AN ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES ON EDUCATION, IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA (1980 - 2010)

BY

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R50/P/8836/2001

A RESEARCH PAPER SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF STUDIES LEADING TO A DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.

NOVEMBER 2012

DECLARATION

DECLARE THAT THIS RESEARCH PAPER IS MY ORIGINAL WORK AND HAS IOT BEEN PRESENTED FOR A DEGREE IN ANY OTHER UNIVERSITY.

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DEDICATION

THIS RESEARCH PAPER IS DEDICATED TO MY FATHER, AND MY MENTOR, THE LATE RICHARD ONGOKHO PAMBA, WHO PASSED ON IN FEBRUARY 2011. HE ENCOURAGED ME TO FURTHER MY EDUCATION, BUT NEVER LIVED TO SEE THIS WORK COMPLETED. MAY HE REST IN PEACE.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I sincerely thank those who have made my study at this level not only possible but worthwhile - my family, classmates and friends. I would not have made it without you all.

I wish to thank various people who made it possible for me to carry out this research. I acknowledge the staff from the libraries of: the Ministry of Education, the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, the World Bank and the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies for allowing me to use their facilities.

I want to thank my lecturer and supervisor Mr. Gerrishon K. Ikiara for his patience and encouragement and also for the comments and constructive criticism he gave me in this undertaking. I cannot forget my other lecturers at the Institute of Diplomacy and members of staff and the various organizations which contributed in many ways to the completion of my work.

I am grateful to Mrs Josephine Nyangaga, an Inspector of Quality Assuarance at the Ministry of Education, who was willing to spend time with me so as to give me information that was necessary for the completion of my study.

Last but not least, I am grateful to my mentor Dr. M. Lumala, classmates Susan, Ombete, Ezekiel, Cheruiyot and my colleagues at work, especially Jane Ogunde and Margaret Mulemi, for their support, encouragement and prayers. May God bless you all.

ABSTRACT

This study examines the impact of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) which were implemented in several African countries in the Sub-Saharan region, as a means of enhancing growth and development. The study focuses on the role played by the Bretton Woods Institutions i.e. the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, in the education sector.

SAPs were aimed at improving the overall economic performance as well as enhancing a country's capacity to provide basic social services such as education and health. One of the requirements of the programmes was that Sub-Saharan African (SSA) governments reduce their involvement in the economy through cost-sharing with its citizens in the provision of health and educational services. The study examines how structural adjustment programmes impacted on the economic performance of the Sub-Saharan African countries and how this in turn affected the provision of educational services in Kenya and other Sub-Saharan African countries.

Public spending on education by governments can be a strong instrument in ensuring equity, through expansion of opportunities and raising the standards of living its people and especially to the poorest. This was the rationale behind governments subsidizing education for their citizens.

Lower spending in the educational sector by governments, resulted in the deterioration of quality of teaching and research. Educational institutions also operated under adverse conditions such as deterioration of physical facilities, overcrowding, lack of resources for required materials and maintenance.

SAPs were articulated in Sessional Paper No. 4 of 1980 on Economic Prospects and Policies and later elaborated in Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986 on Economic Management

for Renewal Growth, which was to be the blueprint for the implementation of SAPs. These Sessional Papers provided ideal development targets and policy guidelines and were often meant to attract aid from the donors, who had signaled that they would reward the government that adapted to the reforms and penalize those that refused to reform.

The fact that a large section of the population in most countries in SSA live below a dollar a day, complicated matters in that they were not able to play their part as far as cost-sharing was required, due to their financial status. It is a fact that an illiterate population cannot participate effectively in the development process.

Rationalization of public sector spending meant increased fees and cost-sharing, which many families could not afford. While education institutions in SSA had increased in numbers despite the introduction of SAPs in the 1980s and 1990s, the quality of education offered seemed to be on the decline. Areas highlighted include the impact that the SAPs generally had in SSA in enrollment in schools, gender disparity and economic issues in education.

In Kenya, SAPs brought about a lot of challenges in education and thus the study will focus on areas related to expenditure in the education sector, enrollment and the gender disparity in schools.

The methodology used comprises both primary and secondary sources of data. Research is based on documented sources, library research at various institutions and stakeholders in the education sector.

The main objective of this study is to look at the nature of SSA economies and to explore the extent of the implementation of SAPs and their impact on education, especially to the poor and vulnerable groups in SSA and particularly in Kenya.

ABBREVIATIONS

BWI - Bretton Woods Institutions

LDCS- Less Developed Countries

ECA - Economic Commission for Africa

EFA - Education for All

ESAP - Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes

GDP- Gross Domestic Product

GNP- Gross National Product

GoK- Government of Kenya

IBRD - International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

IDA - International Development Association

IFIs - International Financial Institutions

ILO - International Labour Organization

IMF - International Monetary Fund

ISO - International Organization for Standardization

MOE- Ministry of Education

NGOs - Non-Governmental Organizations

NIC - Newly Industrialized Countries

RoK- Republic of Kenya

SAPs - Structural Adjustment Programmes

SSA - Sub-Saharan Africa

UN - United Nations

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO - United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organization

UNICEF - United Nations International Children's Educational Fund

UPE- Universal Primary Education

WB - World Bank

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1980s, structural adjustment has been used to refer to specific sets of economic policies linked to the conditional loans of the IMF and the WB. Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) were embraced in several African countries as a means of enhancing growth and development.

In a World Bank Report titled, *Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa* (1981), Elliot Berg with a team of other economists, put across a diagnosis of problems that they thought had affected the Sub-Saharan region, and made a wide range of recommendations on reforms needed to kick-start these economies and put them firmly on the socio-economic recovery path.

With most of these problems seen to be structural, it was argued that until the existing structures were changed, Africa would not be able to move forward, despite the fact that changing these structures was expected to have short-term adverse effects on peoples' way of life.

Thus, through SAPs, cost-sharing and a wide range of other reform measures were introduced in the social sectors of education and health. The communities were expected to increase their involvement in education by contributing economically to the provision of education.

Areas of involvement included the improvement of physical facilities in schools, the provision of adequate resources, ensuring equity and access to education and improving the quality of education.

This study focuses on factors behind the introduction of SAPs in the SSA countries and analyzes the impact they have had in the education sector. It also looks at the nature of SSA economies, the economic crises of the SSA countries, their impact on access to education and the role played by governments in the provision of education in SSA countries.

The paper attempts to answer the question, "To what extent have the SAPs policies improved or impaired the education sector of affected countries in SSA and particularly in Kenya?"

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

There is an on-going debate on the SAPs reforms that were implemented in the education sector. The debate shows that there is a wide divergence on the apparent impact of the reforms that were implemented in education in SSA.

At the root of this debate lies the foundation of economic reforms in SSA. The implication of this goes a long way to show the apparent success or failure of SAPs in SSA. SAPs as advocated by the international financial institutions, sought to restore growth and stability by reducing the role of the state in the economy.

The economic crisis in the SSA region that was experienced in the early 80s forced many governments to reduce interventionist economic policies which had been previously seen as a way of breaking the retrogressive cycle of poverty in many SSA households.

Since the late 1980s, the view that SAPs were based on wrong premises and assumptions about Africa and were inimical to the continent's long-term development, have gained ground. A similar view had been that SAPS had either created or worsened poverty levels, or at the very least, had ignored the adverse effects of the programme on the poor.

The IFI's and their supporters continued to insist that SAPs were the only way forward and without them, Africa would have been worse off. In between these two positions for and against SAPs, was a range of positions which questioned the validity of specific policies which made up SAPs and insisted on the consideration of macro-economic policies together with policy at other levels including their distributional effects. This overlooking of important differences, led to policies which ignored the differences between Africa and other continents and the differences within Africa itself.

There are few systemic policy-oriented studies on the willingness and ability to pay for education by parents and communities in the cost-sharing programme. Apart from Deolalikar (1999) studies on costs and financing in education have tended to be too general, thus giving cost sharing inadequate attention.

Systematic studies are required on the efficacy and impact of the safety nets i.e. bursary schemes, the national school feeding programme and the school text book project, particularly on the students from poor and vulnerable groups. These were introduced by the government so as to be within the auspices of the Social Dimension of Development Programme. It was meant to ease the burden of the poor and other vulnerable groups from adverse effect of cost sharing. Such research will capture such aspects as who the real beneficiaries are and the nature and extent of benefits by income groups and region.

Though many scholars have researched about the controversial reforms, only a few have put their emphasis on local perspectives on SAPs. At the same time, a more specific sectorial based study can elaborate things further and above all, reveal the missing links that would enable SSA countries and specifically Kenya, formulate sound policies in the provision of education. Much of the existing literature rarely focuses on the household and school levels and tends to present only generalized information on user fees. This study hopes to fill the existing literature gaps and add to the existing knowledge in the subject area.

Some of the key questions to be addressed in this research are: Are the education systems of the countries that adopted the SAPs adequately addressing the education and training needs of its population? Are they doing this better than they were prior to adjustment?

1.2 JUSTIFICATION OF STUDY

The world is faced with the reality that what really matters is the quality and not the quantity of welfare of citizens in a country. Much as we would like to ignore the fact, the quality of a population in a state is usually a key determinant of the rate of economic growth. Thus education and its quality is a vital component in any country.

Since the implementation of SAPs, many countries in SSA have gone through challenging economic crises. The WB and IMF have had great influence over policy making in African countries as part of the conditionality put in place, in order to receive financial aid.

At the beginning of the 80s, the sectors which were most affected by SAPs were the social ones like education, where it was relatively easy for the government to introduce cost-sharing. The objective of many SSA countries on the onset of SAPs was to curb budgetary deficits that characterized many governments and specifically to have cutbacks on social expenditure. The implementation of SAPs in the education sector received criticism as it was seen as a burden to the vulnerable population and contributed to the declining standards in education.

There is a premise that without ‘education for all,’ true development will elude us. We may have economic and agricultural success but if the level and quality of education of each family member is ignored, we cannot claim that adequate welfare has been attained. An educated labour force is a necessary condition for sustained socio-economic development, thus governments should invest heavily in the education sector.

This study can be justified both at policy and academic levels, as a society's investment in education has its policy justification both in economic and social terms. The economic justification for investment in education rests on the fact that education is, to a large extent a public good. For most education services, the entire community stands to gain from the direct beneficiaries since the resulting educated labour force is a more efficient and productive one.

Various research organizations and individuals have carried out studies on the implementation of SAPs in education. Some have taken an economic perspective while others have taken a social one in studying the impact that SAPs have had in the education sector. This study integrates the economic and social issues that contribute to the implementation of SAPs in education in SSA, and specifically in Kenya.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The broad objective of this study is to examine the effects brought about by the implementation of SAPs on education in SSA, taking the Kenyan education sector as a case study. This will be supported by the following specific objectives.

- The impact of external factors in the implementation of SAPs in Kenya.
- To look at the education sector in Kenya before and after the implementation of SAPs.
- To analyze the impact of SAPs on the education sector in Kenya.

1.4 LITERATURE REVIEW

There are as many definitions of the concept SAPs as there are scholars who have attempted to define the concept. These are broad policies and measures designed and to some extent enforced by the international donor community led by the World Bank and

International Monetary Fund and aimed at restoring economic viability and reducing the debt problem in the region.

Odada and Ayako (1989) defined SAPs as macroeconomic responses that are primarily economic in nature, aimed at correcting certain economic imbalances. Although aimed at institutional reforms, the objective was not to improve or worsen the well being of any person or group of persons, but rather to achieve sustainable and balanced growth. They were closely associated with the Bretton Woods Institutions and were mainly of a medium-term nature. They further argued that SAPs were divided into two categories:

a) Demand management policies, which were aimed at achieving internal and external balance together with the stabilization of the price level. These included: cuts in public expenditure; devaluation; wage freeze; cuts in subsidies and transfer payments; restriction on credit expansion; reduction on net domestic assets of the Central Bank and reduction of net borrowing by the government from the Central Bank.

b) Supply management policies, which included institutional reforms and in particular, increasing private sector participation in economic activity, devaluation, reforms in interest rate structure, decontrolling prices especially producer prices, export promotion and trade liberalization.

In the past, some alternative strategies for SAPs had been presented by scholars and in this way, new terms such as "Social Adjustment" or "Structural Adjustment with a Human Face" appeared.

Gibbon (1993) defined SAPs as economic reforms aimed at stabilizing developing countries' external and internal balances and promoting their export growth by devaluation, producer price changes, trade liberalization, privatization and supporting legal reforms.

Psacharopoulos and WoodHall(1985) noted that there had been a massive increase in spending in education all over the word due to the rising cost of education because of inflation, the need for more sophisticated equipment such as computers and laboratory equipment, and the over-growing demand for education because of the recognition that education is a central element in social and economic development which has resulted in the expansion of the education system.

Logan and Mengisteah(1995) among many other proponents of SAPs, attribute a significant part of Africa's economic crisis to over-intervention of the state in the economy, mainly through direct ownership of assets and protection of the local market from external competition.

Wanyande(2001)writing on the subject of SAPs, argued that

the international donor community led by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund initially attributed the social and economic decay to the faulty economic policies pursued by post-colonial African governments. He further stated that these policies were characterized by excessive government control and regulation of the economy, including administrative determination of interest rate, foreign exchange regimes, price control and the establishment of public enterprises, many of which were not only unnecessary but were also not viable.

Nassau (1993) asserted that the IMF focused on stabilization through austerity measures in fiscal and monetary policies, while the World Bank emphasized structural adjustment by liberalization and privatization. He argued that combined focuses of the new institutions have accompanied various measures, all of which have some common features despite the variety of economic situation of the debtor countries.

Tabaijuka and Cormack (1989) are of the view that while WB introduced SAPs to remedy internal economic policies in the region to accelerate economic growth, increase production through price incentives and open the economy to external competition, the more than two decades experience with SAPs showed that SAPs had not lived to their expectation.

The **World Bank** (1989) however departs from this view and observes that SAPs were initiated at a time of high economic disturbance due to both internal and external factors, mainly, drought, heavy external debt, high interest rates and poor terms of trade. These made it hard to separate the actual social stress attributed to SAPs and those attributed to other external agencies.

The Global Coalition for Africa Report (1993) pointed out that the orthodox view best expressed by the World Bank and its supporters, argued that reforms had paid off and that countries that adhered seriously to SAPs had experienced a turn-around in their growth rates and other performance indicators including, in some cases, a reduction in poverty.

Some scholars argued that adjustment could not have been expected to work without a 'human face'. The 'human face' indicated the need for the human implications of an adjustment policy to be made an integral part of adjustment policy as a whole and not to be treated as an additional welfare component.

Cornia et al (1987) further argued that as by the United Nations International Children's Educational Fund (UNICEF) on this, they recognized that the primary cause of downward economic pressures on human situations in most of the countries affected, was the overall economic situation, globally and nationally, not adjustment policy as such. Indeed, without some form of adjustment, the situation would often be worse.

Boafo-Arthur (1991) pointed out that despite the fact that Zimbabwe and Ghana were economic success stories of the 1980s and early 1990s, they both plunged into economic crises with the Zimbabwean Growth Domestic Product (GDP), recording far much lower, than before the adoption of the SAPs.

Given the mechanisms the World Bank and IMF used in the imposition of ESAPs on many African governments, prior to the seal of approval to get loans for the economic liberalization and globalization, and given the underpinnings of democracy, some policy analysts argued that the two processes were antithetical.

Serageldin (1993) provided data to show that countries with sustained adjustment programmes achieved 0.8% annual real growth rates of GDP per capita between 1984 and 1986, while those that had not adopted such programmes registered a negative 2.5% a year.

He further observed that both groups registered declines in GDP per capita averaging close to negative 4% a year between 1980 and 1984, but growth, it can be argued, can be highly influenced by climate and external shocks. He however noted that in spite of the intention of SAPS to restore macroeconomic equilibrium in many of the SSA countries, the debt situation remained critical.

Nyang'oro and Shaw (1992) show that SSA was under a deep development crisis in the 80s and that the crisis was aggravating with time. The crisis affected various sectors of the economy for the majority of the countries in the Sub-Saharan Africa region.

Azzam(1993) regarded SAPs as an extension of capitalism and did not expect anything good to come from them. He argued that world capitalist expansion has always and still has a polarizing effect. From the very beginning, it produced and perpetuated, in a variety of forms, a contrast between the center and the periphery that was immanent in actual existing capitalism.

To **Ravenhill** (1986) SAPs were a project of the WB and IMF that had transformed the actualities if not the analyses of Africa's political economy. These transformations, from devaluation and privatization to deregulation and user fees have taken place not only at the level of policies but also in terms of politics and economics. As reflected in most contemporary analysis, the mood changed from one of cautious optimism to continuous pessimism.

Ghana, since 1983, had been under the World Bank and IMF sponsored SAPs. The implementation of SAPs, arrested Ghana's economy from complete collapse, resulted in consistent growth in GDP averaging 6% over the past decade, reduced inflation levels, created budget surplus and increased budget earnings.

According to **Kwadwo** (1988) compared to the 1970s, these were 'the best of times' indeed. This time-honored phrase, to a large extent, described the bitter sweet social-economic conditions and spatial inequalities in Ghana, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Kenya and several other African countries, with regard to mixed blessing that have flowed from the World Bank and IMF sponsored SAPs.

According to the critics of the World Bank, SAPs may in theory have been short term palliatives, in practice they had long term implications; they transformed not only internal and external terms of trade but also both of these sets of social relations. "The character of most national packages tend to be quiet homogenous, leading to defaults or backsliding on some conditionalities as political opposition or other unforeseen consequences arise" (Mosley, Harrigan&Toye, 1991:87).

Another criticism made against the SAPs by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) was that SAPs were too narrow. They relied mainly on fiscal and monetary instruments and had little relevance to long-term development goals.

Structural adjustments directed to the reduction of government expenditures have drawn their own share of criticism. Drawing from the experience of the East-Asian Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs), **Lall** (1992) argued that the interventionist role of the state in economic development is indispensable. According to him, the great success of many of these countries was due in large measure to heavy and consistent public sector in the key government agencies.

Demery, Ferroni and Grootaert(1993) pointed out that with SAPs, the element of "cost-sharing" was put into everything that the government had previously shouldered financially on behalf of the people. Structural adjustments were expected to set the economy of a country back on a path of sustainable growth when it was faced with macroeconomic crisis, characterized by unsustainable internal and external imbalance.

Ikiara (1990) in his assessment of the impacts of SAPs in Kenya asserted that economic problems in Africa were from within and without. He observed that further understanding of these economic problems were necessary before formulating policy measures to address them. He noted that SAPs were either incapable of addressing economic problems in the country or required more time before their impact could be realized.

Ikiara continued to state that economic reforms, if effectively implemented, would help create a more enabling environment which would stimulate economic growth, generate employment and reduce the concentration of economic activities, as a result of greater competition in the system. This would not only help fight poverty but also reduce the existing levels of inequality.

Todaro(1989) pointed out that according to this framework, development takes place when the general standards of living and individual self-esteem are improved. Thus economic development will apply where there is a process of generating equal opportunities for all members to prosper. This implies that it consists of continuous improvement in the distribution of income and economic goods and a long term growth of the per capita income.

Peril and Promise (2000) observed that not only is education a human right it is also central to the transmission of value such as equality, equity, democracy and national unity as well as preparation for citizenship. This makes education a high priority for developing countries. As W.B.Yeates says, 'education is not a filling of a pail, but the lighting of a fire.'

The work of George Caffantzis and Silvia Federici of the Committee for Academic Freedom in Africa (CAFA) described the resistance to SAPs implementation in Africa as highlighted in the following examples:

- More than 200 people were killed in rioting against the high prices and unemployment in the wake of SAPs in Algeria in October 1988.

- At the University of Cotonou in Benin, students went on strike between January and June 1989, paralyzing the institution for six months, in protest against non-payment of grants for months and the government's intention to stop paying them altogether in 1989, as part of SAPs reforms. Teachers strike begun in April, with demands for payment of four months' salary arrears, the withdrawal of the 50% reduction in their salaries (part of IMF mandates), the unconditional liberation of all teachers, pupils and students held during the strike and the reintegration of 401 teachers dismissed in March for striking.

- Students at the University of Niamey, Niger, boycotted classes in February 1990 to protest against the adoption of reductions in educational funding associated with the implementation of SAPs. During the course of a peaceful demonstration police fired at demonstrators killing some of them. Many others were wounded.

- In May 1986, about twenty students and bystanders at Ahmadu Bello University (ABU) in Zaria, Nigeria, were massacred by security forces after staging peaceful protests over impending introduction of SAPs. More students were killed in protests against SAPs and the ABU massacre during the following days at Kaduna Polytechnic, the University of Benin and the University of Lagos.

- Students and faculty on Nigerian campuses held nationwide protests in March-May 1996, over the government's decision to accept a $150 million university restructuring loan from the WB, especially conditions requiring closure of many departments and programmes. The military government staged armed assaults and hundreds of arrests were made, with hundreds more expelled from the university system.

- In May 1992, students at the Universities of Ibadan and Lagos protested against the implementation of structural adjustment programmes, which they accused of being responsible for the deterioration of campus facilities and education programmes as well as doubling of transport prices. Police responded by shooting at the demonstrators, wounding at least five students.

- In December 1990, students at Makerere University in Uganda protested the cutting of stationery and travel allowances arising from a WB imposed SAPs. Police fired into a crowd of protesting students, killing two.

- In March 1985, students at MbanzaNgungu and Mbuji Mai Universities in the Democratic Republic of Congo criticized cuts in the higher education budget adopted by the government in compliance with IMF's SAPs.

The institutions that strongly supported SAPs, made a re-examination of the policy bundles they prescribed and have been more understanding of the realities of the African economic structures.

Thus, they were trying to make the new generations of structural adjustment programmes have a 'human face' so as not to harm people, especially the poor and the vulnerable (World Bank, 1997)

The World Bank, one of the institutions closely associated with SAPs, hoped that the overall results of the SAPs would solve the fiscal and trade imbalances and improve the capacity of the governments to service their debt obligations. "The "fat" of government spending intervention in the economy would be cut away, leaving the "muscle" of reinvigorated private sector to push development forward"(World Bank,1997:40).

1.5 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Adam Smith became famous after publishing, 'The Wealth of Nations' in 1976 and was one of the pioneer economists who put economics as a discipline with a framework as we know it today. He and those who followed him, particularly David Ricardo and John Stuart Mills, believed that the powerhouse behind quickening the pace of the economy was capital investment and that tight controls of a nation-state were not the best way to ensure efficient capital accumulation. He also viewed economic development as the vehicle by which every individual would mix freely with others without feeling ashamed to appear in public.

Written literature on the economic theory indicates that economic development is not an inevitable process but that it must be created and energetically advanced. The whole period from the 80s to the mid 90s can be referred to as the economic reform period in which many SSA countries introduced the SAPs, which required governments to reduce public expenditure, especially in the provision of social services and increase their participation in the private sector.

Structural adjustment entails the introduction of more market-oriented policies, liberalization of markets, more efficient use of prices, greater openness to trade and a bigger role for the private sector. It advocated for the reduction of budget and balance of payment deficits, through fiscal and monetary measures and recommended for a public service that was efficient and reliable, with transparent accounting for public resources. This would ensure that more revenue would be generated through the charging of levies and that more effective service was offered.

The economic theory supports the argument that the provision of goods and services must be by the public sector as well as the private sector. Thus in the process of development, the main focus should be to reduce absolute poverty and inequality, and to achieve full realization of a person's potential. In some cases, the government was also required to intervene in providing social services to the vulnerable groups so as to improve their social welfare.

Economic theorists have debated considerably regarding the 'trickle down' hypothesis in the development process. Those who support this hypothesis argue that, benefits that come from economic growth will somehow trickle down to the poor masses. This can be achieved through the creation of employment and of other forms of consumption. This is despite the fact that such economies are characterized by high inequalities.

The belief that education is an engine of growth rests on the quality and quantity of education in any country. It is widely accepted that education creates improved citizens and helps to upgrade the general standards of living in a society.

The theoretical framework most responsible for the wholesome adoption of education and development policies is known as the human capital theory. Based on the work of Psacharopoulos and Woodhall (1997) human capital theory rests on the assumption that formal education is highly instrumental and even necessary to improve the production capacity of a population. Thus, the human capital theorists argue that an educated population is a productive population.

Liberals believe that among the primary objectives for the social services, is enhancing the people's commitment to their system of governance and inculcating in them a sense of equal worth, in order to incorporate them in a common culture.

Liberals hold the view that everyone should have an equal opportunity to compete and thus the young and the old require some minimum standards of health, education, shelter and sufficient peace of mind so as to achieve their full potential as individuals.

Adjustments affected the access to education by the largest segment of the population in SSA. According to this framework, growth and equality need not be incompatible objectives. A growth plus trickle down strategy improves the quality of human life for the largest segment of the population. Well managed SAPs would therefore generate more opportunities for citizens in educational institutions, thus enhancing growth and equality in SSA.

1.6 HYPOTHESIS

1. The less the government contributed to the provision of education, the less the students were able to access education.
2. SAPs policies affected the education sector in Kenya.
3. SAPs reforms resulted in intensifying poverty among the vulnerable groups in Kenya.
4. Both the government and donor commitment were important for the sustainability of the SAPs reform process.

1.7 METHODOLOGY

The study utilizes both primary and secondary sources of data. Secondary data was collected from review of information from documented sources such as published materials, World Bank and IMF country reports, books, academic papers, newspapers, periodicals, journals, public records, government policy documents such as Economic Surveys, Development Plans, budget speeches, Sessional Papers and Kenya National Bureau of Statistics publications.

It also includes library research at various institutions like the Ministry of Education, Kenya Institute of Education, World Bank, UNICEF, UNESCO, University of Nairobi, relevant websites and any other source of authoritative information.

For primary sources, interviews were held with stakeholders from various educational institutions, parents and teachers.

1.8 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

This study is arranged in five chapters. This forms **chapter one** which contains the introduction, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, literature review, justification of the study, theoretical framework, hypothesis and research methodology.

Chapter Two reviews the historical background of the SAPs.

Chapter Three explores educational issues in SSA.

Chapter Four analyzes the impact that SAPs had on the education sector in Kenya, during the period between 1980 and 2010.

Chapter Five presents the summary, conclusion and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SAPS

2.1 Introduction

The introduction of SAPs in many SSA countries, required governments to reduce their public expenditure and increase their private sector participation in various economic sectors, including the social services sector.

Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) have been usually associated with policies that were designed by the International Financial Institutions (IFIs), the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), as a means of restoring economic viability and ensure debt repayment. Largely championed by the Reagan administration and Margaret Thatcher's government in Britain, the principles that shaped SAPs gained prominence in the IFIs in the 1980's and 1990's.

The main IFIs were created in 1944 following the recommendations of the Bretton Woods Conference held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire. Thus, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were established. The IBRD is today commonly known as the World Bank. These two institutions which were established in 1946 and were operational in March 1947 continue to be the pillar of the international financial system.

Soon after the WB was created, it was used as a source of loans to reconstruct the economies of Europe after World War II. The main borrowers from the WB today include countries from the Third World. The IMF on the other hand is mandated to ensure stability in the international payments system.

The WB appointed Elliot Berg, an influential economist, to head its first study of development in SSA. A report, the Elliot Berg report, was issued in 1981 by the WB that helped move African countries away from state-run economies and towards free market systems. Some two decades after the majority of African nations gained their independence, there was some concern among the Western states and IFIs that Africa's economies were drastically underperforming.

Berg recommended a significantly smaller role for governments in the national economies and proposed greater private sector involvement in key industries. The WB and the Western nations placed conditions on the aid that was given to countries in Africa based on Berg's recommendations. These conditions were known as Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) and they emphasized on economic reforms in the public sector programmes such as education and health, and also receiving needed development aid from the West.

SAPs were shaped by four fundamental objectives. First, to promote economic liberalization which entailed the promotion of free movement of capital and opening of national markets to international competition; second, to facilitate the privatization of public services and companies; third, to create a framework for de-regulation of labour markets and cutting social safety nets; and fourth, improving competitiveness.

Thus, based on these objectives, SAPs prescribed certain measures as conditions for new loans. These were the reductions of government deficit through cuts in public spending, high interest rates, liberalization and privatization of public companies and parastatals, and the deregulation of the economy.

From the earliest days, SAPs were meant to provide loans on condition that institutional reforms were carried out, in the relevant economic sectors to which the project or projects which were being financed belonged. One of the objectives was to fend off political interference in major economic undertakings by making sure they could stand financially on their own feet. It was not long before the World Bank begun playing an active role in guiding macroeconomic development in recipient and even applicant countries in the direction it considered appropriate.

The SAPs focused on shifting economic policies from an interventionist stance, which permitted and sometimes encouraged state intervention in the economy, towards a neo-liberal position which aimed to minimize it, by letting the market allocate resources where possible. The purpose of adjustments was to restore the conditions that would enable countries to recover rates of economic growth that would allow them to increase the quality of life of their population, to reduce poverty and to sustain development.

Some of the programmes which were implemented by the SSA governments had some effect on the quality of life of its people, especially the most vulnerable groups in society. Some of the effects were; the rise in unemployment, increased food prices, a rapid decline in the availability of services in the rural areas and the rise in the cost of education and health care.

To implement SAPs, governments were encouraged to identify those sectors of their economies in which there were possibilities of 'cost-sharing,' namely the social services, which would make it possible to shift a greater position of the burden of payment to the individual, who were the recipients or users of the services provided. Hence, it was understandable that a frequent target for cost-sharing was higher education, a service that was both expensive to provide and from which recipients could expect to receive significant financial benefits.

2.2 Economic Performances and Education in SSA

According to Kenya's Ministry of Education(2007), underdevelopment continues to be more prevalent in Africa than in any other region of the world today. The economic situation in the continent has been dismal when compared to the economic achievements of the East Asian Newly Industrialized Countries (NICs). The average per capita GDP of East Asian NICs in 1995 exceeded $10,000 while that of SSA remained quite low, at around $500. Kenya is a low income country with a GDP per capita income of $739.0 (UN, World Statistics Pocketbook, 2011:104).

TABLE 1: Economic growth in East Asia and Africa (1980-2004)

Region	1980-84	1985-89	1990-94	1995-99	2000-04
East Asia and Pacific	7.4	7.8	9.4	6.8	7.2
Latin America and the Caribbean	1.4	2.2	3.6	2.4	2.2
Europe and Central Asia	_	_	-5.2	2.0	5.2
Middle East and North Africa	3.8	1.2	4.6	3.4	4.4
South Asia	5.4	6.0	5.0	5.8	5.6
Sub- Saharan Africa	1.6	2.4	0.6	3.6	3.4

Source: World Development Indicators Database (Indermit and Homi- 2007)

The East Asia region has grown rapidly and steadily compared to other regions in the developing world during the last quarter century. During that period, during any five year period, no other part of the world grew more rapidly than East Asia. East Asia GDP per capita was at an average of between 5.5 and 8.0 percent during that period and the GDP growth ranged between 6.8 and 9.4 percent, as shown in Table 1 above. It was projected that by the year 2010, more than 95% of the region's population would be living in middle income countries.

As has been experienced in these two regions, there were such differences even in countries categorized as being "Third World." Indeed it might even be put across that Africa had now virtually become the poorest 'Fourth World.' Data from UNESCO (1993) showed that Africa was the center of "the poverty belt" consisting of the poorest countries with less than 700 dollars GNP per capita in 1990. Table 2 shows the large income per capita disparities that existed between regions where countries in Asia had a per capita income that was eight times higher than those in SSA.

Table 2: Average income per capita in different regions in 1990

Region	GNP per capita	Standard Deviation	Countries
Other Africa	1896	1687	7
Sub Saharan Africa	659	889	41
Latin America	1512	780	18
Caribbean and Other	3378	2904	13
USA and Canada	21075	884	2
Asia	5425	6876	29
Europe	13942	9624	24
Oceania	5693	7259	6

Source: UNESCO (1993)

The role of institutions like the IMF and the World Bank became more important at international financial markets from the time the debt crisis broke in 1982. This was especially the case with the Less Developing Countries (LDC's) in SSA. The SAPs that were implemented in various developing countries appeared to have had rather common features under the apparent objectives in the context of international political economy. The main objective of the adjustment was basically to try and shatter the development paradigm that was state-led and overcome the problems of developmental stagnation by use of open and free competitive market economies.

As much as SAPs were designed for individual countries, they had common guiding principles and features, namely privatization, liberalization and enhancing the efficiency of the free markets. SAPs required 36 countries in SSA, where more than half of the population lived in absolute poverty, to decrease domestic consumption and shift scarce resources into the production of cash crops.

SAPs promoted the principle of cost-sharing for social services and the state passed on the burden of financing basic health and educational services to its citizens. Adjustment policies reduced government spending and this affected the vulnerable groups, especially in the education and health sectors, as services were reduced in quality and quantity.

The adjustment programmes had a positive impact on the poor in Ghana. The major expansion which was the provision of the social services in the health and education sectors contributed directly in serving the needs of the poor. The WB implemented the Programme of Action to Mitigate the Social Costs of Adjustment (PAMSCAD) which begun in 1987. This programme provided benefits like supplementary feeding progammes, thus reaching groups of poorer women and children and also the revival of rural development.

A World Bank Report (2000) stated that in the poorest countries globally, the WB contributed greatly to education programmes. In the 1990's, the Bank was able to give loans for education, dispensing an average of US$ 1.8 billion for the period between 1991-1999, which was about 8.2% of its overall lending and almost double the 4.8% allocated by the Bank to education in the 1980's. As shown in Table 3, between the years of 1975-1990, the WB's contribution as a percentage of the total public expenditure on education was an average of approximately 16%.

TABLE 3: Government and WB expenditure on education in 21 African countries, 1975-1990

Approx Years	Total Education Percent of GNP	Expenditures Percent of Budget	WB Disbursements as Percent Education Budget	
			Total	Capital
1975	3.9	10.5	37.3	1,767.2
1980	4.6	20.0	14.1	521.0
1985	2.6	9.8	0.9	72.1
1990	2.7	13.6	11.9	1,316.3

Source: UNESCO ,1991

The WB and the IMF became primary lenders to most of the African countries and naturally had to make such assistance available on their own terms. In this donor programme which was often described as policy reforms, the World Bank and the IMF took as their model for proper economic functioning in Africa, the classical free market system, whereby prices were set by market supply and demandconditions, and profitable enterprises provided the engine of economic growth.

The requirements of financial and resource constraints usually prevented those targeted by the structural adjustment programmes, the disadvantaged rural and urban poor, children, women and the elderly, from ever having an opportunity to decide where financial reductions should occur or the nature of the compromises to be made in the quality of their lives. Meaningful education policies would have had to remove the limitations, structural and institutional reforms, on the participation of African stakeholders in formulating and implementing education reforms.

In Kenya, a higher proportion of the education sector budget was spent on recurrent expenditure rather than development activities. Over the period of 2002/03 – 2004/05 the recurrent expenditure averaged 95% of the total education expenditure. On the other hand, the development expenditure averaged 5%. The education sector in Kenya receives the highest share of the GoK's resources and is ranked among the highest in the world. Table 4 below compares the average share of expenditure on education to the total government expenditure with that of selected SSA countries in 2001-2002. As shown, Kenya's expenditure was higher than that of Ghana, Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

Table 4: Public education spending in selected countries, 2001-02

Country	Percent of Total Government Expenditure	Percent of GDP
Bangladesh	15.8	2.3
Benin	...	3.3
Botswana	25.6	2.1
Chile	17.5	3.9
Colombia	18	4.4
Congo	12.6	3.2
Czech Republic	9.6	4.4
Ghana	...	4.1
Indonesia	9.8	1.3
Iran	21.7	5
Kenya	33.6(26.9)	6.5(6)
Malaysia	20	7.9
Mexico	24.3	5.1
Nepal	13.9	3.4
Philippines	14	3.2
South Africa	18.1	5.7
South Korea	...	4.9
Thailand	28.3	5.2
Uganda	...	2.5
Uruguay	12.8	3.2
Zimbabwe	...	4.7
Averages:		
Sub- Saharan Africa	18	3.5
South Asia	14.9	2.9
East Asia	16.3	4
Latin America	16.9	3.6

Source: UNESCO (2005)

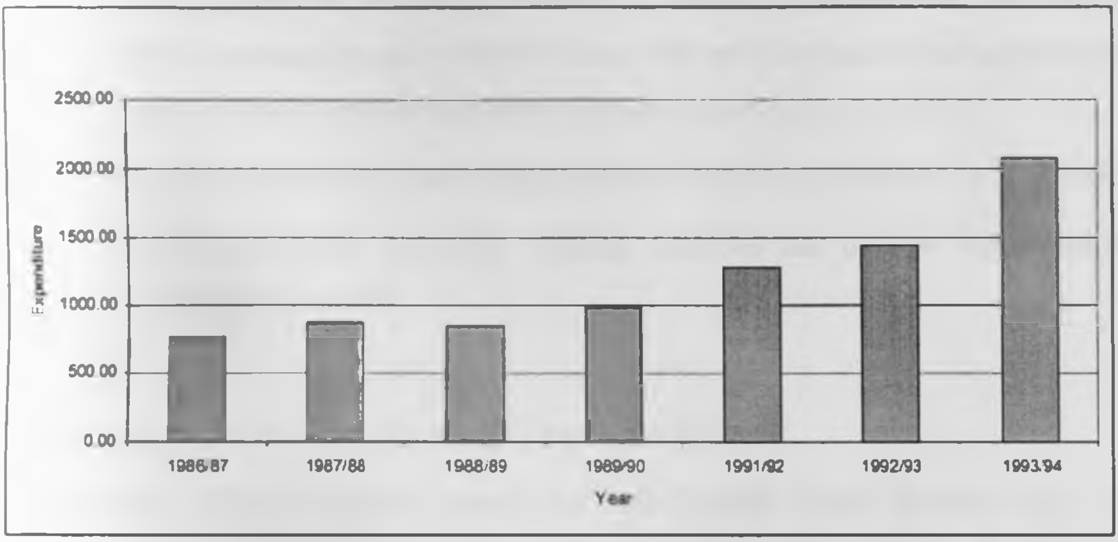
2.3 SAPs and Education in SSA and Latin America

For many countries around the world and particularly those in Latin America and Sub-Saharan Africa, the 1980s were a period of reforms in two areas, that is, economic and education reforms.

The reforms gave emphasis to education and training as a cornerstone of economics, social and political development. Cuts in social spending hit the education sector, which was the alternative to child labour, particularly hard. In all regions, the expenditure for each student at the higher education level fell during 1980s and in Africa and Latin America the expenditure for primary education for each pupil also fell. A UNESCO report (1995) stated that in 1990, the average public expenditure per pupil in SSA was $42 at the pre-school and elementary level, $150 at the secondary level and $1,405 at the university level.

Expenditures per pupil were related to instructional costs which include expenditures that deal with activities involving the teaching process like salaries and instructional supplies. In Kenya, for example, it was observed that expenditures per student had been on the increase between 1986/87 to 1993/94, as shown in Figure 1 below. Expenditure per student increased from Ksh. 770 in 1986/87 to Ksh. 2,078 in the 1993/94 financial year. These figures were exclusive of the parent's contribution to their children's education brought about by the cost-sharing policy where parents were required to pay user fees in schools so as to enable the government to recover costs.

Figure 1: Primary school public expenditure per student in Kenya (Kshs)



Source: RoK, 1994

At the international level, the decade culminated with the World Conference on Education for All in Jomtien, Thailand which emphasized on the need to strengthen education systems so as to ensure the right of all toeducational opportunities. On the other hand, the economic reforms emphasized on the need to restructure economies and to restore the conditions that would stimulate growth and set countries on the path to sustainable development.

The WB was one of the key sponsors of the World Conference on Education for All, which increased their commitments to education in their lending portfolio. Education was also a central element of a number of WB policy documents on the subjects of poverty and economic restructuring (World Bank 1988, 1990)

A World Education Report of UNESCO (1993) presented data on a number of educational indicators that had been obtained from countries that were put into groups as per their region of the world. The groups also followed the classification development used in the WB report, assessing adjustment lending.

The groups were as follows;

- 27 countries that underwent intensive adjustments experience and that received the first adjustment operation effective June 1986 or before and two structural adjustment loans or three or more adjustment operations effective by June 1990.
- 30 countries which at least received one adjustment loan effective by June 1990.
- 20 non-adjustment countries, meaning countries that did not receive adjustment lending by June 1990.

Intensive adjustment lending countries (27) were identified as:

Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Jamaica, Kenya, Korea (south), Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mexico, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Senegal, Tanzania, Thailand, Togo, Turkey, Uruguay, Zambia.

Table 5 indicates that more adjusting countries reduced their percentage of expenditure on education to GNP more than the non-adjusting ones in SSA. About half of the countries that underwent intensive adjustment in SSA had a reduction in their national effort in education, 25% of these countries showed no growth while 75% of the non-adjusting countries and 100% of all the other non-adjusting countries were able to increase the expenditure of education as a percentage of GNP.

Table 5: Changes in expenditure on education as a percentage of GNP (1980-1990)

				Other adjustment lending countries			
				Declines			
(a)In Sub- Saharan Africa				Ecuador		5.6	2.8
Country		1980	1990	Venezuela		4.4	4.1
Intensive adjustment lending countries				*Increases*			
Declines				Honduras		3.2	4.6
Mauritania		5	4.7	Panama		4.9	5.5
Mauritius		5.3	3.7				
Senegal		4.5	3.7	**Non-adjustment lending countries**			
Zambia		4.5	2.9	*Declines*			

No growth		
Kenya	6.8	6.8
Malawi	3.4	3.4
Increases		
Ghana	3.1	3.3
Tanzania	4.4	5.8
Other adjustment lending Countries		
Declines		
Central African Republic	3.8	2.8
Congo	7	5.6
Mali	3.8	3.2
Sierra Leone	3.8	1.4
Zaire	2.6	0.9
Increases		
Burkina Faso	2.2	2.3
Burundi	3	3.5
Cameroon	3.2	3.4
Gabon	2.7	5.7
Gambia	3.3	3.8
Zimbabwe	6.6	10.6
Non-adjustment lending countries		
Decline		
Lesotho	5.1	3.8
Increases		
Botswana	7.1	8.4
Ethiopia	3.3	4.8
Rwanda	2.7	4.2
Other non-adjustment lending countries		
Increases		
Mozambique	3.8	6.3
Seychelles	5.8	8.5
Swaziland	6.1	6.4
Uganda	1.2	2.9
(b) In Latin America		
El Salvador	3.9	1.8
Guatemala	1.9	1.4
Increases		
Haiti	1.5	1.8
Other non- adjustments lending countries		
Decline		
Cuba	7.2	6.6
(c) In Asia		
Country	1980	1990
Intensive adjustment lending countries		
Decline		
Korea(South)	3.7	3.6
Increases		
Pakistan	2	3.4
Philipines	1.7	2.9
Thailand	3.4	3.8
Other adjustment lending Countries		
Decline		
China	2.5	2.3
No Growth		
Sri Lanka	2.7	2.7
Increase		
Bangladesh	1.5	2
Non-adjustment lending countries		
Decline		
Syria	4.6	4.1
Increases		
India	2.8	3.5
Malaysia	6	6.9
Other non-adjustment lending countries		
Declines		
Iran	7.5	4.1

Country	1980	1990	Israel	7.9	6
			Japan	5.8	4.7
Intensive adjustment lending countries			*Increases*		
Declines			Cyprus	3.5	3.6
Bolivia	4.4	3	Hong Kong	2.5	3
Chile	4.6	3.7	Kuwait	2.4	5
Costa Rica	7.8	4.6	Oman	2.1	3.5
Mexico	4.7	4.1	Qatar	2.6	3.4
Increases			Saudi Arabia	5.5	6.2
Brazil	3.6	4.6	Singapore	2.8	3.4
Colombia	1.9	2.9	United Arab Emirates	1.3	1.9
Uruguay	2.3	3.1			

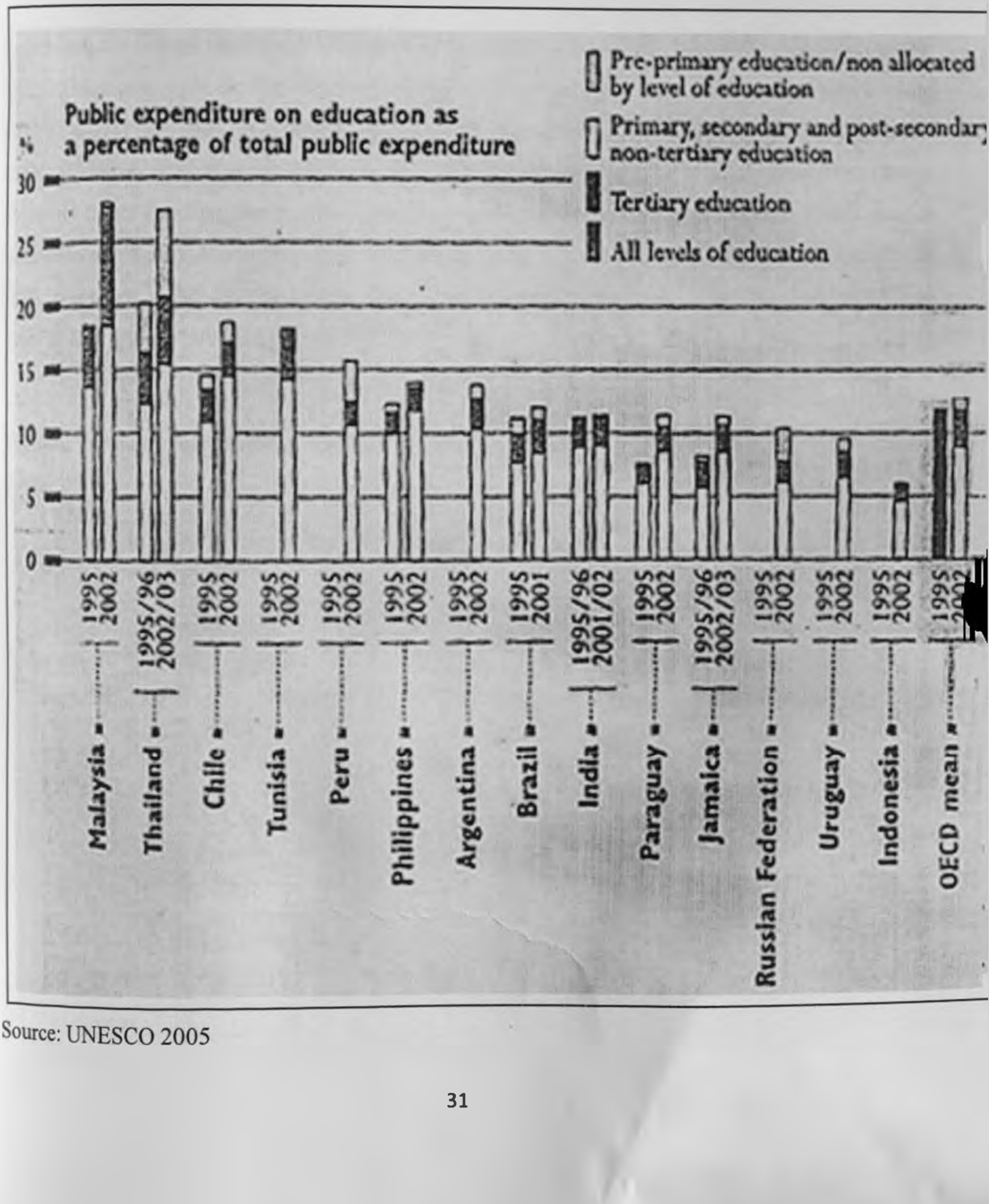
Source: UNESCO, 1993

As shown in Latin America and in Asia, the pattern was quite different. In Latin America there was a 50% decline in the ratio of expenditure on education to GNP in the intensively adjusting and other adjusting countries. There was also a decline in the non-adjusting and other non-adjusting countries thus the effort put in education was greater among adjusting countries in Latin America.

Therefore on average, intensively adjusting countries had a reduction in education expenditures as a share of GNP while other countries showed an increase. This was reflected in SSA and was an indication of the great effort put into education among adjusting countries. There was an increase in most countries in Asia, in both adjusting and non-adjusting countries.

Among countries that were classified in the World Education Indicators(WEI) there was an increase in the share of expenditure that was set aside for education as compared to other sectors. This was reflected in all countries except in Brazil, India and Philippines where the increase was marginal. Uruguay had a decrease in its total public expenditure compared to what it had in 1995. Countries like India, Jamaica and Malaysia had an increase of more than 40% in their total public expenditure and there was an increase of between 20 to 40 percent in Brazil, Chile, Peru, Thailand and Tunisia. Figure 2 shows the public expenditure on education as a percentage of total expenditure, 1995 to 2002, in some countries in Asia and Latin America. (UNESCO, 2005)

Figure 2: Public expenditure on education as a percentage of total public expenditure (1995 and 2002)



Source: UNESCO 2005

Cote d'Ivoire was among the first SSA countries to implement the SAPs and sustained it during the 1980s while maintaining the share of what government spent on education. The gross enrollment ratios at secondary level stood at 22% and 25% respectively from 1990 to 1996. This ratio was at 30% for males in 1990 and increased to 34% in 1996. As for females, the ratio was at 44% in 1990 and increased slightly to 45% in 1996 (Reimers, 1994:9)

In Senegal, the overall enrolment increased by one third between the first and second half of the 1990s. There was rapid increase in the secondary and tertiary school enrolment compared to the primary school enrolment and also male enrolment grew more rapidly than the female enrolment at the secondary school level as shown in Table 6. As indicated, in 1995, Kenya had a lower gross enrolment rate than the SSA and Africa averages of 76.6% and 80.4 % respectively. Across the continents, Latin America and the Caribbean had a high gross enrolment rate of 110.6% in 1995, compared to 80.4% for Africa. The world gross enrolment rate increased from 99.2% in 1990 to 100.3% in 1995 (UNESCO, 1997)

Table 6: Gross enrolment in primary and secondary schools in some SSA countries in the 1990s

	Gross Enrollment Ratio(%) Secondary Education					
	Total		Male		Female	
Country	1990/1996		1990/1996		1990/1996	
Benin	12	18	17	26	7	11
Botswana	43	65	41	61	45	68
Burkina Faso	7	...	9	...	29	...
Burundi	6	7	7	...	5	...
Cameroon	28	27	33	32	4	...
Cape Verde	21	25	...	54	23	22
Congo	53	53	62	62	...	56
Cote d'Ivore	22	25	30	34	44	45
Ethiopia	14	12	16	14	14	16
Ghana	36	...	45	...	13	10
Kenya	24	24	28	26	21	22
Lesotho	25	31	20	25	30	36
Madagascar	18	16	18	16	18	16
Malawi	8	17	11	21	5	12

Mauritius	53	64	53	63	53	66
Mozambique	8	7	10	9	6	5
Namibia	44	61	39	56	49	66
Senegal	16	6	21	20	11	12
Sierra Leone	17	...	22	...	13	...
South Africa	76 95		69 103		80 103	

Source: UNESCO, 1997

	1990			1995		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Sub- Saharan Africa	74.8	81.9	67.6	76.6	83.8	69.4
Africa	77.7	85.1	70.2	80.4	87.6	73.1
Latin America incl Caribbean	105	106.2	103.7	110.6	113.2	107.9
Europe	101.1	101.1	101.1	103.4	103.8	102.9
North America	104.3	105.5	103.2	108.3	110.4	106.1
Asia	3.8	111.1	96	104	110	97.7
World	99.2	105	93	100.3	105.5	94.7

Source: UNESCO, 1997

A good indicator of the effort a society makes in education is the percentage GNP (Gross National Product) devoted to finance public education. This is influenced by the share of education in government expenditure in GNP.

Most public education budgets, about 90% on average, were devoted to recurrent expenditures, that is, expenditures on routine on-going categories like salaries, as opposed to investments in physical infrastructure. Recurrent expenditures are very important because there is no education system that can function without teachers, the primary item that constitutes a large proportion of recurrent expenditure.

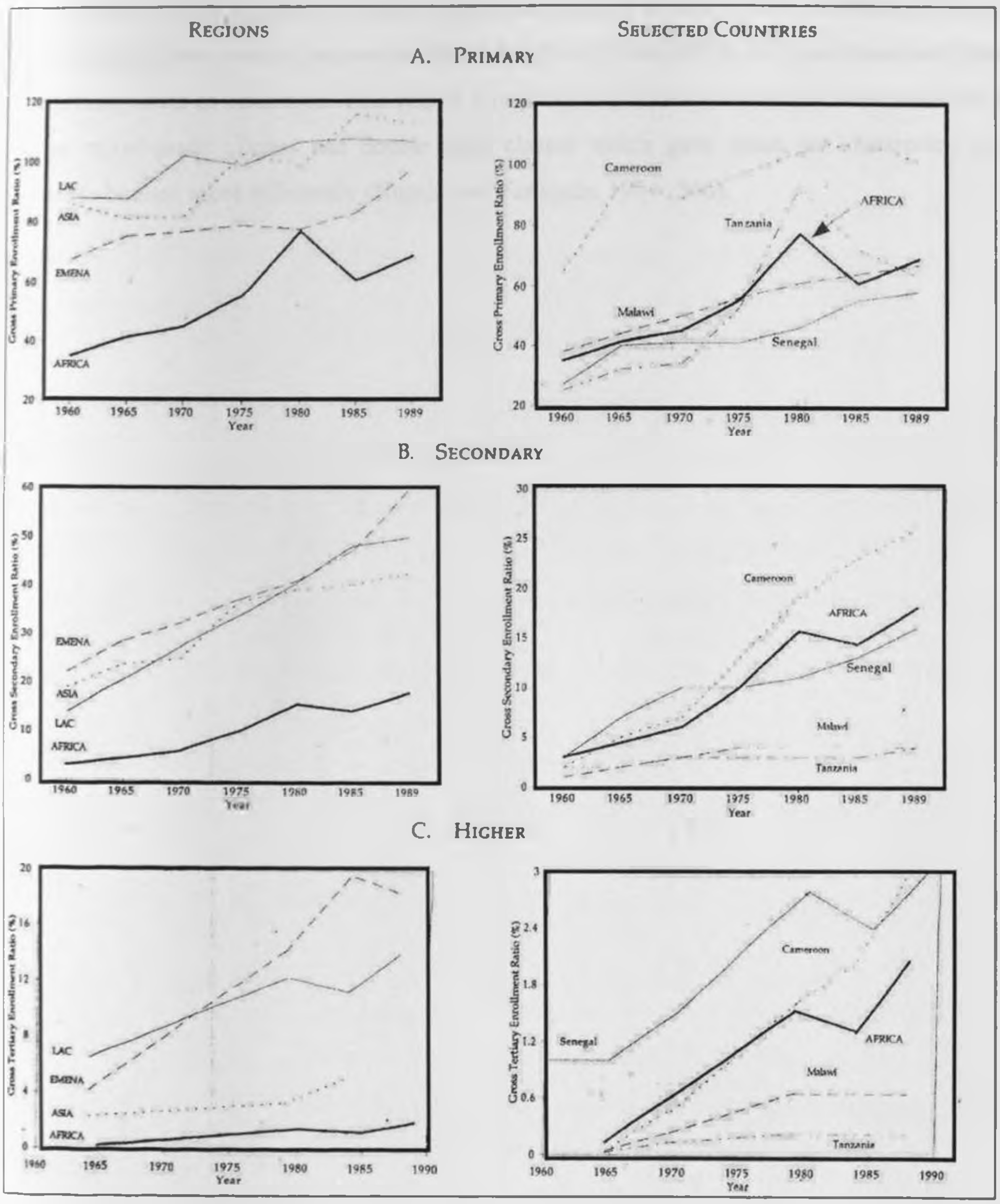
Even though the largest share of education budgets went to salaries, these declined to some extent, in many countries. This implied that the barely growing education budgets did not keep up with the growth in teacher appointments and also ageing teaching population, with increase in rank and salary levels. As a result of this, teachers were paid less and irregularly in some countries. The decline in teachers' salaries lowered their morale as most teachers (mostly in rural areas) resorted to borrowing from local stores or bought some products like groceries and vegetables on credit.

Moreover, these declines also increased the need for teachers to supplement their income by 'moonlighting' i.e. teaching students out of their official working hours, thus reducing the time needed for preparation for their classes or even attend to their classes.

Gross enrolment ratios for students declined at the primary, secondary and university levels in a number of countries in SSA. As shown in Figure 3, gross enrolment rates at the secondary level was low in the 80s, compared to the other regions like Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean which showed a steady rise at that level. This was during the cost-sharing era of between 1980 and 1989.

Husain and Faruquee (1994:123) pointed out that at the primary level in Cameroon, the rates declined between 1980 and 1986, in Tanzania some primary school rates also declined from 81% to 44% between 1980 and 1985. Also in the same decade, other countries that showed a decline in the percentage of children entering the first grade were, Cote d'Ivoire from 67 to 60 per cent, Central African Republic from 70 to 66 per cent and Niger from 30 to 27 per cent. This was as a reflection of the difficult situation that poor households faced during the SAPs in the 1980s, in SSA. Due to the fact that a greater share of educational costs was shifted onto the students and their families, this had an effect on the enrolment at the primary level.

Figure 3: Gross enrolment rates in several regions and selected countries – (1960 to 1990)



Source: Ridker, 1994

It was noted that not all adjusting countries had declines in their intake rates as is shown in Malawi, there was an increase of 20% in these rates at the primary level, between 1960 and 1989. In Senegal there was an increase of about 5% from 1980-1989 in the gross enrolment rates at the primary level of education. This was as a result of major innovations that were introduced, such as mixed-grade classes and double shift classes which gave room for classrooms and teachers to be used more efficiently (Husain and Faruquee, 1994: 346).

CHAPTER THREE

EDUCATIONAL ISSUES IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA AND SAPS

3.1 Introduction

Education is intrinsic to development in the widest sense, empowering people, especially the poor, with basic cognitive skills.It is the surest way to render them self-reliant as it is designed to bring about learning and development. It is an investment in human skills which helps to foster economic growth, enhance productivity, contribute to national and social development and reduce social inequality.

Todaro (1989) is of the opinion that in most developing countries, formal education is the largest industry and also the greatest consumer of public revenues. Education is perhaps the most obvious example of investment in human capital and is the key to economic development. For most Less Developed Countries (LDCs), particularly those that emerged from the colonial era in the preceding four decades or so, a functioning broad-based education system is still in the process of being established.

An education system is built up of a series of layers, from the pre-primary, primary school, through various stages of secondary and higher education. For all these layers, there are students and teachers, and it is the quantity and quality of the students, from whom in turn will be recruited teachers who will keep the system functioning and growing.

In order for a society to develop economically and socially, education must be given the top priority. This is because it improves the productive capacity of societies and their political, economic and scientific institutions. An educated and skilled society is able to have higher levels of earnings, greater agricultural production, lower fertility rate and also a better health and nutritional status. Such individuals are more likely to send their children to school to learn and gain better education. It is therefore important for Africans to increase investment in education at all levels, in order to achieve sustainable development.

To examine educational opportunity, one has to begin at home, for not only are home conditions the first to influence a child's ability to learn, but they are also the conditions which meditatethe impact of school factors in providing educational opportunity.

A distinguished group of educators met in Jomtein, Thailand, in March 1990, and declared their support for education to be made available to everyone on the planet. The theme of the conference, 'Education for All' was sponsored by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organization (UNESCO), United Nations Children's Educational Fund (UNICEF) and the World Bank (WB).

There were about 1,500 delegates from 155 countries, 20 inter-governmental bodies and 150 Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), who adopted a World Declaration, "Education for All," and a framework for action. Their basic right tenet was that basic education should be accessed by all as a basic right of citizenship.An educated population would ensure development of all nations. Education is a fundamental right for all people and that a sound, basic education is fundamental in order to have self-reliant development.

With the "Education for All" conference in Jomtien in 1990, donors and national governments took it upon themselves to redouble their effort so as to improve educational standards in developing countries. Some African countries took steps to try to reverse the declines that were experienced in the previous decade. There was an increase in the overall public spending on education which was facilitated by a revival of economic growth in a number of countries through the implementation of economic policy on education.

3.2 School Enrolment

TheWorld Bank report (1989), urged African countries to consider the idea of cost-sharing instead of fully relying on public expenditure in financing education. It further observed that in many African countries, most of the money allocated to education was spent on teachers' salaries with little regard to equipment, maintenance of physical facilities and development. One of the most important recommendations by the WB was that if SSA countries were to reduce their expenditure on education at all levels, they had to introduce cost-sharing in which the student and the parent incurred costs relating to text books, stationery and other expenses of running the school.

Through the policy of cost-sharing, structural adjustment programmes were linked to increasing rates of non-enrolment, grade repetition and dropout in educational institutions, especially at the primary level. Table 7 shows the primary school enrolment by standard at intervals of 5 years. The decrease indicated was from one standard to another due to dropout rates. There was an increase recorded after 2003 and this was as a result of the reduction of older children looking for places in standard one after FPE was fully introduced in schools.

Table 7: Primary School Enrolment by Standard in Kenya (1975-2010)

Class	1975	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Std 1	668,166	906,118	941.6	952	1024.1	1206	1468.7
Std 2	722,333	722,286	800.4	832.6	930.8	1128	1335.9
Std 3	419,638	547,790	746.6	765.6	828.6	1067	1251.3
Std 4	341,927	496,025	702.4	734.3	835.9	964	1242
Std 5	264,690	456,650	618.5	663.2	727.9	860	1167.8
Std 6	237,002	446,353	579.1	592.6	687.9	843	1120
Std 7	227,439	351,407	618.3	590.7	665.4	873	1054.3
Std 8	0	0	384.4	414.2	476	652	741.8
Total	**2,881,195**	**3,926,629**	**5391.3**	**5545.2**	**6176.6**	**7593**	**9381.8**

Source: Economic Survey ,Several Issues

The level of illiteracy in Africa is very high, and by far the lowest in the world. As much as education is a basic right for all children in the world, this is hardly the case in Africa due to lack of infrastructure and facilities, high populations, lack of financial resources and the high ratio of students to teachers.

Many African countries have been experiencing decline in school enrolment. In some countries like Burkina Faso, Burundi, Angola and Kenya, the number of children out of school increased dramatically between 1980 and 1997. To reverse the decline in school enrolment, African governments attempted to improve enrolments by targeting poor households and addressing the root cause of this, which was poverty.

In 1989, the Tanzanian Minister for Education reported that the enrolment of primary school students had dropped by 10% between 1984 and 1988. "With the rise of school fees to 300 Tanzanian shillings in 1989, one can easily predict that the attendance in primary schools will decrease even more in the future." (Daily News, August 16 1989:20)

The lack of opportunity to enrol and stay in primary school was more pronounced for girls compared to boys in SSA. Girls' education at secondary school level and institutions of higher learning has been slow. Girls tended to leave school earlier than boys so as to assist with household and farm chores which included caring for their younger siblings.

Some of them were expected to meet cultural requirements for marriageability, for example, female genital mutilation (FGM) which is carried out in some communities in Kenya. In most communities, girls were seen as 'investment' and would be married off at an early age for dowry. Educating boys was given more value as they were seen to carry the family name into the next generation.

According to Saitoti (2002) studies have shown that investments in primary education in SSA yielded higher social results than those in any other level of education. The returns to secondary and higher education was 17% and 13% respectively. The largest percentage of public resources set aside for education needed to be therefore directed towards ensuring that all children had access to quality primary education.

Virtually by any standard, education in SSA has lagged behind most developing regions. One reason is that the continent is among the poorest. Without large and growing economies, governments have limited tax bases to finance public school systems, while the bulk of most families cannot afford the high fees charged by private schools.

Another reason that made education lag behind in the SSA, was that it was only much more recently that Africa began to develop modern schools as distinct from traditional forms of education. This was done to a limited extent during the colonial era but more seriously at the onset of independence in the 1960s.

Many African governments took measures so as to promote industrial development and increase the skills of their people. This ensured that the next two decades were periods of remarkable improvement. A number of countries including Angola, Cape Verde, Kenya, Mozambique, Nigeria and Tanzania, were nearly able to reach universal primary education by the start of the 1980s.

There were countries in Africa that had a higher gross enrolment rate than Kenya in 1995 (UNESCO, 1999). These were Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Egypt and Swaziland. The gross enrolment rate for South Africa and Malawi was at 133 and 134 percent respectively. On the other hand, Kenya had a higher gross enrolment rate compared to the SSA and African averages of 76.6 and 80.4 percent respectively.

Across the continents, Latin America and the Caribbean had the highest gross enrolment rate of 110.6 percent in 1995 which was relative to the lowest rate of 80.4 percent for Africa. There was an increase in the world gross enrolment rate from 99.2% in 1990 to 100.3 percent in 1995 (UNESCO 1997)

3.3 Gender Disparity

From the onset of cost-sharing, parents had to shoulder some of the financial burden of educating their children (Husain and Faruquee, 1994:123). This was due to the fact that governments in SSA countries were encouraged to increase cost recovery as a way of mobilizing additional resources. Traditionally, most African families value the boy child and thus, where households had to choose who to educate between boys and girls in their families, boys were given priority. Girls were seen as those who would get married in the long run and thus not benefit their families directly. Social and cultural factors played a strong role in determining female participation in education.

There were challenges of equity, as far as the education of girls was concerned, except in a few African countries where the percentage of girls in schools was just above 50% as shown in Table 8. These countries were Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Gabon, Tanzania, Mauritius, Seychelles, Rwanda and Madagascar. The Pan African Conference on the Education for Girls held in Ouagadougou in 1993,noted that there were about 26 million African youths who had not been to school and estimated that the number would rise to 36 million by the year 2000. Most of these youth were living in the rural areas.

TABLE 8: TRENDS IN FEMALE EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT FOR 29 SUBSAHARAN COUNTRIES AND 83 DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

gion		Percentage of Population over 25 by level of schooling							Average years of School	Gender Ratio
			Primary		Secondary		Higher			
	Pop Over	No. Schooling	Total	(Complete)	Total	(Complete)	Total	(Complete)		
Saharan Africa(29)										
1960	25	78.4	16.8	-5.1	4.6	-1.2	0.2	-0.2	1.21	60.3
1965	28	78.3	16.9	-3.1	4.6	-1.1	0.6	-0.3	1.15	53.9
1970	31	77.4	17	-3.1	5	-1.1	1	-0.5	1.22	52
1975	35	73.9	20.2	-2.5	5.3	-1	0.9	-0.5	1.32	51.7
1980	40	68.5	25.1	-2.3	5.8	-0.9	0.9	-0.5	1.52	53.7
1985	46	64	28.7	-2.2	6.8	-0.9	1	-0.4	1.72	54.7
veloped Countries										
1960	240	78.6	18	-5.8	3.1	-1.2	0.4	-0.3	1.13	50.2
1965	269	76	19.8	-6.5	3.6	-1.4	0.6	-0.4	1.29	49.8
1970	302	72.8	21.9	-7.5	4.4	-1.7	0.8	-0.6	1.51	49.8
1975	340	68.8	24	-6.8	5.8	-2.3	1.4	-0.9	1.78	52.5
1980	389	64.9	24.9	-6.7	8.3	-3.2	2	-1.3	2.16	55.1
1985	451	59.6	28.2	-8.3	10	-4.1	2.9	-1.9	2.65	58.7

Source: Ridker, 1994

Table 9: Enrolment in Secondary Schools in Kenya by Gender, 2006-2010

	2006		2007		2008		2009		2010	
Form	**Boys**	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Girls**	**Boys**	**Girls**
Form 1	161588	137873	170650	143045	207212	180461	232854	212467	266707	232226
Form 2	132015	119077	173165	149840	196500	163164	202045	175098	232145	211799
Form 3	120978	115443	157572	134793	181775	155798	190987	156785	216786	181823
Form 4	131491	111615	137304	113899	161026	136275	182764	154546	199333	160682
TOTAL	546072	484008	638690	541577	746513	635698	808650	698896	914971	786530
GRAND TOTAL	1030080		1180267		1382211		1507546		1701501	

Source: Economic Survey (2011)

In most of these countries, girls comprised a smaller percentage of children in primary schools compared to boys and even less at secondary school level. This is reflected in Table 9 which indicates the enrolment at secondary schools in Kenya by gender, between 2006 and 2010. In some countries, separate schools were built for boys and girls, with girls' schools being fewer and with less capacity.

Kimalu et al. (2001) report that in some African countries, the average illiteracy rate for women was about 30%. In 22 countries out of these, the difference in the gross enrollment ratio at the primary level between boys and girls was as high as 20%. The report stated that between the period of 1990-2000, the percentage of adult literacy rose from 27% to 54%. As shown in Table 10, the illiteracy rates seemed to be on the decline but females still had a higher illiteracy rate than the males.

Table 10: Illiteracy rates (%) in some selected African countries (1990-2000)

	1990			1995			2000		
Country	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Kenya	28.9	18.6	39	22.7	14.4	30.9	17.5	11	24
Uganda	43.9	30.8	56.6	38.1	26.3	49.6	32.7	22.3	42.9
Tanzania	36.9	24.2	48.9	30.9	19.8	41	24.8	15.9	33.4
Cameroon	37.7	28.2	46.9	30.7	22.8	38.4	24.6	18.2	30.8
Egypt	52.9	39.7	66.4	48.9	36.5	61.5	44.7	33.4	56.3
Ethiopia	71.7	64	79.4	66.8	60.1	73.5	61.3	56.1	66.6
Ghana	42.7	30.6	54.4	36.1	25.3	46.6	29.8	20.5	38.8
Botswana	31.8	43.2	29.6	27.3	30	24.9	22.8	25.6	20.2
Malawi	48.1	31.2	63.7	44	28.3	58.7	39.7	25.5	53.3
Nigeria	51.2	40.5	61.5	43.5	33.9	52.7	35.9	27.7	43.8
Rwanda	46.6	37	55.8	39.6	31.3	47.6	33	26.3	39.4
South Africa	18.7	17.7	19.7	16.7	15.9	17.5	14.9	14.2	15.5
Burundi	62.2	51.5	72	57.7	47.8	66.8	51.9	43.7	59.5
Sub Saharan Africa	50.7	40.7	60.3	45.2	36	54	39.7	31.5	47.6
Africa	51	40.2	61.5	45.6	35.6	53.4	40.3	31.3	49.1
World	24.8	18.1	31.4	22.7	16.4	29	20.6	14.7	26.4

Source: UNESCO, 2001

In Kenya, the literacy programme was started in 1979 and a Department of Adult Education was established so as to enhance the national literacy campaign. When this programme was launched, the number of women enroled was 321,208 and the number of men was93,968. By 1990, the enrollment figures were at 105,458 for women and 32,696 for men. (Mwiria, 1993).

Studies by various scholars show that in the area of work, there was an impact of SAPs in SSA and that more women than men had become unemployed. In Kenya, a survey was conducted in 2005/2006 by the Urban Labour Force Survey, to show the overall unemployment rates in the rural and urban areas. The overall unemployment rate was 12.7%. The female unemployment rate stood at 14.3% while that of males was at 11.2%. Unemployment was higher in the urban areas at 19.9% compared to the rura lareas, at 9.8% (RoK, 2008:43)

Table 11 shows the unemployment rates in Kenya where the number of females was higher than that of the males. This was a ripple effect of the fact that the dropout rate for girls in schools was higher than that of boys because of cost-sharing and preferably, boys were taken to school. Thus, the female role of caring for the family by ensuring adequate food access, education and health care, was increased when the basic incomes of the poor was on the decline.

Table 11: Unemployment rates by age group and gender in Kenya (2005/06)

	Rural			Urban			Total		
Age Groups	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**	**Total**
Total	**9.5**	**10.2**	**9.8**	**15**	**25.9**	**19.9**	**11.2**	**14.3**	**12.7**
15-19	18.2	21.1	19.6	42.3	47.8	45.5	22.4	27.7	25
20-24	16.8	20.3	18.6	30.1	40.8	35.8	21	27.3	24.2
25-29	11.1	12.1	11.6	17.3	29.1	22.8	13.5	17.9	15.7
30-34	5.6	7.2	6.4	6.8	14.3	9.8	6.1	9.2	7.5
35-39	6.7	5.7	6.1	7.2	14.7	10.6	6.9	8.3	7.6
40-44	5.2	4.7	4.9	9.2	12.3	10.5	6.4	6.4	6.4
45-49	4.3	5.6	5	6.3	10.4	7.8	4.9	6.5	5.7
50-54	4.5	3.8	4.1	6.4	8.5	7.1	4.9	4.4	4.7
55-59	4.8	2.8	3.8	4.9	6.2	5.3	4.8	3.2	4
60-64	3.9	0.8	2.3	5.6	1.4	4.2	4.2	0.8	2.5

Source: RoK, 2008

3.4 Economic Issues in Education

The SAPs introduced in many African countries during the 1980s, and early 1990s placed a particular constraint on education financing. This was due to measures introduced to ensure that governments decentralized their powers and reduced their budgetary allocations.

During the period of SAPs, there was a decline in the real per capita public spending on education in some SSA countries. Table 12 provides evidence of the impact on education expenditures per capita for individual countries. Over the period of 1980-84 to 1985-89 which was the cost-sharing period, 18 out of the 32 countries for which data was made available in the table, had a decline in real per capita expenditures on education, in 23 of these cases, the declines were then associated with the declines in GDP per capita.

The Gross Domestic Product in relation to education means that the value of goods and services produced by the countries were not able to support the financing of education per every head in the country. Most of the African countries experience low gross domestic product impacts negatively, on their ability to support education programmes in revenue expenditure and development expenditure. This is associated with the levels of poverty in most African countries.

TABLE 12: REAL ANNUAL PER CAPITA EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURES OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENTS (Averages over selected years)

	US $, 1987 Prices						Percent Change			
	Education Per Capita			GDP Per Capita			Education Expenditure Per Capita		GDP Per Capita	
SSA Countries	1975-1979	1980-1984	1985-1989	1975-1979	1980-1984	1985-1989	75/79-80/84	80/84-85/89	75/79-80/84	80/84-85/89
Benin	12.3			341	444	412			30.3	-7.2
Botswana	33.7	65.5	79.8	615	920	1,328	94.4	21.8	49.6	44.5
Cote d'Ivore		67.6		1,152	1,137	987			-1.2	-13.2
Cameroon	14.3	20.9	31.5	762	1,128	1,161	45.7	50.9	48.1	2.9
Comoros		49.5	41.2		201	481		-16.8		138.6
Congo	49.2			793	1,192	1,166			50.4	-2.2
Ethiopia	2.6	3.5	4		126	118	31.5	16.6	3.7	-6.6

Ghana	10.2	7.5	11.4		395	392	-25.8	51	-9.4	-0.9
Gambia, The	4.9	10	4.4		244	243	105.4	-56	1.4	-0.3
Guinea Bissau		10.3	5.8		171	186		-43.7	-13.8	8.7
Burkina Faso	5	5.2	5.3		281	317	5.4	1.8	8.9	12.7
Kenya	13.1	18.1	19.5		373	376	38.5	7.6	8.4	0.7
Liberia	20.6	24.9	18.6		633	315	21.2	-25.2	-11.7	-50.3
Lesotho	23.8	32.1	33.7		225	231	34.9	4.9	10.4	3
Madagascar		8.2	6		281	256		-26.8	-10.6	-8.9
Mauritania	17.7				545	527			1.1	-3.4
Mauritius	44.3	56.4	52.2		1,331	1,737	27.3	-7.6	2.7	30.5
Malawi	3.9	5.5	5.1	167	174	169	41.9	-8.1	4.5	-3
Niger	8	9.9	7.5	403	419	323	24.1	-24.2	3.9	-23
Nigeria	5.8	4	1.8	327	297	248	-31.8	-54.3	-9.1	-16.4
Rwanda	5.9	11.5	10.7	295	366	336	95.6	-6.6	24.2	-8.3
Sudan	8.4	12.8		835	476	435	52.1		-43	-8.7
Senegal		31.9	12.2	708	693	693		-61.6	-2.1	-0.1
Sierra Leone	4.4	5.3	2.3	158	183	162	18.6	-57	15.9	-11.4
Somalia	2.5	1.7	0.6	149	180	179	-31.5	-67.3	20.5	-0.5
Swaziland	36.9	55.2	55.3	845	812	830	49.5	0.3	-3.9	2.2
Togo	16.5	23.4	16.6	432	438	402	42.2	-29	1.3	-8.2
Tanzania	5.6	5.5	2.3	170	159	157	-2.3	-57.7	-6.3	-1.5
Uganda	3.8	2.6	2.4	313	315	292	-31.5	-7.4	0.4	-7.2
Zaire	4.8	3.6	1.6	270	261	248	-26.4	-54.5	-3.6	-4.7
Zambia	17.1	14.9	9.2	384	346	299	-13.3	-38.4	-10	-13.4
Zimbabwe	20.8	42.7	50.6	627	669	30	105.5	18.5	6	-5.7

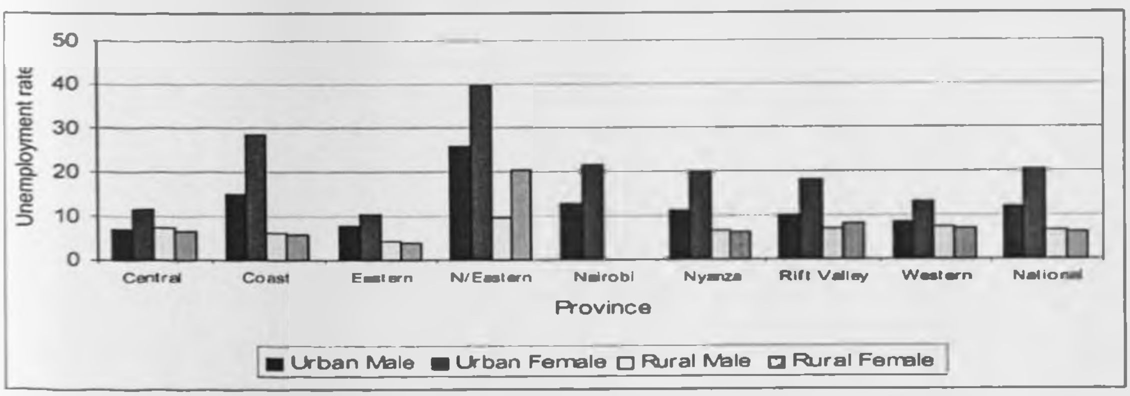
Source: World Bank, Africa Development Indicators, 1992

During the period of economic crises, the politics of Tanzania marked a new phase in the cementing of new directions for the political struggles of the 1990s. With the reduction of the states expenditure on social services like education and health, and the control put on wages, new avenues for class antagonisms in the society were seen to open up. This was despite the fact that there was a policy in Tanzania, which advocated for socialism, which was the sharing of national resources for the good of the people. This system was known as 'UJAMAA.'

In many African countries, wages were normally controlled by the state. When this was combined with the removal of subsidies, the likelihood that the living standards of people was more likely to fall significantly, was high. In the Journal of Social Development in Africa, a number of African countries were used as case studies, namely, Algeria, Ghana, Madagascar, Malawi, Sierra Leone, Togo and Zambia. Out of these countries only Algeria and Ghana showed signs of responding to adjustments with any degree of stability (Rono, 2002)

A UNESCO (2001) World Education Report noted that as the century ended, more than 40% of Africa's primary school age children remained out of school and less than 2% who begin school, reach tertiary level. Some schools in many countries e.g. Kenya, had no reading materials, teachers' guides or furniture. The youth aged between 15-30 years formed a large group of poorly educated and unemployed persons. The working-age population in Kenya includes persons between the ages of 15 and 64 years. The national unemployment rate in Kenya for the population aged 15 years and above was at 7.5 percent in 1989. Females had a higher rate of 8.2% while the males had a rate of 7.6% as indicated in Figure 4 below. There was no question that the lack of education opportunities posed a serious challenge to development in Africa.

Figure 4: Unemployment rates in Kenya by sex, province and rural-urban residence- 1989



Source: RoK , 1994

Although external assistance was only a small part of Africa's total expenditure on education, it played a strategic and critical role in most African countries. Economic crises and SAPs had generally increased Africa's recourse to foreign assistance. African governments and aid agencies participated in the re-evaluation and re-direction of external assistance to maximize opportunities for increased education capacity in Africa (Ridker,1994:35)

According to a UNDP Report (1997) the SAPs imposed by the IMF and the WB on 36 African countries since 1980 had devastated the continent, decimating national economies, health and education systems. Under SAPs, SSAs external debt increased by more than 500% since 1980 to 300 billion dollars in the 21st century. In 1997, the UNDP stated that in absence of debt payments, severely indebted African countries could have saved the lives of 21 million people and given 90 million girls and women access to basic education (UNDP,1997:64)

Between 1986 and 1996, per capita education spending in Africa fell by 0.7% a year on average. About 40% of African children were out of school and the adult literacy rate in SSA was 60%, well below the developing country average of 73%. As shown in Table 13, over 50% of all adults in SSA in 1985 had never been to school and over 90% had never completed the primary school cycle. (Ridker, 1994)

TABLE 13: TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT FOR 29 SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA COUNTRIES (1960-1985)

		Percentage of Population over 25 by level of Schooling							Average years of School
ion			Primary		Secondary		Higher		
	Pop Over	No. Schooling	Total	(Complete)	Total	(Complete)	Total	(Complete)	
Saharan Africa(29)									
1960	47	70.5	23.6	-7.3	5.4	-1.4	0.4	-0.3	1.6
1965	53	69.5	24.4	-6.4	5.5	-1.4	0.6	-0.5	1.62
1970	60	67.8	24.9	-5.6	6.3	-1.5	1	-0.8	1.76
1975	68	63.9	28.5	-6.1	6.6	-1.4	0.9	-0.7	1.91
1980	77	58.8	32.7	-6.6	7.6	-1.5	0.9	-0.7	2.16
1985	89	54.4	36	-7.6	8.7	-1.6	1	-0.8	2.41
eloped Countries									
1960	487	69.3	25.5	-8.2	4.4	-1.7	0.8	-0.6	1.7
1965	45	66.6	26.9	-9.4	5.4	-2.1	1.2	-0.8	1.94
1970	609	62.6	28.8	-10.5	6.9	-2.7	1.7	-1.2	2.28
1975	684	58.4	30	-8.5	9.1	-3.6	2.5	-1.7	2.59
1980	782	55.9	28.1	-8.5	12.7	-5.1	3.2	-2.2	3.04
1985	905	49.6	31.7	-10.4	14.4	-5.8	4.4	-3	3.58

Source: Ridker, 1994

"The illiterate of the 21st century will not be those who cannot read and write, but those who cannot learn, unlearn and re-learn," (Peril and Promise, 2000:83). More than 40 million young Africans are illiterate and this is a large number. There are those who believe that SAPs had a great negative social impact all over Africa. Thus it is not surprising that Emily Sikazwe, Director of the Zambian Anti-Poverty Group, "Women for Change," asked, "What would they (WB and IMF) say if we took them to the International Criminal Court in The Hague and accused them of genocide?"(Asad I, 2003: 4)

CHAPTER FOUR

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMMES AND THE EDUCATION SECTOR IN KENYA

4.1 Introduction

Education is one of the critical sectors that contribute to the social pillar through the transmission of skills and knowledge in all countries, including Kenya. It is a crucial component in developing most of the developing world. Kenya in particular, strongly relies on education to harness its greatest development asset, the human resource. Many Kenyans view education as a vehicle for social mobility and national economic development. Education is a fundamental right which must be provided to every Kenyan so as to prepare and equip her citizens to function effectively in their environment and also to be useful members of the society.

On attaining independence in 1963, the Government of Kenya (GoK) committed itself to providing free education and health services for citizens as part of its development strategies to improve the welfare and productivity of the nation (RoK, 1965).

At the onset of socio-economic crises of the early 1980s, user fees were introduced in the social sector as part of the wider SAPs. The main aim was to encourage increased cost recovery as a way of mobilizing additional resources. Like in most countries in SSA, cost-sharing had been criticized for its adverse impact on the poor and vulnerable groups.

The year 1988 was a turning point for the education sector in Africa in general and Kenya in particular. In that year, the World Bank released one of its most influential documents on education, "*Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion*" (World Bank,1988). This publication was explicit in its endorsement of 'user fees' in recovering education costs and it was in part meant to encourage African governments to move towards initiating greater liberalization of education and the entrenchment of SAPs.

The decision to introduce cost-sharing was as a result of the shift in the national economic policy which had so far seen a visible increase in the government contribution in financing social services. In Kenya, two documents played a central role in the launching of cost-sharing in education. These were the Report of the Presidential Working Party on Education & Manpower Training for the Next Decade and Beyond, also known as the Kamunge Report (RoK,1988a).

The recommendations from this report were accepted by the government in the Sessional Paper No.6 on Education & Training for the Next Decade and Beyond (RoK, 1988b). Thus the introduction of cost-sharing officially marked the start of the government's abandonment of 'free' and highly subsidized education.

The development of education has been a longstanding objective of the GoK since independence. The reason for this objective was clear as education is considered by different stakeholders to be a basic need and a basic right.

4.2 Education Expenditure

There was effort from the government together with her development partners, namely the IMF and the WB, to reverse the worsening economy growth rate. Thus the SAPs were adopted through Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth and this led to the cost sharing policy in education (MOEST,2001). This adoption witnessed the return of a substantial proportion of financial responsibilities to communities and parents, as far as schooling was concerned.

As a result of this policy paper, parents were to be responsible for putting up and maintaining physical infrastructure like classrooms, libraries and workshops. Similarly, through the report of the Presidential Working Party on Manpower Training for the Next Decade and Beyond (1988) the government added an extra financial burden on parents, by adding the cost of textbooks and supplementary readers, stationary, consumable materials, boarding and feeding costs. They were also to pay tuition, activity and examination fees.

In the education sector, cost sharing was introduced by the government in 1988, as an education sector reform measure. The aim was to try to contain and sustain education expenditures without raising the overall level of the government budget.

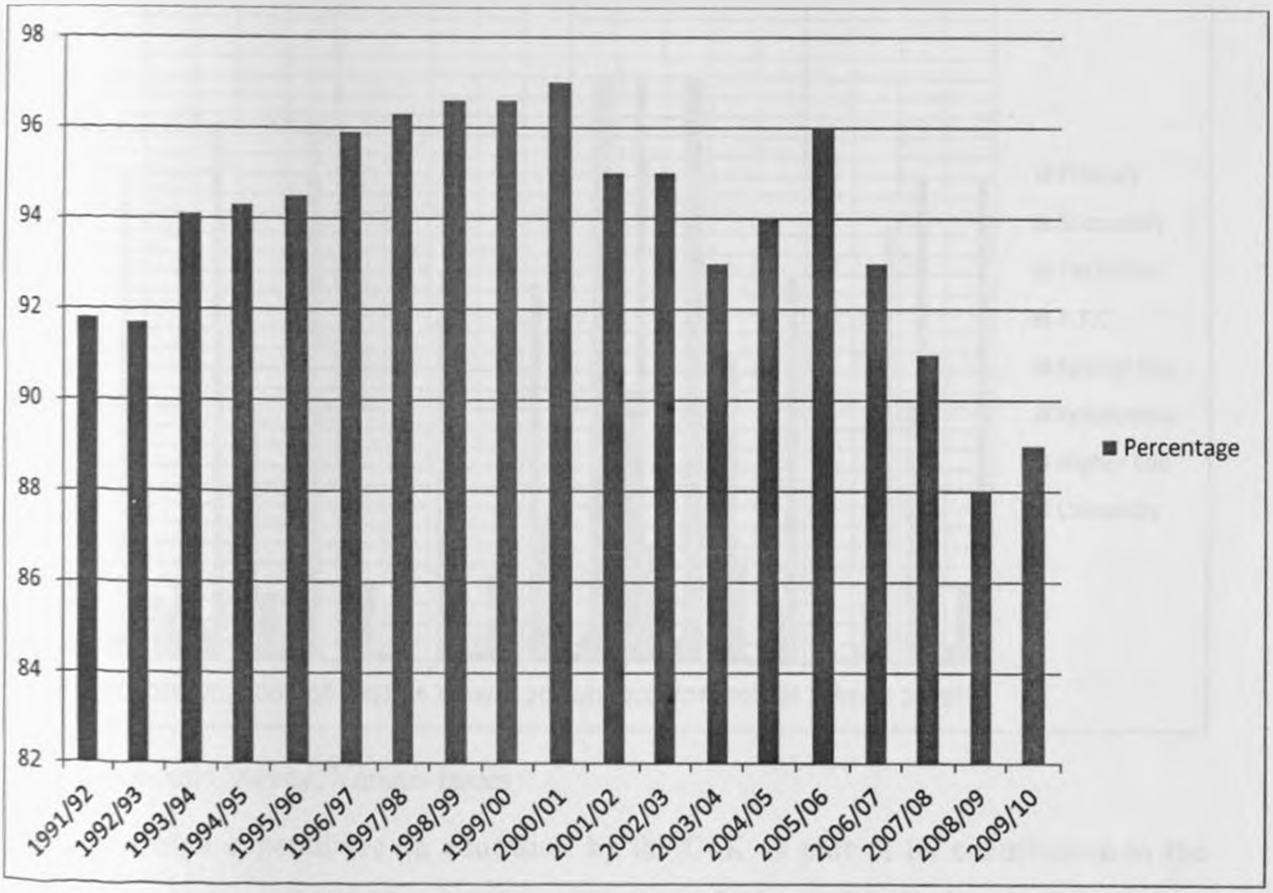
Inadequate public resources for education made the Kenya government raise its dependence on bilateral and multilateral donors to support educational projects. However, one of the major drawbacks of donor-funded programmes has been sustainability. Most programmes were often planned inadequately without in-built structures that could allow continuity. Furthermore, some externally funded projects were donor driven and did not always address the basic problems facing the education sector.

The Kenyan education sector was in a state of crisis in most of the developing countries, essentially as a result of cuts in the expenditure on education in the 1980s. This was due to the introduction of a policy that required Kenyans to cost-share in the provision of education and also in the health sector. Although most African nations promised to provide free health care services and free education, this was not possible at that time due to the lack of resources and also lack of functioning educational infrastructure.

Kenya was ranked 152nd (out of 177) on the Human Development Index, with more than half of its population living below the poverty line i.e. living on less than one US dollar a day and unable to meet their basic requirements (UNDP,HDR,2006). With about 56% of the population living below the poverty line, the escalating cost of education had a negative impact on access, equity and quality of education.

A feature of Kenya's formal education and training systems since the attainment of independence has been the rapid growth in enrolment at all levels of educational institutions. As a result of the increased enrolment, there was also an increase in educational expenditure. Rono (2002) states that the share of recurrent expenditure on education in Kenya more than doubled from about 15 per cent in 1960s to 30 per cent in 1980 and more than tripled to 91.8% and 96.9% percent in 1992 and 2000 respectively, where it was at its highest at 97%, thus becoming a major burden to taxpayers. This is reflected in Figure 5 below.

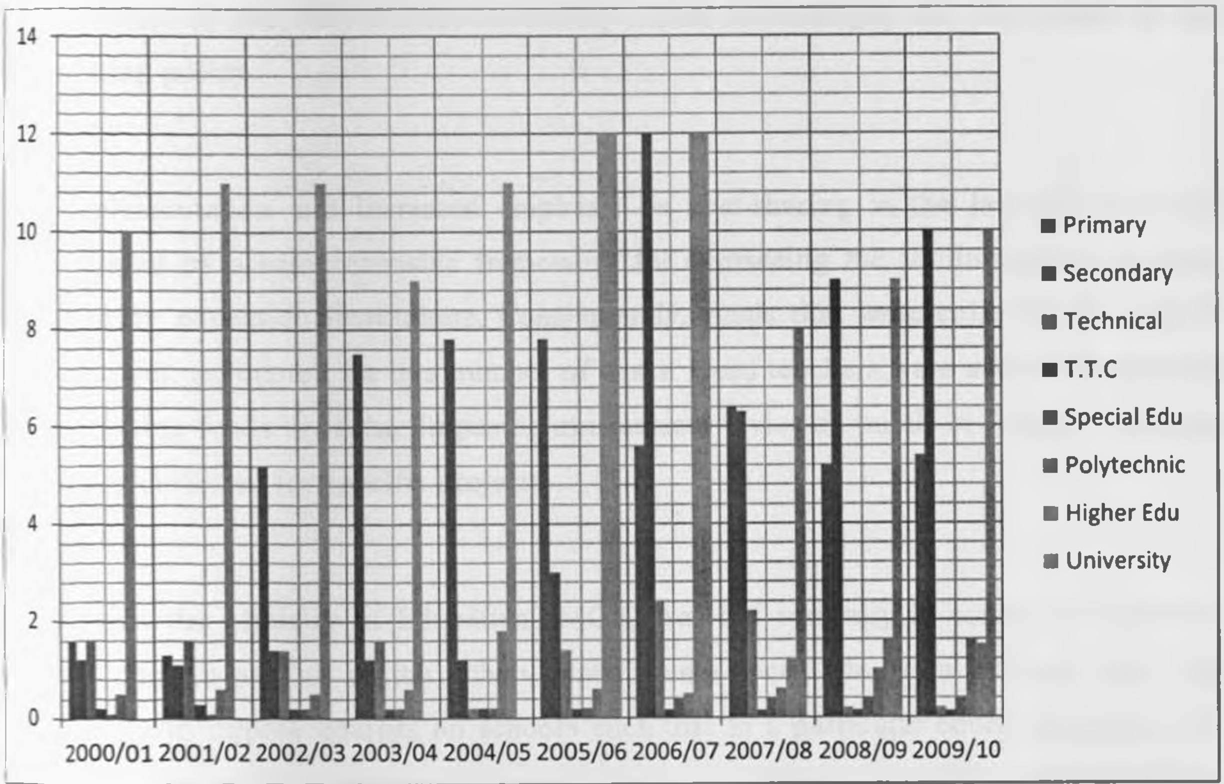
Figure 5: Education recurrent expenditure as a % of total education expenditure, 1991/92 - 2009/2010



Source: Economic Surveys, various issues.

Kenya has one of the highest ratios of public expenditure in education and training, in relation to the Gross National Product in SSA. As indicated in Figure 6, between 2000 and 2010, the proportion of primary schools expenditure in relation to the total budget for education was at an average of between 2 and 12 percent. It was followed by the secondary sector with between 3 and 11.9 percent, the higher education level had between 1 and 11.8 percent and the teacher training sector had an average of about 5%. Personal emoluments like salaries and allowances at the primary and secondary levels took slightly over 95% of recurrent spending. This left only meager resources for instructional materials, operations and maintenance.

Figure 6: Percentage of education expenditure by levels – 2000-2010



Source: Economic Survey, Various Issues

Despite the high expenditure on education by the GoK as part of its contribution to the cost-sharing strategy, the implementation of the cost-sharing policy in the education sector was faced with many challenges, notably: the mode of implementation, role of the key stakeholders and the future direction as evidenced by the various policy documents.

From a financial perspective, primary and secondary education is the responsibility of the family and the community. University education was until 1980 entirely free of charge to those who qualified after high school. However, by mid 1980s, the concept of cost-sharing became the normal practice.

Abagi (1998) states that by the 1990s, the amount of expenditure used by the public education sector was about 35% of the government recurrent expenditure. By 2001, the amount of fees paid at different levels ranged from Kshs 3,000 to Kshs 30,000 annual and therefore poor families found it difficult to educate their children, due to the high levels of poverty. Thus by this, they did not effectively fill the resource gap that was created by the cost-sharing policy.

The implementation and increased emphasis on cost-sharing in the late 80's was not accompanied by a comprehensive framework for overseeing the administration of funds collected by education institutions. Consequently, funds that were collected by schools were not well accounted for in a number of cases. Head teachers were accused by parents of embezzling funds, by either imposing unnecessary levies on pupils or failing to account for money collected for specific projects.

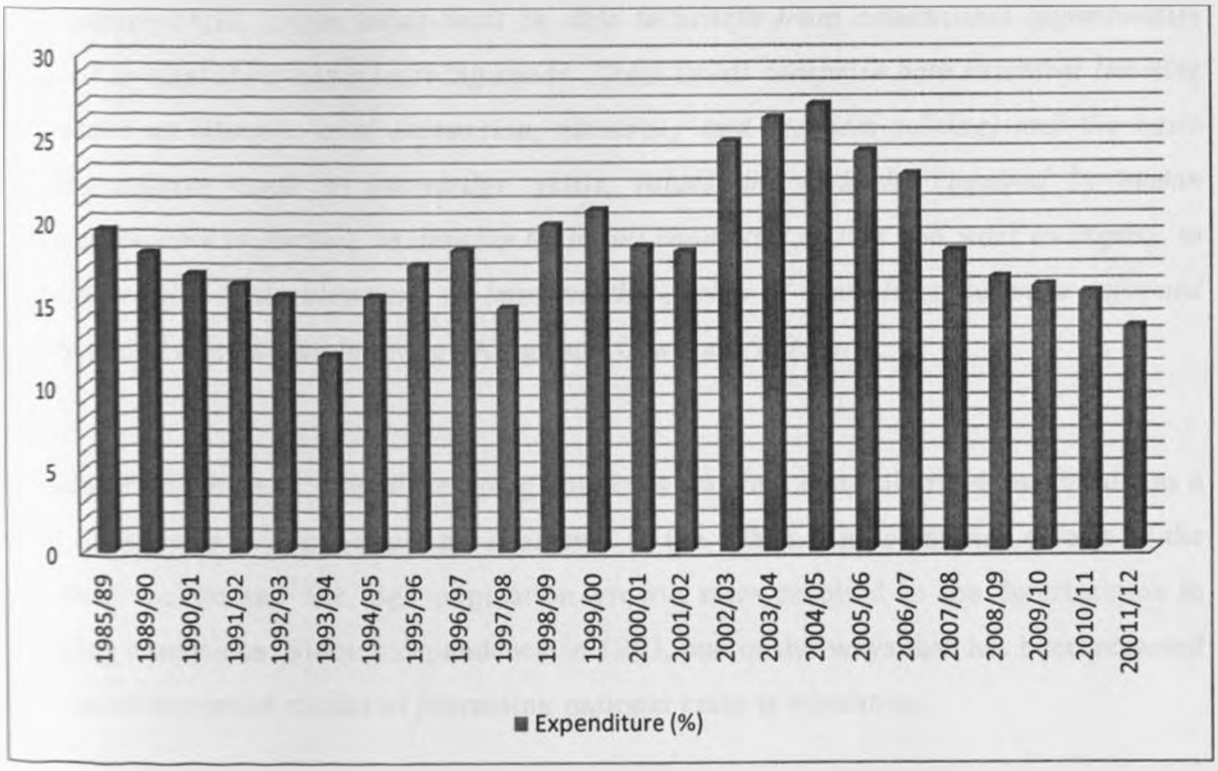
Given that the Ministry of Education (MOE) was not centrally in control of the cost-sharing implementation at the school level, some local education officers took this opportunity to impose charges on schools such that in a particular education zone, each school was expected to contribute a specific amount of money to the Education Office for maintenance, office stationery, transport and other expenses.

The 1989/93 Development Plan showed that the problem of financing education from the public budget proved to be the strategic issue facing the education sector (RoK, 1988). Although the cost of education is currently borne both by the private and public sectors, the share of public expenditure on education in an issue of major concern.

Figure 7 indicates the increase in the education expenditure as a percentage of total government expenditure. In 1987, over 35% of the total public sector recurrent budget was taken up by education alone, compared to 15% in 1980. In the 2003/2004 financial year, the government increased its education budget by 17.4% to Kshs 79.4 billion which was 26.1% of the total government budget, with over Kshs 7.6 billion specifically allocated to the FPE programme.

In 2004, the government devoted 29.2% of its total expenditure on education, an amount representing 7.0% of the gross domestic product (GDP). The SAPs era indicated a decline in the education expenditure as a percentage of government total expenditure between 1985 and 1994. This was as a result of cost-sharing.

Figure 7: Education expenditure as % of Government total expenditure (1985-2012)



Source: KNBS, Kenya Facts and Figures 2010 and 2011

The increased cost-sharing in education had two major impacts on government revenues as it enabled the government to provide additional educational and other services to other areas that required such services. On the other hand, with the increased cost-sharing, many households had to constrain their expenditure on other household requirements. They had to either draw on their past savings or reduce their savings rate in order to finance the additional expenditure in education.

4.3 Challenges in Education

Kenya is a signatory to the UN Human Rights Charter and The Convention on the Right of the Child, both of which recognize education as a right of every citizen. This right was reiterated in 1990 when 1,500 delegates from 155 nations, including Kenya, and many NGOs reaffirmed education as a human right by adopting the World Declaration on Education for All (EFA). Article 1 of this Declaration states:-

Every person-child, youth, adult-shall be able to benefit from educational opportunities designed to meet their basic learning needs. These needs comprise both essential learning tools (such as literacy, oral expression, numeracy and problem solving) and the basic learning content (such as knowledge, skills, values and attitude) required by human beings to be able to survive, to develop their full capacities to live and work in dignity, to participate fully in development, to improve the quality of their lives, to make informed decisions and to continue learning (Abagi and Olweya, 1999:2).

The education sector in most developing countries was in a state of crisis, essentially as a result of the cuts in expenditure on education in the 1980s. The combined effects of the economic decline and the high population growth rates resulted in the deterioration in schooling conditions. Since independence in 1963, one of the ways that has been regarded as the most important means of promoting national unity is education.

It is clear that in order for any government to provide essential services to its citizens, it must have a stable economy. For instance, with regard to the decision to abolish user fees at the primary school level, while the government was constrained, it was contested that removing user fees at only one level was not sufficient and was not sustainable. Even if this decision opened up the opportunity for more students to have access to primary school education, this created an even wider gap between the number of students attending primary school and those attending secondary school.

This gap had implications for increasing inequalities in terms of both gender and class in the medium and long term. In addition, there was no indication that other constraining aspects related to education for poor families would be removed and no assurance that the levels of support currently provided to teachers would be maintained or increased.

One of the major objectives of development is to promote equity at all levels including at the regional level. In Kenya, various regions of the country have achieved different levels of development and as a result, there are great levels of inequalities in household incomes. This is a common characteristic of the Kenyan society.

Since achieving independence in 1963, Kenya committed herself to alleviating three major challenges, that is poverty, ignorance and diseases, which were seen as threats to national development. Thus in 1964, the government established the first Education Committee under the late Prof. Simeon Ominde, which was to examine the then existing education structures and make recommendations to the government on the best system that would serve the interest of the then new state.

At that time, the education system was segmented along racial lines. The Ominde Report recommended a unitary system of education and brought the management under the central government, including employment of teachers. The report provided a strong launching pad for the development of education and saw the enrolment in schools shoot up in leaps and bounds.

Other government priorities in education included ensuring that there was affordable and equitable access to education through the enhanced management and provision of bursaries to the poor and vulnerable groups such as girls and people with disabilities. Also, there was need to collaborate with the private sector, the NGO's and other development partners to provide additional facilities, review the primary and secondary curriculum so as to make them more relevant and affordable and also to cater for the disadvantaged regions such as the Arid and Semi Arid Lands (ASAL).

Another important aspect was to enhance the provision of grants and aid to secondary schools in ASAL districts and some schools in pockets of poverty in non-ASAL areas. Also, the government was to mobilize and sensitize communities on the available services for children with special needs and to improve the management and supervision of schools through merit, appointments, training, in-service courses and the provision of supporting facilities (RoK, 1988).

Since independence, Kenya has been well known for the scale of community involvement in education, particularly in the secondary sector. Thus, harambee schools were a form of cost-sharing in which the government provided teachers and other basic necessities. These schools provided education more cheaply despite lacking the good facilities in the government funded schools (Eshiwani,1993:67)

According to the MOEs School Management Guide (MoE,1999) in the cost-sharing strategy (Sessional Paper No. 6) the Kenyan Government committed itself to reduce the share of its budget to education by shifting recurrent costs to parents and communities. These included the purchase of books, fees, uniforms and other private costs, such as transport and meals.

In Kenya, there were two major strikes by teachers in 1988 and 2002, where teachers demanded better remuneration packages. This resulted in hundreds of teachers abandoning teaching to take up jobs in the private sectors. This was due in part to the low pay, compared to that paid in the private sector (RoK,1996:138)

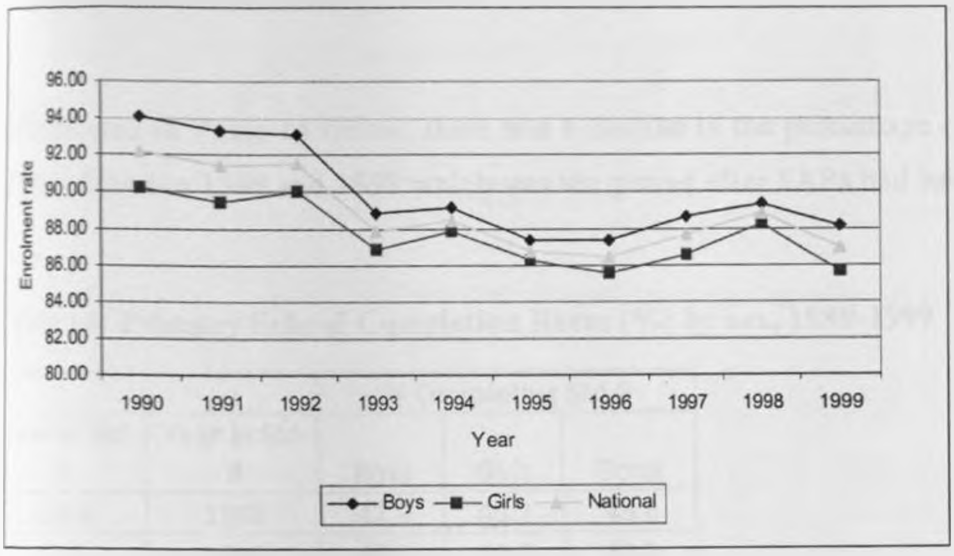
Consequently, there has been minimum employment of teachers by the government since 1998. The student population as at the beginning of 2012, stood at 9.4 million in primary schools and 1.7 million in secondary schools and the student to teacher ratio stood at 50:1. A nationwide teachers strike begun on 7/9/11 so as to urge the government to rectify this situation by employing an additional 28,000 teachers (Daily Nation, 11/9/11)

4.4 Gender Disparity

In spite of the progress the government has made in the field of education, one of the significant educational issues that needed to be addressed was inequality in the provision of education. During the 1980s, girls were affected by the imposition of SAPs and education user fees in various countries. The disparities in access to education between females and males continued to persist despite many strategies and interventions addressing constraints, both on supply and demand sides.

Gender disparity was prevalent in the declining female enrolment, especially as learners progressed up the education pyramid. In 1996, the Kenyan female representation in the three levels of education was 49%, 46% and 28% for primary, secondary and public universities respectively (RoK, 1998). In the same year, the primary school gross enrolment rate by gender indicated that the male pupils had a higher gross enrolment rate than their female counterparts at the national level. The males had an enrolment rate of 87.8% while the females were at 85.9% as indicated in Figure 8.

Figure 8: Primary school gross enrolment rates by gender, 1990-1999



Source: Kimalu et al, 2001

The gender difference in education is an issue of concern in Kenya. The number of girls going to school is still low and became even lower as one moved up the educational ladder. Several factors accounted for this and one of them was the cultural preferences for boys' education over girls. Girls were seen to provide valuable services in their households and for those who were married off early, provided income to their families, which poor families could no longer live without.

Also, the girls seemed to do more work, related to water and fuel collection during their primary school going age, than boys. This contributed immensely to the reduction of girls' enrollment and their daily attendance. The presence of a younger sibling also reduced the chances of a girl being sent to school.

The Standard on Sunday (8/3/11: Page 5) reported that the onset of the Free Primary Education in 2003, was a welcome relief especially to communities that continued to discriminate against girls as far as education was concerned. Fathers and other male relatives did no longer have to use the statement, 'lack of resources' as an excuse for denying girls a chance to go to school.

As indicated in Table 14 below, there was a decline in the percentage of completion rates of girls between 1989 and 1999 which was the period after SAPs had been implemented.

Table 14- Primary School Completion Rates (%) by sex, 1989-1999

		% Completing Std 8		
Year in Std 1	Year in Std 8	Boys	Girls	Total
1982	1989	47.9	43.2	45.6
1983	1990	45.7	40.5	43.2
1984	1991	46.4	41.6	44.1
1985	1992	44.7	48.2	46.4
1986	1993	44.5	42.2	43.4
1987	1994	44.6	43	43.9
1988	1995	43	42.1	42.6
1989	1996	45.1	43.5	44.3
1990	1997	46.3	45.8	46.1
1991	1998	46.4	48.1	47.2
1992	1999	47.7	47.8	47.7

Source: Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, Statistics Section, 2001

4.5 Enrolment in Educational Institutions

The increasing cost of education witnessed increasing rates of gender bias, non-enrolment, grade repetition and dropout rates that had begun to increase at all levels of education, particularly among children from poor families whose parents could not afford to raise the required funds for their education. Through the policy of cost-sharing, SAPs were linked to the increasing rates of non-enrollment, grade repetition and dropout in educational institutions, especially at the primary level.

Table 15 indicates the student enrolment rates in different types of institutions between 2007 and 2010. At all levels of education, the enrolment rate of boys is higher than that of girls, which went lower as the education pyramid rose. The university level indicated the biggest difference in enrolment between boys and girls. The factors leading to this would vary from one region to another.

Table 15: Student enrolment by type of institution and gender in Kenya, 2007 - 2010

	2007		2008		2009		2010	
Enrollment	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
In Primary School '000	4222.8	4031	4362.5	4201.3	4509.4	4322	4751.9	4629.3
In Secondary School '000	638.7	541.6	746.5	635.7	808.7	698.9	915	786.5
In Universities '000	70.8	47.5	72.9	48.9	106.3	52.9	106.8	67.6
Other Institutions '000	38.9	37.6	43.9	41.3	35.9	35.6	33.3	33.5

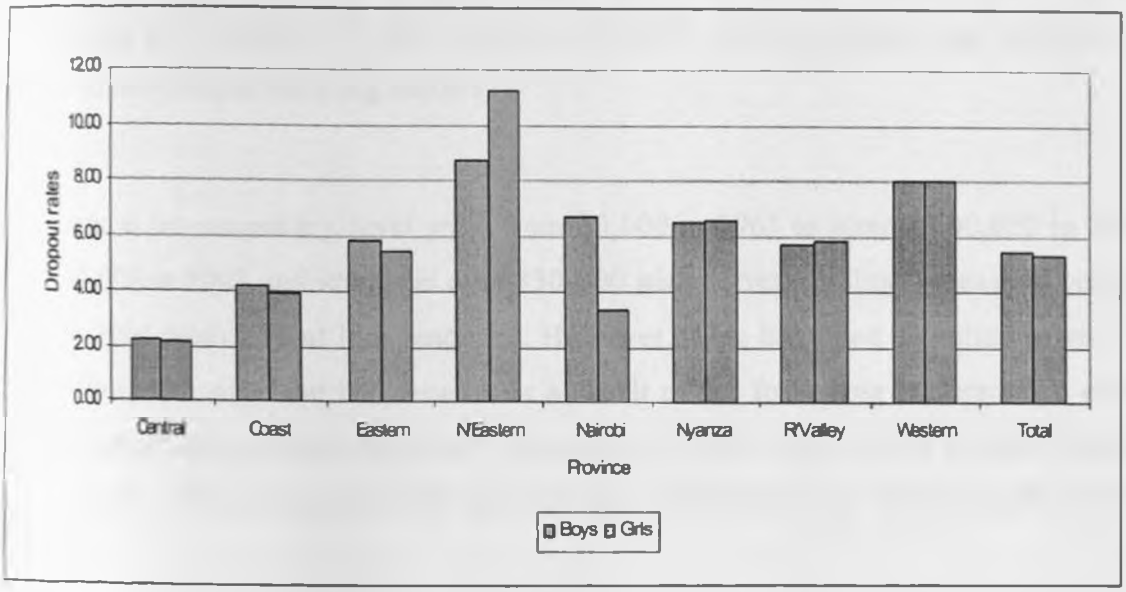
Source: KNBS, Kenya Facts and Figures 2011

Further, the marginalization of the poor in terms of education and the decline in quality of education in Kenya was also associated with SAPs. Those who failed to enroll complete or drop out of school found it difficult to secure employment thus became frustrated and often ended up as social misfits. All these factors led eventually to children from well-to-do families taking up educational opportunities at higher levels at the expense of those from poor families. In the long run, this promoted social inequalities and underdevelopment.

In 1993, the national average for repetition and dropout rates was 15.4% and 5.4% respectively (8.8% and 3.4%, respectively, in the largest urban centers). The declining repetition rates and the wastage were attributed to the SAPs, which greatly eroded the economic capacity of most families, thus rendering them to be unable to meet the educational costs of their children (Kimalu et al, 2001).

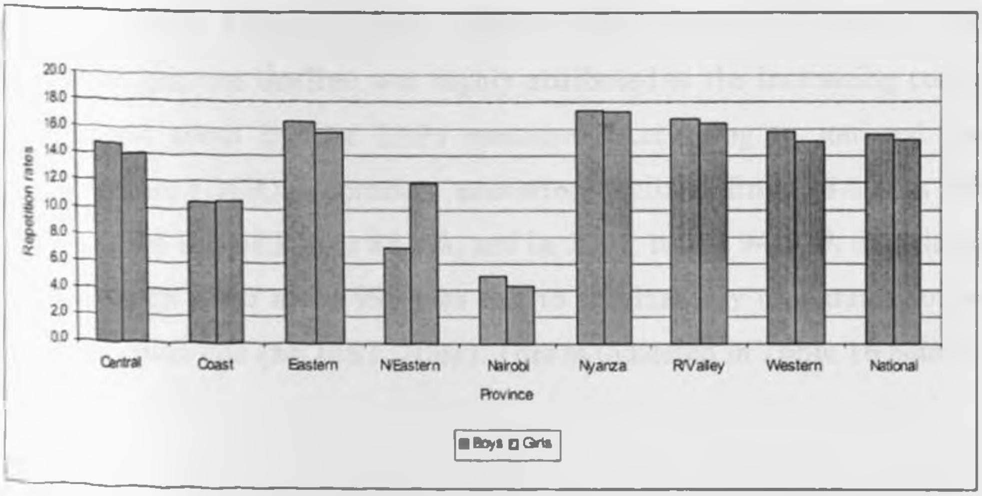
Figure 9 and Figure 10 illustrate the dropout and repetition rates by gender and province in 1993 in Kenya.

Figure 9: Dropout rates by gender - 1993



Source: RoK, 1994

Figure 10: Repetition rates by gender - 1993



Source: RoK, 1994

Data collected by MOE (2004) shows that between 1963 and 1983, enrolment in primary education increased from 891,533 to 4.3 million. The government of Kenya introduced Free Primary Education (FPE) in January 2003, which resulted in a further increase in enrolment from 5.9 million to 7.2 million in formal public schools alone in 2004, representing an increase of 18%. Another 300,000 primary school-age children were enroled in non-formal learning centers.

Enrolment at the secondary level grew from 30,000 in 1963 to almost 500,000 in 1983, to over 700,000 in 2003 and stands at over 850,000 with corresponding increase of schools to 3,891 in 2004 from 151 at independence. However, there has been a decline in secondary school enrolment over the last decade, as a result of the following factors: high cost (the average annual unit cost for secondary education is 5 times higher than primary education) and poverty, with an estimated 30% dropout rate due to this factor alone. (MoE, 2007)

During the pre-adjustment period from 1972-1982, there was growth in the school enrolment at the rate of 8.2% which slowed down to about 2.7% during the adjustment period from 1982-1992.

Kenya Statistical Abstract (2008) indicates that between the period of 1989 and 1995, the total enrolment rate decline was highly attributed to the increasing cost of education that was brought about by the SAPs measures. According to national statistic, the gross enrolment rate (GER) in primary education declined from 88.6% in 1989 to 88.49% in 1994. In 1998 the GER was 88.8%; and in 2001, it was 94%. A drop in enrolment by over 15 % between 1990 and 1995 was due to the inability of parents to bear the economic burden of education (MOEST, 2001). This is indicated in Table 16 below.

Table 16: **Primary school gross enrollment rates (%) by province** (1990- 1999)

Province	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Coast	79.93	78.8	78.85	75.09	71.4	73.3	75.57	75.17	73.25	75.95
Central	103.6	102.6	103.56	102.8	101.04	104.95	100.22	100.44	98.2	93.81
Eastern	96.82	97.4	96.35	92.57	91.76	89.86	90.46	90.75	93.84	94.88
Nairobi	66.32	65.3	64.57	50.46	61.47	60.65	58.91	57.12	56.87	54.07
Rift Valley	91.37	90.9	89.53	82.35	83.93	83.32	84.01	85.35	86.68	86.94
Western	104.08	103	103.9	100.53	101.65	100.46	99.88	100.33	103.4	0.31
Nyanza	91.06	89.7	92.47	93.54	95.25	86.99	86.22	90.53	92.92	85.75
North Eastern	23.84	22.7	21.8	16.57	21.64	14.94	20.99	24.57	24.83	26.3
National	92.19	91.4	91.54	87.84	88.49	86.8	86.44	87.61	88.8	86.91

Source: MOEST, Statistics Section, 2001

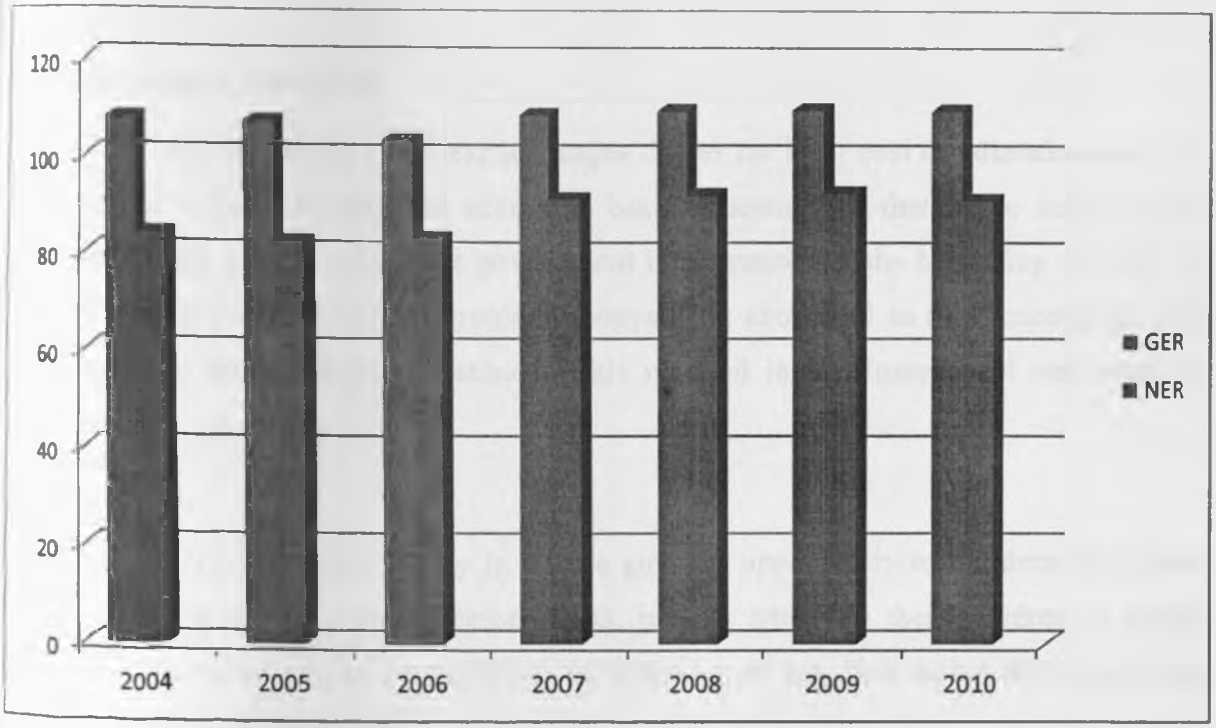
Other factors include: the high cost of learning and teaching materials; school uniforms, transport and development levies, extra expenses for private tuition which most parents have to meet, negative effects of HIV & AIDS pandemic, and the rising repetition rates. In addition, the cost of secondary education in boarding schools was higher than day schools by more than 50%.

Odada and Odhiambo (1989) show that in 1982, only 50% of primary school leavers got admission into secondary schools where 16% were admitted into government schools, 26% to harambee schools and 8% went to private schools. It soon emerged that there was strong evidence to link the cost-sharing policy to the decline in primary school enrolment in the 1990s.

Abagi (2000) showed that as a consequence of this measure and also because of the declining household incomes in the 90s, gross primary school enrolment rates generally fell from about 92% in the 1990s to about 87% in 1999. Over a half of those who had enroled in primary schools, dropped out before completing the primary school cycle and this was an indicator of the situation in schools, of the drop-out and repetition rates.

After being at percentage of110.0 in 2009, the GER fell slightly to 109.8 percent in 2010. The secondary school enrolment rate also declined from 30% in1990 to 26% in 1994 and further to 23% by 2000. These declines as indicated in Figure 11 point out to some of the challenges that face the education sector in Kenya (Economic Survey, Various Issues).

Figure 11 Primary Schools Gross Enrolment (GER) and Net Enrolment Rate (NER) nationally, 2004-2010.



Source: Economic Survey, Various issues.

The decline in almost all indicators of education dates from 1989 when cost-sharing was introduced. It was not just enrolment that had been declining but contrary to that, dropout and repetition rates had been on the increase. Through the policy of cost-sharing, SAPs were linked to the increasing rates of non-enrolment, grade repetition and dropout in educational institutions, especially at the primary level.

Mwiria and Ogbu (1999) argue that at the secondary school level in Kenya, the amount of fees that was paid contributed to between 91% and 100% of the financial sources available to the institutions. On the other hand, government subsidies hardly ever exceeded 8% of the schools total budgets. Even with these contributions by households and the operation of a cost-sharing policy, a number of schools failed to meet the operations of some of their financial obligations such as salaries for non-teaching staff, provision of teaching and learning materials and adequate maintenance and construction.

4.6 Free Primary Education

Most people lack education at the earlier stages due to the high cost of education and it is a government priority to improve access to basic education so that by so doing, move towards the goals of FPE which the government implemented at the beginning of 2003. In 2003, all fees in public primary schools in Kenya were abolished so as to encourage poor parents to send their children to school. This resulted in the increase of enrolment in public primary schools.

The Free Primary Education policy in Kenya gave an opportunity to children from poor households to access education. Before 2003, parents who had their children in public schools had to contribute to certain types of school costs and this meant that many poor children could not go to school.

In 2008, research was carried out by the Centre for the Study of African Economies at Oxford University and showed that since 2003:

a) More children from poor families in Kenya went to school.
b) The number of children in private primary education nearly tripled.
c) School results and overall enrolment rates in some Kenyan public primary schools fell due to the challenges encountered with the FPE, for example, the number of students in a class and the teacher-pupil ratio in a class.

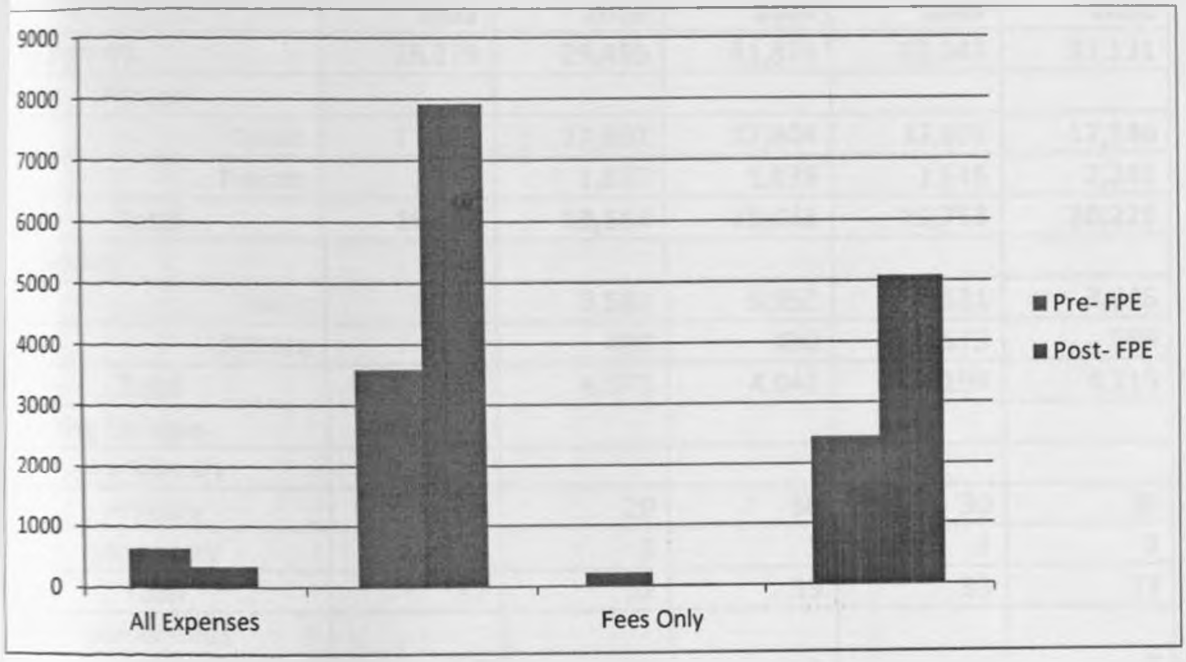
lthough the policy of free primary education received a lot of praise, its implementation as faced with numerous challenges, which included the unavailability of physical acilities, school furniture, equipment and inadequate teachers, among others. This led to vercrowding in classes and teachers being overworked, a fact that could have led to a egative effect on the quality of education.

espite the various logistical problems that seemed to be hampering the successful mplementation of the FPE, the policy to some extent was commendable as it cushioned hildren from poor socio-economic backgrounds, especially girls, from failing to attend primary school or dropping out of school for lack of fees and other levies.

There were a number of unintended consequences of providing FPE in Kenya. King (2005) noted that whilst cost-sharing was excluding the poor, the advent of free education meant that parents assumed that they needed not to make any financial contribution and many moved their children from low-cost informal schools to the state sector.

As a result, there was a significant rise in the number of pupils and the falling quality of education in the public system, thus wealthier parents preferred the fee-paying private sector. Figure 12 indicates that following the introduction of FPE, when parents sent their children to public schools, household educational expenditures were almost halved when compared to private schools (Bold et al, 2009)

Figure 12: Kenyan Household Education Expenditure - 2009



Source: Bold et al, 2009.

Any reduction in the household income had an influence on educational opportunities. They increased the need to pull children out of school so as to send them to look for work and also increased the cost of items that were normally bought by families like books and uniform.

The introduction of FPE created a huge demand for primary education and this had a ripple effect in enrolment at all levels of education over the years. As shown in Table 17 the number of educational institutions increased after the introduction of FPE and as a result stretched the public schools' absorption capacity.

Table 17: Number of Educational Institutions in Kenya, 2002 - 2006

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Pre Primary	28,279	29,455	31,879	32,043	33,121
Primary					
Public	17,683	17,697	17,804	17,807	17,946
Private	1,441	1,857	1,839	1,946	2,283
Total	**19,124**	**19,554**	**19,643**	**19,753**	**20,229**
Secondary					
Public	3,247	3,583	3,552	3,621	3,646
Private	440	490	490	573	569
Total	3,687	4,073	4,042	4,194	4,215
Training Colleges					
Pre Primary					
Primary	29	29	30	30	30
Secondary	3	3	3	3	3
Total	32	32	33	33	33
Universities					
Public	6	6	7	7	7
Private	13	17	17	17	17
Total	19	23	24	24	24
TOTAL	**51,141**	**53,137**	**55,621**	**56,047**	**57,622**

Source: Economic Survey, 2007

4.7 Private Education Sector

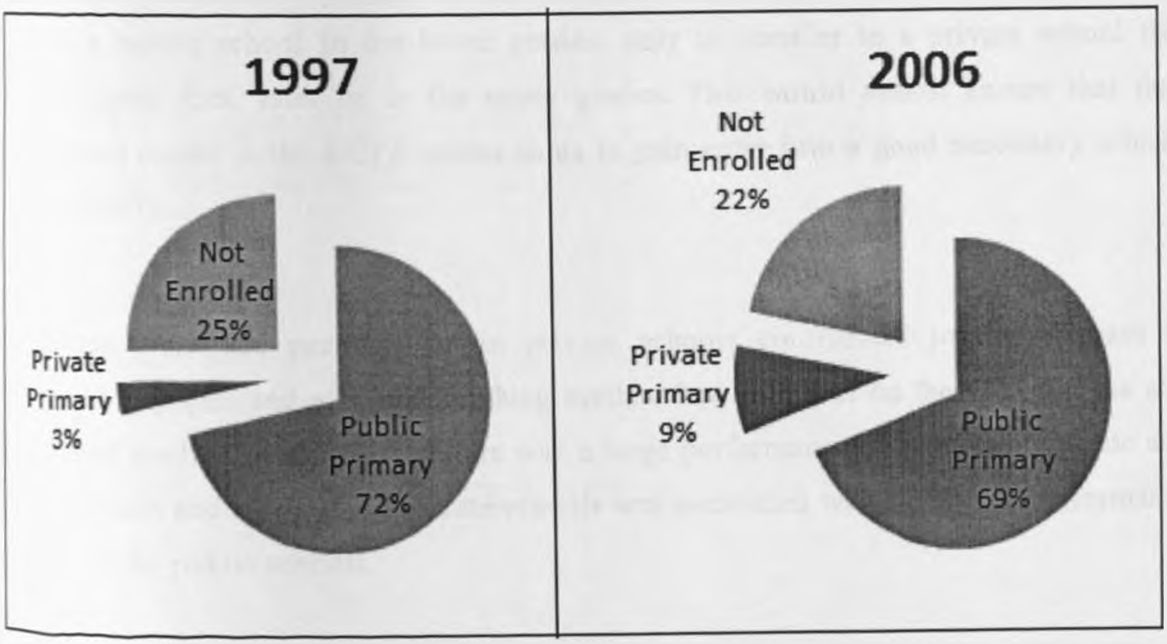
Throughout the 1980s, due to the declining development assistance, a very high rate of population growth of about 4% and a deteriorating economy, contributed to a gradual decrease in per pupil funding. The deteriorating quality of public school education at all levels in the 80s, created a large demand for private schools and in response to the rising cost of education, public primary schools began to charge fees.

Private schooling in Kenya had its roots in the independent schools, as a result of protesting the education that was provided by the colonial government in the early 90s. The colonial education was stratified into European, Asian and African categories, with the latter emphasizing on technical and vocational skills at the expense of academic performance. From this foundation, private school education grew immensely in Kenya with the private primary schools increasing by about 33% in the first three years of FPE implementation from 1,441 in 2002 to 1,985 in 2005. In 2006, private schools numbered 2,283 nationally. The national enrolment at these schools stood at 363,086 in 2005 (RoK, 2007).

As indicated in Chart 1 below, the enrolment in private primary schools nearly tripled. SAPs had an impact on the private education sector's enrolment rate, due to its provision of quality education in comparison to public schools.

Chart 1: Share of Students Enrolled by School Type – 1997-2006

Percent of Children Age 6-13



Source: Bold et al, 2009

With the introduction of cost-sharing, parents were required to contribute towards the education of their children. Kimalu et al (2001) found that households in Kenya spent about Ksh. 712.00

and Ksh. 1,150.00 at public primary and private primary schools respectively and about Kshs. 9,643.30 and Kshs. 10,208.00 per year at public and private secondary schools respectively.

In public schools, the provision of physical, teaching and learning resources was not adequately provided while on the other hand, the physical, teaching and learning resources in private schools were adequate and the cost of education in private schools was so prohibitive and out of reach for pupils from poor households.

In many SSA countries, including Kenya, a pupil completing the primary school cycle is required to sit for an examination that determine whether they are eligible for entry into secondary school. The score obtained in the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) examination will determine the type of secondary school the pupil will be admitted into. In order to prepare for the KCPE exams at a low cost, some pupils would enrol in a public school in the lower grades, only to transfer to a private school that charges higher fees, later on in the upper grades. This would almost ensure that they scored good marks in the KCPE exams so as to gain entry into a good secondary school. (Sifuna, 2007).

With time, the good performance in private schools contributed to the increase in enrolment of pupils and also, the teaching method had an effect on the performance and the general quality of education. There was a large performance gap between private and public schools and the flight to private schools was associated with the fall in performance in some of the public schools.

Table 18:Average KCPE Scores in Public and Private Schools in Kenya (2001-2005)

Year	Public	Private
2001	243.3	290.84
2002	243.02	293.17
2003	242.92	297.09
2004	243.86	298.56
2005	243.36	291.53

Source: Bold et al, 2001

Linking the data from Chart 1 and Table 18, a parallel can be seen between the fall in results in the public schools at KCPE between 2001 and 2005, and the rise in enrolment in private schools while there was a fall in enrolment in public schools between 1997 and 2006.

4.8 University Education Sector

All over the world, university education plays a crucial role in national development. Thus, there is need that the university education and training that is offered, should be of high quality, demand driven, gender sensitive and globally marketable, among other qualities.

With the implementation of SAPs, the government could no longer fully finance public university education hence the need to share costs, an action that had drastic implications. The universities thus had to search for and initiate alternative mechanisms to ensure they survived financially. Income generating activities such as consultancy and research services were initiated in most universities but one that was common in all of them was the Privately Sponsored Student Programmes (PSSP). Thus the concept of cost sharing was introduced into the Kenyan public universities in 1998 as the Module Two/Parallel programmes. This was a direct influence of the SAPs whereby the government was to cut public spending as a pre-condition for aid.

These programmes provided the opportunity to students who had attained the minimum university admission requirements but had no possibility of securing an admission because of the limited intake in the government funded or regular programmes. Therefore, private students sponsored themselves and this was a positive development in the sense that there has been increased access to higher education especially university education. Through such programmes, public universities have been able to generate income for the running and expansion of programmes in their universities such as pay their bills, clear their debts, refurbish buildings and beautify their environment.

Before the parallel programme was started, the public universities had to make do with the little finances that the government gave them. Each university received between Kshs 1.4 to 1.5 billion, whereas they required about at least Kshs2.4 billion as their operational cost. This programme supplemented grants from the Exchequer, while absorbing a good number of those students who missed out in the regular university intake.

More than a decade later, this programme has grown phenomenally. The students in this programme outnumber those in the regular programme, in public universities. At the University of Nairobi, out of 44,914 students, about 32,000 are in this programme. At Kenyatta University, out of a student population of about 20,500, about 12,000 are in the parallel programme. Out of about the 16,000 students at Moi University, about half of them are in the Privately Self Sponsored Programme (PSSP) (Sunday Standard, 3/08/08)

The Economic Survey (2009) states that the public universities intake through the Joint Admission Board increased from 11,000 in the 2006/07 academic year to 16,000 in the 2007/08 academic year. Out of the total students enrolment in the 2007/08 academic year, 41.9% were privately sponsored students with the respective breakdown being at Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology with 57.6%, Kenyatta University with 50.0% and Nairobi University with 53.1%. Private student enrolment in the 2009/2010 academic year in public universities stood at 32% of the total student enrollment as indicated in Table 19 below.

Table 19- **Student Enrolment at Public Universities showing their categories of enrolment (Full Time and Part Time)** (2004-2010)

PUBLIC UNIVERSITIES	2004/05	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10
NAIROBI						
Full Time	15,237	16225	16394	17054	17481	22, 327
Part Time	17,737	17480	18545	19285	19934	20,033
KENYATTA						
Full Time	7200	7303	8351	9333	9823	21010
Part Time	8855	8380	8385	9264	9542	5481
MOI						
Full Time	7499	7511	9208	9312	9684	11611
Part Time	4511	4634	5455	5520	5676	8688
EGERTON						
Full Time	7500	7212	10702	10959	11507	11441
Part Time	1097	1286	1461	1508	1575	2046
JOMO KENYATTA						
Full Time	3200	3256	700	3372	3534	4831
Part Time	3074	1178	3605	4590	4784	4885
MASENO						
Full Time	4350	3526	3165	3820	3935	3448
Part Time	1231	1178	1550	1866	1926	2059
MASINDE MULIRO						
Full Time		602	1042	687	701	4331
Part Time		440	768	537	548	2366
PRIVATE UNIVERSITIES						
Private Accredited	8342	8839	15930	20157	21164	29028
Private Unaccredited	1708	1800	4944	975	1034	6151

Source: Economic Survey, Several Issues

On the other hand, we see that the parallel programme had its challenges too. Firstly, the limited permanent academic staff had to shuttle from one university to another so as to offer their services to both regular and parallel programmes. Students enrolled in parallel programmes pay fees that are high and that are almost equivalent to the fees paid in private universities. This has led to the commercialization of university education that could compromise on its quality.

4.9 Emerging Issues

Through the cost-sharing policy, the government paid mainly for teachers and was responsible for the main cost of social safety-net programmes like bursaries and school feeding programmes. On the other hand, parents contributed by meeting the cost of textbooks and other teaching materials, school maintenance, equipment and uniforms. The cost-sharing policy was meant to revitalize the planning, management, cost and financing of education. The overall assumption was that, with this policy in place, educational opportunities and quality would be enhanced and as a result develop the education sub-sector.

Education costs have been on the increase over time, making it difficult for poor households to invest in their children's education. The financing of education has been challenging. One of the challenges is that of efficient and effective utilization and management of the resources invested. These areas provide major challenges to realizing the objective of 'education for all.'

Several issues emerge from this study:

- Cost-sharing seemed not to have taken into consideration the geographical distribution of existing educational institutions at different levels like county, district and community levels. Since different communities have different levels of income due to various variables, their abilities to equip schools and improve the quality of the teaching and learning process varied greatly. Thus, education standards found in various regions and schools also vary due to their economic status.
- Apart from direct school fees that varied between Kshs.15,000 to 50,000 a year for secondary education, parents too were required to pay for development funds,

school transport, insurance, library facility, PTA levies, generator installation, computer project, meter separation and other costs. These levies cost from Kshs. 2,000-15,000 depending on the schools and their location (Owino and Abagi,2000:34).

- Letting schools decide on who was to benefit from the bursaries was a problem. Firstly, this can be abused and the bursaries can end up going to those who would not otherwise qualify for them. Secondly, giving bursaries to those already enroled in school meant that those who qualified for secondary education but were unable to raise fees were automatically excluded.
- Research should focus on the possibilities of incorporating other stakeholders such as churches, NGOs and community based organizations, as well as the county administration in the management of the scheme. Frontiers for attracting and involving other charitable organizations and foundations to boost the bursary kitty should also be explored.
- The Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (IPRSP - Republic of Kenya, 2006) indicates that , among the policies to be pursued in the effort to mitigate the adverse effects of cost-sharing was to reduce the cost of burden that parents have had to bear by expanding the bursary scheme by 50%. Also, there could be collaboration between NGOs and other development partners to supplement the efforts of communities to increase the provision of textbooks and science equipment to primary and secondary schools.
- The cost-sharing policy in education seemed to contradict the government's commitment to achieving the goal of providing quality education for all. With the increased level of poverty and the current system of education, cost-sharing seemed not to produce positive results or achieve its intended objectives in education.

Out of 50 parents and 50 teachers interviewed, there were views that cost-sharing had both negative and positive effects. It was seen as positive in the sense that it had made parents to actively participate in the running and management of schools. They participated in the guiding and counseling of the students so that those students avoided being indisciplined so as to complete school uninterrupted. The parents were also more interested in ensuring that their financial contributions were accounted for in the education of their children.

A more astonishing revelation was that cost-sharing had reduced repetition in the sense that parents were not willing to allow their children to repeat the same class, as they could not incur costs twice in the same class. However, it increased internal inefficiency, as a student who was automatically promoted finally failed examinations. On the negative side, it was seen that cost sharing had discriminated the poor who could not afford the cost of education. Thus, most children from poor families were forced to drop out of school.

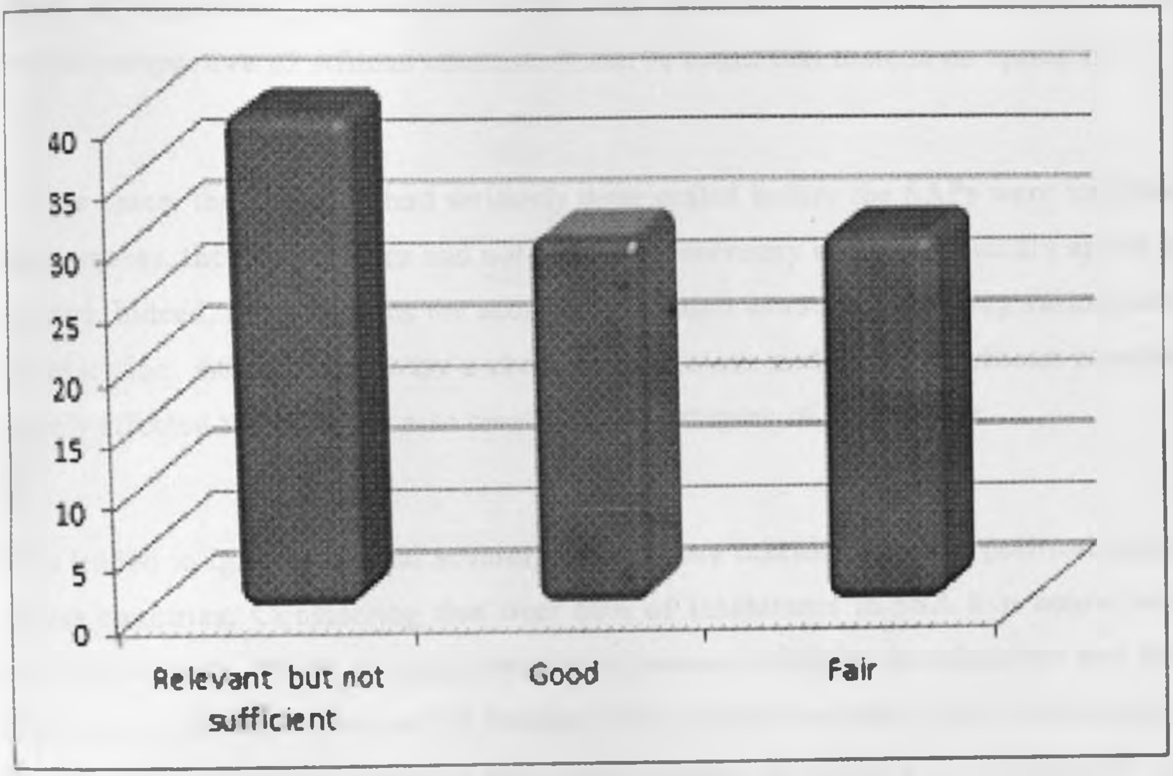
Similarly, many parents were not able to pay the fees required to enable schools operate efficiently. As a result, many schools did not have basic facilities and equipment and this compromised the quality of education. It was also established that the government did not provide enough teachers, additional text books and materials. This negatively affected the internal operations of the schools.

From the study, those who responded to the questionnaires, it was seen that there was a gap left by the implementation of the SAPs. Deficiencies that emerged in the education system included; poor infrastructure, poor management in schools due to the embezzlement of funds, lack of clearly defined objectives and the severe shortage of teachers.

As shown in Figure 13 below, 40% of the interviewees rated the Kenyan education system as relevant but not sufficient to the needs of its recipients, 30% rated it as good and a further 30% rated it as fair. Most of them were of the opinion that the government was yet to achieve the objective of quality education being given in public schools.

Figure 13: **Kenya education system ratings**

Kenyan Education system ratings	
Relevant but not sufficient	40
Good	30
Fair	30



Measures suggested to combat the deficiencies in the education sector include an increase in the education budget, maintain quality education, and employ more teachers at the primary and secondary levels and the provision by the GoK to ensure that more lecturers are employed. Also to provide enough teaching materials so as to ensure that there was adequate, equitable and sustainable resources. An impact that SAPs had on the economy, was that it increased poverty levels among households through the cost sharing policy. SAPs resulted in the retrenchment of workers by the government and also the non employment of teachers, due to lack of funds, despite the fact that students enrolment increased tremendously.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

A number of lessons have been learnt from the SAPs in SSA, both by the countries which embarked on them and the institutions that originally believed and still believe in the efficacy of adjustment programmes as the only panacea for Africa's economic malaise. From the perspective of African countries it can be learnt that there is no 'quick fix.'

In some cases, the situation had seriously deteriorated before the SAPs were undertaken. In the process, the programmes had not turned the economy around as quickly as had been expected. Indeed, in most cases the economic situation worsened, affecting various sectors like education. Adjustments were a challenging process and in many African countries it not only affected the poor but also created a new category of poor people.

SAPs tended to ignore national sovereignty and were insensitive to the political reality in various countries. Considering that over 60% of inhabitants in SSA live below poverty line (WB Report, 2000), it was inhuman to remove subsidies in education and health. There was an adverse effect on the welfare of the people especially the vulnerable groups. By removing subsidies, education and health became unavailable to the majority of the people who were poor.

Without good governance and efficient management of schools in general and financial management in particular, investment in education from any source would not be fruitful. The communities, parents and school heads would have to be fully involved in education policies touching on cost and financing. They would also have to be actively involved in managing their schools, including hiring and disciplining teachers and deciding or at least approving fees charged by the respective schools.

The increasing cost of education witnessed increased rates of gender bias, non-enrollment, grade repetition and dropout rates that had begun to increase at all levels of education, particularly among children from poor families whose parents could not afford to raise the required funds for their education. Further, the marginalization of the poor in terms of education and the decline in quality of education in Kenya was also associated with this.

An official of the Institute of Policy Analysis and Research (IPAR), Mr. Jeremiah Owiti stated that, "It is unrealistically not possible to ban all forms of cost-sharing" (Daily Nation, 5thJan, 2003:12). Though it was argued that primary school pupils had not been paying fees for more than three decades, what had led to low enrolment and a high dropout rate were the incidental charges, the high cost of maintaining schools and equipping them. One Bundi Onyango was quoted saying, "The ruling party of one time, Kenya African National Union (KANU), had abolished school fees in 1979 but education in the country has continued to be more expensive than before because of the levies charged"(Daily Nation, 5-01-03:12).

Analysts have been concerned about the two concepts of 'free' education and 'free access' to education. They argued that though it was possible for the government to outlaw all forms of fees in primary schools, it was unrealistic to promise 'free' academic materials, equipment and services countrywide unless it wanted to increase the tax burden, which would have a negative impact on parents.

Though the question of whether SAPs worked in Kenya has not been resolved, there is no doubt that they increased economic challenges, hardship and social problems.

5.2 Conclusions

The core concern of this study was to show the impact of cost –sharing on the poor and vulnerable groups, access to education in the SSA region and specifically Kenya.Since independence, Kenya has made tremendous progress in the area of education as measured in the number of educational institutions and enrolments in primary and secondary schools, tertiary institutions and universities, as well as in the general improvement inliteracy rates. At independence, education in the new nation was seen as a prerequisite necessary for the overall development of the country. The government emphasized the need for all citizens to team up and build schools,so as to ensure the provision of education to students. Education was therefore integrated in the five-year government development plans and was also taken seriously by both the government and its citizens.

Considering that it is beyond the scope of the government to fully support education single-handedly, it could negotiate with the donors and other development partners for fee waivers and/or total exemption of the poor. This could be done in a phased manner, starting with pre-school and lower primary in the first year. Phase two could be implemented in the second year to cover the upper primary level.

Alternatively, the school levies could be graduated based on household income levels, with the higher levels meeting a relatively larger part of the education costs, while the absolute poor receive total exemptions.

As a requisite, such an arrangement would require effective data bank of school-going children at the community level, clear fee structures and an established community-based bursary scheme. Undoubtedly, these issues could form the basis of negotiations between the government and the donors and other development partners in the envisaged PRSP.

Despite the study period of this research paper being between 1980 and 2010, it is important to note that through Sessional Paper No. 1 of 2005, the GOK made a commitment to increase the transition rate from primary to secondary to 70% by providing free basic education.

Despite the free primary education succeeding to some extent to relieve parents of financial burdens, it still faces some challenges. The quality of education was compromised as the teacher: student ratio on average stood at 1:80 (Sunday Standard, 8th August 2008). There was an acute shortage of teachers in the primary schools and the teachers were overwhelmed with work, as most of them would teach up to 10 lessons daily.

As mentioned earlier, the retention rate in most public schools have been low due to poverty. Drop out rates were still high as students were unable to stay in schools because of various problems like lack of reading materials, poor infrastructure, early marriages and others. These problems were also reflected in the ASAL areas as they faced more challenges, one of them being their nomadic style of life.

One of the challenges facing the secondary school sub-sector had been that of low transition from primary, due to the fact that fees had to be paid. A stakeholder's forum was held and it led to the formation of the Taskforce on Affordable Secondary Education. The key mandate of this team was to examine the costs as tabulated in school joining instructions as well as identify modalities for the implementation of Free Secondary Education which was eventually implemented in 2007.

This was implemented initially, by day schools receiving government funding and being given free education on condition that the minimum number of students per class was 40, while the maximum was 45. Parents of children in boarding schools would only pay for the boarding fees under this new policy.

5.3 Recommendations

There are few systematic policy-oriented studies on the willingness and ability to pay for education by parents and communities in the cost-sharing program. Studies on costs and financing of education tended to be too general, giving cost-sharing inadequate attention.

This situation called for an impact assessment of user fees based on the geographical distribution of existing educational institutions at the provincial, district and community levels.

While it is correct to say that income potential determines the ability to equip schools and by implication the quality of the teaching or learning process, in most studies, cost-sharing was only mentioned in so far as it explained the inability of parents and communities to afford education for their children. Some of these studies indicated that cost-sharing had increased household's burden and adversely affected children from vulnerable groups.

Participation in education policy and development should be based on dialogue, not top-down directives. Regrettably, externally driven education reform policies implemented in Africa by aid agencies and the BWI, in which the United States plays a major role, seem to focus exclusively on education systems while ignoring the cultural, social, economic and political contexts in which education systems operate.

The current education system is riddled with limited access, gender disparities, high dropout rates and poor academic achievement. Thus there is need for:-

- The government to introduce effective policies in the administration of the bursary fund to mainly target the poor.
- The increase of education and training opportunities for adolescents in the 15-18 year age group.
- The introduction of work based programmes in secondary schools to enable the economically disadvantaged students to raise their school fees.
- Raising the relevance and quality of education in all secondary schools so as to increase equity with regard to achievement.

- Reduce the problem of staff shortage for both teaching and non teaching staff in learning institutions across the sub-sectors as teacher shortages hinder delivery of quality education.
- Ensure that there is no 'wastage' of human resources especially for those who do not proceed to secondary schools, from primary schools, by increasing the number of secondary schools.
- A fundamental re-design of the SAPs if they were to result in development which improves the African peoples' quality of life. The re-design can only be identified by the Africans themselves.
- Maintaining the quality of education among public primary schools under the FPE policy as an urgent policy agenda for the Kenyan government and other governments that have adopted the FPE policies so as to enhance the equity of the entire education system.

Education is a vital tool in the development process of any given nation and it has its own intrinsic values in terms of social and cultural ethos. Besides, it improves the health status in households by influencing nutritional and health care practices, reduces fertility, infant and child mortality, and improves the schooling performance of children. The economic outcomes of education determine qualitative human capital which translates itself into higher incomes. When people earn a better income, they have better opportunities for achievements in health and education. This is important, especially for the poor, as their most important asset is labor. Education for the poor offers the greatest opportunity for employment and economic returns and thus reduces poverty.

There is need for the reorientation and restructuring of the education system towards more skill enhancement. This will raise both the demand for education and also make the economy more competitive. The motto for the VISION 2030 is to make Kenya a globally competitive and prosperous country with a high quality of life for its citizens by 2030. The MOE hopes to achieve this by improving access to education, retention of students at all levels of education, equity in the provision of education, relevance of education to the labor market and the quality of education that it provides to Kenyans.

APPENDIX I- QUESTIONNAIRE

THIS STUDY IS TO EXAMINE THE NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE EFFECTS BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF IN EDUCATION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, TAKING THE KENYA EDUCATION SECTOR AS A CASE STUDY.

Please fill in the questionnaires and also tick appropriately the best response to the following questions. Try to be as objective as possible.

Your response will be treated in strict confidence.

1. For how long have you been with the Ministry of Education?

) Over 1 year
)) 3-5 years
:) Over five years

What is your designation? ……………………………………………………

What deficiencies were there that lead the country to introduce SAPs in the education sector?

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……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………

Were the deficiencies justified?

a) Yes
b) No

What justifiable reasons were these?

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……………………………………………………………………………………………………
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relation to other Sub-Saharan African, how would you rate Kenya in SAPs implementation to te?

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ere there any gaps left when SAPs were being implemented?

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What was the government's role in shaping the education sector in Kenya?

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What suggestions would you give to the education sector in Kenya in relation to the SAPs that have been implemented to date?

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0. What costs did the SAPs add to the economy of Kenya?

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Did the government of Kenya fully undertake the cost involved in the implementation of the SAPs?

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2. What economy crisis did the SAPs have on the Kenya economy?

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3. Was the country able to handle the crisis?

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4. In the recent years, the government has been involved in the Millennium Development Goals geared towards providing education for all, especially Free Primary Education (FPE). Was the implementation of FPE, as part of timely?

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15. What suggestions would you give to the government on the way of improving the education sector in the country?

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16. What deficiencies are there currently that would render the education system in Kenya inadequate to meet the needs of the country and its population?

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7. How would you rate the Kenyan education system in comparison to the rest of the countries in Sub-Saharan Africa?
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3. Has the government today achieved quality education for all after the implementation of SAPs?
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9. If yes or no above, what is lacking to meet the objectives of SAPs?
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0. How are the current products of the already well implemented SAPs in Kenya, in relation to the job market?
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21. What suggestions would you give to the government on the education system currently in comparison to the future global demands?
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THANK YOU

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