiple choice variety where answers are by marking one of the four boxes given or shading one of the circles on a sheet of paper that can be scanned by a computer. Subjects covered are

three - Mathematics, English and General Paper. General Paper consisted of geography, History, Civics and Science.

At the time of the inauguration of C.F.E. there was no occasion to write anything like an essay, but this started changing by 1973, when candidates during this year had to write a composition in the English Paper, and probably this was the start of realising the defect in the computerised aspects of the multiple choice variety.

One find that education planners and politicians have never cared to look depp into the defect of this education system. But it is also good to note or rather to realize that it is not the defectiveness of this education system which is the main cause of the social ills. In other words it will be myapic to blame all social problems for instance, unemployment and rural-urban migration especially by the school leavers, exclusively on education system.

Michael Todaro has this to say in regard to such a misnomer. "All countries have committed themselves to the goals of Universal Education for Primary school in the shortest time possible. ~~The~~ request has become a politically very sensitive but often costly "Sacred Cow". Until recently few politician, statesmen, economists and Educational Planners have dared publicly to challenge the cult of formal education - unemployment and underemployment have reached staggering proportions with the educated swearing the ranks of those without jobs. Abselute poverty is chronic and pervasive, economic disparities between the rich and the poor widens each year".³²

Todaro is realising that uneven distribution of material resources is very critical. This is because material condition is a reflection of social stratification in the society.

Material conditions can affect the social mobility and education is one of the ways of moving up the social ladder. One can not blame the poor performance of a child in examination solely to the defectiveness of education system. Many scholars have identified the role of material resources.

The World Bank Educational Economist John Simmon for example had this to say on the relationship between the success of a child in a school and material conditions.

"The poor are the first to drop out because they need to work, the first to be pushed out because they fall asleep in class as one result of malnourishment and the first to fail their English tests because upper income children have had better opportunities at home. The hope brought to village parents by the construction of primary schools fades. Enough schooling to secure a steady job or even a menial one for their son seems just beyond their grasp "³³ This quotation shows that the poor are in a desperate situation.

In the course of literature review one comes to realize that almost every scholar who has dealt with the topic on education will mention the issues of poverty either directly or indirectly. One comes across such adjectives like high cost schools, low cost schools, high quality, low quality, rich and poor and also urban and rural. All these adjectives reflect in one way or another relative advantage or disadvantage of material things, of which income plays a very major role.

Formal education involves selecting and sorting. Schooling is part of basic specific occupational roles. It is shown that in Kenya as elsewhere, allocation of persons to tasks implies social stratification hence C.P.E. is very important for this endeavour.

There are also scattered survey data which confirm that educational advantages are transmitted through the family. One such study by Court and Ghai (1972) reports that a male child of literate parents has on the average a 60% higher education than a male child of illiterate parents. For females this increases to 75% This survey reports that respondents who were themselves well educated came from much better educated parents than do uneducated workers. There tends to be intermarriage within one's educational class thus contributing further to the benefits which are automatically conferred by being born into the educated family.

Table 9.1 - Proportion of well educated Kenyans who provide educational advantages for their children ³⁴

Speak English at home	-	61%
Provide special lessons	-	62%
Read to their children	-	73%
Send children to private nursery schools	-	74%
Purchase books and educational toys	-	90%

The table below suggests that the advantages of family persist even into the University.

Table 9:3 ³⁵

Educational attainment of fathers of Nairobi University students	Fathers of University of Nairobi students	All African males aged 40 and over in Kenya
None	21	80
Some Primary	56	18
Some Secondary (forms I - IV)	18	2
Past Secondary Form V or more	4	1

Hence family considerations operate to penalise some children and to reward others. Recruitment into the high status positions is linked to ability to gain entry into a prestigious school which in turn is affected by the material the family provides, that is educational and economic advantages or resources.

There is evidence that the opportunity to enter the formal school system is not equitably distributed across geographical

regions and between urban and rural areas, and it is not equitably distributed even across the social class category. That is why all the more langess that the schools in the rural areas are not homogeneous.

According to the Ministry of Education Annual Report and Population Census 1969, it shows how there is great disparities between districts in terms of primary school enrolment and even Provincial wise there is great disparity. Semi arid to arid areas have low enrolment rates. While Central Province has 19% of its total population having enrolled we have only 1% of the total population having enrolled in North Eastern Province. ³⁶

The material advantages or disadvantages are a critical factor in the disparity even among the regions themselves or a small area like the one under study.

The awareness for education as a tool of social mobility requires that it should be fairly distributed. Equality of this scarce resource is very important because absence of its fairness creates preconditions for marginality, sense of negative deprivation and resentment. This means that it can lead to political dissatisfaction.

Hence as Ghai has noted the success of education system in Kenya as elsewhere should be considered in terms of maintenance of high level manpower, employment, equitable distribution of goods and services and the alleviation of economic and cultural dependence (Ghai 1972).

Education system in Kenya has been criticized for contributing to the enrichment of a small minority, the exploitation of a majority and the dependence of all upon international and

academic standards and values. In case of values it has led to the elites to engage in luxurious consumption, over expenditure on foreign goods and gadgets. Willing acceptance of foreign things for instance music, literature and even the creeping in of pornographic literature (writings, pictures and others intended to arouse sexual desire) has led to moral decadence among the youths and subsequent alienation. Most of these foreign things mentioned are not in tune with the national goals and aspirations of the majority of if taken uncritically.³⁷

This situation described above it is claimed arises because countries have perpetuated school systems which because they are hierarchical and exclusive serve inevitably a small group of an elite. Todaro (1977) brings this home very vividly. He argues that money used to educate one university student in Kenya in one year can educate two hundred and eighty eight primary school children in a year.

Beyond the provision of literacy and numeracy schools are able to make little contribution to preparing the majority of students for the rural life which they will face after completion of school. "The formal education system of most poor countries is largely oriented towards student progression via examinations. The ultimate objective of this system whether intentional or not, is the training of students for jobs in the highly paid modern urban sector of the economy. In fact the urban modern sector typically employs at most 10-20% of the total labour force"³⁸ This explains why most students will have to remain in the rural areas, not that they want to remain but it is due to the structure of the education system.

Some schools do not see the problem as due to education system but they see population as the major problem causing unemployment in the urban areas. "In Kenya an estimate from 1960 census shows that the adult male labour force was increasing by some 60,000 people per year. This would mean, therefore that a capital investment of £60 million a year in order to provide this extra labour force with jobs in industry and we see every where across the continent people flocking into the towns looking for jobs which they cannot get, and swelling the hordes of unemployed, and sometimes the criminal gangs"³⁹

Both teachers and pupils treat each stage of the educational system as a preparation for the next stage rather than a terminal training for adult life. It is a terminal stage though a university exists because it is few pupils who manage to reach university. This perception is again a rational response to a reward structure in which salaries are tied to years of formal schooling. An educational system in which one has to successfully complete one level before being allowed to the next stage, and a social structure where there are few alternative channels of mobility, makes C.P.E. as a passport to form one very crucial. However as the majority at each level of the hierarchy never reach the next stage, this means that schooling is perpetually geared to the interest of the minority.

Mr. King in Ghai and Courts (1972) has shown how repeating C.P.E. examination is correctly perceived as a strategy necessary for success in order to join the few who manages. Actually according to me this is a strategy towards joining up the "blessed" minority whereby many were called to join standard one, but it is only a few who are chosen to secondary school and university.

This gross inequality can be traced even during Colonial times. The vestiges of colonialism is reflected by high cost and low cost schools. Gross inequality of distribution of education catered for minority groups that is the Whites. It was a racially segretated structure characterised by gross imbalance in the corresponding expenditure. Educational opportunities was very unevenly spread across the country and the Africans did not form a majority in all educational pyramids. During the past independence era it is "economic" segregation not racial segregation which exists in schools.

Comparision of the capital costs of education for separate groups (racial) between 1948 and 1952⁴⁰

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>EUROPEAN</u>	<u>ASIAN</u>	<u>AFRICAN</u>
1948	£ 577,992	£ 191,219	£ 280,519
1949	£ 421,215	£ 213,783	£ 69,677
1950	£ 398,350	£ 200,025	£ 126,250
1951	£ 281,457	£ 200,772	£ 432,620
1952	£1579,014	£ 805,799	£ 909,066

The inequality of the opportunity of educational advantages which used to prevail among the races during colonial era is also prevalent in the post colonial era. Mzee Jomo Kenyatta had this to say on this matter:

"The reorientation from the British dominated colonial system with seperate schools and different levels of facilities for different people has not been completely eliminated from our system. Some colonial vestiges have still to be got rid off"⁴¹

Prewitt in court and Ghai (1972) suggests that in the near future, those benefitting from educational system will be those with previously advantage parents who are able to provide first the home background which is healthy and then the kind of school which enables the child to take most advantage of the present selection.

Joyce W. Mook in her study of Pragmatism and the Primary School, the case of a non - rural village with Maragoli as a setting, contends that the majority of Kenyan students continue to regard their official pass as "failures" as long as they do not gain entrance to secondary school in practice. This is the definition which I have in mind in the current study. That is defining failure within the societal definition.

Joyce sees the defect of the multiple choice varieties having a tendency to obscure the differences of ability since nobody fails to finish all the question in the papers. And as can be imagined on the occasions a paper gets difficult towards the end as for instance Mathematics in 1970, the random guessers are often in a strong position than the student who conscientiously attempts out his answers.

Indeed it is now quite widely admitted by Primary School heads and children that there is a strong element of luck in C.P.E. Over the years there have been sufficient bright students getting poor results and poor students doing well. It is an interesting comment therefore on its alleged objectivity that in most parts of the country success or failure should be considered a question of "bahati na sibu" lucky strike.⁴²

Joyce sees the defect in the examination itself but I ignores item analysis but concentrates on why some children are able to go to form one and others do not manage I ignores item analysis because; considers it to have an element of luck and also to do with innate characteristics or traits which I have ignored for practical purposes. It is difficult to measure intelligent quotients of an individual child and that is why I have ignored traits or innate characteristics which has to do more with heredity.

Joyce also found that possessing of C.P.E. books in determining if one has to do well in the examination is very crucial. She has found that the most popular of these are C.P.E. Pupils

Companions and the Complete Guide Book. Actually it is good to comment at this juncture that the importance of these books or their popularity has declined with the changes of C.P.E. setting especially since 1972.

Indeed there is ample evidence that individual Primary School success in C.P.E. seems to correlate quite highly with the spread of these texts, she contends. In a small survey of some 300 standard VII in the Rift Valley it was found that only 39 did not actually possess one of these books or copies. More than 50% possessed a copy of their own and in some of the more successful schools between 70 and 80% of the children had a copy. Between January and September 1971, 5,000 copies of 'current' Companion had been sold.

Alice Owano in her study on Education and Rural Development in Kakamega, also shows the seriousness of failing to get a chance in form one. She says, of the 150,000 candidates who sat the Primary leaving examination in 1985, only 10% could get a place in a Government maintained or assisted secondary schools, 20% got places in Harambee schools, 20% could get employment and training in the public and private sectors of the modern economy.

She contends that the education offered at school does not aim to help the child to live effectively in his community and this enables him or encourages him to escape from the community on leaving school. This argument it is good to point out is undialectical because schools can do nothing if the system as a whole does not come with an answer.

She continues, "the syllabus is prepared in Nairobi rather than at local level". This often means that the content is unrelated to the needs of local children. Only exceptionally good teachers can adopt a centralized syllabus to the needs of the children".⁴³

Alice also realizes the material advantages and its role in effective performance of C.P.E.

Onyango E.W. has the following argument: "English the language of the school often creates a barrier between the school and the home". He shares the same argument with Alice. He continues, "English the language of the school makes it impossible for the majority of the parents who are not literate to take a keen interest in the

work of their own children. Selection of students to institutions of higher learning or learning in general is full of class bias. This is made clearly by the use of English Language as the Language of the examination when kids from poor homes use either their mother tongue or Kiswahili except when in school. No less discriminating are the concepts embodied in the examination not to mention the computerised aspects which are heavily slanted against the poor."

Onyango argues further in his thesis that lack of commitment of Primary school headmasters was reinforced by the appalling conditions in which some rural Primary Schools operated which were the following:

"Anybody who is familiar with the Primary Schools in the rural areas would be quite aware of the problems, that is the inadequate teaching materials. A good number of schools do not have classroom facilities. It is not a rare thing to see pupils learning under a tree or in the church. Pupils had to sit on stones and write on their thighs. The semi-permanent buildings have no shutters to enable teachers to store teaching materials." He concludes that, "such conditions can hamper activity, teaching, depress the spirit of the children and sap the enthusiasm of the teacher."⁴⁴

Eddah Gachukia also argues the following: "The syllabus is prepared in Nairobi and not at local level. Analysing the relevance of New Primary Approach (N.P.A.) Gachukia argues that what is taught disorients the rural child from the social milieu. It exposes the African child to an ideal culture and way of living. This ideal is not based on any legitimate needs of the society. This ideal culture also contradicts the African virtues of communism and instead exposes the children to individualistic way of life".⁴⁵

Beeby on the other hand wonders how untrained teachers can be effective in teaching. He expresses doubts on whether any active oriented teaching can be possible through untrained teachers. With the handling of new material for teaching children it becomes impossible without the headmasters leadership, and so one wonders how low qualified teachers and untrained teachers can prepare a child effectively for C.P.E.

Ominde's commission has also outlined the problems, as lack of supervision by A.E.Os' and their limited experience. The commission has also identified the problem of untrained teachers and also the problem of food. The commission carried survey in two different areas of Kenya involving 27 Primary Schools. The survey showed that on average 41% of the children came to school without breakfast and that of these children 56% had no midday food (Lunch).⁴⁷

Benjah M. Raju also identifies the role of material conditions in the home. She contends, "associate with low income or low economic status of the parents is the lack of facilities in the home for pupils to study outside the school. In many cases children return home after darkness and have inadequate or no light by which to do home work. Overcrowding and poor living conditions also prevent children from studying."

She argues also that if the population grows too fast relative to everything else there will be decline in per capita income. In 1973 the rate of population growth was 3.3% children survives. And according to the statistical digest of June 1971, Kenya has the second highest fertility rate in Africa of over 7.6.⁴⁸

Blacker defines fertility rate as the average number of children an average woman will have if she lives to the age of 50 years that is to the end of her reproductive life. The children considered are the life born children.⁴⁹

This point by Blacker is very important because it is easy to confuse fertility rate and the birth rate. The demographers have the following formula to bring out the differences.

$$\text{Birth rate} = \frac{\text{Number of live births} \times 100}{1000 \text{ infants born}}$$

$$\text{Fertility rate} = \frac{\text{Total number of children}}{\text{Total No. of productive women}}$$

The 1971 and 1974 World Bank Educational sector working papers (IBRD 1971, 1974) laments that as enrolments have expanded it has become difficult and often impossible for educational systems to maintain levels of quality and efficiency. Facilities like Class-rooms, equipment and teaching materials have not kept pace with the expanding number of pupils. Teacher training has lagged behind and the qualification of teaching force declined.

Consequently there has been serious manifest gap in the organization and supervision. The document concludes that cumulative effect of these have played a major role in C.P.E.

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There is also a noted increasing polarisation in access and promotion based on social class. This is seen in the socio-economic profile of repeaters and successful students and in the fact that middle and upper income brackets are over represented in higher education. In some countries such factors as sex, ethnic group and religion are seen to play a role which is frequently combined with income levels. These inequalities are further aggravated by educational facilities and other inputs between schools serving different geographical areas and income groups.⁵⁰

The concept of social class has been well documented by some scholars. This concept is useful because it refers to more than just the parental education, occupation, income or any of a number of interrelated variables that are useful in measuring socio-economic status.

Kohn has shown that the concept of social class is useful because it captures the reality that intricate interplay of all these variables play in different levels of the social order. He continues "members of different social classes by virtue of enjoying or suffering conditions of life come to see the world differently and develop different conceptions of social reality, different aspirations, hopes and fears and different conceptions of the desirables"⁵¹

The relevance of using education and occupation and incomes as measures of social stratification has been pointed out by Prewitt (1972: 91) who observes that schooling and stratification are everywhere associated. This is true whichever of the Weberian dimension is under discussion. "At independence in Kenya as it was everywhere in most African countries, it was the possession of necessary education credentials which tended to determine and justify selection to elitist positions. Along with positions also came wealth, power and prestige, the three basic dimensions of social stratification. Moreover this inheritance has been seen to have self-perpetuating effects among the elites."

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In 1927 Manpower Survey, Garney and Thies found a strong relationship between parental education and the school level of their offspring. "Also where you happen to grow up may sharply affect your access to Primary schooling and also your performance as well" (Prewitt 1974).

Nkinyangi (1977) has pointed out that the ruling elites have used mu. subtle methods to regulate education demands. "At the Primary level these have been examinations, school fees, and more recently to accept as "Passes" the terminal certificates which did not qualify them to Secondary School due to socialisation effect by the orchestrated attempts to glamorize vocational and non formal education."

"The use of fees and examinations at several points at each cycle, the colonial government tactics is used to keep the aspirations down of the less advantaged and also to restrict the number of those who progress upwards."⁵²

According to me this point by Mutua holds even today (1983). If we consider the issue of school fees abolishment, it was only the "poor" Primary Schools whereby this applied, high cost Primary Schools were not affected otherwise the poor children may affect the standard of education in these schools, so fees still continues to be paid in high cost primary schools.

Wallace's findings in Uganda showed that mother's education affected educational opportunity for girls. In Africa it has been found that most "educated" men also marry women who have had some education and in most cases education equal to their own. It is not inconceivable that such households would also tend to attach more value to their "offsprings" education than less educated or illiterate parents. Home circumstances was a composite of father's occupation, education, use of dictionary, family size and number of books in the home.⁵³

Mbilinyi has also found that Primary school intake in Tanzania is drawn from the rich and to a certain extent middle level peasants. Mbilinyi's study is of vital importance as most studies in developing countries do not seem to differentiate among 'types' of peasants. Thus Mbilinyi and myself share the same opinion in regard to differentiating peasant "types".

Mbilinyi found expectations for schooling of offspring to be different among peasants of varying socio - economic status.⁵⁴

Nkinyangi (1978 - 79) found that emphasis on examinations to select and to promote pupils from one class to another works in favour of the privileged social classes and the relatively more developed districts of Kenya.

The relative poor performance may have nothing to do with lack of cognitive abilities. On the contrary it may merely reflect their disadvantaged material conditions.

Brownstein goes further on the issue of material conditions. He argues: "the conditions faced by students when they already faced by their parents. Hence the aspects or the attributes that are considered to be critical in performance of C.P.E. are aspects of general socio-economic disadvantage which in turn is a product of poor school performance, repetition disinterestedness and even withdraw."⁵⁵

Brownstein also argues that Primary School students with fathers who are educated may be receiving encouragement or assistance which is unavailable to those whose fathers are uneducated or fathers who have left the traditional occupational structure may be more aware of the need for the higher educational and thus may be putting greater pressure on their children to excel in their examinations.

Gakuru in his study (1979)⁵⁶ has also shown how the socio-economic status of parents will determine the status of a nursery school a child will join. A child who goes to a high quality Nursery school will in turn go to a Primary school of high quality, hence material advantages play a very important role. Though Gakuru had Nairobi as a setting probably his findings may also be applicable in a rural setting like Gaitu, that is the social economic status of the parents may determine if a child will join a government secondary school or Harambee secondary school.

Gakuru considered the step from nursery school to primary school and I have taken a step further from primary school to secondary school.

Diane Kayonge Male (1976)⁵⁷ has also analysed C.P.E. performance. She has found that boys in rural areas do better than girls though she does not probe into the cause of this differential performance.

I find her classification of "urban" and "rural" to be deficient. she considers that schools in big towns like Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru are "urban" schools while all those primary schools in smaller towns for instance Nyeri are considered "rural".

I think this is the trap Somerset (1974)⁵⁸ fell into by defining Nyeri as a rural area. According to me, using material advantages as indicators, Nyeri should be classified in the categories of towns like Nairobi. This is usually reflected in the performance of a great

number of primary schools in Nyeri in C.P.E. It is not very unusual for a child having thirty points in Nyeri missing a Government Secondary school. This is not typical of rural primary schools contrast it with my area of study (Gaitu) whose the highest mean points in the sampled schools is twenty seven points.

One should not over emphasize the role of geography in the performance of C.P.E. Material advantages even in the rural schools can play a very important role.

Keyongb Male has also identified material advantages in her research. She observes that in mathematics and General Paper the performance tends to widen as the average performance in agricultural productivity improves.

Somerset's analysis of items of C.P.E. of 1970 found that mathematics tended to favour children from advantaged schools. Thus portion of the examination was generally found to favour children in urban primary schools than those from rural primary schools. All this differential performance is a reflection of material benefits.

IS THE POOR PERFORMANCE OF EXAMINATION AT GRASS ROOT LEVEL, A UNIQUE CASE ONLY IN KENYA?

Kenya is not the only victim. This is quite true bearing in mind that Kenya is not the only country which suffers from uneven distribution of income. Mbilinyi in her study brings this home. Tanzania with its socialistic approach to problems is also a victim of circumstances, and so is Uganda as shown by Wallace.

More than nowhere else is the maladjustment of the educational system to national development more evident than in the rural primary schools. over 70% of the children in the exploited or neocolonial countries live and attend school in the rural areas. Primary school typically attempt to prepare students for secondary school with training in numeracy and foreign languages receiving the highest priority. Less than 10% are likely to get a chance in a secondary school.⁵⁹

There is also very high dropout rate in these Primary schools. It is only about 25 - 30% of the original entrants who might complete the primary cycle.⁶⁰

"The education system is defective because though a great portion of

the children in these rural primary schools are likely to spend their lives earning a living either directly or indirectly from the land or from unskilled paid employment, these primary schools spend little time giving these students the knowledge, skills and new ideas necessary to function efficiently in their rural environment e.g. forming practices and management, hygiene, nutrition and community development"⁶¹

Education benefits have not been shared evenly and so this conspells even political problems in future. The fact that the problem of failing examination at grassroot level is not only in Kenya does not give allowance for not correcting the anomalies especially in the material distribution both at school and at home.

Hence from the above cited argument it can be contended that the material conditions of the family is very crucial. It can even determine the type of secondary school one will. The study in Gaitu has shown that it is those households which have high income which are over represented in both harambee and government maintained and assisted secondary school. Hence income distribution is very important.

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CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

Working Hypotheses

Main hypothesis - The socio-economic status of the parents and also the physical condition and other material equipments of the school will determine whether or not a child will join a secondary school.

Subsidiary hypotheses

1. Old schools in Gaitu tend to do well in CPE hence have a high output of their pupils in secondary school.
2. Schools in Gaitu which have a great portion of their teaching force trained tend to have a high output of their pupils in secondary schools.
3. Schools in Gaitu which have headmasters who have served for many years tend to do well in CPE hence have a high output of their pupils in secondary school.
4. Schools in Gaitu which have less pupils per teacher tend to do well in CPE than those which have more pupils per teacher.
5. Schools in Gaitu which are sponsored by methodist/P.C.E.A. sect tend to do well in C.P.E. than those sponsored either by catholics or District Education Board (DEB).
6. Schools in Gaitu which have good physical conditions tend to do well than those with poor physical conditions.
7. Large family size in Gaitu tend to have few of their children joined secondary schools compared to small family size.
8. Children from families endowed materially tend to do well in C.P.E. than those from less materially well off families in Gaitu.
9. Children from educated parents in Gaitu tend to do well in C.P.E. than those from less educated or uneducated parents.
10. Children from high income class parents tend to do well than those from low income class in Gaitu.

Theories behind these hypotheses

1. The assumption behind old schools in Gaitu doing well in C.P.E. is that they had time to get established in terms of physical facilities for instance buildings, also good stock of books while their counterparts the young schools have to fight it hard and have to swim their way through the waves of inflation and so for them to reach the status of the old schools it can probably take quite a long time. But we should put into consideration that it may also depend on the economic power those who started the new school command.
2. The assumption behind schools in Gaitu which have more of their teaching force trained doing well in C.P.E. is the idea of the trained teachers being able to handle the subjects thoroughly in a professional way.
3. The assumption behind schools in Gaitu which have headmasters who have served for many years doing well in C.P.E. is the issue of experience. I recognize experience to be a scarce resource. A headmaster who has served for many years has gone through problems of various distinctions and hence time has taught him how to handle them and hence this equips him with skills for proper running of the school and this may contribute to its success.
4. The assumption behind schools which have less pupils per teacher doing well is based on the theory of group dynamics. This theory ^{assumes that} ~~assumes that~~ ^{there is} ~~there is~~ ^{super} ~~super~~ communication exists where a group is small and this is because everybody will have a chance to express his/her views or to ask questions and so also in a teaching environment micro-teaching may bear wonderful results. The theory also assumes that every member has equal chances of contribution to the discussion. This means that one does not have "Socio metric stars" and "Sociometric Isolates". Also there is the assumption that the teaching method is not teacher centred whereby it is only the teacher who contribute.

Mbithi argues that in communication process the receiver and the initiator should be in the same wave length. Also the language used should not alienate any of the parties especially the receiving party⁶².

5. The assumption behind schools in Gaitu which are sponsored by methodists doing well than those sponsored by District Education Boards (DEB) or the catholic mission is based on Max Weber's hypothesis that the protestants are very materialistic. So there is the assumption that through socialisation process they impart this materialistic and capitalistic spirit to their children.

John Wesley was the founder of methodism. John Wesley's doctrine of justification and divine grace was very important. This emphasized that sin no longer had power over the individual. In the declaration of August 9, 1771 he emphasised that who performed no good works was not a true believer. This was the calvinistic character of its religious feeling. Calvinism emphasized materialism on top of godliness. Condition of methodism was the same as those of calvinism.⁶³

Calvinism was the faith over which the great political and cultural struggles of the sixteenth and seventeenth century were fought in the most high developed countries for instance Netherlands, England, and France⁶⁴

The doctrine of predestination was considered to be its most characteristic dogma. Its content can be learnt from the authoritative words of the West Minister confession of 1647 which in this regard is simply reported by both independent and Baptist creeds⁶⁵

According to Chapter III (of God's eternal Decree) No. 3, "By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are Predestinated unto everlasting life and others foreordained to everlasting death"⁶⁶

One has to meet a destiny which has been decreed for him from eternity. No one could help him. You have to follow the path alone⁶⁷

"The elected christian is in the world only to increase this glory of God by his commandments to the best of his ability. But God requires social achievement of the christian because He wills that social life shall be organised according to His commandments in accordance with that purpose"⁶⁸

So in this point achievement socially within the Calvinistic doctrine is emphasized. So it is no wonder that the study considers that passing of examinations is a way of social achievement.

"It is through the daily struggle of life that one can be certain of one's election and justification" ⁶⁹

"In order to attain that self confidence intense worldly activity is recommended as the most suitable means. It and it alone disperses religious doubts and give the certainty of Grace". ⁷⁰
In practice this means that God help those who help themselves" ⁷¹

"Catholics are different for they have their magician who perform the miracle of transubstantiation and who held the key to eternal life in his hand" ⁷² I have quoted Weber's book "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism" because it forms the backbone of the hypothesis based on religion in Gaitu.

Presbyterian church of East Africa (P.C.E.A.) which is more like Methodist even in doctrine bears testimony to this material attachment. It is popular to see them wearing badges bearing the label "Kujitegemea" which means self reliance, a sign of individualism and egocentricism to life. Hence it is assumed that children from P.C.E.A. and Methodist background are pressured very much to pass examinations as that will determine their stations in life.

Even some churches which are "Pentecostal" in outlook have also been caught up with this view of life. They usually have this quotation from the Bible to legitimise their material worship, "And the Lord shall make thee the head, and not the tail, and thou shalt not be beneath if that thou hearken unto commandments of the LORD thy God, which I command thee this day, to observe and to do them" (Deuteronomy 28: 13) So usually poverty among the Pentecostals is associated with the influence of a demand, hence demand of Poverty ⁷³

Even some denominations whose origin is right in Africa like the Gospel of God sect which started in Zambia and who believe in Africanising the Biblical doctrine are not also free from material worship. They believe in a Black Jesus whom they believe brought money and women (Polygamy). They argue that since you believe in a supernatural God who controls the universe logically you should be rich. Hence business and various sorts of trade are important aspects of their social life. ⁷⁴

It is good to note that as churches get entrenched in materialism their Spirituality declines because classes come in hence defying the humble teachings of Jesus. Such concepts are very important among the Protestants "time is money", a coin saved is a coin earned", "Late to bed and early to rise". Frugality is considered to be a virtue among the Protestants.

The Catholics are not very materialistic in their way of life as their counterparts. They content their followers especially those of humble beginning, with clothes donated by sympathetic donors from Italy and other countries. They are not strict in doctrine. They have the father to intercede whom Max Weber call the "Magician". Hence they value leisure and all sorts of enjoyment and this explains why within the Catholic Calendar it is full of "Holy Days" to commemorate the death of various "Saints" and also important religious events. Among the Protestants, their calendar is the reverse.

This lack of a competitive and individualistic spirit among the Catholics may explain partially why in most areas where the catholic church first settled in Meru those areas are usually very underdeveloped. In Meru Muujwa is a case in point. ⁷⁵

Hypothesis 6,7,8,9, and 10 have to do with material constraints, that is economic and social advantage and their role in determining success or failure in the examination.

I have used alot of variables because a certain phenomenon is affected by an interplay of factors. A holistic approach to problems gives one a correct picture than when you use an atomistic approach based probably on two hypotheses. A holistic approach can enable one to do generalization beyond the immediate area of study.

Operationalization of Variables

"Social stratification is defined as the division of a population into two or more layers each of which is relatively homogeneous and between which there are differences in obligations, privileges, restrictions and rewards. In East African context, the factors on which social stratification is based are education, occupation and also wealth." ⁷⁶ Wealth is composed of income which is the major indicator.

Independent Variable

Social - Economic status of the parents and also the physical condition of the school is taken to be the independent variable. An independent variable is the variable that is supposed to be the cause of changes in the other variable. In most cases within the statistical parlance it is symbolised by letter x.

Dependent variable

A dependent variable is the one which is affected by the independent variable. In this study joining secondary school is taken to be the dependent variable. Within the statistical literature dependent variable is symbolised by letter y.

Failure

As long as one does not join a secondary school, though one has done well, to the eyes of the society he/she is a "failure." Though joining a secondary school is so much intertwined with points, a person from a good background can join a secondary school due to material affluence or advantages of the parents, though officially the child may have been considered a "failure" when points are considered.

So I ignore the issue of points as indicators of "Pass" or "Failure" for such a reason. Also the issue of points as indicators is not good because they seem to fluctuate annually hence it is not a stable "barometer" for assessing success or failure. It is for this reason that output to secondary school is taken to be influenced by some factors as portrayed in the hypotheses.

Socio - Economic Status of the Parents

This is considered in terms of a father's education and income. Indicators of income are taken to be salaries and also livestock, cash crops and personal businesses/business. All of which is computed in terms of Kenya shilling for computational purposes.

Social Status in terms of possession of luxurious articles

I categorized social status using scores. I used the possession of a radio, a watch, a table clock and also a bicycle to rank various house hold heads. Possession of one item leads to scoring of two points. Equal points were given to any of the articles.

It is good to be aware that I am ranking this within a rural setting and so for example if person is possessing all these articles can be ranked "high class". But this does not denote the meaning which people have of the class universally. It is good to note that indicators of ranking people socially differs with various societies and countries and also it depends with certain epochs of history.

So average scores could lead to this ranking

0-2 points - "low class"

3-4 points - "middle calase"

5-8 points - "High class"

Income Status

In the study income is computed in terms of shillings per month. if one computes it on annual basis one gets a wrong picture. This is because one should consider income as a continuous flow of which a cut in the flow brings poverty instantaneously.

I got income in terms of annual returns while I was in the field but had to convert it to monthly income by dividing total annual income by twelve (twelve is the number of months in a year). It is good to note that it is difficult to get exact figures of income. Income got in the field should act as a mere approximations of the true picture existing in the rural areas or in various households. This point has been noted by Brownstein.⁷⁷

Average income in Gaitu was got in terms of categories, which were based on family size of various house holds. It was got by dividing total monthly income in a certain category by the number of respondents in that category.

Education Status of Parents

Education ranking is done in terms of years spent by parents in formal education. The years repeated is excluded in order to limit the element of exaggeration or to remove bias. The average years of formal education are calculated by summing up the years spent by parents in school and then dividing by the number of respondents in a certain category based on the family size of various house holds. Family size categories are used for it is assumed that many things revolve around it.

Family size

The study considers a nuclear family. So it excludes one's parents, relatives and employees and their properties. Thus it considers the household head and his dependents. It excludes the daughters who are married. The study considers that it is common these days for girls to have children out of wedlock, so if the girl is not married and has children they are counted within the family size. The study also excludes sons who are married and are working. There are sons who are married now a days and are still dependent on their parents, so they will be included.

The study considers that large family size puts a stress on the existing resources hence this may affect the number of children joining a secondary school.

A household is defined in the following way by Mwangi: 78

(1) As a Social Unit

This includes an individual living by himself/herself. In other words a nuclear family or an extended family.

(2) As a residential Unit

Same as (1) but with one exception and that is the separated nuclear families which make up an extended family and regard themselves as individual economic units although they share

the same residential compound.

(3) As an economic unit

To all intents and purposes it is the nuclear family both at the social and at residential levels but tied to land rights use and ownership.

It is good to point out that it is very difficult to separate family size and household when it come to definition.

Mkangi has noted how it is difficult to separate the two.⁷⁹

Primary School Sponsors

The study recognizes that various religious sects play a very major role in sponsoring primary schools. By 1983 the Catholic Mission had sponsored 303 primary schools in Meru District out of a total of 672 primary schools. Of these 303 primary schools 200 are full primary schools with classes up to standard seven.⁸⁰ Of the remaining 369 primary schools they are sponsored by Methodists, P.C.E.A. and those not sponsored by any of the named religious sect, that is they are sponsored by District Education Board (D.E.B.). So we have Methodist church society schools, consolata catholic mission and District Education Board schools.

School Type

I have utilised scores to categorize the status of the school. That is inorder to be able to know the physical condition of the school. If a school has glass windows, stone walls, cement floor and desks it is ranked the highest on the scale. Possession of one of the items led to scoring two points. All items carry equal scores.

In the indicators category I have excluded items like iron sheets because I consider it to be a necessity in the rural Kenya. Brownstein has noted this point.⁸¹

The research findings in Gaitu proved this point of the corrugated iron sheets. Out of the eight schools I visited all of them had corrugated iron roofs, though they lacked the above mentioned items. Average scores per category was got. A category with an average score of between six and eight points was considered to be "above average rural". Between four and six points is "average rural"

I have used this categorization because I consider the one by the Ministry of Education of grading schools in terms of grade A, B, C, D and so forth to be deficient and inapplicable in a rural setting like the one under study. This classification of schools in terms of A, B, C-----, have been challenged for late by President.

Teachers

The teachers are categorized in terms of trained and untrained. As per research findings in Gaitu the categorization is as follows:
Untrained - UT/Licensed, KJSE, EACE/KCE Trained - P3, P2, P1

Occupational ranking

Occupations considered are those of the house hold heads who have the "highest average income" per month. This is because the other income categories are poor farmers who get very little from the subsistence farming. The occupations are ranked in order of importance within this "high income" category in Gaitu

- Progressive farming
 - Technical
 - Administration
 - Teaching
 - Business
- } had equal scores

Sample size

Eight primary schools and forty house holds were taken. This is because as my hypotheses show the variables to be tested are many and taking a very large sample is not convenient considering the time factor of less than three months and also the question of the availability of adequate funds.

Also considering that distances to be covered was on foot and also bearing in mind the poor communication condition of the area. Hence I found this sample size to be reasonable and easy to handle.

The sample size of primary schools represents 80% of the primary schools in the sublocation, and in the case of households 40 households is about 4% of the households in the sublocation.
(N = 968) 82

How the sample was chosen

I have utilised random sampling. The theory of statistical sampling rests upon the assumption that the selection of the sample units has been carried out in a random manner. Random sampling indicates that the chance of any one member of the parent population being included in the sample should be the same as for any other population member. By extension, it follows that the chance of any particularly constituted sample appearing should be the same as for any other.⁸³

"There is no suggestion that biased samples are drawn intentionally or maliciously. From experience, it is known that a human being is a poor random selector who is very subject to bias. Fundamental psychological traits prevent complete objectivity in these circumstances, and no amount of training or conscious effort can eradicate them"⁸⁴

Yeoman argues that these bias may result from the fact that the interviewers have different backgrounds, may differ from their personal demeanor and in their personal accent, mode of dress, tone of voice, self possession or unsureness all can easily cause variations in data provided by different respondents. But nevertheless the social scientist should try the best he/she can to eliminate the bias or to minimise it for that matter.⁸⁵

So Yeoman recognizes that even if one uses random sampling method to get his respondents, by virtue of the instrument he/she is dealing with that is human being, it is hard to get free completely from bias.

Method of Data Collection

The study has utilised available data from the Ministry of Economic Planning, Central Bureau of Statistics, Data from the Ministry of Basic Education, Meru. It is usually very difficult to get details pertaining to professional qualifications especially if one is an untrained teacher so getting these details from the Ministry of Basic Education helps to minimise the bias which might crop up on the process.

I have utilised standardised interview where all respondents answer the same question with the same wording. Interview allows the researcher to gather personal data or even to get personal details which are very complex and sensitive. It helps to probe

the sentiments that may underlie and expressed opinion.

If one want to know how people feel, what they experience and what they remember, and the reasons for acting the way they do it is better to ask them.

Also in the case of interview one has the freedom to repeat questions if the reply is not clear and can also use probe questions but which are not suggestive of any answer probe questions provide a much better indication of whether the respondent has any clearly formulated opinions. In interviewing the researcher has an opportunity for observing the situation to which the respondent is responding.

Interviewing provides a way of having balanced answers, unlike its counterpart the questionnaire which alienates the illiterates. When it comes to Primary Schools, the respondents were asked to fill the questionnaires. This was because of their literacy. Interview includes a wider section of people. All categories of people can be favoured by interview, literate and illiterate and various other social categories.

The language used to interview the house hold heads is Kimeru. The father is the key respondent and the mother can take his place if the husband is dead or absent as I came to learn of husbands disappearing to Mombasa through Kitui which is not far from Gaitu.

Problems faced by the researcher in the field

My main problem was communication. This led me to cut my proposed original sample by 20%. Originally I had proposed to take 50 households (5.5% of the universe) and 10 Primary Schools but had to reduce it to 40 households (4.4% of the universe) and 8 Primary Schools (8.0% of the universe).

In some places I experienced some hostility and it was very difficult to establish a rapport or a free environment to warrant some social discourse.

In some schools it was difficult to get records concerning the details of the school. This is because some headmasters did not care with keeping records especially concerning the past history of the school. The data which I had got from the Ministry of

I found in the field. This is because the Ministry by that time had not catered for constant transfers and also recent postings especially as regard the fresh graduates from teachers training colleges.

Method of data analysis

The study has used percentages and averages. Percentages can be very useful for comparative work and so is using means (averages). Their importance can not be under estimated especially when it comes to ordinal data as for instance the relationship between religious affiliations and the success to join a secondary school. Also income and the number joining secondary school.

Percentages can be useful because even a layman can be able to interpret certain data if exposed to them. It does not require an expert in statistics to understand or to visualize what percentages are depicting.

Averages are also very useful. Hence in the study we have the average number of years of formal education of parents, average monthly income, average land size in acres, average score points to determine "Social Class", and also the average number joining secondary school annually. Also average number of years the headmaster has served, average number of pupils per teacher, average score points to determine the physical condition of the school, and also the average number of trained teachers.

Data analysis

The data in this study have been analysed manually. Many variables are considered at the same time (Multivariable analysis) since the study is using functionalism. You get a good picture when you compare many variables at a go.

DATA INTERPRETATIONData Interpretation regarding sampled Primary Schools Table 1

Age of the school (Years)	Average number of year the headmaster has served	Average number of pupils per teacher	Physical condition of the school (average) scores	Sponsor of the school	Average number of trained teachers	Average output to secondary school
9 - 15 (5 Schools)	7.6	26	4 Points	CCM-20% MCS-20% DEB-60%	6	37% (12)
16 - 21 (2 Schools)	13.5	29	3 points	CCM-50% MCS-50% DEB-Nil	7	33% (11)
22 - 27 (1 School)	15	29	4 points	DEB-100% MCS-Nil CCM-Nil	11	30% (10)
8 Schools						33 pupils

Most of the schools in Gaitu are within the age of 9 - 15 years. So they are quite recent. This is because Gaitu is a settlement scheme and people have come to settle here very recently. Most people came to settle in this area in 1964. The oldest school in the sample is 23 years old and it is only one.

These young schools of 9 - 15 years age category are the ones with the highest average output of pupils to secondary school compared to those schools within the age category of 16 - 21 years and 22 - 27 years. On average the schools within the age category of 9 - 15 years contributes 37% of total output of pupils to secondary school in Gaitu, while those schools within the age categories of 16 - 21 years, and 22 - 27 years contribute 33% and 30% respectively. Let us look at some of the probable reasons behind this category of 9 - 15 years having more output to secondary school on average, in Gaitu sublocation based on ~~an average~~ the raw data collected.

The schools within this category are administered by headmasters who have served on average 7.6 years. This is the smallest number of years served by the headmasters on average if we compare the schools within the 16 - 21 years and 22 - 27 years whose headmasters have served 13.5 and 15 years on average respectively.

The schools within this age category of 9 - 15 years have few pupils per teacher when compared to those schools within the other age categories. These schools within 9 - 15 years have 26 pupils per teacher. The other schools within the other age categories have 29 pupils per teacher respectively. These schools which have less pupils per teacher and hence high output to secondary school on average, agrees with the theory of group dynamics. This theory of group dynamics argues that communication is very effective when the group is very small. Although it makes sense according to this theory that schools with less pupils per teacher should do well in C.P.E. than those with more pupils per teacher, the data in Gaitu cautions us not to generalise every where. Those schools within the age category of 16 - 21 years, and 22 - 27 years have 29 pupils per teacher on average, respectively, yet their output to secondary school is 33% and 30% on average. So the theory of group dynamics alone cannot be taken to explain performance in C.P.E. in Gaitu sublocation. It should be compiled with other factors.

Schools within the age category of 9 - 15 years have scored the highest points when it comes to considering physical conditions of the school. They have scored 4 points on average. But a caution should also be taken when it comes to considering the physical conditions of the school. Although the schools within the age category of 9 - 15 years, and those within 22 - 27 years have equal scores of 4 points, they have different output to secondary school on average of 37% and 30% respectively. So once again physical conditions alone cannot be enough to explain the performance of C.P.E. in Gaitu sublocation.

However, according to these findings physical conditions of the school can play a very important role in influencing C.P.E. ~~It is not obvious that low~~ scores will mean that school does poorly in C.P.E. This argument is verified by the findings. The schools within the age category of 16 - 21 years have the lowest scores of 3 points and it contributes 33% compare it with schools within the age category of 22-27 years which have scored 4 points and yet it contributes 30% on average to secondary school.

The study also recognizes that religion has an important role in the performance of C.P.E. It is assumed that the sponsor of these Primary Schools is very important. It is assumed that if the sponsor is protestant, virtues of individualism and competitiveness is added to the pupils in that school. These values can be imported especially during religious lessons. The schools within the age category of 6 - 9 - 15 years have 20% of them sponsored by Catholics, 20% are sponsored by the Methodists (Protestants) and the remaining percentage is sponsored by District Education Board.

Schools in Gaitu which are sponsored by Methodists takes more pupils to secondary school on average than those sponsored by either D.E.B. or Catholic Mission. Methodist sponsored schools takes 18 pupils on average to secondary school while Catholic sponsored schools takes 14 pupils on average, Methodist sponsored Primary Schools also take more pupils on average to government maintained and assisted secondary schools that is 10 pupils, while the Catholic sponsored Primary schools in Gaitu takes 9 pupils on average to government maintained and assisted secondary schools. D.E.B. sponsored Primary schools takes 7 pupils on average to secondary schools and they takes 5 pupils on average to government maintained and assisted secondary schools.

These averages show that being a Methodist or a school being sponsored by Methodists in Gaitu stands an advantageous point when it come to C.P.E. performance. Schools within the age category of 9 - 15 years and which have highest output of pupils to secondary schools on average (37%) have 20% of the schools sponsored by M.C.S., and 20% of the schools sponsored by C.C.M, schools within the age category of 16 - 21 years have 50% of the schools sponsored by M.C.S. and 50% of the rest sponsored by C.C.M. and they have 33% of the total output to secondary schools in Gaitu. The ratio of schools sponsored by M.C.S. (Protestant) between the category of the schools 9 - 15 years and 16 - 21 years is one to one so logically we should have expected the average output to secondary school to be equal within these two categories if the religious factor of Methodism is very strong.

However, though one can say that ^{on} average schools in Gaitu which are sponsored by Methodist sect are at a better advantage in C.P.E. performance as they seem to take more pupils to secondary school on average and also more pupils to government maintained and assisted secondary school, it can not be deduced wholesale that it is because of the religious factor which contributes to this

But then the point of religion cannot be discarded altogether. The question of why schools sponsored by D.E.B. have the lowest output to secondary school on average remains to be researched on.

Ironically, on average, schools which are within the age category of 9 - 15 years though they contribute more to secondary school on average (37%) they have the lowest number of trained teachers on average, that is 6 teachers. While one would have expected schools which have more trained teachers on average to do well, it is not so in Gaitu. The reverse seems to be true. Schools within the age category 22 - 27 years which contributes the lowest output to secondary school (30%) have the most trained teachers on average (11). So a school in Gaitu which have more trained teachers than another does not mean it is going to do the best in C.P.E. Examination.

On average one can deduce that two points stand strongly to influence the performance in C.P.E. in Gaitu. These are the physical conditions of the school and the average number of pupils per teacher (or group dynamics). So schools in Gaitu which have the highest score of points of the physical conditions and have few pupils ^{per teacher} have a high probability of doing well in C.P.E., and hence have more pupils in secondary school on average. The schools within the age category of 9 - 15 years have these two advantages mentioned above.

conditions are very important as per this study.

The "middle family size" of 5 - 8 in Gaitu contributes more to secondary school on average, that is 48.6%. This category has the highest level of education on average, that is 4 years. The average family size of between 0 - 4 is the "small family size" yet they have the least number of years of formal education of 3 years. This goes contrary to the findings by some scholars for instance Mkangi.

Mkangi in his thesis argues that there is inverse relationship between the individuals level of education and the number of children. He argues that this is because formal education exposes those who receive it to values and attitudes which emphasizes the importance of having fewer children. Also the fact that the educational process is a long one means that there is a tendency for those who go through it to marry late.⁸⁶

Mkangi argues that despite the fact the study he did on the Taita reveals wide spread usage of contraceptives he does not foresee significant fertility decline, nor the peasants socioeconomic improvement, bearing in mind the external force impinging on them.⁸⁷

One could have expected the households with small family size of 0 - 4 in Gaitu to be contributing more pupils on average to secondary school. Yet on the contrary it is those households with 5 - 8 which contribute most pupils to secondary school on average. So this study in Gaitu reveals an important fact, and that is having many children is not the problem. The question is, what is the social and economic situation of those households?

It is easy for many scholars to overconcentrate on the issue of family size as the only factor causing straining to the household. Yet there are many external forces impinging on them as Mkangi has noted, in the case of peasants. Many children per se is not the problem which is facing the peasant households.

Mkangi argues further that the disappearance of the average large family size in industrialized countries is a result but not a condition of economic development.⁸⁸

Small average family size per se is not a condition of economic development. The "small family size" in Gaitu of 0 - 4 ironically is not well off economically. This family size category has its

household heads with the least number of years of formal education of 3 years. They have average monthly income of 721 Kenya shillings. It has the smallest average acreage of 9.4 acres. In terms of material possessions of luxurious articles they have the lowest score of 3 points and consequently an output of 28.6% to secondary school on average. This output is second to the highest output of 48.6%. Though this family size is small it is handicapped in terms of average number of years of formal education of parents, average monthly income, average acreage, and also possession of luxurious articles. Hence family size even if it is small and it is disadvantaged in terms of some factors like the above, the children can be affected in their performance in C.P.E.

The family size category of 5 - 8 belongs to the "middle class" category. The occupational ranking of this average family size shows this. 59% of the respondents within this family size category in Gaitu sublocation engages in "Progressive" farming, 17.6% engages in technical jobs, 11.8% engages in administration jobs, 5.8% engages in business and 5.8% engages in teaching.

So these household heads are composed of teachers, businessmen, administrators, technicians, and 'Progressive' farmers. These "Progressive" farmers are well off and they get a lot of money from farming. They have joined this "middle class" only through farming. So the myth that all rural peasants are poor because they earn their living from farming is discredited in this study in Gaitu. This agrees with Mbilinyi's findings in Tanzania who found that all peasants are not within the same socio-economic category.⁸⁹

Hence according to my findings it is not proper to generalise that all peasants from rural areas are poor because they get little from the land. One should be aware that we have 'Progressive' peasants and less progressive peasants. These 'Progressive' peasants have managed to reach the level of salariat categories like teachers, administrators, and some technicians who are employed.

The household heads of this "middle class" category in Gaitu have the highest average monthly income of 951 Kenya shillings, highest average land size of 23.4 acres, and have the highest scores of 4.7 points, hence it is in the highest "Social Class" (Refer to chapter 4 on "operationalization of variables" to get the ranking of 'social class' based in Gaitu)

These advantages of high average years of formal education of parents, high average income based on the standards of Gaitu, "high social class", high average land size all combined to affect the performance of C.P.E. So they have high output to secondary school on average.

These advantages are very important for they even determine the type of secondary school a child will join. This "middle class" have on average 28.6% of their children in Harambee secondary schools and they have 20% in government maintained and aided secondary schools. The family size of 0 - 4 have 22.9% in Harambee secondary schools and 5.7 in Government maintained and aided secondary schools. The family size of 9 and over have 11.4% in Harambee secondary schools and 11.4% in Government maintained and aided secondary schools. This "middle class" family have more of their children in both Harambee and government secondary schools. (Refer to Table 3).

The study considers religion to play a very important role in the performance of C.P.E. at family level in Gaitu. It considers that if the family is Protestant, it imparts individualistic values to their children. This spirit of individualism it is assumed can play a very great role in performance of C.P.E. at family level.

The study in Gaitu shows that many households have protestant ethos. Within the family size of 0 - 4, 76.5% are protestants, family size of 5 - 8 ("middle Class") have 64.7% being Protestants, family size of 9 and over have 66.7% being Protestants. The role of religion in performance of C.P.E. is questionable according to the findings in Gaitu. If Protestant ethics play a very great role as Weber contends, we should have expected the family size of 0 - 4 which have the greatest number of the households being Protestants, to be contributing more to secondary school on average but on the contrary we have the "middle Class" which have the lowest number of their households being Protestants (64.7%) having the greatest output on average to secondary schools. So religious affiliations cannot explain the performance of C.P.E. in Gaitu. It seems according to my findings that religion plays a very great role when it comes to sponsors of the Primary schools but plays minimal role when it comes to households.

Education of the parents though it plays a role cannot explain singly the performance of C.P.E. For instance the family size of 9 and over and our "middle Class" family have their household

heads with 4 years of formal education on average respectively, but they have different output of pupils to secondary school on average of 22.8% and 48.6% respectively.

Possession of luxurious articles is also very important as per study. But it cannot explain singly the performance of C.P.C. Households with family size of 0 - 4, and 9 and over have the same score of 3 points yet they have different output to secondary school on average of 28.6% and 22.8% respectively.

The study shows that combination of most variables is what counts. The household category which have the most of the variables under consideration for instance, high average number of years of formal education of parents, high average monthly income, high average land size,

High score in points ranking "social class" it will be the one taking the most number on average to secondary school. Our "middle class" family has the monopoly of all the variables under consideration. It has its household heads with the highest number of years of formal education on average, highest average income, highest actage of land, highest score of points (of 4.7) ranking "Social Class" and subsequently, highest output to secondary schools on average.

Some important variables stand out strongly to be very important in the study. In the case of households income of the households seem to be a very strong factor affecting C.P.E. performance. Though a multiplicity of average number of years of formal education of parants, average land size, and the "Social Class" in terms of scores are also very important. When it comes to primary schools two factors stand strong, these are the average number of pupils per teacher and also the physical conditions of the school.

The study agrees with findings by Gakuru (1979), Kanyango male (1976), Onyango (1976:109), Prewitt (1972:206) Mkangi (1978:178), Todaro (1977:255) and Nkinyangi (1977).

All these scholars have identified the role of material distribution in education from nursery school to university level.

Data Interpretation on HouseholdsTABLE 2

FAMILY SIZE	Average number of years of formal education of parents	Average monthly income (KSh)	Average land size (acres)	Religion Protestant /Catholic	"Social class" in terms of scores	Number joining secondary school	% in secondary school
0-4 (17)	3	721	9.4	P=76.5% C=17.6% N= 5.9%	3	10	28.1
5-8	4	951	23.4	P=64.7% C=35.3% N=nil	4.7	17	48.1
9 and over (6)	4	552	11.6	P=66.7% C=33.3%	3	8	22.1

N=40

N=35

P= Protestant

C= Catholic

N= Do not belong to either P or C

The study recognizes that a family determines quite a lot in the performance of C.P.E. It is where the child gets the earliest Socialisation before he/she proceeds to school. The attitudes imparted into the child at this initial stage cannot be underestimated for it can influence the personality and attitude in the later life. Hence family

TABLE 3.

Percentages joining either government maintained and assisted secondary school or Harambee secondary school.

Family size	Harambee secondary schools	Government maintained and aided secondary schools	Total % in secondary schools
0-4	22.9%	5.7%	28.6%
5-8	28.6%	20%	48.6%
9 +	11.4%	37.1%	100%
TOTAL percent	62.9%	37.1%	100%

TABLE 4

Occupational ranking of the household heads of the family
size of 5-8 children in Gaitu sublocation.

	<u>PERCENTAGES</u>
TEACHING	5.8%
BUSINESS	5.8%
ADMINISTRATION	11.8%
TECHNICAL	17.6%
"PROGRESS ^{IVE} FARMING"	59.0%
TOTAL	100%

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85. Ibid (1968:125)
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87. Ibid (1978:221)
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CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study has added more concern over the problems facing rural Primary schools in particular and rural community in general. Though the study cannot claim to have broken any virgin ground, it has highlighted a number of issues creating a good ground for students who are interested with rural areas to research on.

The study has shown the weakness of using atomistic approach to problems. It has shown that using one variable cannot be able to explain a social problem. Using one variable to explain a social or any other problem can lead to fallacion generalisation. This is shown by the data collected in Gaitu.

For instance using "social class" perse cannot explain the performance of C.P.E. in Gaitu. Also the education level of parents perse cannot explain the performance of C.P.E. in Gaitu, neither can average land size, average family size or religions affiliations of the parents. Also schools which have high scores in points, determining physical conditions of the school, average number of trained teachers, and also schools which have less pupils per teacher, all these can not explain poor or good performance in C.P.E. The combination of high income of households, big land size, high scores in luxurious articles, and average level of formmal education of parents, the physical conditions of the school, and also less pupils per teacher will determine the performance of C.P.E. It is the combination of these variables which can explain the pharomenon of C.P.E. This shows the importance of using functional approach in research work.

This functionalism approach to problems has been neglected by many scholars. Max Weber considered that it is only religion that can lead to individualistic attitudes and hence lead to capitalistic and competitive approach to life. He did not consider that scarcity of resources, and also breakdown of communal life can lead to people developing individualistic attitudes. Weber looked at religion perse to be leading to rise of capitalism. Findings in Gaitu disapproves Weber's theory that those people with protestant ethos are competitive and successful in life. Religions affiliation alone does not

make you successful. You can be protestant by religion and yet you do not have a competitive spirit.

I consider this fallacy by Weber to be due to using one variable to explain a social phenomenon that is capitalism. Functionalism approach is very important since society is intertwined and is not segmented, hence multivariable analysis very important.

The study also highlights questionable issues which opens field for future research. One case is why a small family size does not contribute more to secondary school an average. This goes contrary to family planning propagandists who argue that small family size will automatically lead to better standards of living small family size Perse in Gaitu disapproves this contention. Small family size does not contribute more to secondary school. So students interested with rural households should concentrate on the problems facing the rural households rather than an overconcentrating on factors which lead to large family size. In Gaitu average monthly income, education level of parents, average landsize and "Social Class" are important variables and not the family size.

This small family size has its household heads with low average years of formal education. This contradicts Mkangi's findings that there is inverse relationship between the individuals level of education and the number of children (Mkangi 1978: 189). So it remains to be researched further. More education of parents does not automatically lead to small family size in Gaitu. Also this view of tying up education level and the number of children does not put into consideration the cultural factors. The cultural importance attached to having a baby boy to continue with the lineage is very important in Meru. It does not have respect of one's education when it comes to having a boy. Also this view of establishing an inverse relationship between education level and family size also alienates education factor from all other socio-cultural factors. However, it remains to be researched on why such a diversion from the findings elsewhere.

Income as per study seems to be very criticaal. Those with low income takes less to secondary school on average. Makangi (1978: 178) has argued that the poor spends less in education because they live in a hand to month life. That is "the poor

spends more on necessities to survive. In doing so they have little to invest in the future, and most of the households investment is done through the education of their children, the poor households relative inability to invest in this way means that their chances of ever getting out of the poverty syndrome are minimized".

My findings in Gaitu have also found how income is very important. So for anything better to happen to these poor peasants households, ways should be found by government and other change agents to enable them to improve average income, for then that is the only way better standards of living can be assured. Money invested in advertising family planning can be invested in viable projects hence helping the rural households. Although I do not have the view that family planning campaigns should be left altogether. Economic improvement of poor households will lead to small family size since they will stop looking at their children as security. But small family size will not lead automatically to economic development, as even the study in Gaitu has shown. That is small family size will not be better of in terms of socio-economic resources.

The study in Gaitu raises a question on why the average income in the area seems to be quite low for instance the highest income group on average seems to be having 951 Kenyan shillings per month. This income seems to be low in an area where cotton and tobacco is grown. Hence the study raises questions on the contribution of cotton and tobacco as cash crops in Gaitu to the improvement of individual life. It remains to be researched on the contribution of cash crops in Gaitu area.

The Weberian hypothesis that protestant ethics plays a great role in the general lives of people is also questionable in Gaitu. Though most people in the sample are protestants it does not play a discernible role in the average output to secondary school. Hence it can be concluded that becoming a protestant and internalizing the ideas of protestantism which uplifts virtues of individualism, does not automatically lead you to improving your standards of living. Means to achieve those ideals are very important. Hence Weber's hypothesis is at stake in Gaitu.

Protestant ethics seem to play a role when it come to Primary schools. We find schools sponsored by protestants contributing more to secondary school and also more to government secondary schools than those sponsored by catholics. If we assume that it

is because of protestant ethics then it remains to be researched on why then it does not play a role in the case of households. Does it mean a family is failing as a socialising agent or it is due to changes affecting the family, which have led to a school playing a very important role in socialisation process and the family declining in its roles?

The study also shows that households with family size of 9 and over are equally represented in both Harambee and government secondary schools. The study also raises a question on the house holds with 9 children and over, they are under represented in Government maintained and aided secondary schools. While the family size of 9 and over contributes 11.4%, the family size of 0-4 contributes 5.7% to government secondary schools.

Most of the children in the sampled area are in Harambee secondary schools (62.9%) and few in government secondary school (37.1%).

Farming still remains to be a very important occupation or income earner in Gaitu. This is shown by the fact that within the family size of 5-8 which has the highest income an average 59% of its respondents are 'Progressive' farmers within the rural setting Gaitu. So all measures should be taken to improve the productivity or to improve agriculture in general in Gaitu.

The idea that members of a certain social class view the world in the same way as Kohn (1963: 471) contends seems questionable. Some one is tempted to wonder if "Progressive" farmers in Gaitu view the world in the same way as the less 'Progressive' peasants though they can be considered to belong to the same social class of peasants. So also the view that rural peasants are homogeneous is also disapproved by this study in Gaitu. Even within peasants there is differentiation.

Although family size issue is not very well spelt out here, the findings to some extent questions the logic of large family size since it is this large family which contributes the lowest number to secondary schools on average.

Todaro (1977: 192) argues that education of women and change of values will lead to birth rate among the poor declining. But the findings in Gaitu leaves a question mark on such a contention, Mkangi (1978: 190) comes nearer home for he does not only consider education perse. "With the level of remuneration pegged to that

of formal education and consequently helping to determine fertility patterns it could be argued that the solution to the population problem lies in the education of poor peasants. This could be possible if universal education was there, free and compulsory, and also if economic growth rate kept pace with that of the population and if schools leavers were assured of getting employment as they come off the different stages on the education ladder".

That is why all the more I recognize that adult education in Gaitu should be emphasized and be given good drive since education of parents play a great role in C.P.E. performance. Also measures to improve the general economic well being of Gaitu community. Emphasis should be put on communal development not on individual development.

The study shows the arbitrariness of using 'average income' as a measure of general income, in the population. While the lowest average income in the sampled households is 552 Kenya Shillings per month, there are some people in the cotton ginnery getting 234 Kenyan Shillings per month. This is a great contrast. This shows how misleading development can be if concern is put on an individual and not on community as a whole. It can be easy to create a millionaire in the midst of a million paupers. Brownstein (1972) has also shown the arbitrariness of using average income as a measure of income in the general population. It is just an approximation of the true picture existing in a society.

The study also leave some areas to be researched on. Why young schools on average in Gaitu do well than old schools and these young schools are manned by young headmasters, leaves a question mark. Although administration is different from teaching, it leaves us with a question of administration plays such a great role in the general performance of examinations, and this case C.P.E.

The reasons why D.E.S. sponsored schools in Gaitu take few pupils to secondary school compared with those sponsored by religious bodies like Methodist and Catholics still remains to be researched on.

Based on these findings in Gaitu such recommendations can be outlined.

If conditions of life are improved in Gaitu by helping the in

inhabitants to raise their average income probably the problem of "gangsterism" highlighted in chapter two can be minimized. Although it remains to be found if this "gangsterism" is caused by relative material deprivation or by clanism ideology.

Improving the material conditions of the peasants is very important. If the productivity of the land is raised above what it produces now it can play a very important role in influencing C.P.E. performance. If the peasants income is improved it will enable them to buy the material possessions necessary for good education progress of the children. The importance of these material possession has been noted by the study.

Improving the physical conditions of the school, especially the building structures has also be noted by the study. Also more teachers to be trained and taken to these Primary School. This is because the study has identified that schools with less pupils per teacher do well in C.P.E.

In the case of trained teachers in Gaitu it remains to be researched on why their contribution to C.P.E. performance is quite low contrary to majority expectation.

In summary it is good to note that the changes in examination styles shows that those concerned with curriculum planning are not ignorant of the challenges facing the society. These changes will do great good if there is a comprehensive over view of the society including its needs.

Hence it should consider the areas of income especially of the rural people who are affected most. Education of parents, ways to encourage small size, improvement of class rooms and equipment supply and also training of teachers and also increasing the teaching force should be given consideration. Inservice course for teachers is also recommendable. So it becomes difficult to solve the problems of C.P.E. failure by looking only at the Ministry of Basic Education.

So actually as the educational planners and various government bodies and other change agents embark on the standard eight programme it is wise to ask if it will ease the problems faced by C.P.E. graduates in the past, if it will distribute this resource, that is education, evenly and hence benefitting majority of the people. At the onset the standard eight will be faced by almost similar problems which have been facing standard

seven making changes to be implemented by 1966, 1973 and 1983.

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MATTERS REGARDING PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

- Q. 1. How old is this school ?
How many years have you been a headmaster ?
How long have you stayed in this school ?
How many pupils are in this school currently ?
- (ii) How many teachers are there ?
What are their professional qualifications ?
Untrained teacher (KJSE)
Untrained teacher (BACE)
Untrained teacher (SAACE)
Primary four (P4)
Primary three (P3)
Primary two (P2)
Graded Primary two (P2)
Primary one (P1)
Secondary one (S1)
Graded Secondary one (S1)
Graduates
- Q. 2. What is the average number of your pupils who manages to join secondary school annually ?
How many manage to join form one in government - maintained schools annually ?
- Government aided school ?
- Harambee schools ?
- Q. 3. How many times does the AEO's visit this school per term ?
How long does it take to replace a member of staff who has been transferred ?
- Q. 4. Do all the teachers reside in the school compound ?
If so how many reside in the compound
how many reside out of school
- (ii) Do you get problems of getting books after the abolishment of fees by the government ?
Is the work of building classrooms in the hands of parents ?
Does the ministry of Education subsidise you in building of classrooms ?
In case of paying building funds at least how much does a parent pay ? or If it is per child how much is it ?
- (iii) Does any religions organization help your school ?
If so, which one ?

A QUESTIONNAIRE FORMAT

MATERIAL CONDITIONS AND OTHER INFORMATION REGARDING HOUSE HOLDS.

RUKWARU MUTEA, (DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY)

- Q. 1. How many people depends on you ?
Do you live with all of them here ?
How many school going children are in the family ?
How many are in secondary school ?
If so is it/are they in - Harambee/s schools ?
- Government aided schools ?
- Government maintained schools ?
- (ii) Do you have some children in primary school? if so how many ?
Do you have any in class seven ?
is this his/hex/their first time in class seven ?
If not, how many times has she/he/them been in class seven ?
- Q. 2. Do you go to church ?
Which church do you and your family like to go most ?
- (ii) Does this church help the primary school where your children go ?
- (iii) If you have a harambee meeting in those primary schools where your children are, do people who don't go to the same church as you comes to help or to actively participate ?
- Q. 3. Can you be able to read ?
if so have you been to school ?
If not, how did you come to know how to read ?
If you have been to school/institution how many years altogether without including the year which you might have repeated if you did so ?
- Q. 4. Are you currently employed?
If so which job ?
How much do you get a month ?
Do you have a bussiness ?
How much do you get from it per month ?
- (ii) Do you have a personal piece of land ?
If so, about how many acres ?
Do you grow cash crops in it ?
How much do you get from cash crops annual/monthly ?
Do you keep cows in your shamba ?
How much do you get from them per month let's say by selling milk ?
Do you keep hens ?
How much do you get per month in terms of money if you sell eqqs ?
- (iii) Do you have any of the following articles in your home ?
(a) A Radio,
(b) A Clock/Watch,
(c) A Bicycle.