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UNEMPLOYMENT OF YOUTH IN KENYA: IMPLICATIONS  
FOR PRIMARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM

by

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1976

## ABSTRACT

### UNEMPLOYMENT OF YOUTH IN KENYA: IMPLICATIONS FOR PRIMARY SCHOOL CURRICULUM

Matthew Kaluna Maleche

The purpose of the study was to investigate the problems of unemployment of primary school leavers in Kenya and their implications for the primary school curriculum. In the light of findings, suggestions would be made for possible curriculum changes.

The investigation included an analysis of studies done on the unemployed primary school leavers and of the Kenya Primary School Syllabus. A tool consisting of four career elements (Motivation, Orientation, Exploration and Preparation) was used for detecting pre-vocational aspects in the studies and the syllabus.

It was found that due to constraints caused by the strong desire for secondary education, the narrow and mainly academic and verbal Certificate of Primary Education examination, and the high rates of repetition in the upper primary school classes, little of the pre-vocational elements written in the syllabus reaches the learners. The little pre-vocational skills and knowledge acquired by primary school leavers is adequate for the present simple type of employment available for them especially in the rural areas.

For adequate preparation and competence for self-employment in the informal sector of the economy, however, there was found to be a



## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my hard working, sensible and lovely wife, Mrs. Fanice Awinja Maleche, who toiled alongside me for two tough years of study at Teachers College, Columbia University, and typed much of my work. She persevered many hardships--mental, physical, emotional, social, financial and others--while I was away for a further six months writing this dissertation. I dedicate the thesis to her as a token of my deep appreciation and love for her.

It is also dedicated to our stalwart sons, Anthony Lukhwili, Keith Achesa and Michael Shibonje, for struggling with us through two winters of New York, from 1970 through 1972, when I took the coursework leading to the present study. They together with their younger brothers Sila Mukabane and Robert Ashiono, badly missed the company of their "daddy" for another half a year when he was away writing the thesis. May they live to write better doctoral theses than their father.

Last but not least, I dedicate this whole study to my father Jonam Shibonje and my mother Selina Khamaya Shibonje who did not have a chance, during their youth, to go to the "Vernacular Bush Schools." With no formal schooling themselves, they have brought me up to do what they were not privileged to do. My success is theirs.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It would not have been easy for me alone to write and bring this thesis to its final form without the support, moral and otherwise, of many friends. I will now attempt the impossible task of acknowledging the help given by all those good people.

Professor James Rockwell Sheffield deserves special thanks, not only because he was my sponsor for this study, but for having taken on the duty of chasing me "around the world" trying to prod me into returning to Teachers College to finish my doctoral studies. He referred to this as "making me feel guilty." Yes, it worked. This brotherly concern for me will be remembered for a long time to come.

Very special thanks go to Professor Margaret Lindsey who has been my academic, social and financial advisor for almost a decade. She wisely guided me through the tough courses that earned me three degrees: M.A., M.Ed. and Ed.D., from 1970 to 1976. She did this with such understanding, empathy and parental care that the courses actually appeared simple to me. The unexpected speed with which I wrote my doctoral thesis revealed some concealed genius in me which must have been acquired from the rich hidden curriculum Margaret put me through. It will be difficult to forget her in my future career which she has helped to prepare me for.

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M. K. M.

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Chapter I  
INTRODUCTION

Countries the world over, Kenya included, face problems in trying to cope with youth values, aspirations and attitudes. Youth problems are associated partly with the usual physiological and psychological constraints of growth and development, but probably more with the complexities of societal modernity. Since most youth spend most of their time at school, the school becomes one of the most important institutions in preparing them, by means of its curriculum, to face the problems with some confidence.

The rates at which social, political and economic developments, particularly in the newly independent African nations, are taking place are so varied that they create problems for the educational planners, in their struggle to provide good quality education that will prepare youth to face the problems in their adulthood. In Kenya the total population grows at an estimated rate of 3.5 percent per annum.<sup>1</sup> This together with certain political pressures has made enrollments at the primary school level more than treble since independence.<sup>2</sup> The increases are more than any projections made in the past by manpower surveys. Yet expansion in higher education and developments in the general economy of the country have not been fast enough to absorb and to satisfy the aspirations of school leavers.

<sup>1</sup>Republic of Kenya, Development Plan—1974-78 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1974), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education, Annual Report, 1974 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1975), Table 6, p. 19.

Among the many problems of youth, the one that has attracted the attention of many people is the unemployment of school leavers, especially primary school leavers. Writing on the "Crisis in African Education," Arthur Porter (1968) had this to say:

The problem of increasing unemployment is in part a consequence of modernization, but it is also in part a consequence of the increase in education and a reflection or commentary on the relevance of the education provided. Thus many countries in trying to tackle or minimize this problem are also reappraising their education system. Hardly any other problem poses a greater threat to African stability than this problem of rising unemployment and its control.<sup>1</sup>

This study is going to focus on the problem of unemployment of school leavers in Kenya.

#### The Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to investigate the problems of unemployment of primary school leavers in Kenya and their implications for the primary school curriculum. In the light of findings, suggestions would be made for possible curriculum changes.

The main objectives of the study were:

1. To analyze empirical research that has been done on the problems of unemployment of youth, and the current primary school syllabus in Kenya, and see: (a) What the main issues of unemployment are, and (b) How the issues relate to the primary school curriculum.
2. To relate the findings to the future trends and strategies in Kenya and attempt to answer the question: How can the primary curriculum be changed to reflect the issues of unemployment?

<sup>1</sup>Arthur T. Porter, "Crisis in African Education," East Africa Journal (East African Institute of Social and Cultural Affairs, Nairobi) 5:6 (1968), 13.

### Basic Assumptions and Rationale

The study was based on the general assumption that unemployment of primary school leavers in Kenya has implications for primary school curriculum. The assumption should not be taken to mean that changes in the primary school curriculum, in themselves, will enable primary school leavers to find jobs quickly after they leave school. Other factors have to be considered. The availability of job opportunities in both urban and rural areas, in the formal and informal sectors, is one important factor. The others are: (1) the availability of resources, financial, land and capital, to enable the unemployed youth to initiate their own occupations when there are no wage earning jobs in the formal sector; (2) the existence of social and other amenities to attract youth "back to the land" whenever jobs appear in the rural areas; and most important, (3) the attitudes of the school leavers and the community towards the types of occupations available. If all these other factors are right, a good curriculum should enable youth to settle on to some satisfactory occupation sooner or later after leaving school.

The rationale for this assumption was based on the ideas of curriculum theorists like Ralph Winfred Tyler,<sup>1</sup> who advocate that a good curriculum starts with a formation of objectives drawn from a study of the problems of learners and society, among other sources. Hilda Taba suggested that to evolve a theory of curriculum development and a method of thinking about it, one needs to ask what the demands and requirements of a culture and society are, both for the present and for the future.

---

<sup>1</sup>Ralph W. Tyler, Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969).

She stressed that "curriculum is, after all, a way of preparing young people to participate as productive members of our culture."<sup>1</sup>

Othaniel Smith and his associates said that:

... One of the primary tasks of curriculum development is to build a program in which everyone can learn, through the process of re-education, to become the kind of person demanded by the cultural patterns and realities now in the making.<sup>2</sup>

The unemployment problems of youth are connected with the general problems of society and with the attitudes and aspirations of the parents and community at large. A good curriculum needs to take all this into consideration.

To allow for the social element and the other aspects of education, Hilda Taba listed seven steps through which a curriculum should be developed.

- Step 1. Diagnosis of needs.
- Step 2. Formation of objectives.
- Step 3. Selection of content.
- Step 4. Organization of content.
- Step 5. Selection of learning experiences.
- Step 6. Organization of learning experiences.
- Step 7. Determination of what to evaluate and the ways and means of doing it.<sup>3</sup>

Taba's steps are similar to Tyler's rationale for curriculum design, which could be shown diagrammatically as follows:<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Hilda Taba, Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1962), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Othaniel Smith, William O. Stanley, and J. Harlan Shores, Fundamentals of Curriculum Development (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1957), p. 95.

<sup>3</sup>Taba, Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup>R. Emans, "A Proposed Conceptual Framework for Curriculum Development," in E. C. Short and G. D. Marconitt (Eds.), Contemporary Thought on Public School Curriculum (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown, 1968), p. 33.

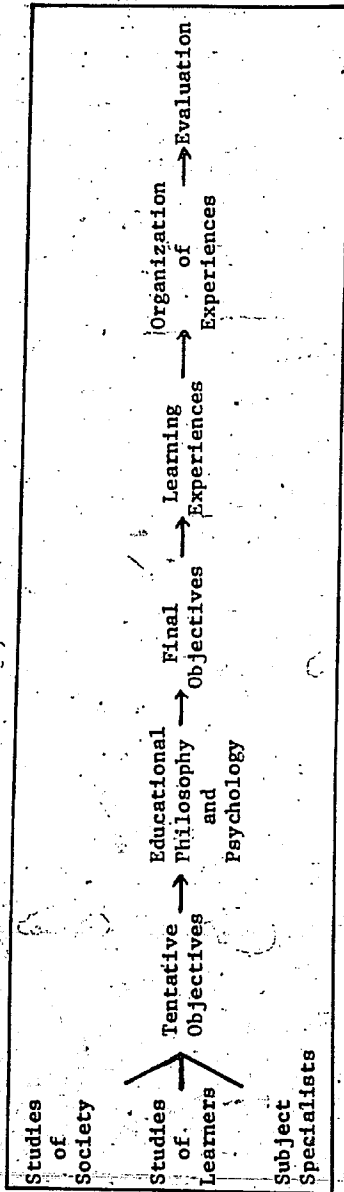


FIGURE 1

DIAGRAMMATIC PRESENTATION OF TYLER'S RATIONALE

Primary schools in Kenya, as elsewhere in the world, have the dual purpose of preparation of children "for their future life and for work in secondary school."<sup>1</sup> T. A. Balogun, reporting on The National Curriculum Conference in Nigeria,<sup>2</sup> said that the conference resolved that secondary education, like primary education:

. . . should be both a preparation for life and for higher education. In particular, it should be an education for self-realization, human relationships, self and national economic efficiency, effective citizenship and civic responsibility, national consciousness, national unity, social and political progress, and for scientific and technical awareness.<sup>3</sup>

One of the reasons which prompted the study was the assumption that in Kenya far more stress is placed on education for secondary school than on preparation for life for those children who will end their formal education at the primary school level. To establish some validity in these areas is the central focus of Chapters III and IV of this study.

It will be argued that the two aims of education should receive equal treatment in primary school, where the most important aim is to give a good foundation by providing the required basic education. Basic education might be referred to as the kinds of knowledge and skills which when transmitted and acquired, facilitate or improve the transmission or acquisition of further knowledge or skills.<sup>4</sup> The further knowledge and skills in secondary education and in the world of work in Kenya are

<sup>1</sup>Ministry of Education, Kenya, Primary School Syllabus--1967 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1967), p. ii.

<sup>2</sup>T. A. Balogun, "The National Curriculum Conference in Nigeria, 8-12 Sept. 1969," The West African Journal of Education, 14:1 (1970), 6.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Clifton R. Wharton, Jr., "Education and Agricultural Growth: The Role of Education in Early-Stage Agriculture," in A. Anderson and M. J. Bowman, eds., Education and Economic Development (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), p. 203.

varied and diversified, as will be shown in Chapters II and III. It is necessary that the basic education offered in primary school be of a broad and general nature and not narrow and specialized.<sup>1</sup> This is what will make primary school leavers flexible, adaptable and mobile in the world of work.

The curriculum for this kind of education should consist partly of literary and academic subjects selected from the basic realms of meaning postulated by Philip H. Phenix.<sup>2</sup> These would give the fundamental general education that all the youth require. It should also consist of some basic pre-vocational skills and knowledge selected from the applied fields of knowledge to prepare the youth to face "problems arising out of biological and social exigencies,"<sup>3</sup> such as the problems of unemployment. Both secondary-bound and terminal primary school students need this broad curriculum. The researcher is in agreement with UNESCO when they say that

. . . basic education must prepare an individual for the world of work by imbuing him [or her] with positive attitudes and values towards work and at least the foundation upon which practical skills, relevant to his or her environment, may be built. It is to this end that most countries increasingly include agriculture, home economics, crafts, etc.; in school curricula.<sup>4</sup>

The assumption of the researcher is that what is badly lacking in the Kenya primary school curriculum is stress on instilling positive

<sup>1</sup>See Harvey Leibenstein, "Shortages and Surpluses in Education in Underdeveloped Countries: A Theoretical Foray," Education and Economic Development, eds., A. Anderson and M. J. Bowman (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), pp. 51-62; and Philip J. Foster, "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning," Education and Economic Development, *ibid.*, pp. 142-166.

<sup>2</sup>Philip H. Phenix, Realms of Meaning: A Philosophy of the Curriculum for General Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), pp. 59-264.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 273.

<sup>4</sup>UNESCO/UNICEF, Co-operation Program--Seminar on "Basic Education in Eastern Africa," 19-23 August 1974, Nairobi (Draft Report), p. 13.

attitudes and values towards work of the type that primary school leavers are qualified to do. This will be argued further in the study.

Background and Significance  
of the Study

The problem of unemployed primary school leavers is not new to Kenya. George E. F. Urch recorded that by 1948:

European employers could no longer absorb the products of the schools [Primary]. Schools had increased at such a rate that there now was a proliferation of half-trained primary school leavers who were ill-prepared for anything but clerical positions. . . . Only a small percentage of the leavers found their way into productive employment and large numbers became an idle section of the population who refused to become involved in manual work. They came to be considered a retarding factor in rural development, as chiefs accused them of being a discontinued and subversive force in the local community.<sup>1</sup>

It was the realization of this problem that made the Colonial government appoint the Beecher Committee on education, which presented its report in September 1949.<sup>2</sup> The Beecher Report noted that there had developed a great deal of "wastage" among the pupils of the schools, and employers indicated that they found the primary school product unqualified for the majority of positions.<sup>3</sup> The African bias in favor of a non-manual white collar position was the most important single criticism of education made by the European Community.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>George E. F. Urch, The Africanization of the Curriculum in Kenya--University of Michigan Comparative Education Dissertation Series Number 12 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan School of Education, 1968), pp. 92-93.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>3</sup>Kenya Colony and Protectorate, African Education in Kenya (The Beecher Report) (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1949), p. 57.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 34.



Guy Hunter in 1959 cited the isolation and frustration of primary school leavers and the gap between the education of boys and girls as two of the most serious problems in African education.<sup>1</sup>

James R. Sheffield recorded that:

With the expansion of primary schools out-pacing secondary schools, hundreds of thousands of Kenyan children were left in what Margery Pertram referred to as a "mental no-man's land." Separated from their own village culture by new expectations, the primary school leavers were unable to find a Western skilled job or further educational opportunities and remained frustrated between the two worlds.<sup>2</sup>

At the time of independence it was a known fact that there was "a growing tendency for the primary school, by itself, to constitute an insufficient jumping-off point for many of the activities of modern life."<sup>3</sup> While there were opportunities for primary school leavers to train as teachers, nurses and agricultural assistants, the problem of the unemployed primary school leavers was not taken as a top priority in the newly independent Kenya.

But the people and government of Kenya have recently started taking seriously the increasing problem of unemployed school-leavers. In 1966 the Christian Council of Kenya (CCK) jointly with the Christian Churches Educational Association (CCEA) mounted a study to find out what

<sup>1</sup>Guy Hunter, "Emerging Africans," Adult Education [London], 32:2 (1959), 101-107.

<sup>2</sup>James R. Sheffield, "Policies and Progress in African Education in Kenya--1949-1963" (unpublished EdD dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), p. 201.

<sup>3</sup>Government of Kenya, Kenya Education Commission Report--Part I (Nairobi: The English Press, Ltd., 1964), p. 135. Hereafter referred to as the Ominde Report.

happens to primary school children after they finish primary school.<sup>1</sup> They found that there was a "gap" of years and skills in which primary school leavers find themselves between finishing the Certificate of Primary Education Examination (C.P.E.) and getting into employment. Those who fail to get a secondary school place or any formal training occupy this two or three years' "gap."

In the same year an international conference sponsored by the University College, Nairobi, was held at Kericho, Kenya, to examine the problem of education, employment of youth, and rural development. The conference report expressed the need for developing the rural area to a stage where it can generate enough employment opportunities and attract youth.<sup>2</sup>

The Kenya National Assembly appointed a Select Committee in 1970 to examine the whole problem of unemployment in the Republic. It may be that it was on the recommendation of the Committee that the government hired the services of two foreign aided advisory missions to examine curriculum development in schools and the employment situation in Kenya. Gordon S. Bessey led the mission that studied curriculum development under the terms of an agreement with the International Development Association (IDA). The mission that examined employment and incomes was an inter-agency team financed by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and organized by the International Labor Office (ILO) in Geneva.

<sup>1</sup>Christian Council of Kenya and Christian Churches Educational Association, After School, What? Further Education, Training and Employment of Primary School Leavers. (Nairobi: Ministry of Health, 1966). Hereafter referred to as the CCK Survey.

<sup>2</sup>James R. Sheffield, ed., Education, Employment and Rural Development. Report of the Kericho (Kenya) Conference of 1966 (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967). Hereafter referred to as the Kericho Conference Report.

Both missions produced their reports in 1972. They will be referred to in the study as the Bessey Report and the ILO Report respectively.<sup>1,2</sup> More reference will be made to them later, but suffice it to say that both have produced useful insights into the problems of the curriculum and of unemployment of school leavers and other youth in general. They reveal, especially the ILO Report, that the problem of unemployment is greatest with the youth who have had least education or no education, and least with those with more than secondary education. The primary school leavers, who are the main concern of this study, are among those affected most.

The government has reacted to all this in the Sessional Paper on Employment, 1973 and in the current Development Plan 1974-78. The primary school leaver is increasingly faced with a situation where jobs and courses previously taken by people of his educational level ten years ago are now restricted to secondary school graduates. He is forced to join the ranks of the unemployed for long periods while searching for more remunerative jobs in towns. The jobs for people with little education are no longer there. Detailed information on this will be found in Chapter II of this study.

Some notable empirical research done in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and elsewhere in Africa, probed the validity of these conclusions on the

<sup>1</sup>Gordon S. Bessey, Ed., A Study of Curriculum Development in Kenya (Nairobi: Kenya Curriculum Mission, 1972). Hereafter referred to as The Bessey Report.

<sup>2</sup>United Nations Development Program and the International Labor Office. Employment, Incomes, and Equality: A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya (Geneva: ILO, 1972). Hereafter referred to as The ILO Report.

unemployed school leavers and found it difficult to prove that the youth were "unemployed permanently" in such large numbers that they flooded the urban centers for jobs. Among the researchers are Fred K. Kamoga (Uganda, 1963), Albert J. McQueen (Nigeria, 1963), Tina Wallace (Uganda, 1972), Joyce L. Mook (Kenya, 1972), Lewis Brownstein (Kenya, 1972); J. D. Heijnen (Tanzania, 1966), and John Anderson (Kenya, 1966), to mention a few.

They, in most cases, found that youth in the rural areas are not completely without jobs. They are out of jobs only during occasional short periods when they are moving from one job to another, or when they try their luck in towns for short periods, or just voluntarily, as in the case of some girls. Can this be described as temporary unemployment or underemployment? It certainly is not permanent unemployment.

A conflict exists, therefore, between those who fear problems of unemployment of school leavers, and the researchers who do not find it a problem of enormous magnitude. Tina Wallace, after following up some "unemployed" school boys, concludes:

. . . They do not form a hard core of unemployed youth and they spend their time without work in the village rather than in the towns. They do not seem to be candidates for the role so graphically drawn for them in The Energy of Despair or The Lonely African.<sup>1</sup>

She goes on to suggest that governments should concentrate resources on more serious problems than worrying about the problems of unemployed school leavers:

<sup>1</sup> Tina Wallace, "Young and Unemployed--Who is and What Does it Mean?" East Africa Journal, 9:11 (1972), 22.

While so much time and attention are focused on this rather amorphous group, the needs of the vast majority of youth are ignored and even unacknowledged. The problems of low rates of return in rural areas, the difficulties of improving agriculture, of acquiring business skills, of obtaining credit and learning to deal with customers are crucial to most young men who are rurally employed; and yet little attention is paid to these problems and so much is focused—unnecessarily, I believe—on the actual and potential hazards of unemployment.<sup>1</sup>

The present study therefore attempts to clarify the real facts of unemployment of school leavers before suggesting changes in the curriculum.

Some of the people who see unemployment of primary school leavers as a serious problem have suggested varying changes in the curriculum. David R. Koff (1966) carried out an extensive study in Kenya to find out job perspectives of Primary Standard 7 pupils, in other words, those in their final year of the primary school. One of his major recommendations was that there was a need to create more favorable attitudes towards farming.

. . . A consistent effort to equate farming with other skilled and literate occupations; to emphasize the need for skills in farming which are also required in clerical, technical and managerial jobs. Changes in the school syllabus and text books, incorporating these ideas, would be necessary.<sup>2</sup>

The Kenya National Assembly's Select Committee on Unemployment (1970) state the need for curriculum change in even stronger terms:

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<sup>1</sup>Wallace, "Young and Unemployed—Who is and What Does it Mean?"

<sup>2</sup>David R. Koff, "Education and Employment: Perspectives of Kenya Primary Pupils," in Sheffield, ed., Education, Employment and Rural Development, p. 411.

Of fundamental importance to the solution of the unemployment problem will be a reform of the content and scope of the educational curricula in the nation's education system. The present curricula are too exclusively academic. The school-leavers cannot apply their knowledge to farming or to other activities like bookkeeping, masonry, carpentry, and so forth. The school curricula should, therefore, be revised to give them a more practical bias. Teaching on agriculture and practical skills should be established both in primary and secondary schools.<sup>1</sup>

But even on this question of curriculum implication there are conflicting opinions as to whether what is required is general education or more vocational and practical education, or even whether a change is needed at all.

Philip J. Foster (1965), writing on "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning,"<sup>2</sup> discusses the question of the desirability of providing technical, vocational, and agricultural instruction within the schools. After making references to many other studies, he concludes that:

It has already been pointed out by others that the idea that children's vocational aspirations can be altered by massive changes in curriculum is no more than a piece of folk lore with little empirical justification.<sup>3</sup>

He takes this argument further and stresses the point that what is needed in developing economies is not the production of large numbers of specifically trained individuals. Rather it is important that schools

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<sup>1</sup> Republic of Kenya, Report of the Select Committee on Unemployment, National Assembly of Kenya (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1970), p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Philip J. Foster, "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning," in A. C. Anderson and M. J. Bowman, eds., Education and Economic Development (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), Chapter 8, pp. 142-166.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 149.

should equip students with a good solid and adequate general education and a thorough preparation in basic subjects so that they will be in a position to profit more from technical training after school.

Indeed, we suggest that this is the really effective thing that schools can do at every level. Rather than attempting to load them with vocational subjects, providing a sound general education with a bias towards general science and English or French, essential at all levels, can provide the basis for later effective specialist training. Here, indeed, is the area in which imaginative and constructive curriculum work can be undertaken.<sup>1</sup>

Harvey Leibenstein, discussing "Shortages and Surpluses in Education in Underdeveloped Countries,"<sup>2</sup> follows a line of argument similar to Foster's. He says in one of his six conclusions that economic development requires a high degree of mobility of various types, and general education is a necessary condition for such mobility. This follows from the fact that mobility requires a high degree of communicability between different segments of the economy.

At the conclusion of the Kericho Conference<sup>3</sup> referred to earlier, it was not clear then, as now, whether change should constitute making the current general education more practical, or whether pre-vocational training of some sort should be introduced at the primary school level as it is in some secondary schools. It is still not clear whether it is the development of the rural area that needs stepping up first so that

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<sup>1</sup> Foster, "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning," in Education and Economic Development, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> Harvey Leibenstein, "Shortages and Surpluses in Education in Underdeveloped Countries: A Theoretical Foray," in A. Anderson and M. J. Bowman, eds., Education and Economic Development, Chapter 3, pp. 51-62.

it can absorb primary school graduates, or whether the curriculum should first be made relevant to the rural economy.

All of these conflicts must create dilemmas for the educational planners and curriculum designers in Kenya. This is where the present study may help. There has not been empirical research in East Africa, to the knowledge of the researcher, which has probed the relationship between curriculum and the world of work where school leavers go to after they finish school. Studies have centered on whether or not pupils' expectations of jobs reflect an understanding of the real situation of availability of jobs in the economy. Others have tried to find out what the unemployed school leavers actually do as they search for a career. Passing conclusions have then been made on curriculum implications. There is still a need to establish if the education offered in the primary school gives a good foundation to the boys and girls who leave the education system, and can only now hope to work as garden boys, office messengers, shop stewards, barmaids, and a whole range of simple jobs which Fred K. Kamoga's survey in Uganda (1963) revealed are the jobs done by primary school leavers.<sup>1</sup>

The trend of argument so far tends to make the researcher feel that there is a need to examine the adequacy of the current general education given in primary schools, for the majority of pupils who will leave the system and go to search for a career, most likely in the rural economy, where the majority of primary school leavers live. This is the task of the present research.

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<sup>1</sup>Fred K. Kamoga, "Future of Primary Leavers in Uganda," Proceedings of the East African Institute of Social Research Conference (Kampala: EAISR, 1963), Section F.



The literature examined so far implies that curriculum changes may not by themselves change the attitudes and aspirations of youth as regards what work they want to do and whether they struggle for the town or not. There are many other changes to be effected alongside curriculum changes before the youth can be attracted to stay in the rural areas: (1) The general development of the rural areas themselves, (2) the use of income incentives, and (3) development of national youth services have been proposed in various places, like the Development Plan and the ILO Report, as the possible changes other than curriculum. In fact, some argue that the other approaches might bring about more immediate and relevant results than curriculum changes. Foster argues that:

Schools are remarkably clumsy instruments for inducing prompt large-scale changes in underdeveloped areas. To be sure, formal education has had immense impact in Africa, but its consequences have rarely been those anticipated, and the schools have not often functioned in the manner intended by educational planners.<sup>1</sup>

Irrespective of what some researchers may think,<sup>2</sup> the problem of unemployed school leavers worries many people in Kenya. This study is very timely and it will be important if it clarifies the conflicting facts surrounding this whole issue. Much money is spent on numerous curriculum changes in isolated subject areas. Do these subject specialists allow for the problems of employment for the products of the school system or are they only concerned with intellectual development? To tackle the school leaver problem, there would be a need to look at the "whole curriculum" of the school, rather than only individual subjects.

<sup>1</sup>Foster, "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning," in Anderson and Bowman, eds., Education and Economic Development, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup>Wallace, "Young and Unemployed, Who is and What Does it Mean?"

The approach has never found its way into Kenya. The current study may be unique in this respect, that it is going to look at the whole curriculum and see how it is preparing the school leavers to function in the working community.

The Government has set up a Commission on Education to examine the whole education system. This research will, hopefully, be completed in time to serve as one of the Commission's references.

#### Definition of Terms

Unemployment: In a dual economy like that of Kenya, with a modern and a traditional sector,<sup>1</sup> it is not easy to find many people, especially in the latter sector, who are completely without some means of livelihood, even when they are apparently idle or are actively seeking jobs. The application of the concept of unemployment as used in developed countries, to Kenya, may not be easy. An attempt is made just to give explanations to aid the reader to know how the term is used in this study.

David Turnham, after reviewing different conceptions of the term in a number of less developed countries, defines unemployment as "consisting of those members of the population who are seeking work, or additional work at going wage rates, and who are not in fact employed."<sup>2</sup> This is the concept of unemployment referred to in Kenya as "Open, Visible or Hard-core unemployment" in the modern sector mainly in urban

<sup>1</sup>It is not easy in Kenya at the present stage of development to distinguish these two sectors in the economy.

<sup>2</sup>David Turnham, The Employment Problem in Less Developed Countries, Development Center Studies: Employment Series No. 1 (Paris: Development Center of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1971), p. 41.

areas.<sup>1</sup> The ILO Report refers to these people as those "with zero incomes and seeking work."<sup>2</sup>

In the traditional sector most people who could be described as unemployed are engaged, in fact, in some occupations which, nevertheless, do not give them enough income to live on. These are mainly the "working poor"<sup>3</sup> as the ILO Report calls them, in the rural areas and even in towns. They have been described as the "under-employed" and even as those with "disguised unemployment."<sup>4</sup>

The school leavers have a similar problem as this latter group. The ILO Report describes them as "frustrated job seekers" who are unable to obtain the kinds of jobs, and levels for which they believe they "qualify" on account of educational attainment. They are engaged in some of the menial jobs in the rural areas for part of the year, and for the other part they go to the towns to look for better paying jobs. They are, therefore, not really unemployed permanently. Their unemployment is defined by the ILO Report simply as "job seeking."<sup>5</sup> In this study the definition of unemployment of the school leaver, as explained above, will be adopted.

Primary School Leaver: The boy or girl who has completed Standard 7 of Kenya, done the Certificate of Primary Education examination (C.P.E.), but is neither repeating primary school nor proceeding with secondary education, nor taking formal post-primary training or private

<sup>1</sup>Frederick H. Harbison, "The Generation of Employment in Newly Developing Countries," in Sheffield, ed., Education, Employment and Rural Development, pp. 173-193.

<sup>2</sup>United Nations Development Program, ILO Report, pp. 33-83.

<sup>3</sup>Harbison, "The Generation of Employment in Newly Developing Countries."

<sup>4</sup>United Nations Development Program, ILO Report, p. 67.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

vocational training. The one described is the unemployed primary school leaver whose problems the study probes.

Curriculum: All the learning or experiences planned and provided for children at school.

Youth: The youth referred to generally are those of ages 12 to 21 years. However, the study will be concerned with primary school leavers whose ages range from 13 to 20 years.

#### Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study was concerned with primary school leavers and the primary school curriculum in Kenya. If school leavers have unemployment problems, it is the primary school leavers who suffer more than secondary school and other leavers who have stayed in the system longer. Hence the need for more concern with primary school.

It examined mainly those aspects of the primary school curriculum that are meant to equip the school leaver, particularly the terminal student, with pre-vocational skills and knowledge for the world of work.

It was an analytical study based on a survey and analysis of literature, and an analysis of the Kenya primary school syllabus. The limitations of the study and the tools used for analysis will be discussed in detail in Chapters III and IV.

#### Method of Analysis

The information on which the discussion and conclusions were based was obtained:

1. Through the survey of literature and analysis of four empirical researches done on the unemployment of youth in Kenya, to highlight the main issues.

2. Through the analysis of the primary school syllabus, to see how the issues raised from literature are structured within the syllabus.

For examination of literature, the main objective was to find out what facts and issues have been established about unemployed primary school leavers in connection with each of the following career elements:

Career Motivation

Career Orientation

Career Exploration

Career Preparation

These were career development phases taken from career development models used by the Division of Vocational Education and the Division of Guidance and Testing, Ohio Department of Education, and the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.<sup>1</sup> The models have been used to design career education programs. It must be noted that it is not the intention of the researcher to design a career education program for Kenya primary schools. The phases were only used as a source of important questions to ask in connection with career/vocational aspects of education offered in the school.

Each of the career development phases was broken into skills, attitudes and knowledge that they are manifested through, as follows:

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<sup>1</sup>E. L. Tolbert, Counseling for Career Development (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974), pp. 15-18.

Career Motivation is when a student develops awareness and a positive attitude towards careers, respect for careers, and a desire to join the world of work.

Career Orientation is when a student is given information about job opportunities open to him in the labor market.

Career Exploration is when a student is given an opportunity to observe people at work, to examine some of the jobs and try his hand at them even before leaving school.

Career Preparation is when a student is equipped with pre-vocational entry-level job skills, technical knowledge, work habits and attitudes, and pre-professional knowledge and foundations.

The questions that were developed from these elements, which formed the analytical tool, and the rationale for use of the tool will be discussed in detail in Chapter III.

For the analysis of the primary school syllabus, the four phases of career development were broken into a five-point taxonomy, which was used as the analytical tool. The taxonomy consisted of:

Motivation

Orientation

Exploration

Preparation A--Provision of general knowledge.

Preparation B--Provision of pre-vocational manual and technical skills and knowledge.

The analysis was a page-by-page examination of course objectives and aims, course content, and methods to see what the syllabus provided in each of the five points. In this manner the following fifteen

sections of the Kenya Primary School Syllabus--1967,<sup>1</sup> were analyzed: The Preface, Religious Education, New Primary Approach, English (Non-New Primary Approach), Mathematics, New Primary Mathematics, Mother Tongues, Swahili as a Second Language, Geography, History and Civics, General Science, Physical Education, Arts and Crafts, Needlework and Domestic Science, and Music.

The details of the analysis and limitations of the instrument are discussed in Chapter IV.

#### Organization of the Remainder of the Study

Chapter II will give background information on Kenya as regards the state of economic development and the education system. Chapter III will be a review and analysis of literature. The main issues of unemployment of primary school leavers will be sought. Chapter IV deals with the syllabus analysis. Chapter V will discuss the possible curriculum changes needed, on the basis of findings, and show the major conclusions of the study.

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<sup>1</sup>Ministry of Education, Kenya, Primary School Syllabus--1967 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1967).

Chapter II  
THE LAND, ECONOMY, AND EDUCATION SYSTEM  
OF KENYA

This chapter will be divided into two sections. The first will deal with the land and economy of Kenya. The second section will be a description of the education system.

The Land and Economy

The Land and People

The Republic of Kenya, formerly a British Crown Colony and Protectorate, came into being as a fully independent nation on December 12, 1963. Its total area is approximately 582,646 sq. km. (224,960 sq. miles).<sup>1</sup> Of this, water occupies 13,396 sq. km., National Parks take up 23,765 sq. km. and Forest Reserves 16,178 sq. km., leaving 529,307 sq. km. for settlement and cultivation. The land is divided into eight administrative Provinces including Nairobi Municipality, and these are subdivided into forty Districts.<sup>2</sup>

Kenya stands obliquely to the equator, extending about 4 1/2° North and South. It lies between Latitudes 34° East and 44° West with a large part of it facing the Indian Ocean in the east. With the Republic of Tanzania to the south and the Republic of Uganda to the east, the

<sup>1</sup> Republic of Kenya, Statistical Abstract, 1974 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1975), pp. 2-5. All statistical information in this section comes from this reference.

<sup>2</sup> See Map of Kenya, Appendix A, infra.



three form a block of land generally referred to as East Africa. They have had and still have much in common. They are currently economically linked under the East African Community. The other neighbors are the Republics of Somalia, Ethiopia, and Sudan.<sup>1</sup>

The land rises from sea-level in the vicinity of Mombasa along the Indian Ocean, to the ice-capped summits of Mt. Kenya, 5,199 meters (17,058 ft.) high.<sup>2</sup> In between these extremes, the land rises in a series of plateau surfaces increasing in altitude from the low narrow Coastal Belt, through the broad Nyika Plateau in the immediate interior, the Lake Victoria plateau region in the west, and culminates in the Rift Valley Highlands in the center of the country. The Kenya Highlands are mainly volcanic, linked with the formation of the Great Rift Valley, which longitudinally cuts through Kenya from North to South roughly along Longitude 30° East.<sup>3</sup>

Rainfall varies from the wet Coastal Belt, the Lake Victoria Basin and the Central Highlands, which receive more than 1,500 millimeters (40") per annum, to the dry Nyika Plateau in the North, Northwest, Northeast and Southern parts, with less than 760 millimeters (20") per year. The Development Plan, 1974-78, highlights the fact that "eighty percent of Kenya's land surface receives less than 760 mm. (20"). One-quarter receives less than 300 mm. (10"), and is semi-desert."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Map of Kenya, Appendix A, infra.

<sup>2</sup> Mt. Kenya is the second highest mountain in Africa, after the Kilimanjaro of Tanzania.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix A.

<sup>4</sup> Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-1978 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1974), p. 63.

Average mean temperatures vary from 27.5°C. (80°F) at Mombasa to less than 15°C (60°F) in the highland towns. Mt. Kenya rises above the permanent snow line in the equatorial belt, and even though it is situated right on the equator, it has snow and ice on its peaks. It is these altitude tempered cool conditions coupled with good rainfall, vegetation and soils that attracted the "white settlers" to Kenya in large numbers, during the Colonial days.<sup>1</sup>

The important point to stress here is that good and reliable rainfall which gives rise to good vegetation, good soils and a high potential farming land, is confined to a very small part of Kenya. Eighty percent of population is found on the few areas of high agricultural potential land, at the coast, in Western Kenya and in the Highlands region, all of which are only about 15 percent of the total land of Kenya.<sup>2</sup> The remaining 85 percent of land, with its scanty and unreliable rainfall, poor vegetation, is suitable mainly for stock raising and/or wildlife. But even the driest parts of the land are not altogether empty, for "living here are nearly 2.1 million people, or 17 percent of Kenya's population." Of these, about one million are nomadic pastoralists, who derive their living almost exclusively from milk and meat. Another 350,000 are semi-pastoralists who are taking increasingly to crop production. The rest are subsistence cultivators.<sup>3</sup>

The total population was estimated at 12,934,000 in 1974, and

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<sup>1</sup>As the only Crown Colony in East Africa, and with extensive cool, fertile highlands, Kenya had the largest number of white settlers in East Africa.

<sup>2</sup>William A. Hance, The Geography of Modern Africa (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964), p. 378.

<sup>3</sup>Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, p. 63.

increasing at the rate of 3.5 percent per annum.<sup>1</sup> At this rate it may now be well over 13 million. Ninety percent of this population still lives in rural areas, and earns its livelihood predominantly from agriculture. This makes the pressure on land even greater since few people live in towns. The following figures (Table 1) taken from Statistical Abstract, 1974 give an indication of densities of population in some of the heavily settled parts:

Table 1  
Population, Area and Densities  
(Selected Provinces and Districts)

	Population (thousands)	Land Area (sq. km.)	Density (per sq. km.)
<b>CENTRAL PROVINCE-</b>			
Nyeri	361	3,284	110
Muranga	445	2,476	180
Kiambu	476	2,448	194
<b>NYANZA PROVINCE</b>			
Kisii	675	2,196	307
Kisumu	401	2,081	193
<b>WESTERN PROVINCE</b>			
Kakamega	783	3,520	222
Busia	1,328	8,223	162

**Source:**

Republic of Kenya, Statistical Abstract, 1974, Table 13, p. 14.

The densities shown in Table 1 are only average densities, and they therefore conceal a lot of details. For example, in Kakamega District, there are sections like Maragoli, where population densities are more than 770 persons per sq. km. (2,000 per sq. mile). There is

<sup>1</sup> Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, p. 5.

virtually no more agricultural land remaining for expansion in some of the densely populated districts such as Kisii. Table 2 illustrates this point in another way.<sup>1</sup>

The figures of Table 2 are also only averages. It is very common in Maragoli in Kakamega District to find many people with only one or two acres of land. On such a tiny piece of land a person would have his house, grain stores, keep one or two cows tethered and fed on grass and maize stalks cut for them, and by intensive inter-cropping, grow two or more crops of maize, beans, millet, sorghum in a year. Some even manage to squeeze in cash crops like coffee, with bananas. The extreme pressure on land will be described further under the section on economic growth.

While discussing population, it may be important to describe the age composition. This is shown in Table 3, based on the 1969 population census.<sup>2</sup> The figures include all racial groups in Kenya--Asians, Europeans, Arabs--but the majority are Africans.<sup>3</sup>

The proportion of the children under 14 years of age was about 48.4 percent of the total population. Those aged 15-59 years numbered 5,061,500 which was 46.3 percent of the whole population. The actively working population, after allowing for those in school and training might have been about 37 percent of the total population in 1969. The absolute numbers of the working population have increased since, as will be seen later in this chapter; however, the proportions of the various age groups may still be the same.

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<sup>1</sup>The ILO Report, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup>Republic of Kenya, Statistical Abstract, 1974, Table 17, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup>The people of other racial groups were 209,500 in total in 1969.

Table 2

Estimated Availability of  
Good Agricultural Land, 1969  
(Selected Districts; Hectares of  
High-potential Land Equivalents)

District	Hectares (thousands)	Hectares per person
Nyeri	160	0.4 (10 acres)
Muranga	217	0.5 (12 acres)
Kiambu	170	0.4 (10 acres)
Kisii	220	0.3 (7 acres)
Kisumu and Siaya	438	0.6 (15 acres)
Kakamega	325	0.4 (10 acres)
Busia	163	0.8 (20 acres)

Source:

Republic of Kenya, Statistical Abstract, 1974, Tables 13 and 73.

Table 3

Population by Sex and  
Five-year Age Groups  
(1969)

Age Group	Male (thousands)	Female (thousands)	Total (thousands)
0-4	1,058.1	1,046.4	2,104.5
0-9	916.6	893.4	1,810.0
10-14	714.7	663.8	1,378.5
15-19	560.2	544.8	1,105.0
20-24	428.0	450.1	878.1
25-29	349.6	411.2	760.8
30-34	280.9	299.2	580.1
35-39	252.1	264.8	516.9
40-49	366.4	365.8	732.2
50-59	247.1	241.3	488.4
60 and Over	308.5	279.4	587.9

**Source:**

Republic of Kenya, Statistical Abstract, 1974, Table 17, p. 16.

### Economic Growth

The gross domestic product of Kenya rose from K£328 million in 1964 to K£554 million in 1972, measured in 1964 prices. At current prices, it was K£647 million in 1972. At constant prices, therefore, over the period 1964 to 1972 the economy grew at a cumulative rate of 6.8 percent. During the same period, population has also been rising quite fast, at between 3.0 and 3.3 percent, so that per capita output has risen at an annual cumulative rate of between 3.5 and 3.8 percent, from K£36 in 1964 to K£46 in 1972.<sup>1</sup> Gross domestic product in 1973 was K£731,090,000 giving a per capital of K£56, and it is planned to raise this to K£68 by 1978.<sup>2</sup>

In order to improve income distribution and employment, the current Plan intends to increase the rate of economic growth. The target rate for gross domestic product is planned to increase to 7.4 percent per year for 1972-78. In 1978 gross domestic product will be 54 percent greater than 1972 and average per capita and per family will be 25 percent higher.<sup>3</sup>

Manufacturing output has grown by 8.1 percent per year since 1963, while agriculture has grown at 6.5 percent.<sup>4</sup> Manufacturing is expected to overtake agriculture as the leading sector, even though agricultural output will grow at a record rate.<sup>5</sup> Much of the development in

<sup>1</sup> Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> These figures were calculated from Table 47(a) (Republic of Kenya, Statistical Abstract, 1974, p. 42); and Table 6.1 (Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, p. 149).

<sup>3</sup> Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. iii.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 150.

manufacturing is connected with processing agricultural products. Kenya is the most industrialized of her East African neighbors, but unlike them, she is the least endowed with minerals like the diamonds of Tanzania and the copper of Uganda. The most important aspect of development in manufacturing that has relevance to this study is the small-scale industry located in rural areas. The industries are referred to later.

At present it is estimated that employment in the formal sector of the industry will rise from 35,000 in 1972 to 45,000 in 1978, with over half of the increase being represented by unskilled and casual laborers. Employment generated by small rural contractors will be additional to this total.

#### Developments in Agriculture

Agricultural development in Kenya since independence has been revolutionary. As the Development Plan states:

Improved productivity in established small enterprises has been another source of growing incomes. This has been particularly apparent in agriculture, following the introduction and expansion of cash crops, together with intensified extension services, credit, marketing facilities, improved seed and livestock, etc. The value of all agricultural production from small-holdings (subsistence as well as monetary) rose from K£138 million in 1964 to K£205 million in 1972 at 1964 prices.<sup>1</sup>

More than half of agricultural gross domestic product is derived from the non-monetary sector which is expected to grow at 3.3 percent per annum compared to 6.7 percent in the monetary sector.

Pressure on the potentially good agricultural land was stressed earlier. There is an increasing number of landless people. Many

<sup>1</sup> Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, p. 42.



African families have been and are being settled on large farms previously occupied by the white farmers and on unoccupied State land in the Coastal Region. More than 78,000 families will have been settled in this way by the end of the current plan (1978). More than 70,000 of these are already settled.<sup>1</sup> The people in the "settlement schemes," as the resettled areas are called, grow cash and food crops, and raise cattle of the type that only European farmers grew during the Colonial days. They have even put to use most of the land that the white settlers had left fallow for many years.

Until only a few years before independence, growing of important cash-earning crops such as coffee, tea, pyrethrum and sugar cane, as well as the keeping of exotic dairy cows, was the prerogative of large-scale farmers--mainly Europeans and only a few Asians.<sup>2</sup> Since independence, much of the farming in these sectors has been done by African small holders even in the remotest parts of the rural areas. Pyrethrum is produced by 80,000 small holders and they contribute 90 percent of the product. The total area of land used for cultivation of tea in Kenya was 49,000 hectares in 1972, of which 22,700 was from large-scale farms and 26,200 hectares was from small-scale rural farms. By 1972 there were about 67,000 small-scale farmers of tea. This number is expected to rise to 92,000 by the end of 1978. Marketed production of milk is forecast to increase at 6.8 percent per annum, primarily through an increase in small-holder production. The small-holder's share in the total production is expected to increase from about 40 percent to 50 percent by the end of

<sup>1</sup>Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 61.

1978.<sup>1</sup> All this does not include the large amounts of milk consumed and sold locally.

Even in the most densely populated rural areas like Maragoli, Kiambu, Kisii, to list only a few, the simplest peasant farmer is increasingly applying fertilizers, planting hybrid maize, planting at least one cash crop (tea, coffee or sugar cane), and keeping one or two exotic dairy cows, thus getting more out of the acre than ever before.<sup>2</sup> For school leavers who can obtain land and credit, and be willing to put forth the necessary effort, there are prospects in agriculture in the rural areas. In the drier areas, the Range Development Program adopted in 1966 has developed large ranching companies, individual and group ranches, and community grazing schemes. Water is provided along definite routes.<sup>3</sup> Yet agricultural development is much slower and more difficult in these areas than the high potential areas, as will be shown later.

#### Developments in the Informal Non-farming Sector

Many Kenyan men and women earn their living working in small-scale non-farming activities in towns and rural areas.

In 1969, in what was certainly an under-count, there were found to be almost 190,000 men, women and children working in non-agricultural activities in rural areas, of whom over 132,000 were adult self-employed persons, family workers or regular wage employees. Incomes earned in these activities were significantly (about 16 percent) above those obtained by men and women working as wage laborers on small farms,

<sup>1</sup> Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, pp. 235-248.

<sup>2</sup> This was proved in a research paper by Peter Mook, "Special Rural Development Program Evaluation Reports on Maize Credit Scheme, September 1971, November 1971 (Nairobi: Institute for Development Studies, 1972).

<sup>3</sup> Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, p. 63.

and markedly above the cash income received by farmers tilling very small plots.<sup>1</sup>

Those similarly self-employed in the informal sector in urban areas like Nairobi, earn even higher incomes than those in the rural informal sector. The urban informal sector was estimated to comprise at least 100,000 people in 1972.<sup>2</sup> The activities in this sector both in the rural and urban areas, range from simple jobs like petty traders, hawkers, shoeshine boys, secondhand book and magazine sellers, street maize roasting boys, sidewalk street barbers, to more sophisticated enterprises like manufacture and repair activities, tailoring, bicycle repairing, carpentry and taxi ("Matatu") ownership. Among this should be included fish mongers and fishermen at the coast and lake areas, blacksmiths, wood and stone carvers and pot makers, and many others engaged in local crafts particularly in the rural areas.<sup>3</sup> This is an area where many young men and women from school, with an enterprising spirit can find jobs, given some initial capital and credit.

The ILO Report regrets that government policy towards the urban informal sector has contained too few elements of positive support and promotion, and too many elements of inaction, restriction and harassment.<sup>4</sup> There are almost no restrictions of the sector in the rural

<sup>1</sup>The ILO Report, p. 223.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 224.

<sup>3</sup>Kenneth J. King, "Skill Acquisition in the Informal Sector of the Economy," in D. Court and D. P. Ghai, eds., Education, Society and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974), Chapter 13, pp. 291-309. He describes in detail the activities in the informal sector in and around Nairobi. He gives an example of the Kikuyu Aturi clan of blacksmiths in Kiambu who manufacture and sell bicycle carriers, foreguards and stands using a self-designed machine situated in one of Nairobi's wastelands.

<sup>4</sup>The ILO Report, p. 225.

areas where "the 'Harambee' movement has received government approval and support."<sup>1</sup>

Informal activities have been stimulated by the "Harambee" spirit, and they are not confined to individuals, but are also undertaken by community and even family groups. The movement originated at the eve of independence, when President Kenyatta urged the adoption of Harambee (Swahili word for "let us pull together"), as the national watchword and it was incorporated into the National Coat-of-arms.<sup>2</sup> To the Kenyans it means "let us pull together," and also "let us do it ourselves for our own self-development instead of waiting for the Government." The movement has contributed remarkably to the total national development effort through the construction of schools, health centers, hospitals, water supply schemes, roads and bridges, social halls, cattle dips, village polytechnics, and more recently Institutes of Science and Technology, referred to later in the section under education. The movement has overtaken government plans in many areas, especially education. In some cases it has been haphazard and wasteful as each community has hastily tried to catch up with others. "Government emphasis has shifted from motivation [of people] per se to planning of 'harambee' movement."<sup>3</sup> Most of the development in the rural areas depends on the "Harambee" spirit. Its significance can be seen in Table 4, showing the value of self-help schemes.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>The ILO Report, p. 225.

<sup>2</sup>Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 482.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., Table 2.4, p. 41.

Table 4

Value of Self-help Schemes:  
1964, 1967 and 1972

PROJECT	K£ '000		
	1964	1967	1972
<b>Capital Projects</b>			
Residential Buildings		108	52
Schools		741	1,667
Community Halls and Social Centers		78	86
Health Centers and Dispensaries	N/A	167	178
Other Non-residential Buildings		94	274
Roads		22	39
Water Works		54	190
Cattle Dips		76	247
Other Construction and Land Improvement Projects		8	157
<b>Total</b>	600	1,350	2,889
<b>Other Projects</b>	N/A	606	30
<b>All Projects</b>	--	1,956	2,919

Source:Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, Table 2.4, p. 41.

In addition to informal activities, there are small-scale industries and businesses that the government is planning to establish in the rural areas and in smaller urban centers. The Special Rural Development Program (SRDP) started in the 1970-74 Plan to test strategies of national significance for accelerating rural development throughout the country.<sup>1</sup> Based on an evaluation of these programs by the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Nairobi, more research and expansion of the experimental projects has been recommended.<sup>2</sup> The program consisted of projects aimed at higher rural standards, job opportunities and levels of income.

In 1971 the government initiated the Rural Industrial Development Program (RIDP) for the development of rural small-scale industries, with the objective of promotion of rural economic development, creation of jobs in rural areas by promoting labor-intensive small-scale industrial enterprises, promotion of industries which would mainly use local raw materials, and development of Kenyan entrepreneurship and technical skills.<sup>3</sup> The aim is to spread industrial establishments rather than pile them in the major cities. The Webuye Paper Mill is an example of such industries, although it is reasonably large. It started the manufacture of pulp and paper from locally grown timber in 1975. With the employment of more than 1,200 persons it suddenly transformed the small village of Webuye into a town.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 110. This was Peter Mook's evaluation research referred to on p. 34, *supra*, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 297.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 291.

Another strategy for the general development of the rural areas is to extend and intensify the network of urban centers. The overall objective in planning the network is to provide eventually one Local Center for every 5,000 rural population, a Market Center for every 15,000, a Rural Center for every 40,000, and an Urban Center for every 120,000 population.<sup>1</sup> Services like public water supply, sewerage disposal, electricity, postal, telephone and banking come with these centers, depending on the size of center. The centers will also be accompanied by the construction of a network of roads of various classes. All this may eventually begin to attract youth back to the rural areas, especially if the other developments planned can materialize. This may also make the urban workers wish to visit home more often and set up projects to provide employment for the rural youth. This is very much on the increase.

#### Employment Prospects

Employment prospects have not grown as fast as the economic growth. The Plan projects that more than 800,000 new jobs will be required by 1978, and "still more will be needed for those who are already unemployed."<sup>2</sup> It is stressed further that most of these new jobs must be created in the rural areas or in the informal sector. The modern sector in cities cannot absorb any more than 200,000 new job holders. There is limited scope for employment on large farms. Most of the new employment in the rural areas will have to be in small-holder agriculture.<sup>3</sup> The ILO Report states that only 15 percent of the

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<sup>1</sup>Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, p. 120.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

potential labor force in rural areas in 1969 were engaged in wage earning activities and a further 5 percent found casual employment.<sup>1</sup> Apparently most people in rural areas are engaged in self-employment as workers on their own small-holdings or as family workers. This is where the most development is required, for as it will be shown in Chapter III, the unemployed primary school leavers do not find enough challenging work on the small-holdings of their parents in rural areas. The general picture of job availability and projections is given in Table 5.

Even though much development is planned in the modern sector as the annual rate of growth in Table 5 suggests, this is a sector where primary school leavers face very stiff competition with other school leavers. The same might be said for the wage employment in the rural non-agricultural activities. The figures on the informal urban sector may be an underestimate of the real situation, but for those youth who live near towns, there are good prospects in this sector if only one is given support for a start. Chapter III will show that most primary school leavers are caught up in the self-employed and family workers sector. While youth in the areas of high potential in agriculture may find some work to do, The ILO Report estimates that about 620,000 households in the rural areas have very small plots or live in medium potential areas, and they lack the ability to raise productivity of their land more than marginally. They are the "rural working poor" as the Report calls them.<sup>2</sup> The primary school leavers who come from such homes,

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<sup>1</sup>The ILO Report, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 37.



Table 5

Total Employment:  
1972 and Projected 1978

Employment Sector	1972	1978	Annual Rate of Growth (percentage)
	(thousands)		
Modern Sector	762	995	4.5
Rural non-agricultural Activities	222	288	4.4
Informal Urban Sector	108	166	7.5
Other Wage Employment	390	460	2.8
Self-employed and Family Workers	3,875	4,570	2.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>5,357</b>	<b>6,479</b>	<b>3.2</b>

Source:

Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, Table 1.1, p. 4.

and it may be that they constitute the majority of the unemployed, have almost nothing to fully occupy them at home.

The employment of primary school leavers presents a separate problem. The Ominde Report estimated that in 1964, out of the 103,000 pupils who passed the primary leaving examination, 67,200 would have no prospects for wage-earning employment or further education.<sup>1</sup> The CCK Survey found that out of the 148,000 primary school leavers in 1965, about 61,150 would be unemployed, 49,750 in rural areas and the remaining 11,400 in urban areas.<sup>2</sup> In those years there was still some room for training of primary school leavers as teachers, secretaries, enrolled nurses, and so forth. But 1972 "saw the last recruitment of a large number of C.P.E. holders for P3 [teacher] training."<sup>3</sup> "The academic requirements for primary teachers have been raised, and only secondary school-leavers are accepted for training."<sup>4</sup>

The minimum educational requirement for entry into the course of "enrolled nurse is C.P.E. certificate . . . and a K.J.S.E."<sup>5</sup> "The School Certificate is, however, increasingly being accepted by training hospitals."<sup>6</sup> The educational requirement for those recruited into the

<sup>1</sup>Republic of Kenya, Kenya Education Commission Report, Parts I and II (The Ominde Report) (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1964), Table V, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup>Christian Council of Kenya and Christian Churches Educational Association, After School What? Further Education, Training and Employment of Primary School Leavers (Nairobi: Ministry of Health, 1966), Appendix B.

<sup>3</sup>Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1972 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1973), p. 13.

<sup>4</sup>Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, p. 81.

<sup>5</sup>K.J.S.E. is the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination, done at Form II level. See the school system, in this chapter, infra.

<sup>6</sup>Institute of International Education and Ministry of Education, Handbook for Schools Guidance Counsellors: A Manual of Careers Reference for Secondary School Students--Kenya (Nairobi: Process Print, 1973), p. 38.

Armed Forces at the serviceman level ranges from C.P.E. to E.A.C.E. (secondary) division III.<sup>1</sup> Those engaged in the Prisons Service in "Custodial duties of keeping 24-hour watch on prisoners have the C.P.E. Increasingly, however, candidates with K.J.S.E., G.C.E., and full School Certificate are being recruited."<sup>2</sup> For Police Constables, the minimum educational requirements are C.P.E. with good results in all subjects, or K.J.S.E., or E.A.C.E., or G.C.E.<sup>3</sup>

The training courses and openings mentioned above are some of the examples of those into which primary school leavers went in large numbers in the 50's and early 60's. Now they are increasingly being offered to secondary school leavers. Prospects in the modern sector are not too bright, as the quotation below says:

By 1978, 2.5 million people will leave Std. VII education, compared to 800,000 in 1969. The corresponding numbers for Form IV and Form VI leavers are 300,000 and 100,000 respectively. But there will be at best only about 995,000 jobs [see Table 5, supra] in the modern sector. Most educated people will, therefore, have to be employed by agriculture in the rural areas.<sup>4</sup>

In summary, this section has attempted to show that if plans materialize, there are employment opportunities in the informal sectors of urban and rural areas, but more so in the self-employed farming in rural areas. The government is seriously bent on developing the rural areas and creating job opportunities for school leavers. The wage employment in the semi-skilled and unskilled jobs thus created, may be

<sup>1</sup>Institute of International Education and Ministry of Education, Handbook for Schools Guidance Counsellors . . . for Secondary Schools, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 87.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>4</sup>Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, p. 90.

so competitive that primary school leavers may not find work. It appears so far that the greatest hope for the unemployed primary school leavers will be in informal self-employment especially in rural areas, and in self-employment of farms in rural areas, if they can be supported in this way.

### The Education System

#### The Present and Future Formal Systems

The system of education, at present, begins at the primary school level. Even though an increasingly large number of children start their education at the Nursery/Kindergarten level, the Ministry of Education does not handle education at the pre-primary level. At that level, services are offered by private individuals, municipalities and City councils, missionary bodies, and by the Ministry of Cooperatives and Social Services in the rural areas. The Ministry's department of Community Development and Social Services is responsible for day care centers and nursery schools in rural areas.<sup>1</sup> The present formal education system is shown in Figure 2.

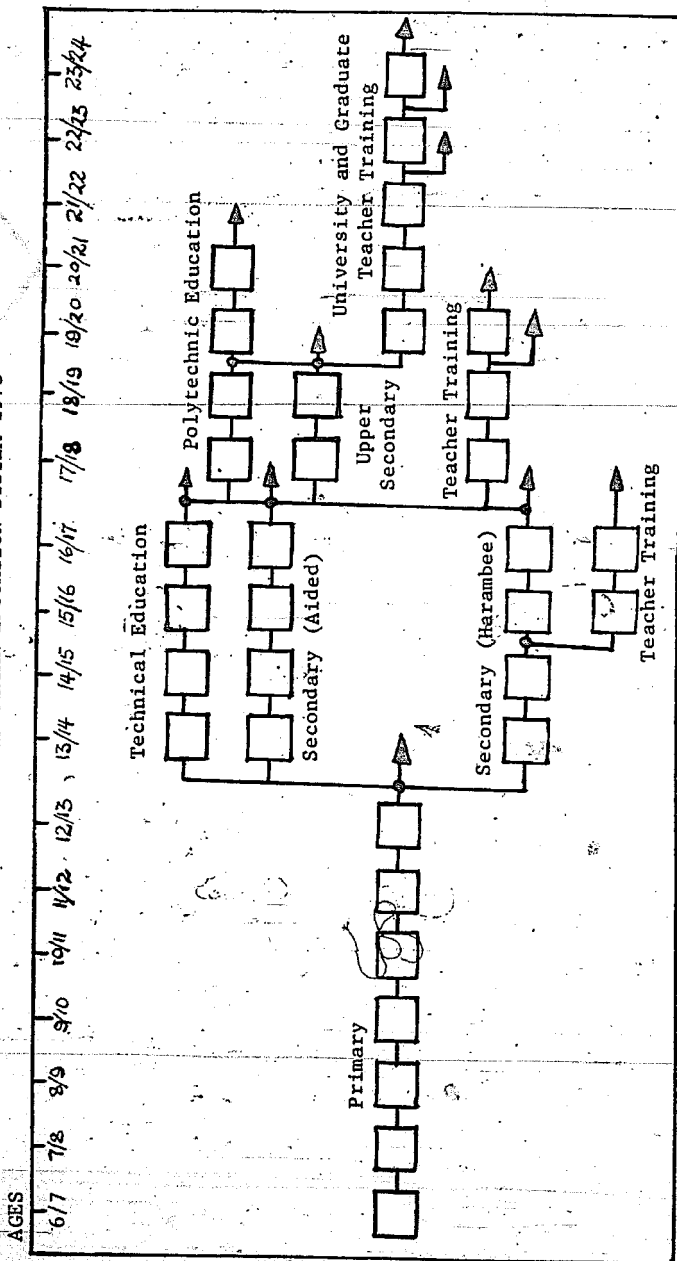
The primary school is the first cycle of education, and it is of seven years' duration, entered at age 6-7. It is followed by four years of secondary school, two years of upper secondary, and three to five years of university.<sup>2</sup> A successful youth completes the educational

<sup>1</sup>See The Bessey Report, p. 10, and Development Plan, 1974-78, p. 486.

<sup>2</sup>Primary school classes are called Standard/Primary/Class I, II, III, etc. In this study they will be referred to as Standards. Secondary classes are Forms I, II, III and IV; Upper Secondary, also called Higher School Certificate (H.S.C.) classes are Forms V and VI. These two classes are sometimes referred to as Lower and Upper Sixth Forms, respectively.

FIGURE 2

THE PRESENT FORMAL KENYAN EDUCATION SYSTEM-1973



Notes - 1. The thick dots indicate an examination as well as a selection point.  
 2. Arrows indicate flow out of the system into Labour Market and non-formal education.

Source: Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, Part I, p. 408.

sequence at between 21 and 24 years of age (if he does not repeat any class). Secondary schools are of three types: the government maintained and assisted, largely academic "grammar" schools; Private and "Harambee" (Self-help) schools, which go up to two or four years. Most of the private and "Harambee" secondary schools are poor commercial enterprises or community maintained institutions. The third type of secondary schools are the government maintained and assisted technical schools. Running parallel to the upper secondary school level are two government maintained polytechnic schools in Nairobi and Mombasa. They extend for two (Mombasa) or four (Nairobi) years, catering mainly to in-service training of employed people from the government and private sectors. They also teach direct school candidates, who can join the university at the same point as the upper secondary school leavers. So far they have been the main training centers for technical school teachers.

There are four important external examinations before a person reaches the university. There is the Certificate of Primary Education (C.P.E.), done at the end of Standard VII; the Kenya Junior Secondary Examination (K.J.S.E.), done at Form II level by students in private and "Harambee" schools; the East African Certificate of Education (E.A.C.E.), formerly the Cambridge School Certificate 'O' level, done at Form IV level by all secondary school candidates; and the East African Advanced Certificate of Education (E.A.A.C.E.), done at Form VI level. All of these are stiff terminal examinations for the majority of the school leavers who take them.

Teacher training is at several levels. The first level is a two-year course for those who finish two years of private and "Harambee"

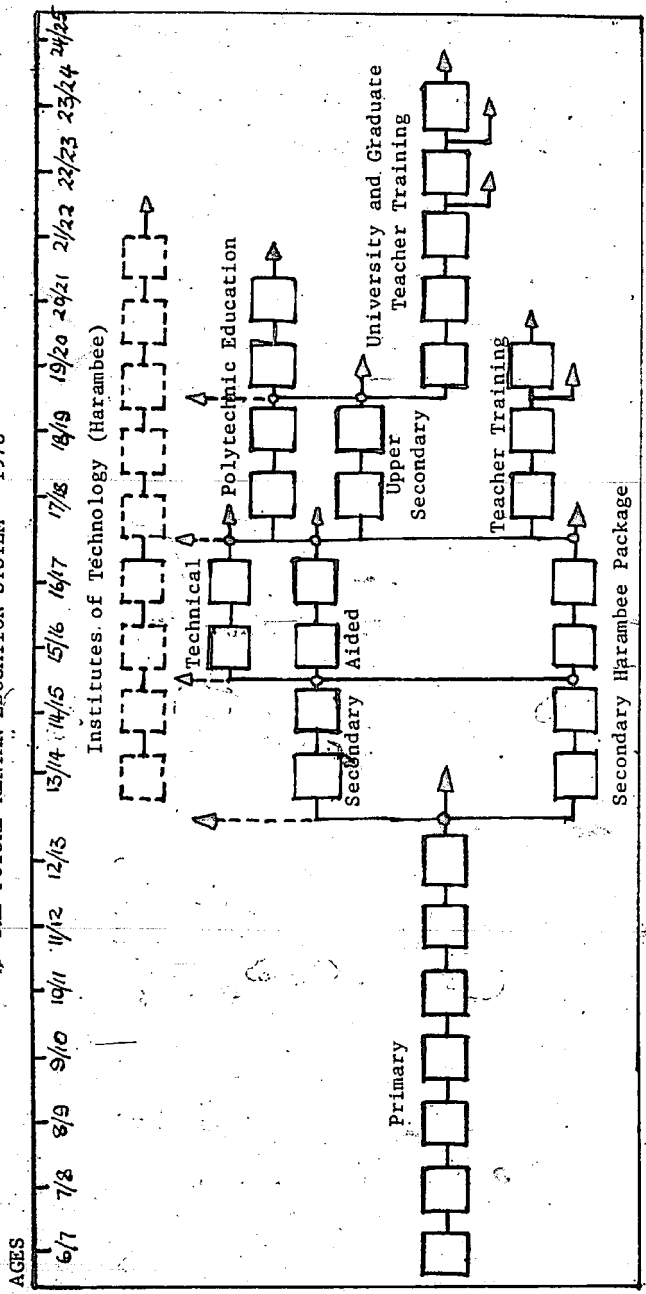
secondary schools and pass the K.J.S.E. well. Next is a two-year course for secondary school leavers who have passed the E.A.C.E. examination. Teachers from both levels teach in primary schools and are referred to as P3, P2, and P1 teachers, P1 being those who had high passes in the E.A.C.E. examination. There is a further one-year course at Kenyatta University College for those who complete upper secondary to prepare them to teach in upper primary and lower secondary classes, called S.I. teachers. This group is no longer there, although Figure 2 from the Development Plan, 1974-78 seems to suggest so. S.I. level of courses are now called non-graduate diploma courses offered at Kenyatta University College (two years after upper secondary school), Kenya Science Teachers College (three years after secondary school), and at Egerton College for agriculture teachers (three years after secondary school). Graduate teachers are trained at the University of Nairobi and at the other East African universities, and at Kenyatta University College.

The future system is shown in Figure 3. The Harambee Institutes of Science and Technology are a completely new addition to the existing one even though of a private nature. They are self-help community built colleges intended to offer vocational courses in science, commerce and technology to school leavers of various levels in the rural areas. A few are in operation. The government intends to support them in many ways so that they may absorb school leavers at various levels as shown in Figure 3.<sup>1</sup>

Another change will be that entry to technical secondary schools

<sup>1</sup> See the Development Plan, 1974-78, p. 427, for a detailed explanation of the planned government support.

FIGURE 3  
THE FUTURE KENYAN EDUCATION SYSTEM - 1978



Notes - 1. The thick dots indicate an examination as well as a selection point.  
2. Continuous arrows indicate flow out of the system into the Labour Market as well as non-formal education.

Source: Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, Part I, p. 409.



and vocational secondary schools will be raised to Form III level. The courses currently offered in Forms I and II in the present technical schools will be distributed to selected academic secondary schools. Although it cannot be shown in Figure 3, the government plans to consolidate upper secondary education into five large Sixth Form Colleges,<sup>1</sup> situated on the campuses of some of the present well established multi-stream secondary schools. This is a move towards benefiting from economies of scale by concentrating resources and experienced graduate teachers, especially those of science and mathematics, in a few large centers. This lesson must have been learned from the performance of Kenyatta College, which used to produce the highest number of science students for the University. This was before it became a University College. In a similar move, all undergraduate courses are expected to be moved from the main campus of the University of Nairobi to Kenyatta University College by 1978. As stated in the first section of this chapter, the lowest teacher training requirements will be the possession of the East African Certificate of Education. Another change that cannot be shown in Figure 3 is that there will be twenty more Form III classes added to some of the existing secondary schools so as to open more places for the "Harambee" secondary school K.J.S.E. candidates.<sup>2</sup>

The Kenya Technical Teachers College (K.T.T.C.) will cater to the training of technical teachers for all schools in Kenya and even for the Harambee Institutes of Technology. The K.T.T.C. is expected to be fully operative by the end of the Plan period.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Republic of Kenya, Development Plan--1974-78, p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 419.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 426.

## Enrollments

Enrollments have grown rapidly since independence. Primary school enrollments have grown from 891,553 in 1963 to 2,734,398 in 1974.<sup>1</sup> By Presidential decree, education was made free from Standard I to Standard IV as of 1974. Totals enrolled jumped from 1,816,017 to the figure of 2,787,909, shown in Table 6.<sup>2</sup> It seems that it has now reached 3.2 million in 1976.<sup>3</sup>

Secondary enrollments have gone up at a faster rate, although catering to much smaller totals than primary schools. Secondary and upper secondary schools enrollment in 1963 was 30,100 students, and in 1974 the figure was 195,779, a 6 1/2 times increase.<sup>4</sup> University enrollments have grown more than nine-fold from 571 in 1963-64 to 5,152 in 1973-74.<sup>5</sup> Table 6 summarizes information on enrollments at every level of the education system.<sup>6</sup>

Table 6 shows a broad-based, sharp-peaked pyramid. Approximately three million enrolled at the primary school level in 1970 and only five thousand may expect to reach University. This illustrates the fast drop-out rates, but more so the great role played by examinations at every

<sup>1</sup> Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1974 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1975), p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. The Annual Report gives a good explanation of how enrollments shifted up and down in reaction to the Presidential unexpected decree.

<sup>3</sup> Ralph Uwechue, ed., Africa: An International Business, Economic and Political Monthly (London: Africa Journal Ltd., Feb. 1976), No. 54, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, p. 80; and Republic of Kenya, Statistical Abstract, 1974, p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Development Plan, p. 82; and Statistical Abstract, p. 204.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Statistical Abstract, Tables 177, 183, 184, 185 and 186.

Table 6  
Students Enrolled by Type and  
Level of Education  
1970-1974

Education Type	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Primary Schools	1,427,589	1,525,498	1,675,911	1,816,017	2,787,909 <sup>a</sup>
Secondary and Upper Secondary	126,855	140,722	161,910	175,325	195,779
Teacher Training	8,107	8,628	8,683	8,905	9,198
Technical Secondary	2,426	3,051	3,214	3,525	3,836
Polytechnics	2,858	2,811	2,640	2,716	4,091
University <sup>b</sup>	1,877	2,465	3,139	3,622	5,152
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,569,712</b>	<b>1,683,175</b>	<b>1,855,505</b>	<b>2,010,110</b>	<b>3,005,965</b>

<sup>a</sup>The correct enrollment by the end of 1974 was 2,734,398.

<sup>b</sup>The figures include Kenyatta University College and Kenya students in Makerere and Dar-es-Salaam Universities.

**Source:**

Republic of Kenya, Statistical Abstract, 1974 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1975), Tables 177, 183, 184, 185 and 186.

level of education as a severe selection tool. The severest of the examinations can be seen from Table 6, to be the C.P.E., which reduces the pyramid from millions at the base to mere thousands at the post-primary level. The fear of the C.P.E. and its backwash effects on the quality of the curriculum will be discussed in Chapters III and IV.

### The Curriculum

The primary school will be discussed and analyzed in detail, in Chapter IV. A few points can be made here. The subject program consists of English, Mathematics, Geography, History and Civics, General Science (including Agriculture, Gardening and Health Education), Swahili, Physical Education, Arts and Crafts, Needlework and Domestic Science, Music and Singing, and Religious Education.<sup>1</sup> The C.P.E. examination in Standard VII consists of three papers: English, Mathematics and the General Paper, each carrying 100 points. The General Paper is an amalgamation of History, Geography, Science, Nature Study, and General Knowledge.

Activities in primary schools include soccer, netball, athletics, choirs, clubs like scouts, girlguides, debating and others, societies only to a limited scale, and even sophisticated expensive sports like swimming, hockey, gymnastics, ballet dancing and Karate in the high-cost and private primary schools.

An important program that has been missing in all Kenya primary schools is guidance and counseling. It is now being introduced. In its absence, schools strive more to keep strict disciplines rather than help

<sup>1</sup> Ministry of Education, Kenya, Primary School Syllabus (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1967), p. ii.

and guide the children. Those children who leave school completely after Standard VII are not given any guidance for the world of work into which they go, apart from filling forms to show their secondary school preferences. A Schools' Guidance and Counseling Unit has now been set up in the Ministry of Education, as is shown below:<sup>1</sup>

Another three-day Seminar on Guidance and Counseling Services for Nairobi Primary Schools Deputy Head teachers and Std. IV teachers was organized, and held at City Primary School, from 9th-11th December, 1974. It was attended by over one hundred teachers. . . .

. . . One-day seminars for primary school Head Teachers were held in 11 Districts during the same year, attended by 1,842 teachers.<sup>2</sup>

The primary school curriculum is supposed to be the same for all schools in Kenya, in the sense that the syllabus used and the final examinations are the same. But if curriculum is defined in its broader sense as all experiences planned by the school, and not just the syllabus alone, then some schools give more experiences to their children than others in the same unified system. The high cost-primary schools called group C in Nairobi are schools attended by children of the most affluent parents in Kenya. They were mainly for European children in Colonial days and they still retain some of the old characteristics. Medium-cost schools, or group B in Nairobi, were predominantly Asian. They are slightly financially poorer than group C schools. The majority of schools in Kenya are very low-cost schools, called group A in Nairobi, and found in all rural areas. It is only schools in groups C and B which are

<sup>1</sup> Institute of International Education and Ministry of Education, Handbook for Schools Guidance Counsellors: A Manual of Careers Reference For Secondary School Students--Kenya (Nairobi: Process Print, 1973).

<sup>2</sup> Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1974 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1975), p. 5.

racially mixed with a predominance of African children. Group A schools are nearly all African.

High-cost schools and to some extent medium-cost, generally can afford a wider variety of activities for the children. They have enough balls for soccer, hockey, netball and volleyball; they have excellent swimming pools, wide good playgrounds; they can afford pianos for teaching music; and they can afford expensive club activities like Karate, ballet dancing, Cubs and Brownies, Scouts and Girlguides outfitted with clean uniforms and with equipment for regular camping. The schools are usually in well-kept large permanent buildings. The classrooms are large, with good lighting, with many display boards on the walls and enough storage for pupils' and teachers' materials. The schools are headed by highly trained and experienced teachers, and most of their staff are highly qualified secondary school teachers, and usually racially mixed. The parents can afford to pay for numerous visits to museums, historical sites and other places of interest.<sup>1</sup> The fees in these schools are much higher than in the low-cost schools.

At the other extreme are the low-cost and mainly rural schools. The majority of teachers and the head teachers have never had formal education beyond the primary school level. Many of those with secondary level education have been absorbed into teaching in the "Harambee" secondary schools. The children are eager for many activities but the schools and parents cannot afford these. The activities include football (soccer),

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<sup>1</sup>See Z. Ergas and F. Chege, "Primary Schools Education in Kenya: An Attempt at Evaluation," Education in Eastern Africa Journal, for the Regional Council for Education, 4:2 (1974), 235-249, for a thorough discussion of the differences between High-Cost and Low-Cost schools.

some volleyball, netball and athletics. But as a rule they do not have enough balls or even good enough playgrounds for the complete enjoyment of these activities. The buildings are invariably grass thatched or semi-permanent. The classrooms are large but with no display facilities on the walls. Many of them are usually packed to the brim with as many as 50 children per room, using large heavy desks. Group activities are extremely difficult in such conditions; school or class trips are rare.<sup>1</sup>

It is unreasonable to suggest that children from the high-cost and rural low-cost schools have the same experiences, just because they are taught the same subjects. It will be shown in Chapter IV that the majority of the unemployed primary school leavers come from poor schools in the rural areas, where the children do not benefit enough from the present primary school curriculum.

Secondary school curricula vary from school type to school type. Even though there are a few high-cost secondary schools,<sup>2</sup> there is little difference between them curriculum-wise and some of the best government maintained secondary schools that used to be predominantly African in Colonial days. The only important difference is between the academic and the practical type of secondary schools. A heavily academic subject program has been the rule in all government maintained and assisted schools and the private and "Harambee" schools. An increasing number now offer business, industrial, commercial, vocational, agricultural,

<sup>1</sup>See D. Sifuna, "Some Factors Affecting the Quality of Teaching in the Primary Schools of Kenya," Education in Eastern Africa Journal, for the Regional Council for Education, 4:2 (1974), 215-222, for further descriptions of school and teaching conditions in the rural schools in Kenya.

<sup>2</sup>See the Ominde Report, Part II, pp. 13-20, for a discussion of the high-cost secondary schools.

and Home Science education. It has been planned to introduce technical training in some secondary schools in Forms I and II. The polytechnics and secondary technical and industrial schools offer more practical than academic subjects. With the Kenya Technical Teachers College (K.T.T.C.) in full operation, one can see a much more diversified subject program in Kenya secondary schools in a few years to come. This may eventually lead to a comprehensive secondary school system.<sup>1</sup> Secondary schools have a very broad activities program, and have always offered some career guidance to the school leavers. The successful primary school leaver has a very diversified secondary curriculum ahead of him or her. Courses in agriculture, carpentry and other practical subjects need not be looked at as dead-end courses in primary schools any longer.<sup>2</sup>

Curriculum at the University of Nairobi and Kenyatta University College is diversified enough to offer university education to secondary school students who graduate from these varied backgrounds. Entry to university is open to students direct from Sixth Form classes, the Kenya Polytechnic, and from non-graduate teacher training institutions like Kenyatta University College, Kenya Science Teachers College, Egerton College. Private candidates also enter through the mature age program and other private correspondence courses. They try to get a place in any one of the following degree courses: Agriculture, Arts, Science,

<sup>1</sup>F. F. Indire, "A Comprehensive High School Curriculum Proposal for Reviewing and Revising the Program of Chavakali Secondary School, Maragoli, Kenya" (unpublished PhD dissertation, Indiana University, 1962), envisaged such a development.

<sup>2</sup>The fear that agriculture in primary schools was regarded as a dead-end course was expressed by Jon Moris in The Kericho Conference Report, pp. 326-250.



Commerce, Architecture, Engineering, Medicine, Veterinary Science, Building Economics, Home Economics, Design/Fine Art, Land Economics, Law, and Education.

There are advanced diploma courses offered also in: Advanced Nursing, Domestic Science, Art, Architecture/Design, Land Development, Adult Education, Engineering, Diplomacy (Government), Public Health, Meteorology, Journalism, and Urban and Regional Planning.<sup>1</sup>

The researcher has gone into this in some detail, so as to give some background information with which to discuss the negative attitudes that school pupils and parents in Kenya have towards practical subjects. It will be emphasized that unlike the Colonial days when there was no further training in practical skills beyond the primary school, there is room for moving up to university level in most of the subjects offered in schools. The reasons for teaching practical subjects in primary schools in Colonial days were partly, as the 1926 Education Report put it:

Just as handwork has been found useful in the training of mentally defective children, so the most useful training which the African can receive in his present condition is continued contact with material processes.<sup>2</sup>

This point will be discussed further in this study. The government intends to establish a National Commission on Education Objectives and Policies, to evaluate the present educational system, define a new set of educational goals for the second decade of independence, and to

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<sup>1</sup>Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, pp. 430-431; and Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1974, pp. 28, 29.

<sup>2</sup>Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1926 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1927), p. 17.

formulate a program of action to implement the goals.<sup>1</sup>

#### Non-formal Education in Kenya

A description of the education system in Kenya would be incomplete without the mention of the non-formal education opportunities open to school leavers. Formal training for primary leavers is now almost non-existent. There is not much wage employment in the modern sector for a C.P.E. holder, and secondary schools do not absorb most of them. The only hope for many primary leavers is in self-employment in agriculture in the rural areas and in the informal sectors in urban and rural areas. Even if primary schools were able to offer all the vocational training needed for this kind of employment, it might not be taken seriously and profitably by primary school children--young, dependent and uncommitted as they are. Out-of-school non-formal training comes to them when they are more desperate; after failure to get a job for quite some time, and when they have acquired more adult outlooks and responsibilities. One would assume that they would regard education at that stage much more purposefully than they do while still at school. In this way, non-formal training helps extend the youth beyond the point where the schools have left them.

Non-formal education is only briefly defined here for purposes of this discussion, as

... any organized educational activity outside the established formal system--whether operating separately or as an important feature of some broader activity--that

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<sup>1</sup> Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, p. 406.

is intended to serve identifiable learning clientele and learning objectives.<sup>1</sup>

The institutions that will be discussed under this section are quite formal in nature. The non-formal aspect of them is that they do not fall under the hierarchically structured, chronologically graded "educational system" running from primary school through the university.<sup>2</sup> In most cases they are educational programs organized by Ministries other than the Ministry of Education. They offer academic as well as vocational courses, but most of them emphasize the vocational courses and skills for immediate application.

Just enough will be said about them to show their importance to the primary school leaver. More information is found in the many papers and books that have been written on this sector of education.<sup>3</sup>

The village polytechnics are probably the most important ones for primary school leavers. Most of these are situated deep in the rural areas and are opened as "Harambee" projects to equip youth with simple skills for carpentry, tailoring, bricklaying, and so forth. It will be shown in Chapter III that these are increasingly absorbing a large number

<sup>1</sup> Philip H. Coombs, Roy C. Prosser, and Manzoor Ahmed, New Paths to Learning for Rural Children and Youth (New York: International Council for Educational Development, 1973), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Some of the books and papers dealing with this subject are: James R. Sheffield and Victor P. Diejomaoh, Non-formal Education in African Development (New York: African-American Institute, 1972); The CCK Survey, pp. 42-65; The Bessey Report, pp. 10-11, Chapter 6, pp. 63-80; Peter E. Kinyanjui, "Education by Correspondence: The Kenyan Experience," in D. Court and D. P. Ghai, eds., Education, Society and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 275-289; K. J. King, "Skill Acquisition in the Informal Sector of the Economy," in D. Court and D. P. Ghai, eds., Education, Society and Development, *ibid.*, pp. 291-309.

of primary school leavers. Similar to them are government supported Youth Centers on which K£1,009,000 will be spent during the current Plan period.<sup>1</sup> The Kenya National Youth Service established in 1964, trains youth in agriculture, carpentry, masonry and many other practical skills. It admits youth at the ages of 18 to 20 years, and seems to have started recruiting more heavily from secondary school leavers than from primary school. A similar multi-purpose program is that given by the Correspondence Course Unit established in 1966 in the Institute of Adult Studies of the University of Nairobi.<sup>2</sup> This gives well organized, well executed, popular correspondence courses to teachers in in-service courses and many other people. The courses lead to the C.P.E. and K.J.S.E. examinations.

4K Clubs for primary schools and Young Farmers' Clubs for secondary students are also an important non-formal education given while pupils are still in school. The title of "4K Clubs" is "derived from 'Kuungana'--to unite, 'Kufanya'--to work, 'Kusaidia'--to help, Kenya."<sup>3</sup> Each 4K Club or Young Farmers' Club, emphasizes certain projects such as growing vegetables, fruit, cotton, groundnuts or chillies, or rearing pigs, poultry or rabbits. One 19-year-old member in Kiambu District in 1964 received KSh2,000 from the sale of tomatoes from his half-acre plot.<sup>4</sup>

There are also the Farmers Training Centers (F.T.C.'s) and

<sup>1</sup>Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-78, Part II, p. 275.

<sup>2</sup>Kinyanjui, "Education by Correspondence: The Kenyan Experience," p. 275.

<sup>3</sup>The CCK Survey, p. 59.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

Extension Services for rural farmers, the Christian Rural Service programs like that at Soy, and the Christian Industrial Training Center in Nairobi which offers a three-year course to artisans, who eventually may join the Kenya Polytechnic.<sup>1</sup>

The non-formal activities create a varied and broad field of possibilities for the serious, interested and able primary school leaver. There is much hope for the unemployed primary school leaver who can afford to get into one of these programs--what David Court referred to as "a shadow system of Education in Kenya," when he was writing about the Village Polytechnic Movement.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Sheffield and Diejomaoh, Non-formal Education in African Development, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup>David Court, "Dilemmas of Development: The Village Polytechnic Movement as a Shadow System of Education in Kenya," Comparative Education Review, 17:3 (1973), 331-349.

Chapter III  
REVIEW AND ANALYSIS  
OF LITERATURE

Introduction

This chapter will examine in depth the four major pieces of empirical research that have been done, particularly in Kenya, on the problems of unemployment of primary school leavers. These are by David Koff (1966), John Anderson (1966), Lewis Brownstein (1972), and Joyce L. Mook (1972). The four empirical researches were preceded by a general survey on the problems of the primary school leavers in Kenya carried out by the joint working party of the Youth Department of the Christian Council of Kenya and the Christian Churches Educational Association (1966) (the CCK Survey). The analysis is confined to the four empirical researches and excludes the CCK Survey, as it has been difficult to find the empirical base of the survey.

Similar empirical research on the problems of unemployment of youth has been done in other parts of East Africa and Africa. This researcher has looked at those by Archibald C. Callaway (Nigeria, 1961), Albert McQueen (Nigeria, 1963), Fred K. Kamoga (Uganda, 1963), J. D. Heijnen (Tanzania, 1966), and Tina Wallace (Uganda, 1972). Only cross references will be made to these; they will not be analyzed. The chapter will begin with a brief review of the literature, followed by an explanation and discussion of the analytical tool, the analysis, and a summary of the major issues.

### Review of the Literature

The problems of unemployment of school leavers, primary and secondary, were not very pressing at the time of the UNESCO Conference of African States on the development of education in Africa, held in Addis Ababa in 1961.<sup>1</sup> This was before Kenya achieved her independence. Kenya's delegate to the Conference was W. D. Gregg, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education and Director of Education. The greatest need then

. . . was to expand the curriculum at the second level in the direction of more technical and vocational education. To provide the skilled and semi-professional manpower essential for economic growth.

. . . primary education to be universal, compulsory and free by 1980.

. . . that primary education be given a practical bias and be sufficiently developed and expanded so as to cease to be a contributory cause of migration from rural areas to the towns.<sup>2</sup>

It is only the mention of "migration from rural areas to the towns" that indicates some concern for the unemployed primary school leaver, but this was clearly not a very serious concern of the Conference.

By 1964, a year after independence, the Kenya Education Commission, chaired by Professor Simeon Ominde,<sup>3</sup> expressed a strong concern about unemployment of primary school leavers.

The large numbers of children with a full primary education, for whom neither wage-earning employment nor further

<sup>1</sup>UNESCO, Outline of a Plan for African Educational Development, Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa--Addis Ababa, 15-25 May, 1961 (Addis Ababa: UNESCO, 1961).

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 6, 9, 21.

<sup>3</sup>Republic of Kenya, Kenya Education Commission Report, Part I (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1964). Hereafter referred to as the Ominde Report.

education is available, is a new phenomenon. Notwithstanding the decline and the temporary reversal of the increase after 1965, large numbers will, from now on, continue to pour out of the primary schools and these children will, it appears, remain without prospect of employment or further education until employment opportunities on the one hand and educational openings on the other hand, have caught up with the primary school outflow.<sup>1</sup>

The UNESCO Conference shows that the creation of high level manpower, and the skilled and semi-professional manpower, which were deemed essential for economic growth,<sup>2</sup> was the immediate focus for educational and economic planners at the eve of independence in development of Africa. For quite some time secondary school and tertiary level leavers enjoyed an employment boom. The positions left vacant by Europeans and Asians, as Africans took over the running of government, were soon filled. Secondary school leavers have increasingly spilled over into jobs that had been the domain of primary school graduates in the fifties and early sixties. The Ominde Report was concerned with

. . . the growing tendency for the primary school, by itself, to constitute an insufficient jumping-off point for many of the activities of modern life.

. . . for many kinds of technical training, the minimum qualification for admission was the Cambridge School Certificate and not K.P.E.<sup>3</sup>

Research on the problem of primary school leavers in Kenya was slow to appear, even after it became clear that these youth were increasingly getting neither wage employment nor vocational training.

<sup>1</sup> Republic of Kenya, Kenya Education Commission Report, Part I, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> UNESCO, Outline of a Plan for African Educational Development (1961), p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> The Ominde Report, p. 135.

N.B. 1. Cambridge School Certificate has been replaced by the East African Certificate of Education, done at Secondary level (see Chapter II, supra).

2. K.P.E. is now the C.P.E. (see Chapter II, supra).



Researchers in other parts of Africa had started working on this problem much earlier than Kenya. Archibald C. Callaway did research on school leavers in Nigeria in 1961.<sup>1</sup> He found out that:

Roaming the streets [were] a few who left school three or four years ago. For some of these there never [had] been a substantial period when their total earnings for odd days of casual labour or petty trading [had] covered costs of their shelter, food and clothing.<sup>2</sup>

Callaway came to the conclusion that unemployment for school leavers was simply the "inability of a school-leaver (after an experimental period of, say, nine months) to earn enough shillings to cover costs of subsistence living."<sup>3</sup> This is quite an appropriate definition of unemployment as it applies to school leavers in Kenya even now in the late seventies, as this study will show. He found that the unemployed youth in Nigeria did not want to go back to the rural areas, but after several failures at getting a good job, they were prepared to take on any job that had some benefits for them, irrespective of whether it was "white-collar" or not. He criticized the Ashby Report (on post-school certificate and higher education in Nigeria) and predicted that:

The emphasis on higher education in order to provide the high-level, skilled manpower will tend to induce greater enthusiasm throughout the education system, including primary schools. As a result, more children will be at schools, and for longer periods.<sup>4</sup>

This explains, at least in part, the great thirst for secondary education and the high rates of repetition in primary schools in Kenya.

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<sup>1</sup>Archibald C. Callaway, "School Leavers in Nigeria," West Africa, 2286 (March 25, 1961), 325; 2287 (April 1, 1961), 353; 2288 (April 8, 1961), 371-372; 2289 (April 15, 1961), 409.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., March 25, 1961, p. 325.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., April 1, 1961, p. 353.

Albert McQueen (1963), studying primary school leavers in Nigeria, came to the same conclusions as Callaway. He found that "they [school leavers] are willing to scale down their aspirations when it appears that they cannot be realized."<sup>1</sup>

Fred K. Kamoga (1963) carried out research on primary school leavers in Buganda, Teso, Toro, and West Nile, in Uganda, and after tracing more than 640 of them from selected schools he found that they . . . try their best to get employment in the offices for several months, and if they do not succeed, . . . they become sadly disillusioned and may take any . . . occupations.<sup>2</sup>

Kamoga listed numerous occupations like: working at home, bar attendants, shop assistants, casual laborers, storekeepers, attendants at petrol stations, house servants, ayas (nursemaids), fishermen, dhobis (launderers) and askaris (guards), to mention only some of them.

The first survey of the problems of primary school leavers in Kenya was the CCK Survey in 1966.<sup>3</sup> It brought out the first detailed data on the distribution of primary school leavers in various areas of schooling, training, employment or unemployment, after their examination. The Ominde Report had estimated that of the 103,000 candidates who took the examination at the end of 1964, about 65 percent would be left

<sup>1</sup>Albert McQueen, "Aspirations and Problems of Nigerian School Leavers," Proceedings of the East African Institute of Social Research Conference (Kampala: June 1963), Part F, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup>Fred K. Kamoga, "Future of Primary Leavers in Uganda," Proceedings of the East African Institute of Social Research Conference (Kampala: EAISR, 1963), p. 10.

<sup>3</sup>Christian Council of Kenya and Christian Churches Educational Association, After School What? Further Education, Training and Employment of Primary School Leavers (Nairobi: Ministry of Health, Division of Health Education, 1966). Hereafter referred to as The CCK Survey.

unemployed and with no further education or training of any kind.<sup>1</sup> But The CCK Survey found this to be an overestimate, as The Ominde Report had not allowed for those who repeated in primary school. The Survey found that 25 percent repeated Standard VII in 1965. Only 36 percent were totally unemployed,<sup>2</sup> and not 65 percent. The Survey further found that out of the 1965 class who took the final examination 20.3 percent repeated, and 41.2 percent were unemployed. Only 27 percent of the 1965 leavers were employed at the time of the Survey.<sup>3</sup> Their findings showed a drop in the proportion of repeaters and an increase in the proportion unemployed, over the period of the two years of the Survey.

The CCK Survey introduced a new phenomenon. It found that with the decreasing age of the primary school leaver, the youth found themselves in a "gap" after leaving the system, in which they were too young for employment or training and without any skill to offer employers. They thought that the average age of the youth who left school at the primary school level was 13 or 14 years. Since the minimum age for urban industrial employment, and even for entry into the Kenya National Youth Service, is 16 years, the school leaver would hang around for two years in the "gap" before he was employable.<sup>4</sup> The primary school curriculum did not equip the leaver with employable skills. The school leaver finds himself in a "gap of skills" which "must be crossed [in order to] . . . commend himself to an employer in the modern sector--or indeed [if he] wishes to undertake the responsibilities of a modern farmer."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The Ominde Report, Table V, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup>The CCK Survey, Tables C and E, pp. 16 and 19.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

One of the most important recommendations made by the Survey was that if the primary school could not offer prevocational education, there was a need to provide on as wide a scale as possible, varied forms of post-primary or second level training. The strengthening and spread of the Village Polytechnics and activities like 4K Clubs was strongly recommended. (These were discussed in Chapter II.)

As has been shown in the Background and Significance of the Study in Chapter I, the CCK Survey report stimulated much concern and research into the plight of the primary school leavers in Kenya. Reference has already been made to the Kericho Conference (1966), the National Assembly's Select Committee on Unemployment (1970), The ILO Report (1972), The Bessey Report (1972), the Sessional Paper Number Ten, on Employment (1973), and the Development Plan (1974-78). These have raised issues concerning the unemployed primary school leavers which need verification by research. Some of the issues may be summarized as:

1. The fact that the C.P.E. examination is terminal for the majority of primary school students.
2. The curriculum should be geared to the terminal students who are the majority rather than to the few who go to secondary school.
3. The academic curriculum makes the school leaver dislike manual work and remaining in the rural areas.
4. There are large numbers of youth flocking into the cities every year in quest for wage employment.

The Development Plan, 1974-78 sums up some of the issues as follows: "One dimension of this situation is the appearance, in ever-increasing numbers, of individuals whom the formal educational system has not equipped with skills and qualities required by the economy. . . .

The proportions of the 'school-leaver' problem are growing. . . .<sup>1</sup> The Select Committee on Unemployment adds that: "In Kenya's context, however, the school curricula are such that they do not provide the school-leavers with immediately applicable skills after leaving school."<sup>2</sup>

David R. Koff (1966) was one of the earliest empirical researchers to look for the real factors underlying unemployment of primary school leavers in Kenya.<sup>3</sup> In a survey covering the whole of Kenya, he sent out questionnaires to Standard VII pupils in 33 primary schools randomly selected from every county in Kenya. The purpose of his study was to find out pupils' career aspirations and their attitudes toward the world of work. His research will be analyzed in a later part of this chapter. Briefly, he found that there was a need for equating farming with other skilled and literate occupations like clerical, technical and managerial jobs. He suggested that school syllabi and textbooks should be changed to incorporate these ideas. The position of agriculture needed to be upgraded in the primary school syllabus.<sup>4</sup> He recommended that an intensive effort be made to inform pupils of the occupational realities which face primary school leavers.<sup>5</sup>

John Anderson (1966) carried out research in the densely populated

<sup>1</sup> Republic of Kenya, Development Plan, 1974-1978, Part I (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1974), pp. 404-405.

<sup>2</sup> Republic of Kenya, Report of the Select Committee on Unemployment--National Assembly (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1970), p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> David R. Koff, "Education and Employment: Perspectives of Kenya Primary Pupils," in J. R. Sheffield, ed., Education Employment and Rural Development (The Kericho Report) (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967), pp. 390-412.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 411

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 412.

regions of Kiambu and Nyeri.<sup>1</sup> As well as finding out by questionnaires the job aspirations of Standard VII pupils in a few schools, he traced and even stayed with and observed some school leavers in the two districts. He tried to find out what the unemployed adolescent youth did at home. The majority of the unemployed in his sample did not go to town but stayed at home, where they were engaged in numerous menial, low paying and irregular jobs. He suggested that there be provision of meaningful occupations for the leavers, for theirs was mainly an economic problem.<sup>2</sup>

Lewis Brownstein (1965-67)<sup>3</sup> traced a sample consisting of 834 candidates for the C.P.E. examination in 1964, over a period of two years, 1965 through 1967, to find out where each school leaver went to and what they were doing. The study was done in 21 schools selected from four districts in Kenya, namely Kericho, Embu, Central Nyanza (which is now Siaya and Kisumu (see Map of Kenya, Appendix A), and Kitui. His findings were similar to Anderson's even though he came out with different recommendations. He suggested two different systems of secondary education: one to be urban oriented and the other rural oriented. The urban oriented secondary school would continue offering the present heavily academic curriculum, while the rural oriented secondary schools would offer just "better than average liberal education," a program to "acquaint the student generally with the problems of rural development,"

<sup>1</sup> John Anderson, "The Adolescent in the Rural Community," in Sheffield, ed., Education, Employment and Rural Development, pp. 413-430.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 430.

<sup>3</sup> Lewis Brownstein, Education and Development in Rural Kenya: A Study of Primary School Graduates (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972).

and "to train each student for a specific occupation."<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to see how Brownstein made this his major recommendation while his study concentrated on primary and not secondary school leavers. It is unrealistic and completely unrelated to his findings. This is one of the reasons why this investigator plans to analyze the researches instead of merely going by the recommendations and conclusions made by past researchers.

Joyce Lewinger Mook (1972) lived among the Maragoli people of South Maragoli in Kakamega District in Western Province for two years and analyzed the educational needs of the community in terms of its changing socioeconomic patterns.<sup>2</sup> She also tried to find out how attitudes towards the school system have their roots in the society. She studied 139 Standard VII leavers from three primary schools to find out their employment expectations, family backgrounds and the way they went about getting employment after leaving school. Only 21 percent of the sample she studied actually left the education system to seek employment. The larger proportion either repeated Standard VII (50 percent) or joined secondary school (24 percent).<sup>3</sup> The larger part of the unemployed seek wage employment in towns of varying sizes, since there is not enough land at home for them to be occupied.<sup>4</sup> This is the densely populated area

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<sup>1</sup> Brownstein, Education and Development in Rural Kenya: A Study of Primary School Graduates, p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> Joyce L. Mook, "Pragmatism and The Primary School: The Case of a Non-Rural Village," in D. Court and D. P. Ghai, eds., Education, Society and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974), Chapter 5, pp. 105-122.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Table 5.2, p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 121.

referred to in Chapter II. The job preferences given by the pupils seemed more related to the general aspirations of the community than to the subjects taught in school. Mook came to another conclusion: that vocational training as an alternative to secondary education would be acceptable to the community and school leavers in South Maragoli, so long as it is of good quality and guarantees employment.<sup>1</sup>

In Tanzania, J.D. Heijnen (1966)<sup>2</sup> administered a job preference test to Standard VIII<sup>3</sup> pupils in Mwanza to find out their job preferences. Pupils in Sukumaland, where he did the research, had adjusted their expectations to the new situation in which they no longer commanded a scarcity value, and as a result they were little inclined to migrate to the big cities.<sup>4</sup> Their attitude towards farming was as negative as was that of the whole community to farming. Attempts to change the school leavers' attitudes must, therefore, be directed to the village community as a whole. Heijnen did not think changing the curriculum alone was likely to yield the required results.

Tina Wallace's (1972) research has already been referred to in Chapter I.<sup>5</sup> She followed up some young and apparently unemployed people

<sup>1</sup>Mook, "Pragmatism and The Primary School: The Case of a Non-Rural Village," p. 122.

<sup>2</sup>J. D. Heijnen, "Results of a Job Preference Test Administered to Pupils of Standard VIII, Mwanza, Tanzania," in Sheffield, ed., Education, Employment and Rural Development (The Kericho Report), pp. 431-443.

<sup>3</sup>Standard VIII was the top class in primary education in 1966. It is now Standard VII, as in all East African countries.

<sup>4</sup>Heijnen, "Results of a Job Preference Test Administered to Pupils of Standard VIII, Mwanza, Tanzania," p. 440.

<sup>5</sup>Tina Wallace, "Young and Unemployed—Who is and What does it Mean?" East Africa Journal, 9:11 (1972), 18-24.



in the vicinity of Kampala in Uganda, to find out exactly what they were doing and what it meant to be unemployed. She found that the youth were not permanently unemployed at all:

None of the boys who were unemployed in 1970, were unemployed in 1971. . . . Though the proportions of youth who are unemployed may stay constant, the personnel occupying this position are constantly changing. . . . problems of long-term unemployment may, therefore, not be as great as it appears.

For many of the girls it is a voluntary position--they have never had a job and do not want one.<sup>1</sup>

Wallace charged that there was unnecessary focus and attention on the problem of unemployed school leavers, who in her opinion, were not in as bad a situation as the vast majority of the illiterate youth that were unemployed. This conclusion was probably prompted by the ease with which most girls in her case studies took their situation. Some of the boys, too, were quite comfortable continuing to stay with their parents while they picked and dropped jobs at will, intending to settle down later when they were in their twenties.<sup>2</sup>

The general literature survey shows that the researchers clarify one or two issues referred to earlier in the chapter: (1) The numbers of students who leave the education system after the C.P.E. examination are smaller than has been thought. (2) Those who are unemployed stay in the rural areas and not in towns. (3) The school leavers do not refuse to do manual work or farming, and when faced with the real situation of unemployment they engage in many simple jobs. (4) Unemployment is not a permanent feature; in some cases it is voluntary or accepted without bitterness. These issues will become even clearer after the analysis,

<sup>1</sup>Wallace, "Young and Unemployed--Who is and What does it Mean?", p. 20.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

for some researchers seem to come to conclusions that are unrelated to the findings of their research.

Wherever conclusions have been made concerning curriculum, they have not been based on any analysis or serious examination of what really goes on in the schools. None of the research reviewed above has studied the primary school curriculum per se. The current research intends to analyze some of the research to determine the actual findings that could be related to curriculum issues. It will also analyze the current primary school syllabus to see whether or not it takes care of the main issues raised by researchers. It is only then that we may, hopefully, arrive at a basis upon which to criticize the primary school curriculum.

### Analysis of the Literature

#### The Analytical Tool

Each of the four studies by Koff, Anderson, Brownstein and Mobck will be examined by means of four broad questions concerning school leavers' (1) career motivation, (2) career orientation, (3) career exploration, and (4) career preparation. A fifth question will find out what the researchers reveal about (5) the proportion of school leavers that are unemployed. The five questions will constitute the analytical tool.

For career motivation, we will find out: (a) if there was any indication that the youth were motivated for the world of work while at school; (b) what attitudes towards work did their expectations reveal; (c) did they show any desire to join the labor market at the end of primary education; (d) for those who were already out, how much interest and self-initiative did they show in their occupations; (e) what further outlook

did they have in their future life; and (f) were they unable to work because of their young age.

The orientation element will be arrived at by finding out:

(a) if the youth knew what job opportunities existed in the labor market for people of their level of education; (b) did they know of these from the school or from the community outside school; (c) how did those already out of the system find the jobs they had tried out.

On career exploration, the questions will find out if Standard VII pupils revealed: (a) an understanding of the requirements and nature of the jobs they aspired to do; (b) what jobs had been done by those already out of school; (c) what remuneration did they get from the jobs; (d) how many had tried self-employment; and (e) how much effort had the unemployed ones made to find a job.

For career preparation, questions will center on: (a) whether or not any jobs were dropped due to lack of appropriate skill or knowledge; (b) did the leavers try jobs which required high technical skills and knowledge; and (c) how did they acquire skills for the more technical jobs.

#### The Rationale for the Tool

It has been argued in Chapter I that all pupils in the primary school system will end up in the world of work at some point. Part of the aim of their education is to prepare them for this world. The tool used in this analysis is based on the assumption that people facing the world of work need to be made aware of and motivated for it. They need to be informed of employment opportunities open to them, be given a chance to explore some of the occupations they are likely to engage in,

and be equipped with at least the basic pre-vocational skills and knowledge which will enable them to profit from further vocational, professional and technical training, and to learn faster in on-the-job training situations. It must be emphasized that this, in itself, will not necessarily change attitudes, nor will it guarantee employment. But at least a complete curriculum can allow for the elements, and leave it to the learner to use them as he may choose within different situations.

Career Motivation, Orientation, Exploration and Preparation are elements that have been used in career education programs in some states in the United States of America, as has been explained in Chapter I. In this chapter, these factors are used only as an analytical tool. This should not be seen as an indication that the researcher wants to introduce career education in Kenya's primary schools. It is assumed that the four elements constitute a comprehensive list of questions that could be asked of any program to detect the presence of vocational aspects or ingredients. The four elements appear mutually exclusive enough.

For a complete picture, the question of how many school leavers are unemployed should be added to the above four elements. This is intended to highlight the magnitude of the problem of unemployed school leavers. It is felt that none of the other four questions specifically addresses itself to this point.

### The Analysis

David Koff's research covered all the Provinces of Kenya. His sample consisted of all Standard VII pupils in 33 primary schools selected randomly from lists of schools in each county. The counties chosen in the sample contained 95 percent of the primary schools entering pupils for the

1966 Kenya Preliminary Examination, the equivalent of the present C.P.E. This was a predominantly rural sample, but two schools in urban Nairobi were selected to bring in the urban side. The study was by means of questionnaires designed to find out pupils' occupational aspirations, their attitudes toward farming as an activity in itself and as a possible career for them as individuals, and the alternatives they saw for themselves after they left school. In other words, what were their perceptions of the world awaiting them beyond the classroom?

On Career Motivation, Koff found that:

1. Pupils were aware of the world of work while at school.

They saw education as aimed at preparing them for the world of work, but this was for a world of work to be entered after secondary and higher education and not after primary. Of his sample, 81 percent hoped to go to secondary school.

2. The pupils saw the aim of education for intellectual development as only secondary to preparation for work.

3. Their motive for work was prompted by the need to help themselves and their families. The need to help the nation was only secondary.

4. Attitudes to agriculture were negative among rural pupils, but they all recognized the importance of farming as a stable and well-paying occupation. The urban pupils had more positive attitudes to farming. They appreciated its intellectual demands.

5. Pupils from rural areas in Western Province, Rift Valley and Nyanza had better attitudes to farming than those from the other provinces.

Koff found that these provinces practiced progressive farming and had some land for expansion. Pupils from the Coast Province had the most

negative attitudes toward farming. Many of them saw farming as good only "for the uneducated," and it was seen as only "digging."<sup>1</sup>

6. The jobs mostly preferred on the average were clerk, secretary, teacher, agricultural officer, mechanic and farmer, respectively. The urban pupils chose "engineer" as their second highest in preference. Technical/Professional had first, second or third preference in Western Province, Rift Valley, Eastern, and Nyanza Provinces.

On Career Orientation, the analysis revealed that:

1. The pupils knew the jobs available on the market at that time (1966). Clerical work, teaching, mechanic, nurse, were the jobs indicated in their preferences.

2. Koff found a lack of pessimism among school pupils about their post-primary prospects. This may be due to lack of career orientation while at school.

For Career Exploration the following information emerged:

1. The pupils were aware of the simplicity of the jobs available for them.

He would be one of the unfortunate boys and therefore he should take farming as the main job because it does not need highly educated people only.<sup>2</sup>

2. Some were not clear how to go about finding a job.

3. The urban pupils reflected a lack of experience in farming. They seemed to see it only from their learning about it in subjects like

<sup>1</sup>David R. Koff, "Education and Employment: Perspectives of Kenya Primary Pupils," in J. R. Sheffield, ed., Education, Employment and Rural Development (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967), p. 404.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 409.

geography. Koff found that to urban pupils, farming is only regarded as a supplementary source of income "through which educated, non-agricultural workers can supplement their incomes."<sup>1</sup>

John Anderson did his research in Kiambu and Nyeri Districts. These are some of the most densely populated regions in Kenya, and given land, progressive farming is practiced. He gave a questionnaire to Standard VII pupils in three schools from each of the Districts to test their employment aspirations, knowledge of the educational and employment structure of the country, and the type of work they expected to do when they left school. He then traced a group of 203 male school leavers in Tetu location of Nyeri, who had done their examination in 1964 to find out the activities they were engaged in. He traced another 19 Standard VII leavers (1964) from Thogoto School in Kiambu District, and actually lived with some of these, meeting them at the "Thogoto Young Adults' Education Club"<sup>2</sup> which he helped to set up for giving further education to the unemployed school leavers. His report gives a very detailed account of what the unemployed adolescent boy does in the rural area.

The analysis revealed the following information on Career Motivation:

1. The majority wanted to go on with further education and training after the C.P.E.
2. Preferences for jobs were: clerk, teacher, driver, mechanic, engineer, respectively for boys; nursing, teaching, and

<sup>1</sup>Koff, "Education and Employment: Perspectives of Kenya Primary Pupils," p. 404.

<sup>2</sup>John Anderson, "The Adolescent in the Rural Community," in Sheffield, ed., Education, Employment and Rural Development, p. 424.

secretarial work for girls. Reasons given for preferences for clerk and teacher were that they were not physically strenuous jobs, and they were suitable for the little education the pupils had.

3. Farming was popular in Kiambaa in Nyeri District, where there is a thriving market gardening business and 4K Clubs.

4. If they failed to get into secondary, training or repeat, 73 percent of boys and 75 percent of girls wanted to stay at home "whilst doing further studies" or "applying for a vacancy."<sup>1</sup>

5. When the unemployed ones were asked for their greatest wish if some help were forthcoming, 7 out of 12 wanted to go on with further education. Four out of 12 would buy land in the settlement schemes.

6. The average age of the unemployed ones was 17 to 20 years.

7. The jobs preferred most were those with educational and promotional opportunities.

For Career Orientation:

1. The pupils' preferences reflected an awareness of the jobs that were still available for primary school leavers in 1966. They were the same as those shown in Koff's study.

2. Advice on obtaining employment is sought urgently, from parents, relations and friends who are employed.

3. "They also seek general advice from teachers and local administrative officials."<sup>2</sup>

On Career Exploration the analysis showed:

1. The jobs done were police constable, casual labor (harvesting,

<sup>1</sup> Anderson, "The Adolescent in the Rural Community," p. 419.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 419.



digging, planting maize, gardener, thatching houses and chicken pens); odd jobs like selling and buying cattle at the local market, mending cattle kraals, digging pit latrines, work in bars, shops and hotels in nearby towns.

2. The average salary in rural areas was K.Sh.1/50 to K.Sh.3/50 per day.

3. One boy got K.Sh.7/50 a day at Kibera in Nairobi City.

4. Two boys kept rabbits and hens.

5. The jobs of engineer and mechanic were both assumed to involve motor maintenance.

On Career Preparation the following points emerged:

1. The majority of the sample at Thogoto were K.P.E. failures.

2. The jobs that were tried did not seem to require high technical skills.

On the Proportion of Unemployed out of the education system, the following information was found:

1. Thirty-two percent of the sample were unemployed--23.5 percent were at home, and 8.5 percent away from home.

2. Nine percent were employed.

3. Thirty-six percent repeated Standard VII in 1964; 15.5 percent were still repeating in 1966.

4. Of the 1964 class, approximately 42 percent were in secondary school in May 1966.

Lewis Brownstein researched 834 primary school leavers who had done the K.P.E. in 1964. He traced them from 1965 through 1967 to find out where they went and what they were doing. They were from 21 schools

selected from four districts in Kenya: namely, Kericho, Embu, Kitui and Central Nyanza. He also collected information, by means of questionnaires, on the backgrounds of the leavers in terms of home and districts from which they came. In his sample of districts, Kericho and Embu were relatively richer agriculturally than Central Nyanza and Kitui. His questionnaires tested the most exhaustive number of variables, as compared to those tested by the other researchers.

For Career Motivation the analysis found the following:

1. Students were highly motivated for entry into the secondary school and not for work at the primary school level.
2. They did not feel willing or able to leave school until they were 17 or 18 years old.
3. When hope of gaining entry to a secondary school, training and repeating failed, they wanted to get into paid jobs first, and then settle on the land later.
4. Respect for modern farming and positive attitudes towards farming were higher in Embu and Kericho than in Central Nyanza and Kitui.

On Career Orientation the following information was found:

1. Those already out of the system were fully aware of the type of jobs available at their level of education.
2. They knew about jobs through their own initiative, mass media advertisements, friends and relatives, in that order of ranking.
3. When asked about whom they thought could help them most in getting a job, they said no-one, relatives, and then teachers and headmasters, respectively.

For Career Exploration the analysis revealed that:

1. Most of the boys who were on wage-employment were living away from home. The jobs done were clerks, unskilled laborers, policemen, untrained teachers, army men, apprentices, houseboys, prison guards, shopkeepers, General Service Unit men, office messengers, agricultural laborers, hospital dresser, court prosecutor, and agricultural assistant.

2. Only 28.2 percent of the boys on wage-employment lived at home. They were employed in fewer jobs than those living away from home.

3. Most of the girls (13 out of 21) who were on wage-employment lived at home and only a small number lived away from home. The girls were employed as nursery school teachers, untrained teachers, trained teachers, unskilled laborers, clerk, home crafts teacher, and as enrolled nurses, barmaids and community development officer.

5. The unemployed ones had tried most of the jobs mentioned above, and lost them. For jobs like untrained teacher, they had just been dismissed probably in favor of school certificate people.

6. One boy had been employed as a laboratory assistant at K.Sh.300 per month, but was dropped when it became clear that he was not qualified for the job.

7. Twenty out of 30 who were employed earned less than K.Sh.130 per month. The lowest paid earned K.Sh.60 a month. Eight out of 30 earned K.Sh.120 - 189 a month. Only 2 out of 30 (including the Laboratory Assistant) earned more than K.Sh.190.

8. Some of the boys who were at home grew and sold their own crops. This was in Kericho and Embu. Only four boys had been given their own separate plots for farming.

For Career Preparation:

1. There was no lack of skill or knowledge for jobs attempted, except for the odd laboratory assistant.
2. The unemployed ones had lost jobs through just being laid off.

The analysis revealed the following on Proportions of Leavers:

1. By 1967, only 4.7 percent were unemployed and away from home.
2. Those who were unemployed and living at home were 21.3 percent.
3. Out of the group that left school in 1964, 53 of the original 834 were employed in 1965, 108 in 1966, and 156 (18.7 percent) in 1967.
4. By 1967, 45.1 percent of the original cohort of 834 had gained places in secondary schools and training.
5. In 1965, 36.7 percent of 834 were repeaters, 16.3 percent in 1966, and 7.9 percent were still repeating in 1967.

Joyce L. Mook studied 139 Standard VII leavers from three primary schools in South Maragoli in Kakamega, Western Province. She administered questionnaires to the pupils while they were still at school and then followed them for almost two years after examination to find out where they went and what they were doing. By means of questionnaires and anthropological field techniques, she also studied 159 households within the community where the pupils lived. Her research reveals more about community attitudes toward and influence upon the primary school education than all the other research.

For Career Motivation the analysis revealed that:

1. School leavers were aware of and sensitive to the changes taking place in the world of work. Job expectations revealed more choices of mechanic, carpenter and driver than teacher and clerk.

2. The strongest motivation was for going to secondary school, even though only about 60 percent expected to pass the C.P.E. examination well.

3. The community held prayers in church for pupils to pass their C.P.E. examination. They urged schools to put more stress on teaching the examinable academic subjects seriously so as to ensure their children a place in secondary school.

4. The pupils, like their parents, liked wage employment, but they wished to go into it after secondary education. Wage employment would enable them to get money to buy land and settle down at home, not in towns.

5. The school leavers in Mook's sample were more than 17 years old on the average.

On Career Orientation the analysis found that:

1. There was little career orientation during the last two years of primary school. Emphasis seemed to be on cramming for examinations, and a virtual negligence of the practical subjects.

2. The only placement service offered primary school leavers was the filling out of a preference list of secondary schools before taking the examination.

3. Pupils in the South Maragoli sample were well informed of job opportunities and even the hazards gone through by job-seekers in towns.

4. Information about jobs was from the community, peers and relatives rather than from school.

For Career Exploration the analysis revealed the following points:

1. Since pupils were interested in simple jobs found in the locality, chances were that they had observed people at work in the jobs

or even had first hand experience themselves.

2. Mook records that Maragoli school leavers fan out into all directions in search of wage employment. They did not go to large cities only. Twenty-eight percent of boys and 24 percent of girls wanted to look for jobs within a 25 mile radius from home. Unfortunately she did not follow the school leavers sufficiently enough to prove this point. She only found that 19 percent who were unemployed were still idle at home almost a year after examination. She did not even find out what the 19 percent were actually doing at home.

On Career Preparation, the following information was found:

1. The jobs available for the leavers did not require much technical skill or knowledge, and the pupils knew it.

I would like this job because . . . a Standard VII pupil has no good English to speak but a mechanic can use Kiswahili or simple English.<sup>1</sup>

Anyone can do this job of carpenter, even if you don't go to school.<sup>2</sup>

2. Those who learned mechanics, did it through apprenticeships.

Two of the employed were working as apprentices in a garage.

The proportion who left the system were as follows:

1. Twenty-four percent of the total joined secondary schools and 50 percent repeated Standard VII. This means that 74 percent of the sample were still in the education system.

2. Only 2 percent were employed one year after examination.

3. Nineteen percent were just staying at home.

<sup>1</sup> Joyce L. Mook, "Pragmatism and The Primary School: The Case of a Non-Rural Village," in D. Court and D. P. Ghai, eds., Education, Society and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 119.

4. Five percent entered vocational training; one youth went to a government funded technical school, four went to unfunded ones, and two were apprentice mechanics.

#### Summary of Findings

The foregoing is the detailed analysis of the four empirical studies. It shows the points found in answer to the questions listed under each career element on pages 72-73 in this study. To facilitate the reading of the detailed analysis the information of findings on Career Motivation, Career Orientation, Career Exploration and Career Preparation is summarized in Table 7.

The information on the average age of school leavers, even though appearing under Career Motivation in the detailed analysis, has been categorized as "Other Information" and shown in Table 7.

The table shows the amount of stress that has been given by the various researchers on every important aspect of career element, both in the text of their research and in the detailed analysis.

The information on the proportions of the various categories into which the primary school leavers are distributed after the examination, is shown in Table 8. Only the information from the research of Anderson, Brownstein, and Mook is shown. There was no information on this from David Koff's research since he only found out about occupational preferences of Standard VII pupils, and did not study unemployed school leavers.

Table 7

## Summary of Findings

CAREER ELEMENT	Koff('66)	Anderson('66)	Brownstein('67)	Hoock('72)
<u>Motivation</u>				
1. Strong desire for secondary.	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx
2. Motivation for work after secondary.	xxx	xxx	xxx	xxx
3. Strong motivation for wage employment.	x	x	xxx	xxx
4. Recognition of farming as good career.	xx	xx	xx	xx
5. Negative attitudes to farming.	x	x	x	x
6. Positive attitudes to modern farming.	xxx	xx	xxx	xx
7. Preference for clerk, teacher, nurse, etc.	xxx	xxx	xx	x
8. Preference for mechanic, driver.	x	x	x	xxx
9. Strong community pressure for wage jobs.	x	x	xx	xxx
<u>Orientation</u>				
1. Good knowledge of job opportunities.	xx	xx	xx	xxx
2. Little career orientation in school.	x	x	xx	xxx
3. Strong community career orientation.	-	xxx	xxx	xxx
4. Personal initiative in career orientation.	-	x	xxx	xx
<u>Exploration</u>				
1. Exploration done out of school.	xx	x	xx	xxx
2. Wage employment found in town.	-	xxx	xxx	-
3. Unemployed stayed at home.	-	xxx	xxx	xxx
4. Employment in permanent jobs.	-	x	xx	-
5. Efforts at self-employment.	-	xx	xx	-
<u>Preparation</u>				
1. For employment in simple-skill jobs	-	xxx	xxx	xxx
2. For employment in high-knowledge jobs.	-	-	x	-
<u>Other Information</u>				
1. Average age more than 17 yrs.	-	xxx	xxx	xxx

Notes: xxx indicates very strong stress on element.

xx indicates some stress on element.

x indicates mention of element but not stressed.

- indicates no finding recorded on element.



Table 8

Distribution of Leavers  
after Examinations  
(Summary)

Students	Anderson n = 203	Brownstein n = 834	Moock n = 139
Number who joined secondary	84 (41.5) <sup>a</sup>	376 (45.1)	33 (24.0)
Number repeating Standard VII	32 (15.5)	66 ( 7.9)	70 (50.0)
Number employed	18 ( 9.0)	156 (18.7)	3 ( 2.0)
Number in vocational training	0	0	7 ( 5.0)
Number unemployed at home	48 (23.5)	178 (21.3)	26 (19.0)
Number unemployed away from home	17 ( 8.5)	39 ( 4.7)	—
Others <sup>b</sup>	4 ( 2.0)	19 ( 3.3)	0
Total	203 (100.)	834 (100.)	139 (100.)

<sup>a</sup>Percentages are shown in parentheses.

<sup>b</sup>Others in Anderson's study were those whose families moved away, and those whom he lost contact with. The 19 "others" in Brownstein's study were repeating Standard VI.

Discussion and Summary  
of the Main Issues

The discussion will be based on the issues outlined earlier in this chapter. It has been said that the C.P.E. examination is terminal for the majority of the primary school pupils, who take it in Standard VII. It has been said also that those who leave the system are so young that they get caught up in a "two-year gap" before they are old enough to be employed. These two points will be discussed first.

Table 8 shows that the researchers have found that on the average, only about 37 percent of pupils actually leave the system after C.P.E. in any one given year. Repetition rates are high as Mook's study shows in Table 8. A look at the detailed analysis will show that the repeating rate in Anderson's sample one year after the examination was 36 percent. In Brownstein's sample 36.7 percent of 834 pupils were repeating after one year. Consideration of repetition rates after one year of examinations caused some of the researchers to hastily conclude that the C.P.E. examination is not terminal for the majority of primary school leavers. Many more students remain within the system for a longer time than the authorities are aware of.

A closer analysis of findings has shown this investigator that looking at repetition rates one year after examination does not give a fuller and probably more useful picture of what the C.P.E. examination does to the primary school leavers. When any given cohort of students

who take the examination is traced over a period of three or four years, like Brownstein and Anderson did, it is found that those who repeat try their luck several times until they find a place in secondary school, or fail and give up. After the repeaters have all passed through the primary level, the number who eventually get to a secondary school is almost equal to that which flows out of the system.

Brownstein's study illustrates this. Of the cohort of 834 who took their examination in 1964, 36.7 percent (see the detailed analysis, page 82) repeated Standard VII in 1965 (nine pupils went back to Standard VI), 16.3 percent repeated in 1966 (two were in Standard VI), and 7.9 percent were still repeating in 1967 (two were in Standard VI), three years after their examination in 1964 (see Table 8). By the end of 1967, 45.1 percent had found their way into secondary school and 44.7 percent had joined the labor market.<sup>1</sup> Probably the two groups would have balanced out in 1968 assuming that the remaining 7.9 percent (66 out of 834) would have had their last attempt at the examination.

Perhaps looking at what happens to a given cohort in the manner explained above is more useful to educational and curriculum planners than considering only a single year's outcome. The proportion that eventually go to secondary school is quite high (see Anderson and Brownstein in Table 8).

To get even a more useful picture, it might be better to trace a cohort of students right through the whole system from Standard I through Standard VII. After all, the curriculum for any student in primary school is the total experience over the seven years. In 1966 the

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<sup>1</sup>L. Brownstein, Education and Development in Rural Kenya: A Study of Primary School Graduates (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), p. 80.

enrollment in Standard I was 228,769. In 1972 there were 194,875 of them reaching Standard VII.<sup>1</sup> This was already a loss of about 15 percent before the original cohort took the C.P.E. examination. When this figure is added to the 44.7 percent in 1967, and then swells up more in 1968, it becomes even clearer that a very large proportion of educated youth have only primary education. It makes sense, then, when people argue that the curriculum in primary school should be geared to the majority who leave the system. It is not enough merely to say that the C.P.E. is terminal to the majority or to a small number.

Repetition enables many pupils to remain in the system until they are older than 17 years, as can be seen from Table 7. The existence of a gap of two years for primary school leavers has not been confirmed by research.

The high rates of repetition are due to the high motivation for secondary education. Primary school leavers prefer to enter the world of work after exposure to more than primary school education. Table 7 shows this. The community exerts pressure on the education system to lay greater emphasis on the examinable academic subjects in the top classes than the school syllabus stipulates. Mook stresses this point in the detailed analysis. They want their children to pass the C.P.E. examination and go to secondary school, so that they may get better wage employment. Career motivation for primary school leavers is therefore very much influenced by the community attitudes. Mook revealed (see detailed

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<sup>1</sup>Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1974 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1975), Table 6, p. 19.

analysis, page 83 ) the fact that the only placement service offered to primary school pupils is filling out of a preference list of secondary schools before taking the examination. This shows that primary school teachers, who are also members of the community, strengthen the pupils' motivation for higher education even when they know that many will never make it to secondary school.

The other issue is that the unemployed primary school leavers are not equipped with vocational skills to commend them to the employers. They have a liking for "white-collar" jobs, and they do not take up the numerous menial jobs existing in the rural areas. Literature review and analysis show that primary school leavers get employed in jobs that require very simple skills and little knowledge. Even the pupils themselves acknowledge the fact that the jobs open to them could be done by people without education. The notion of a gap of skills does not apply to the unemployed primary school leavers at the present level of rural development since there are no challenging jobs for them.

The choice of a job is not based on whether or not it is white-collar, but on availability, prospects for further learning and improvement, stability, and high earnings. The unemployed primary school leavers in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania have demonstrated that they do even the most menial and dirty jobs, as the lists in the detailed analysis show. They are prepared to work for as little salary as K.Sh.60 per month. Preference lists in the 1960's (see under Koff, Anderson, and Brownstein in Table 7) were dominated by choices of jobs like clerk, teacher, nurse, and office messenger, while these existed then. In the 1970's, as Mook's study shows, the list showed a greater emphasis on

mechanic, driver, carpenter and shopkeeper. It had become clear to them that certain jobs were no longer available for the holders of the C.P.E. They were choosing jobs requiring more manual skills than their earlier friends, and they were choosing jobs available in the immediate locality in the rural areas.

A very popular issue is that the unemployed primary school leavers dislike farming and staying in the rural areas. They migrate to the cities in large numbers every year in search of employment in the formal sector. The researchers have confirmed that where farming is still traditional, school leavers have negative attitudes to farming. Table 7 shows, however, that they did not find this a wide feeling and it was not strongly stressed by most pupils. Even those who expressed dislike for farming at home recognized the importance of farming as a stable and well paying career in modern Kenya. This point is stressed by David Koff in the detailed analysis. Where progressive farming is practiced, pupils have positive attitudes toward agriculture. Table 7 shows that every researcher stressed this point strongly. Even in areas like Maragoli where there is no land for expansion, pupils still express desire to earn money and later buy land elsewhere for practicing farming.

The majority of the unemployed stay in the rural areas. This is shown under exploration in Tables 7 and 8. The finding is supported by research in Uganda and Tanzania. The assertion that school leavers flood the cities may not be correct, at least in East Africa. The unemployed try their luck everywhere and not just in the large cities. They stay in the rural areas for longer periods of, say, a year and put in only a few weeks or days to try their luck in the towns. Mook's sample showed

(see the detailed analysis, page 83) awareness of the hazards gone through by job seekers in the large cities. These make the youth stay in towns for only short spells. They come to the cities at different times, so their presence appears continuous to the casual observer who jumps to the conclusion that they all reside in towns in large numbers. Their presence in towns is as "evergreen" as the tropical rain forest which stays green all through the year, even when the deciduous trees in it always shed their leaves, only they never shed leaves at the same time.

It is shown in Table 7 under Exploration that those who get wage employment find it away from home, perhaps in towns. A look at Brownstein's study in the detailed analysis (see page 81) will reveal that most of the permanent jobs are with police, army, prisons, the General Service Unit (G.S.U.) and some of the clerical jobs in government institutions like the railways, harbors and the post office, and these are in towns. A look at Anderson's findings on salaries in the detailed analysis (see page 79) shows that salaries for menial jobs in the large cities are much higher than in rural areas. While such opportunities still exist school leavers will continue trying their luck in the cities. One cannot blame the youth for this natural and pragmatic behavior. It has been pointed out in Chapter II that there is no more teacher training for C.P.E. holders. For work in prisons, nursing for girls, police, army and G.S.U., the C.P.E. holders are competing with increasingly larger numbers from Form II and Form IV levels. When the youth find no more openings in these jobs in the cities, this might probably reduce the number of trips and length of stay in the large cities.

The detailed analysis showed that by 1972 a larger number of

primary school leavers entered vocational training than had been revealed by the studies of the sixties. Five percent of Mook's sample joined technical schools. If these were village polytechnics situated in rural areas, it is possible that the rural area may increasingly be holding more primary school leavers, and this will reduce the rural urban migration.

Another issue that has been expressed in Kenya is that the unemployed youth do not have sufficient guidance on what to do if they fail to continue to secondary school. They lack motivation to "create" their own employment, but instead wait for only wage employment. Lack of guidance and preparation of the mind and attitudes of primary school children for the world of work has been stressed by researchers. It has been shown above that the only placement service available is for secondary school choices. Career guidance has always existed in secondary schools in Kenya. It has been pointed out in Chapter II that guidance of that kind may just be starting in primary schools.

Lack of effort by schools to prepare the terminal student for the world of work is demonstrated further by Table 7. There is little career orientation in school, but a strong community career orientation. Many primary school children learn about jobs through their own inquisitiveness and concern. Most career exploration is done out of school.

Lack of motivation to create own self-employment has not been confirmed by research. Only two researchers looked for and found evidence of self-employment efforts among the unemployed school leavers. The other two did not consider the issue seriously. The present researcher believes this issue has not been researched thoroughly. The few cases



referred to show that probably more youth engage in self-employment projects than people are aware of. This is an area that needs more research. In Anderson's sample some children in Kikuyu area reared and sold rabbits, and others reared hens for eggs. Everybody who has driven on the Nairobi-Nakuru road has seen the youth, just on the shoulder of the escarpment, busy selling rabbits, fruits, basketry of all types, and sheepskins. Anderson's research does not mention this at all. Brownstein referred to youth in Embu and Kericho who grew and sold their own crops. Lack of initial capital for setting up such projects is the problem that researchers have stressed. This is one reason why many of them want to get wage employment first before they can be self-supporting. The extent of youth self-initiative in employment needs much more research in both urban and rural areas. King's findings referred to in Chapter II show that youth are doing much more than the research has revealed so far.

The last but not least issue concerns the numbers of youth that are unemployed, and what it means to be unemployed. The analysis of literature uncovers the fact that there is a small proportion of school leavers that can be described as unemployed. Brownstein's tracer survey found that the proportion of his original cohort who were unemployed remained constant at about 26.2 percent for all the years 1965 to 1967. The average of the unemployed percentages of the other researchers came to this same figure. As those who repeated Standard VII dropped out and joined the labor market, larger number became employed each year, but the proportion of the unemployed in each year remained unchanged. Fifty-three of the leavers were employed in 1965, in 1966 the number increased

to 108, and by 1967 the number had risen to 156.

This investigator feels that this small percentage of the unemployed should not lead to the conclusion that the problem of the unemployed primary school leaver is not serious, as some of the researchers would have us believe. Their small numbers join others in the labor market who are already unemployed. The unemployed primary school leavers compete with even larger numbers of unemployed illiterate youth for the menial jobs available on the market. Kabiru Kinyanjui investigated the education, training and employment of secondary school leavers in Kenya in 1971,<sup>1</sup> and found that the secondary school leavers had begun experiencing long periods of unemployment: ". . . data showed that 14 percent of secondary school leavers in 1968 were unemployed in their first year after leaving school. In the second year . . . the proportion dropped to 9 percent."<sup>2</sup> Similar studies would reveal large numbers of unemployed youth with Form II education. The primary school leavers add to all of these, who have even better chances of being considered for employment than they do.

The researchers have shown that unemployed youth are not without employment for long periods of time. Simple jobs like casual work are not difficult to find.<sup>3</sup> Some have weeks of employment and days of

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<sup>1</sup>Kabiru Kinyanjui, "Education, Training and Employment of Secondary School Leavers in Kenya," in D. Court and D. P. Ghaly eds., Education, Society and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974), Chapter 3, pp. 47-66.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>3</sup>Anderson, "The Adolescent in the Rural Community," in Sheffield, ed., Education, Employment and Rural Development, p. 427.

unemployment.<sup>1</sup> It is not that employment is totally absent, but the employment is irregular, uncertain, of a simple type, and low paying. In many cases girls voluntarily or involuntarily tend to remain permanently without employment.

The youth whom researchers have referred to as "unemployed" were those found without a salaried job at the time of their studies. The analysis has shown that the period when a youth, girl or boy, is not on a paid job, is filled up with plenty of activity. The girls would be fully occupied on the family farm and with household chores, and this could be supplying them with all they needed for minimum subsistence living. Anderson's sample has given a long list of occupations for boys including digging of pit latrines and mending cattle kraals in the home. It has been shown above that others are self-employed and earning just enough for the minimum subsistence requirements.

Perhaps one way of describing the unemployed school leavers is that they are not truly unemployed. They are underemployed. Their work does not challenge them and does not utilize the full knowledge and intellectual training that has been invested in them for their seven years of schooling. Researchers have not found bitterness and unrest among the unemployed primary school leavers. Some appear to take the situation very lightly. They are adolescents, still largely dependent on their parents; they are unmarried and therefore without responsibilities that would force them to settle down on a steady job. The ease with which they take their plight reinforces the fact that the jobs they engage in do not at all stretch their minds and energies. They are left

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<sup>1</sup>Wallace, "Young and Unemployed, Who is and What Does it Mean?"  
p. 21.

to feel idle. Their unused energies occasionally prompt them into acts of hooliganism in certain parts of rural areas and in towns. The present researcher makes this statement from actual experience.

In summary, the following are the conclusions that have emerged from the review and analysis of literature:

1. The C.P.E. examination is terminal to the larger majority of primary school leavers, and not only a small proportion, as researchers claim.
2. The community and primary school teachers strongly motivate all primary school leavers for entry into secondary school.
3. There is a lack of guidance and preparation of the mind and attitudes of the terminal primary school children for the world of work, while they are still at school.
4. The greatest career orientation and exploration by school leavers comes from outside the school.
5. The unemployed primary school leavers do not lack skills and knowledge for the type of jobs they do.
6. The unemployed primary school leavers engage in any type of work, even the most menial and low paying kind.
7. Primary school pupils have positive attitudes towards progressive and modern farming.
8. The unemployed primary school leavers generally stay in rural areas and only pay short visits to towns.
9. The continued existence of some hope of obtaining permanent and better paying jobs in towns attracts youth to the cities.

10. There are indications that village polytechnics, attract an increasing number of primary school leavers.

11. The unemployed primary school leavers engage in some encouraging self-employment projects.

12. Even though research shows that only small proportions of primary school leavers join the ranks of the unemployed each year, their problem is made worse because they join many others already unemployed.

13. The primary school leavers are underemployed. The energy, skills and knowledge invested in them are underutilized.

14. The adolescent unemployed youth do not seem overly concerned or worried about their situation.

Chapter IV  
DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF THE  
PRIMARY SCHOOL SYLLABUS

Introduction

In this chapter the primary school curriculum in Kenya will be examined. The main objective is to determine how the curriculum resolves some of the issues raised by the survey and analysis of literature. The main focus will be on the analysis of the primary school syllabus. Some of the issues listed at the end of Chapter III have no direct bearing on the school curriculum. Of those that are linked with curriculum, some, for example, the struggle to pass the C.P.E. examination so as to gain entry into secondary school, cannot be depicted through an analysis of a syllabus. It will be necessary, therefore, to begin the chapter with a general review of the curriculum as a whole. This will include a summary of the relevant curriculum issues revealed by literature analysis, a discussion of the present subject offerings in primary school, a brief historical account of primary school curriculum in Kenya, and a look at the ideas of contemporary critiques of the curriculum. It is hoped that the analysis and discussion of the syllabus will become more meaningful after the general survey.

### Unemployment Issues Related to the Curriculum

The issues of unemployment which have a direct bearing on curriculum are: (1) the importance of the C.P.E. examination and the high motivation of pupils for secondary education, both of which tend to lead to stress on academic rather than practical subjects; (2) the lack of guidance, motivation, orientation and exploration given to the terminal student in preparation for the world of work; and (3) the issue of attitude and skill preparation for the type of jobs and occupations open to the primary school leavers. This includes issues 1 through 7 in Chapter III (see pp. 97-98). The other issues are important for this study, and will be alluded to further in the general survey of the curriculum.

### The Present Subject Offerings

The subject, activities and guidance programs have been outlined in Chapter II. In this section there will be a brief account of some of the innovations in the subject program.

Immediately after achieving independence, the first innovation was the unification of primary and secondary school syllabuses in Kenya. The syllabus that was analyzed for the present study, published in 1967, was the first unified primary school syllabus. This brought to an end the existence of separate curricula for Africans, Asians and Europeans during Colonial days. In 1958, E. Woodhead and G. C. Harper reported that:

Kenya has a single Education Authority and separate schools for Africans, Asians and Europeans. An experiment in multi-racial education is being made at Hospital Hill Primary School, Nairobi. Students from all races are admitted to the Royal Technical College of East Africa and to the Kenya Technical

Institute, Nairobi. Muslims may attend, without distinction of race, the Mombasa Institute of Muslim Education.<sup>1</sup>

The changes that have taken place since 1967 have been mainly in separate subject areas. The only exception to this was the New Primary Approach, hereafter referred to as the NPA. The events that led to the start of the NPA took place before independence. At first it was an experiment set up in 1957, using English as a medium of instruction to teach Asian primary school children, beginning with Standard I. It was known then as the English Medium; it brought with it a method of teaching that was activity and experience oriented. The method was soon found useful, and was applied to the teaching of the other subjects for English Medium children. These classes, both for Asian and African primary school children, became known as the NPA classes in the 60's. A set of books known as The Peak Course and The New Peak Course for Asian and African children, respectively, were written to present English and the other subjects taught at that level, in a proper form with many pictures and activities for children. The NPA seems to have ended only at the lower primary school level. It is currently used in urban schools and in many rural primary schools. The NPA "involves child activity and discovery methods and has broken through the traditional formal class teaching method."<sup>2</sup>

There were, however, schools where teachers were clearly in difficulties. It must be recognized that N.P.A. though sound is also sophisticated and requires well qualified teachers for it to succeed. We observed with regret that

<sup>1</sup> E. W. Woodhead and G. C. Harper, Report on Asian and European Education in Kenya--1958, Colony and Protectorate of Kenya (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1958), p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The Bessey Report, p. 27.



many children were being given little choice of activity,, their experience with materials was limited. . . .<sup>1</sup>

New Mathematics for primary schools was still at the formation stage in 1967. During the year 1974 the Teachers' Guidance Book 4 in Mathematics and all materials for Standard 5 teaching were published. The writing of the Pupils' Book for Standard 7 was also started. Materials for the School Mathematics of East Africa Teachers Guides for Books 2, 3 and 4 were produced.<sup>2</sup> All children up to Standard VI now take the New Mathematics.

In 1967 General Science as a single subject began combining "what used to be separate syllabuses on Gardening, Agriculture, Health Education, Nature Study and Elementary Science."<sup>3</sup> A new Primary Science Project is already under way revising the General Science syllabus, through testing new materials in some trial schools in the country.<sup>4</sup>

A new department of Religious Education was inaugurated in 1974 at the Kenya Institute of Education. One of its activities was "to prepare the way towards a completely new Joint Christian Primary Syllabus."<sup>5</sup> This will replace the two separate ones for Protestant and Catholic schools in the 1967 syllabus.

The history and geography syllabuses have been modified to stress knowledge about the past and present of East Africa and Africa rather

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<sup>1</sup>The Bessey Report, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup>Republic of Kenya, Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1974, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup>Ministry of Education, Kenya, Primary School Syllabus--1967 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1967), Foreword.

<sup>4</sup>Republic of Kenya, Annual Report--1974, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

than of Europe and the British Empire as used to be the case in the Colonial days. There is now a greater emphasis on local geography, history and civics. All three will soon be combined in a Social Studies course. The African Social Studies Program, hereafter referred to as the ASSP, started work in the early 70's, based at the Kenya Institute of Education, to develop the combined course for the social science subjects, including concepts from economics and possibly sociology.

Social Studies Experimental Work moved on to Std. IV that year [1974]. In-service courses were held all over the country in February and March for teachers engaged in this project.<sup>1</sup>

These are impressive innovations, even though isolated. No attempt has been made, to the knowledge of the writer, to correlate the innovations in an attempt to see their total impact on the education of the primary school pupils. Most of the innovations have started after some years of experimentation in selected trial schools and centers. This is good so long as there is wide publicity and discussion by teachers even while experimentation is going on, before the innovations are adopted in all schools.

Based on the writer's experience as a participant in some of the curricular innovations, it is probably correct to say that in some cases like New Math, Science and the Social Studies, the innovations are rarely preceded by and backed-up with rigorous research into the particular needs and problems in Kenya. It would appear that changes have been sought to enable a break from curriculum set up in Colonial days, or just because other parts of the world are changing. However, the aspects to be

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<sup>1</sup> Republic of Kenya, Annual Report--1974, p. 12.

changed have been arrived at through casual observations and the intuition of the participants on the subject panels and committees making the changes. The changes in many cases, have been facilitated by not only the active participation of, but also the origin from, overseas organizations.<sup>1</sup> It is likely that the problems which triggered these innovations lie in countries like the United States of America and the British United Kingdom. It is possible that the unique nature of problems in Kenya or Africa are not being taken into consideration. If African educators are not careful, the new programs may be mere imitations of curricula in foreign countries as was the case in Colonial days; this will be later shown in the historical survey. While it is not entirely bad to borrow new ideas, one must conduct careful research and evaluation before adopting them.

One problem with the new subject changes is that they are likely to be too difficult for the kind of teacher found in Kenyan primary schools to handle effectively. The Bessey Report has observed this in connection with the NPA in this section. Very often some of the new

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<sup>1</sup>The very first conference at which the innovations leading to the ASSP began, was sponsored by the Education Development Center (EDC) in America, and the Curriculum Renewal and Educational Development Overseas (CREDO) in Britain, and was held in September 1967 at the Queen's College, Oxford, England. Thirty-nine representatives from thirteen African countries attended the conference.

A Social Studies Experimental Work in Kenya, supervised by the ASSP team at KIE, started after some conferences, not research teams, held at Mombasa (1968) and Nairobi (1971), and a writing workshop in Nairobi (1971).

EDC in America also has set up African Mathematics and African Primary Science Programs.

Ideas are refined developments at the frontiers of disciplines, which, although they look quite clear in the minds of intellectuals at university level, are not readily understood and clearly conceptualized by a poorly trained primary school teacher. Some of these innovations have been introduced into Kenyan schools while they were still at experimental stages in highly developed countries. Writing on the New Math in secondary schools, G. S. Eshiwani had this to say:

The School Mathematics Project books T and T4 published in 1964 and 1965 respectively for use in British schools were used in the seven schools [in Kenya]. When one realizes that these books were in their experimental stage in schools in England, one wonders why there was the rush to introduce them to East Africa with no attempt whatsoever to modify them. Given the insurmountable difficulty of teaching the T and T4 books in an African setting, it is not surprising that at end of the first year of SMEA [School Mathematics of East Africa], two schools switched to the Entebbe Mathematics programme and one school returned to the traditional Mathematics. The other four rallied on and were grateful when the first relief in the name of School Mathematics of East Africa Book I was published [in East Africa].<sup>1</sup>

The point that some schools put more into the present curriculum than others has been brought out in Chapter II. The differences between the high cost urban and low cost rural primary schools should be considered during the syllabus analysis and discussion later in this chapter. Since some of the differences have a historical origin in the Colonial past, it is proposed to give a short historical account of primary school curriculum in Kenya.

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<sup>1</sup>G. S. Eshiwani, "The New Mathematics in Kenya Secondary Schools," Education in Eastern Africa Journal, for the Regional Council of Education, 4:2 (1974), 264.

A Brief Historical Account of  
Primary School Curriculum

In this section the origins of certain issues that are important in connection with the problems of unemployment of school leavers will be traced and highlighted. That there was a difference in schools along racial lines has been shown earlier in this chapter (p. 101). The good schools that the colonial government built for the white children have retained many of their qualities and character to this day. They are the high cost day or boarding primary schools, classified as "C" in Nairobi. They are now racially integrated, but are attended mainly by children of the most affluent Africans. The medium cost schools are next in quality to the high cost schools, just as they were in Colonial days, when they were for Asians, who ranked next to Europeans. Although racially mixed, they still have more Asian children and faculty than in the high cost and low cost schools. The schools which were for African children are still as low cost as in the past, with the exception of a few boarding schools set up at Christian Mission centers.

The origin of placing stress upon academic or literary subjects at the expense of practical manual ones came from the first attempts by missionaries to educate Africans. By the turn of the last century they had overcome the African's resistance to the introduction of the "new education," and started giving instruction in reading and writing in the local vernacular languages. Our old fathers, now in their late sixties or older, still talk of the "Vernacular Schools" as they called them.

Although the curriculum was dominated by reading and writing so that pupils might be able to better understand Christianity, other

subjects such as arithmetic, geography, drilling (now called Physical Ed.), singing, and sewing were slowly brought into the schools.<sup>1</sup> Basically the same things were taught in the British East African Protectorate School in Nairobi, established for the children of the British railway workers. They were taught such subjects as drilling, singing, sewing and drawing.<sup>2</sup> The education "was often abstract rather than practical and attempted to prepare the African for a new world."<sup>3</sup>

When the settlers began to arrive in large numbers, after 1903, and demanded native labor and clerks, the African soon saw the advantage of working for the whites. More education was sought:

As early as 1909, natives of the Kikuyu tribe centered near Nairobi approached the Church Missionary Society and asked to be taught to read and write--necessary accomplishments in order to obtain the most highly paid positions on the newly established European farms.<sup>4</sup>

The person who could read and write, and do arithmetic became a teacher of the Bible or a clerk on a European farm, and this meant higher pay and prestige. The "teachers" from the "vernacular schools" were very important Church elders and they taught in the first two classes of primary schools in the small church villages. These two classes were called Sub-standard A and B.

The socioeconomic importance attached by the Africans to the ability to read, write and do arithmetic remained uppermost in their minds as the main purpose of getting the "White man's education." A person who could read a letter written from "upcountry," as the White

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<sup>1</sup>George E. F. Urch, The Africanization of the Curriculum in Kenya--University of Michigan Comparative Education Dissertation Series Number 12 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan School of Education, 1968), p. 25.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

Highlands were called by many Africans, was very much respected in the rural village. When industrial and practical subjects were introduced into the curriculum, they never commanded the same prestige as the literary subjects the Africans had been introduced to earlier. The reason for this will be elaborated upon later.

The strong desire for literary education was strengthened by the examination system from as early as the 1920's. While the education department regarded industrial training in schools as essential, it prepared an examination for both primary and secondary leavers which was based on the literary subjects. A primary school graduate who did well in literary subjects in examination could command a position in the city away from the rural area.<sup>1</sup>

Another status symbol of power and prestige was soon attached to the learning of English, rather than Swahili.

Kikuyu rejection of Swahili as a language of instruction indicated antagonism to the language used by Europeans to give orders to their "boys" [servants]. It was a symbol of servitude, not . . . power. Adherence to the KISA [Kikuyu Independent Schools Association] policy meant that English would no longer be the language of Europeans and privileged Africans only, but would become the second language of the Kikuyu. Although English would remain the language of power, the African would have increased access to this power through the learning of English.<sup>2</sup>

What the Kikuyu felt was representative of the feelings of many Africans at that time. In the early 1940's and 1950's, passing very well in Swahili, Agriculture and Nature Study, Carpentry and Tailoring or Domestic Science in the Kenya African Preliminary Examination, the C.P.E.

<sup>1</sup>Urch, The Africanization of the Curriculum in Kenya, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup>Richard D. Heyman, Robert F. Lawson and Robert M. Stamp, Studies in Educational Change (Toronto & Montreal: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Ltd., 1972), p. 113.

now, did not guarantee a person a place in a good secondary school. To go to Alliance High School which was the best African Secondary school then, one had to pass with distinctions in Math and English.

After independence there was a strong move towards further strengthening literary subjects. Swahili was actually removed from the syllabus in the rural schools, except in the urban schools where it had to be used as the mother tongue for urban children. The move to emulate the European was based on the fact that European schools had always stressed academic subjects, while the government had forced Africans to continue offering the unpopular practical subjects in the primary schools.

Contempt for practical subjects dates back from the first decade of the twentieth century. When the colonial government wished to train Africans as artisans, to give service to the incoming settlers, they turned to the missionaries to provide the training. The colonial government did not directly offer education to the Africans until after 1923.<sup>1</sup> The missionaries were not competent to teach industrial subjects and some, like the Catholic Church missionaries, did not favor the teaching of industrial subjects to Africans. In addition to this, manual work was not favored by Africans, at least not for their sons. In almost every tribe in Kenya it was the task of women to do manual work; boys "were the warriors, not laborers."<sup>2</sup>

The School at Maseno, established by the Church Missionary Society, was almost wrecked when it attempted to introduce manual work into its curriculum. . . . manual work took the form of cultivating a school garden, building roads around the mission compound or constructing school buildings.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Urch, The Africanization of the Curriculum in Kenya, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.



From the very beginning, practical and industrial training did not command prestige to the Africans. The Colonial government had imposed the training only upon the African child. Some of the reasons given in Kenya by the white population and government for giving practical training to the African were most discouraging to their sense of self-esteem. No African capable of reading the Department of Education Annual Reports would encourage anyone to like practical subjects. A few quotations will make this point clear. The Education Department Annual Report of 1926 gave the following as one of the reasons for teaching practical subjects:

Just as handwork has been found useful in the training of mentally defective children, so the most useful training which the African can receive in his present condition is continued contact with material processes.<sup>1</sup>

The Jeans School which was started at Kabete in 1925, was

... for the improvement of village life . . . where Africans of high character and faithful disposition, but not of high intellectual attainments, are being trained as supervisors of village schools. The object of their training is . . . to avoid giving village children an education which will divorce them from interest in village life and cause them to seek employment in the towns.<sup>2</sup>

The above quotation explains why the carpentry and tailoring teachers were always the least educated in the schools where they taught these subjects. Pupils naturally grew to respect the literary subjects taught by highly educated teachers, and looked down upon practical subjects taught by people who could not even speak English properly. The teachers of the practical subjects were from the Jeans School—people

<sup>1</sup>Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1926 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1927), p. 17.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

selected because of being "not of high intellectual attainments."

The 1926 Annual Report regretted that progress in the field of technical training was hampered by "the present stage of the mental development of the African,"<sup>1</sup> and continued that:

We wish to lead him to citizenship by a more efficient route than seditious rebellion. . . . Even if a student chooses a sedentary occupation, it will not harm him to be able [to] repair the chair he sits on.<sup>2</sup>

The white man thought that the African's mind was not developed enough to grapple with academic subjects. Practical subjects were, therefore, simple enough for him. The government therefore offered a strong academic subject program to the European and Asian children, and quite advanced industrial and technical education to the Asian children. Only very low level industrial training which did not lead to prestigious positions was given in African schools. The Africans were aware of this and so they naturally never liked practical subjects.

Although the first two years at Alliance High School, which was opened in 1926, consisted of a "literary" curriculum including English, Arithmetic and General Science, the emphasis after the third year was distinctly vocational in line with the general belief in the African's limited intellectual capacity.<sup>3</sup> It was not until about 1934 that the Kenyan government decreed that African schools could concentrate on an academic curriculum; as the European and Asian schools had always done. But in actuality, African schools had already been trying to emphasize

<sup>1</sup>Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report, 1926, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>3</sup>James R. Sheffield, "Policies and Progress in African Education in Kenya--1949-1963" (unpublished EdD dissertation, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964), p. 93.

literary subjects long before the decree.<sup>1</sup>

In 1922, for a mission school to be eligible for a government grant it had to teach the following subjects at the Elementary Level (the equivalent of Lower Primary today). Obligatory subjects were Reading in the vernacular and Swahili, Dictation in the vernacular, Handwriting and Arithmetic. Optional subjects, which might be approved if a graduated scheme was submitted were English, Geography, History, Singing, Drilling, Agriculture and Manual training.<sup>2</sup>

In order for a "Central School" (now Upper Primary), which were mostly boarding schools, to qualify for a grant it was mandatory for all pupils to take a course in both literary and vocational training. Vocational training had to include manual training as well as one vocational subject such as Carpentry, Masonry, Agriculture and Bookkeeping. Obligatory literary subjects included English Grammar and Literature, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Mensuration (Measurement) and simple Geometry, Drawing, Drill and Physical Training.<sup>3</sup>

This pattern of curriculum existed for quite a long time. By 1953 the Binns Report was very critical of the system, for being examination ridden and a reflection of the highly theoretical teaching that took place in the British Isles.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Urch, The Africanization of the Curriculum in Kenya, p. 91. He got this information from E. C. Francis who had been Headmaster of Alliance High School, Kenya, 1940-1962.

<sup>2</sup> Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Departmental Instructions Governing Native Education in Assisted Schools (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1922), p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Urch, The Africanization of the Curriculum in Kenya, p. 86.

Unlike much of British Colonial Africa, Kenya had a comparatively large European Community which for many years absorbed the educated African into positions which demanded literary education. Since literary education had been introduced by the missionary and supported by some European institutions, respect for an academic curriculum and contempt toward practical and technical education developed early. The attempt of government officials to introduce an educational policy relevant to the needs of the people in their tribal communities failed.<sup>1</sup> The reasons for failure are clear from the short review above.

It might prove useful to carry out research on how the problems of unemployment of youth have changed their attitudes towards manual work. The Ominde Commission's approach was to make the study of agriculture less "manual" and more scientific, and in fact almost as academic as other subjects. One of the immediate effects of this approach, from the writer's experience, was that the agricultural training plots in primary schools were abandoned and turned to other use. Have school pupils developed positive attitudes toward progressive farming, as was found by researchers in Chapter III, because agriculture is more scientifically taught in schools or is it because of the promise they see in it at home? Do primary school children still see practical subjects in the school as only leading them to sedentary occupations? Is there now good understanding and communication between the Ministry of Education in Nairobi and the community and teachers in rural areas, as the ministry endeavors to strengthen the practical subject element in the primary schools?

It is important for the government to know the reasons why.

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<sup>1</sup>Urch, The Africanization of the Curriculum in Kenya, p. 91.

practical subjects never succeeded in Colonial days, and subsequently try to avoid making the same mistakes. Are contemporary critiques of education aware of the correct facts underlying this situation?

Contemporary Critiques of  
the Primary Curriculum

The most criticized aspect of the primary school curriculum is the C.P.E. examination, with all its negative effects on teaching. This aspect is still too much like the Colonial days. The Kenya African Preliminary Examination (K.A.P.E.) which later dropped the "African" after independence, was done in seven subjects: English, Arithmetic, Geography, History, Swahili, Nature Study and Agriculture, and Carpentry and Tailoring or Domestic Science or any other practical subject. It consisted mainly of essay type questions and compositions in the languages, and used to last a week. The present Certificate of Education (C.P.E.) examination is done in three papers: English Paper, Mathematics Paper, and the General Paper, made up of Science, Geography, History, Nature Study and General Knowledge. It is a multi-choice one-answer type of examination, in all subjects except for the recent re-introduction of composition in the English Paper. The examination is done on a single day throughout the country, and graded with the aid of a computer in Nairobi.

One of the criticisms of the C.P.E. is that it favors urban children in the high cost primary schools, and that it is too difficult for many rural school children. First, it is done in English, which is better taught in high cost and medium cost urban schools. Secondly, it is "founded on a vision of the primary school that is, in fact, only

realized with any consistency in the high cost schools."<sup>1</sup> The high cost primary school pupils form only about .5 percent of the candidates who take the examination.<sup>2</sup>

Since it is done only in the academic subjects and tests only literary knowledge, it forces teachers to emphasize the teaching of the academic subjects at the expense of the practical ones. Community pressure to enforce this has been referred to in Chapter III. The critiques who have carefully examined the examination find that the questions are of a disjointed nature,<sup>3</sup> and that some of them, as in subjects like Geography, History and Science in the General Paper tend to test mainly factual knowledge.<sup>4</sup> When questions to test reasoning are included, they are made difficult for the chronological age of many of the candidates taking the examination for the first time at ages 13-14 years.<sup>5</sup> All this makes preparation for the C.P.E. reviewable by rote type of drills, because "the tests and techniques of six years' papers have to be memorized."<sup>6</sup>

The exploratory, activity-oriented methods which have been successfully introduced in many lower primary classrooms give way, in

<sup>1</sup>H. C. A. Somerset, "Who Goes to Secondary School? Relevance, Reliability and Equity in Secondary School Selection," in D. Court and D. P. Ghai, eds., Education, Society and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974), p. 169.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 169.

<sup>3</sup>Kenneth King, "Primary Schools in Kenya: Some Critical Constraints on their Effectiveness," in Court and Ghai, Education, Society and Development, p. 129.

<sup>4</sup>The Bessey Report, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup>Somerset, "Who Goes to Secondary School? Relevance, Reliability and Equity in Secondary School Selection," p. 180.

<sup>6</sup>King, "Primary Schools in Kenya: Some Critical Constraints on their Effectiveness," p. 129.

the Upper Primary School, to a much more traditional approach with emphasis on rote memorization and endless practice in answering multi-choice questions.<sup>1</sup> Practical subjects scheduled to be taught in Standards VI and VII receive little attention as examination fever builds up. Bessey's Report sums up the situation thus:

Learning seemed to be passive in most schools for much of the day whether the subject was language, history, geography, science or civics. In some schools, where crafts were given a place, there was some relief, but in most schools and especially in Standards VI and VII, games or physical education at the end of the afternoon seemed to be the only change.<sup>2</sup>

Repetition of the examination has become advantageous for those wishing to score high enough marks to gain entry into the few good government maintained and assisted secondary schools. Research analysis in Chapter III found this to be an important issue. Research in Kenya has shown that repeating does indeed raise pupils' scores in the C.P.E. examination.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, those who repeat are not always the poorer students. The phenomenon of repeating is not a new one in Kenyan primary schools. In the old days there was a very difficult examination given to select people from the many Elementary Schools in the rural areas for the few boarding "Central Schools." This was the Common Entrance Examination. It was common for some people to repeat it for as many as ten years. Some of these people stayed in school solely to escape paying the "Poll Tax," which every male over 18 had to pay. At present, people do not remain in the school system for too long a time.

<sup>1</sup>Somerset, "Who Goes to Secondary School? Relevance, Reliability and Equity in Secondary School Selection," p. 172.

<sup>2</sup>The Bessey Report, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup>King, "Primary Schools in Kenya: Some Critical Constraints on their Effectiveness," p. 129.

Our stereotype of the repeater as the over-age pupils sitting at an under-sized desk in the back row, looking rather bewildered, painfully trying to amass enough facts to scrape through the examination into secondary school is no longer generally valid, at least in educationally advanced areas such as Nyeri. Instead, he is just as likely to be an intelligent or even highly intelligent 14- or 15-year-old, who failed to gain entrance to secondary school at his first attempt because he was competing with pupils who had had the advantage of at least one more year's intellectual growth. Clearly it would be inefficient as well as inequitable to deny him a secondary school chance.<sup>1</sup>

But repetition has adverse effects on teaching taking place in the classes where repeaters are enrolled. The requirements of the first-time students are that the new material on the Standard VII syllabus be introduced and comprehensively taught while the sole need of the repeaters is to concentrate on some of the more complex areas, and to experience ample practice in multiple-choice tests. The result is that the repeaters control the pace of the class, and the new students must reconcile themselves to picking up on their own the basic Standard VII curriculum. Thus Standard VII unfortunately becomes exclusively a review class, even for those who have not yet learned what the others are intent on reviewing. "It is not, therefore, surprising that students do not have a coherent picture of the various subjects that are studied when testing precedes learning."<sup>2</sup>

As in Colonial days, the candidates who score high on English and Math have a better chance of securing a place in a good secondary school. In the high cost schools, more than 70 percent of Standard VII children are accepted to go on to secondary schools, against an

<sup>1</sup>Somerset, "Who Goes to Secondary School? Relevance, Reliability and Equity in Secondary School Selection," p. 179:

<sup>2</sup>King, "Primary Schools in Kenya: Some Critical Constraints on their Effectiveness," p. 38.



optimistic 10 to 15 percent for the rural schools.<sup>1</sup> The high cost primary schools do not suffer as much from the evils of repetition mentioned above.

The last and probably the worst backwash negative effect of the examination on the school curriculum is that the nature of the examination has led to a prolific production of books advising primary school pupils on how to pass the C.P.E. examination. The books are published mainly by Asian primary school teachers. They have become so popular that they can be referred to as the "Un-official Syllabus for C.P.E.,"<sup>2</sup> for they have in fact become the standard texts in Kenya's upper primary school classes. The most common among them are The C.P.E. Pupils' Companion in All Subjects and The Complete C.P.E. Guide Book. They are on the whole a collection of multiple-choice type of questions and their answers, or the actual past C.P.E. examination questions and answers. Teachers, particularly in the rural areas, work through some of these books again and again. In all urban schools some teachers earn considerable extra income for giving children private out-of-class tuition using these books.

Other critics have focused on the poor teaching in the rural schools. The poor conditions in them have been pointed out in Chapter II. The majority of primary school teachers in rural primary schools have hardly had more formal education beyond primary school level, apart from

<sup>1</sup>Z. Ergas and F. Chege, "Primary Schools Education in Kenya: An Attempt at Evaluation," Education in Eastern Africa Journal, for the Regional Council for Education, 4:2 (1974), 237.

<sup>2</sup>King, "Primary Schools in Kenya: Some Critical Constraints on their Effectiveness," p. 126.

the two years of teacher training. They teach in dry traditional styles, sometimes because they handle subjects which have become too advanced for them, especially in the upper primary classes.<sup>1</sup> The kind of science they are teaching now was never learned at primary school level during the days when they were in school.

Table 9 shows the qualifications of teachers in the primary schools. P2, P1, S1 and graduate teachers are those who had post-primary formal education before going to teacher training. P4 and P3 had only primary education: K.P.E. in the old days or C.P.E. nowadays, plus two years of teacher training. P4 teachers had in fact failed their primary school examinations. They do not teach beyond lower primary these days, and they are phasing out of the system. The table shows that in 1970 both P3 and P4 were 46.2 percent of the teaching force on the side of the trained teachers. The untrained teachers with only K.P.E. or C.P.E. certificates accounted for 14.6 percent of the teaching force in 1970. This gives a proportion of 60.8 percent as primary school teachers with only primary school formal education. It was pointed out in Chapter II that only people with secondary education will train as the lowest level teacher for primary schools. But it will take a long time to phase out the P3 teachers.

Table 10 shows the distribution of teachers by the different types of primary school.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>This point is brought out by The Bessey Report (see Table 9), and by D. Sifuna, "Some Factors Affecting the Quality of Teaching in the Primary Schools of Kenya," Education in Eastern Africa Journal, for the Regional Council for Education, 4:2 (1974), 215-222.

<sup>2</sup>Ergas and Chege, "Primary Schools Education in Kenya: An Attempt at Evaluation," p. 237.

Table 9.  
Qualification of Primary School Teachers (Numbers and Percentages)  
1964-1970

		TRAINED TEACHERS														
Grads.	No.	%	S1		P1		P2		P3		P4		Other		Total	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1964	83	0.3	294	1.1	1,561	5.6	2,543	9.1	11,781	42.1	2,667	9.6	250	9.6	19,179	68.9
1965	82	0.3	282	0.9	1,479	4.8	2,904	9.5	12,398	40.5	2,537	8.3	420	1.4	20,112	65.7
1966	93	0.3	291	0.9	1,615	4.8	3,271	9.8	14,759	44.0	2,884	8.6	392	1.2	23,305	69.5
1967	80	0.2	310	0.9	1,684	4.7	3,797	10.6	16,051	44.9	2,821	7.9	327	0.9	25,050	70.2
1968	80	0.2	309	0.8	1,798	4.7	5,315	14.0	16,992	44.8	2,702	7.1	289	0.8	27,485	72.5
1969	67	0.2	328	0.9	2,206	5.8	6,635	17.3	17,861	46.6	2,721	7.1	183	0.5	30,001	78.3
1970	61	0.1	291	0.6	2,993	6.6	8,476	18.8	18,415	40.8	2,457	5.4	236	0.5	32,929	72.9

		UNTRAINED TEACHERS														
Grads.	No.	%	H.S.C.		C.S.C.		K.J.S.E.		K.P.E.		Other		Total		Total Pupils per Teacher	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1964	35	0.1	305	(1.1)			--	--	6,078	21.8	2,231	8.0	8,649	31.1	27,828	36
1965	30	0.1	62	0.2	632	2.1	--	--	8,292	27.1	1,464	4.8	10,480	34.3	30,592	33
1966	19	0.1	73	0.2	774	2.3	--	--	7,995	23.9	1,356	4.0	10,217	30.5	33,522	31
1967	40	0.1	71	0.2	809	2.3	--	--	8,384	23.5	1,318	3.7	10,622	29.8	35,672	32
1968	35	0.1	75	0.2	759	2.0	878	2.3	8,058	21.2	633	1.7	10,438	27.5	37,923	32
1969	30	0.1	55	0.1	733	2.0	670	1.7	6,501	17.0	322	0.8	8,311	21.7	38,312	33
1970	19	0.04	9	0.02	2,140	4.7	3,203	7.1	6,549	14.6	283	0.6	12,213	27.1	45,142	32

Source: The Bessey Report, Table 8.1, p. 87.

Table 10

Distribution of Teachers in  
a Sample of Four Schools

Type of School	S-1 Teachers		P-1 Teachers		P-2 Teachers		P-3 Teachers		P-4 Teachers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
C	15	55	11	40	1	5	0	0	0	0
B	4	23	6	35	6	25	1	6	0	0
A	0	0	3	23	2	15	7	54	1	6

**Source:**

Ergas and Chege, "Primary Schools Education in Kenya: An Attempt at Evaluation," Education in Eastern Africa Journal, 4:2 (1974), 237.

The advantage of the C schools over the A and rural schools is clearly shown. High cost schools in this sample did not have P3 and P4 teachers at all. Their teachers were predominantly SI and PI. These are teachers who passed the East African Certificate of Education examination at the secondary school level and have had two or three years teacher training to become P1 or S1 respectively. The A and rural schools had a preponderance of P3 teachers. The quality of teaching cannot be expected to be the same in the A and Rural Schools as in the C schools. Most of the primary school teachers classified as Graduates in Table 9 are in C schools, and are mainly expatriate teachers with high level teachers' certificates from Britain or other countries. Some of them are even graduates from some Indian universities who have been teaching in Kenya primary schools since Colonial days.

In summary, the general survey of curriculum has revealed three broad issues. Firstly it has shown that the love for academic and literary subjects with the corresponding aversion for practical training has its roots in the Colonial days. All efforts currently made to strengthen the practical elements in the primary school curriculum may not be successful if this issue is not considered carefully.

Secondly, the love for academic subjects has been strengthened by the character and structure of the examination. All primary leaving examinations, K.A.P.E., K.P.E., and now C.P.E., have laid emphasis on academic subjects as the main means to get into secondary school. The high motivation for secondary and higher education has always made ~~pupils and teachers concentrate on academic subjects at the expense of~~ practical training, especially in upper primary school classes. The

incidence of repetition of classes has become high. All these factors have led to poor methods of teaching in upper primary school.

The third issue is that what appears in the syllabus is not always what is actually taught in all schools. Very few schools, only those with facilities and qualified teachers, put more into the syllabus and are up-to-date with innovations. The majority of schools, especially rural ones, lack the facilities and teachers to teach what is given in the syllabus. Examination pressure and structure force most schools generally to neglect very important sections of the syllabus. It is the subjects included in the syllabus for the purpose of teaching pre-vocational skills that suffer neglect in the last two classes of the primary school.

These issues form the background against which the analysis of the syllabus in the remainder of this chapter is made.

### Analysis of the Primary School Syllabus

#### The Rationale for Analysis

This was an analysis of the Kenya Primary School Syllabus published in 1967.<sup>1</sup> It has been stated earlier that this was the first joint syllabus for all children in Kenyan schools irrespective of race. The school leavers (who were involved in the research analyzed in Chapter III) were taught most of the subjects included in the 1967 Syllabus. It is assumed that the issues arising from the literature analysis were largely an outcome of the curriculum shown in the 1967 Syllabus.

<sup>1</sup> Ministry of Education, Kenya, Primary School Syllabus (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1967).

To-date there is not yet a single book showing all the courses offered in the primary school, similar to the 1967 syllabus.

Since the publication of the 1967 syllabus, many revisions of individual subjects have been done. The New Mathematics syllabus is not shown in the book. There have been revisions of Kiswahili and History courses. Further changes in science and social studies are still at the experimental stage. Even though the 1967 syllabus may appear to be out-of-date, many of the courses in it are still offered in schools just as they appear in the syllabus. The content in the courses may have changed; however, it is assumed by the writer that the pattern of vocational elements that emerges at the end of the syllabus analysis has changed very little.

Nevertheless, the analysis presented in this study is regarded as an example of what was done in the primary schools when Kenya first integrated the three racial systems. When another future syllabus is produced, it will form a comparative study, so as to show if there are any changes brought about by the innovations referred to earlier. Fear was expressed that the innovations may not be relevant to the problems of Kenyan youth. A comparative analytical study of the two syllabuses would confirm or disprove this allegation.

The main purpose of the analysis was to find out what guidance the syllabus gives the classroom teachers to lead them to stress attitudes, skills and knowledge relevant for developing career motivation, orientation, exploration and preparation. This would reveal how the syllabus caters to the issues arising from literature analysis. The issues that received further treatment in the syllabus analysis are those

like numbers 3, 4, 5 and 2 to some extent, from the list at the end of Chapter III (p. 100). These can easily be detected from an examination of the Syllabus.

The analysis tried to detect the vocational elements in the syllabus. In other words, the question asked of the syllabus was whether or not it contained enough instruction and guidance for the classroom teacher as to what vocational aspects should be stressed, and how, where and when they come into the course. A search was made through the course objectives, content and methods to pick up items and statements aimed at teaching pre-vocational skills and knowledge. How this was done is explained in the next section.

To get a fuller picture of the pre-vocational elements in the whole curriculum would require analyzing more than the Syllabus. One of the important points arising from the general survey of the curriculum was that in practice teachers do not teach all the sections of a syllabus as they are expected to do. It would be necessary to examine class textbooks and readers, the detailed schemes of work, lesson plans, and even the actual teaching itself. In this respect the analysis of syllabus alone will give only a limited picture of the vocational element in the curriculum. Since the syllabus sets the tone and gives the guidelines for the whole curriculum, it is possible to get from it a good picture of what the curriculum planner expects to be emphasized in the classroom. The analysis of the syllabus alone in this study was based on this assumption.



### The Analytical Tool and Method

In Chapter I. it was stated that the questions to use in this analysis would come from the four career elements used in the analysis of literature, that is, Career Motivation, Career Orientation, Career Exploration and Preparation. After a preliminary study of the syllabus, it was found necessary to subdivide the element of preparation into two, in an attempt to separate the items in the syllabus aimed at giving general pre-vocational knowledge, from those aimed at giving specific pre-vocational skills and techniques. The analytical tool, therefore, consisted of five questions: one on each of the three elements and two on Career Preparation.

Career Motivation was seen in statements where the syllabus gave directives to the classroom teacher to encourage pupils to like work. For example, a statement like teachers should try to cultivate "good attitudes towards the important role of agricultural work in Nation-building. . . ." <sup>1</sup> was taken to be vocationally motivational. One of the instructions in geography was that descriptions of people at work should be made "vivid and interesting." <sup>2</sup>

Efforts towards Career Orientation showed through statements where teachers were instructed to make references to careers while teaching information that could be related to the world of work. One of the topics in Religious Education was, to teach about "Christianity and Work." <sup>3</sup> In the Preface it was stated that one of the aims of education was "to

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<sup>1</sup> Ministry of Education, Kenya, Primary School Syllabus, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

prepare them for their future life. . . ."<sup>1</sup> In History one of the topics was to teach "The main tribes of the Area, their names and characteristics; e.g. occupations."<sup>2</sup> These were topics and statements aimed at the orientation of the learners towards the world of work.

Exploration was recognized in cases where it was stated that pupils should go out to see people at work, or where instructions were given to make pupils do work of some kind. The Geography course was full of instructions for visits to farms and many places of work. The best example was in Arts and Crafts.

Pupils showing unusual keenness and ability might be encouraged to undertake work for the village or community. Group schemes may be undertaken for a local social hall, community centre, Church or Club, carving decorative or commemorative panels.<sup>3</sup>

These are cases where pupils are encouraged to observe people at work and to try their hand at it.

Pre-vocational general knowledge was detected in items intended to give the learners skills of communication and calculation, general work habits like honesty, neatness and orderliness, and methods of work like applying a scientific approach in analyzing situations and information, observation, recording and similar techniques. Statements selected under this section were, for example, "to teach both to think and to arrange his thoughts in an orderly manner";<sup>4</sup> and "to help children record what they have seen, and to begin to draw conclusions from it."<sup>5</sup>

Section B of preparation picked up references to knowledge and

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<sup>1</sup> Ministry of Education, Kenya, Primary School Syllabus, p. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 159.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 111.

skills that seemed to be directly connected with definite occupations or technical and practical skills and techniques. Examples were, pupils to learn "Basketry and Fibre-work";<sup>1</sup> to learn about "Insulators and Fire proofing."<sup>2</sup>

It was not easy in some cases to differentiate between items for preparation A and for B. But the point of separating them was to try and see if the practical skills for specific careers could be singled out. Many critiques of the primary school syllabus think that the pupils are not equipped with applicable practical skills for employment.

### The Analysis

The analysis was a page-by-page examination of the entire book beginning with the Preface and working through subject by subject. Fourteen subject courses were analyzed. A tally was made for every item or statement that showed motivation, orientation, exploration, preparation A or preparation B, care being taken not to count any item or statement more than once in any subject. The tallies under every syllabus area and career element were totalled and expressed as percentages of the whole number of tallies, which was 700. The results are shown in Table 11.

Table 11 should be read with some care. A low score in a subject should not be taken to imply that the subject does not necessarily allow for the career element. It means that the syllabus is written in such a way that it does not stress the element in its instructions to the classroom teachers. It is the contention of this researcher that if the

<sup>1</sup> Ministry of Education, Kenya, Primary School Syllabus, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 129.

Table 11  
Analysis of Primary School Syllabus,  
1967

SYLLABUS AREA	CAREER ELEMENT											
	Motivation		Orientation		Exploration		Preparation A		Preparation B		Total	
	Score	%	Score	%	Score	%	Score	%	Score	%	Score	%
Preface	2	.3	1	.1	0	0	6	.9	0	0	9	1.3
Religious Education	2	.3	5	.8	1	.1	15	2.1	0	0	23	3.3
New Primary Approach (NPA)	2	.3	3	.4	3	.4	28	4.0	3	.4	39	5.6
English (Non-NPA) <sup>a</sup>	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	1.9	0	0	13	1.9
Mathematics	2	.3	8	1.1	1	.1	42	6.0	14	2.0	67	9.6
New Primary Mathematics <sup>b</sup>	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	.3	0	0	2	.3
Mother Tongues	0	0	5	.8	1	.1	27	3.9	3	.4	36	5.1
Swahili (Second Language)	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	.9	0	0	6	.9
Geography	8	1.1	22	3.1	10	1.4	33	4.7	5	.8	78	11.1
History and Civics	0	0	7	1.0	0	0	35	5.0	1	.1	43	6.1
General Science	2	.3	11	1.6	3	.4	86	12.3	37	5.2	139	19.9
Physical Education	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	.9	0	0	6	.9
Arts and Crafts	2	.3	9	1.3	6	.9	27	3.9	106	15.1	150	21.4
Needlework and Domestic Science	0	0	2	.3	9	1.3	2	.3	38	5.4	51	7.3
Music	3	.4	0	0	0	0	14	2.0	21	3.0	38	5.4
TOTAL SCORES AND PERCENT	23	3.0	73	10.5	34	5.0	342	49.0	228	33.0	700	100.0

<sup>a</sup>Much of the information for this course is included in the New Primary Approach course.

<sup>b</sup>The syllabus only included two pages on this course for information of teachers. The detailed course was not yet ready for inclusion in the 1967 syllabus.

syllabus does not stress important skills, attitudes and approaches, then it is not useful to the classroom teacher. In cases where teachers have had good training and education, they usually feel free to add their own touch to the instructions given in the syllabus. Based on the casual observations and experience of the writer, it is apparent that primary school teachers, lacking confidence in their own knowledge of the subjects they teach, tend to follow the Ministry of Education's syllabuses and schemes of work to the letter.

#### Discussion and Summary of Findings from the Analysis

A look at the various syllabus areas shows that the Preface is weak on scores in all career elements (see Appendix B). The low overall score of 1.3 percent indicates that it does not put much emphasis on vocational aspects, in its instructions to the classroom teacher who will be using the syllabus. Most of what is included in the Preface concerns allocation of periods for the various subject courses, and similar organizational and administrative matters. To this researcher, the Preface fails to set the tone and lay the philosophical background necessary to adequately guide all the teaching.

English for the non-NPA classes is low in scores because much of the material the pupils have to learn is included under the English Language section of the New Primary Approach. Non-NPA Standard II classes are expected to start their English lessons with the work of Standard I in the New Primary Approach. The scores in the section on English for non-NPA are therefore additional to those under New Primary Approach. The combined scores in both courses show that the English courses have

few instructions on motivation, orientation and exploration.

This means that the syllabus does not give much direction on these elements. But as far as English, or any language, is concerned, much more goes into the readers and class textbooks than a syllabus can show. One cannot be sure what values and attitudes teachers will project when discussing the topics in the readers. Hence a good syllabus should give sufficient direction on this--much more than the analysis has revealed. The Bessey Commission was very critical about the poor way NPA lessons were conducted.<sup>1</sup>

It was not easy to separate sections A and B of the element of career preparation. A language is useful as general knowledge and as a tool for communication even in practical applications. The low score under Preparation B is probably an under-score.

Swahili<sup>2</sup> as a Second Language is "designed for those African and non-African pupils who enter upper primary school with little or no knowledge of Swahili."<sup>3</sup> This applies to the majority of rural primary schools. The pupils start taking a course in Swahili in Standard IV, after having had a start on the local Mother Tongues. In that case much language has already been learned before the course "Swahili (Second Language)" is done. This explains, in part, why the course is so low in scores in all career elements. With scores only found in the section of

<sup>1</sup>The Bessey Report, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup>The 1967 Syllabus misuses the word Swahili. It has now become Kiswahili. Swahili are the people or tribes at the coast of Kenya whose language is Kiswahili. The writer uses Swahili in this report, so as not to mix up the terminology used in the 1967 Syllabus.

<sup>3</sup>Ministry of Education, Kenya, Primary School Syllabus, p. 89.

career preparation A, this may imply that the course as shown in the syllabus only emphasizes the teaching of factual knowledge. There is no attempt made to apply the knowledge to vocational situations. The type of jobs open to primary school leavers requires much spoken Swahili, as the detailed analyses in Chapter III revealed (see pp. 75-85). Spoken Swahili is not a problem to urban children, but it is for rural children in most parts of Kenya, where Swahili has never really become a familiar language of communication. The historical origin of this has been referred to earlier.

The Mother-Tongues show a much better distribution of scores in nearly all career elements than Swahili as a Second Language. This means that Swahili as a Mother-Tongue in urban areas is taught much better. The syllabus has more detailed and varied instructions for the urban teacher of Swahili than for the rural teacher. This implies to the researcher that rural children may not be learning this language sufficiently well to use it profitably in career situations. It is hoped that the revisions which were made to the course in Swahili just after the publication of the 1967 Syllabus included better instructions for the rural teacher.

The Physical Education course shows very low scores on the whole, and the only elements mentioned were in the preparation A section. This should not give the impression that Physical Education is an unpopular, dull course in Kenya schools. Children love Physical Education periods, especially in the lower primary school. Games are popular right through the primary school system. In fact as The Bessey Report hinted in an earlier reference, children look forward to the time they leave the

classroom for a change from the dull teaching. What the zero scores in all other career elements mean is that the course does not show the classroom teacher that Physical Education has any vocational significance. The syllabus misses opportunities to instruct teachers to encourage children who may aspire to join the Army, Police, the General Service Unit, the Kenya National Youth Service and the Prisons, to take a keen interest in Physical Education and Games. When the "Examination Fever" for the C.P.E. builds up in Standards VI and VII, Physical Education can be neglected, since it is not considered to be an important subject.

Religious Education has a wide distribution of scores in nearly all the career elements. It is the scores under career motivation, orientation and exploration that impressed the researcher most. The people who wrote the courses for the separate Religious Education subjects for Catholics and Protestants, gave ample instruction to the classroom teacher to emphasize the vocational importance of the subject. The values, habits, and attitudes taught in Religious Education were carefully related to situations in real life and the world of work.

The Geography course shows the highest scores in career motivation, orientation and exploration. It also had scores in both sections of career preparation. The course was written with particular care to see that sufficient guidance was given to the classroom teachers to include more than mere geographical facts in their lessons. Specific application of geographical knowledge and skills to the world of work was emphasized. Imaginary and real visits to places of work, skills in reading and drawing maps and plans, and making models, which are useful in many careers, were included in nearly every section of the syllabus in



the Geography course. This is the approach that the current researcher thinks will go a long way towards helping school children to begin thinking about the world of work as they learn school subjects. It would be useful to observe actual lessons in the schools to see how much of what is included in the Geography syllabus is actually put into practice.

The History and Civics course is not as varied in scores as the Geography syllabus. The course consisted of much more factual information than hints on how the information could be applied in the world of work. A reasonable number of statements fell under career orientation, and some of these might as well have been scored under career motivation. Perhaps the planned combination of Geography, History and Civics together with some Economics and other concepts from Social Sciences, in a Social Studies Program will produce a very rich course in vocational motivation, orientation and exploration.

The discussion will deal with Mathematics and General Science courses together since they show a similar pattern of scores. There is a low score in the New Primary Mathematics because it was the 1967 Syllabus that first made people aware of its future introduction. 1977 will be the first year when all pupils in Standard VII in Kenya Primary Schools will have gone through the New Mathematics course. What was analyzed in this study was old Math, which had been learned by the school leavers involved in the research analyzed in Chapter III.

The scores for Mathematics and General Science courses show a high concentration under the two sections of preparation. General Science showed the highest score among all other courses under section A, and Mathematics had the second highest. This means that the syllabus included

full instructions to the classroom teacher on what pre-vocational knowledge and skills to stress in lessons. If much of the information reached the learners, then they were well equipped for the world of work. The scores under motivation, orientation and exploration are not as high as might be expected. Their contribution in these sections is only second to Geography. This implies that the courses did not give much direction to the teacher, as to how to relate the knowledge taught in these important subjects to the world of work.

The method most recommended in science courses in the syllabus was the observation of experiments in the classroom. There were not many instances where visits to farms, business firms, market places and shops were definitely requested. These are places where pupils could benefit by seeing what they learned in science and math applied in real-life situations. Teachers were instructed on how to teach heat and its effects on metals, but they were not told to visit a local blacksmith who actually applies the principle to his occupation. The course showed the facts to teach about living things and how they can be improved by breeding young ones from the best adults, and then the teachers were told to give an example of "artificial insemination." There was no clear mention of paying a visit to a local farmer or farm institute to see what artificial insemination means. Nor was there any instruction that pupils should be asked to try "grafting" on the fruit trees grown in their homes. There was no instruction in the Mathematics or the General Science courses asking the teacher to take children to the local market place and see how the different types of scales are employed by butchers, and salt and sugar sellers.

The Bessey Commission observed that

. . . the study of agriculture, of such significance to the economy of Kenya, was not being fully exploited in the majority of schools. Only in a few schools was the garden used as a teaching aid.<sup>1</sup>

This may be due to lack of sufficient instruction in the syllabus helping the teacher to apply the material taught to practical situations in real life.

Arts and Crafts, Needlework, and Domestic Science and Music will be treated together as the practical subjects, expected to train pupils in specific pre-vocational skills and techniques applicable to specific careers. Some aspects of Music are purely for enjoyment but much of it as shown in the syllabus appeared directly linked with music as a career in life. The practical subjects naturally had the highest scores under preparation B. Arts and Crafts was particularly outstanding in this; they also had high scores on preparation A. The scores in Arts and Crafts were spread out better on motivation, orientation and exploration than those in the other practical courses. They, like science and math, did not however score as high on these elements as was expected.

One important observation was that the parts of the practical courses that were particularly rich in vocational elements naturally occurred in the upper classes of primary school where pupils were expected to be mature enough to better handle certain manipulations. It has been shown in several sections of this study so far that the upper classes in primary schools devote most of their time to the examinable subjects. Thus all the good Arts, Crafts, Music, Needlework and Domestic Science scheduled for these classes do not receive much attention. The survey

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<sup>1</sup>The Bessey Report, p. 30.

made by the Bessey Commission found that

. . . arts and crafts are virtually non-existent in the upper primary Standards, particularly in the rural areas. What was done was very stereotyped and of poor standard, lacking spontaneity and continuous experience. For most children in the upper Standards the arts and crafts lesson seemed to be an occasional experience and so their work lacked development. . . . In most rural schools needlework was the only aspect of the syllabus being fully covered. [But] . . . many teachers had 50 to 60 girls in their classes sitting closely packed in a classroom without a reasonable surface on which to cut out garments.<sup>1</sup>

This researcher came to the conclusion that the scientific, mathematical, and practical knowledge and skills included in the syllabus may be reaching the learners, if at all, as just one of those intellectual exercises not related to the life they will go into when they leave school. This might be fine for the child who will continue to secondary school and higher. But it is not useful to the terminal student who does not receive any career guidance service, as has been shown earlier.

A comparative examination of the career elements in Table 11 shows that the syllabus carries more instructions on the element of preparation than on the others. If what is written reaches the learners, then it is clear that the primary school leavers have quite enough pre-vocational knowledge and skills to do any job that can be done by youth with their level of education. It also shows that they have enough background knowledge and skills to profit from post-primary industrial and vocational training.

The low scores under motivation, orientation and exploration should not necessarily mean that these elements are absent in Kenya primary schools. Usually much more instruction that has a bearing on

<sup>1</sup> The Bessey Report, pp. 30-31.

these elements goes into the detailed schemes of work and lesson plans rather than in the general syllabus. Good teachers also make passing remarks, references, and comments on these elements in their teaching. It is likely, however, that many teachers may feel reluctant to emphasize these elements, regarding them to be irrelevant, just because the official syllabus does not highlight them, and they are not examinable. This could be very much the case unless school supervisors or inspectors emphasize the elements in their critiques of teachers' lessons. The Bessey Commission, after a survey of primary schools, lamented "the gap between precept and practice" when they found that "the aims stated in the 1967 Syllabus are not being fully realized in the classroom."<sup>1</sup>

In summary, the following points emerged from the syllabus analysis:

1. The syllabus included little instruction on career motivation, orientation and exploration. The only subject course where instruction on these elements was significant was the Geography Course.

2. Instruction on the element of preparation was very high, meaning that the syllabus had much instruction on what pre-vocational knowledge and skills classroom teachers should stress.

3. The courses in Mathematics, General Science, Arts and Crafts, Needlework and Domestic Science and Music, had more instruction on knowledge and skills of a direct technical and vocational application than the other courses in the syllabus.

4. The practical subjects like Arts and Crafts, Needlework and Domestic Science and Music had most of their vocationally rich topics scheduled in the top primary Standards. However, it is likely that examination pressure did not allow teachers to give them proper attention.

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<sup>1</sup>The Bessey Report, p. 32.

5. The scientific and practical subjects did not give as much instruction to the teacher on career motivation, orientation and exploration as would be expected. This means that the syllabus made little effort in trying to instruct the classroom teacher to relate the knowledge and skills to actual occupational situations in the world of work. This probably made the subjects more intellectual than practical and minimized their potential beneficial internalization in the lives of the students.

Chapter V  
DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS  
AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

The main purpose of this study was to investigate the problems of unemployment of primary school leavers in Kenya, and their implications for the primary school curriculum. In the light of these findings, suggestions would be made for possible curriculum changes. In this chapter a summary of the main issues of unemployment as revealed by literature survey and analysis, curriculum survey, and syllabus analysis, will be given. This will be followed by a discussion of implications of the problems for the primary school curriculum, and a proposal and discussion of possible changes that could be made in the curriculum. The chapter will close with a discussion of implications of the proposed changes, and suggestions for further research.

The Main Issues of Unemployment  
of Primary School Leavers

In order to clarify curriculum implications, the long list of issues given at the end of Chapter III will, in this section, be condensed into a few broad issues.

One major issue is that the terminal primary school graduates who are unemployed are not mentally and emotionally prepared for joining the labor market at the end of primary school. This has been shown in many ways.

Literature analysis has shown that primary school children are strongly motivated to go to secondary school because of the better job opportunities for people with a higher education. Repetition exists because of the struggle to gain a place in secondary school. The historical survey of curriculum has shown that struggle for secondary education and the problem of repeating are old problems in Kenya at the primary school level. Contemporary critiques of curriculum have brought out the advantages and disadvantages of repetition. Passing the examination is everybody's preoccupation—the pupils, the teachers, and the community. The historical origin of the importance attached to passing examinations has been shown. As The ILO Report states, the certificate of primary education determines the whole destiny of a child. If he passes well and enters a government secondary school he has a good chance of ultimately entering a job where his income may reach 10, 20 or even as much as 100 times the national average. But if he fails, his lifetime earnings may not amount to much more than those of someone without a formal education.<sup>1</sup> No child, therefore, would be inclined to stop school at the primary level and join what was referred to in Chapter IV as a "sedentary life" (see p. 111).

The school curriculum gives the children some amount of pre-vocational knowledge and skills, but it does not offer career guidance, career motivation, career orientation and exploration. In that case the school leaver who terminates his formal education at the primary school

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<sup>1</sup>The United Nations Development Program and the International Labor Office, Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya (The ILO Report). (Geneva: ILO, 1972), p. 517.



level has not been adequately prepared for the transition into the world of work.

The second broad issue is that the majority of the unemployed primary school leavers are rural school graduates. The poor teaching and inadequate facilities in the rural areas which account for additional failures have been shown. Literature analysis showed that the unemployed youth stayed in rural areas for most of their unemployed days, rather than in towns. The disparity between rural and urban schools has been emphasized by tracing it back to Colonial days when there were racially distinct school systems in Kenya.

The third broad issue involves the type of job opportunities that exist in rural areas for the unemployed primary school leavers: they are limited, unchallenging, uncertain, low paying, and they utilize very little of the knowledge and skills acquired by the average primary school leaver. The jobs are largely of a type for which no education is required. Even though the unemployed leavers take the jobs, they do them grudgingly and with no enthusiasm. These points have been shown in many ways in this study.

Although syllabus analysis and general curriculum survey have shown that little of the pre-vocational knowledge and skills written into the syllabus reaches the learner, literature analysis has proved that the minimal pre-vocational education is too much for the type of jobs available to primary school leavers. History has shown that in the pre-independence days low prestige was attached to the jobs done by primary school leavers who were only good at the practical and industrial subjects. The simple jobs done by the unemployed primary school leavers still

reflect this element, which the present researcher chooses to refer to as the negative "Jeans school element." This refers to the element of simplicity associated with practical and industrial training at the primary school level. The subjects formerly were taught by Jeans School trainees who themselves were "not of high intellectual attainments."<sup>1</sup> It is not too likely that the planned developments in rural areas will create challenging jobs for the unemployed youth who have primary school education. For quite a long time to come, therefore, it is probably that primary school leavers, especially in the rural areas, will be under-employed, and will constitute an under-utilized labor force.

The fourth broad issue is that, at present, only a small number of unemployed primary school leavers engage in self-employment projects, or take advantage of opportunities in post-primary technical training programs in the rural areas. Although research on the activities of youth in self-employment enterprises has not been exhaustive, some few but very encouraging instances have been referred to.<sup>2</sup> Kenneth J. King, in an urban survey, has shown how many urban youth rush into numerous apprenticeships to become mechanics, panelbeaters, and simple manufacturers and blacksmiths. He recorded that there is a great deal of restless movement in the bottom levels of the modern sector as people search for an income outside the range of K4 to K8 a month.

Once they have set up on their own, several claim that they found they could make more in a day than they had previously

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<sup>1</sup>Kenya Colony and Protectorate, Education Department Annual Report—1926 (Nairobi: Government Printer, 1927), p. 17.

<sup>2</sup>Kenneth J. King, "Skill Acquisition in the Informal Sector of the Economy," in D. Court and D. Chai (Eds.), Education, Society and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1974), Ch. 13, pp. 291-309.

made in a month. Whatever the reality of their earnings may be, most artisans or their trainees have a fierce determination not to be employed again.<sup>1</sup>

Literature analysis did not reveal the same enthusiasm among the rural unemployed primary school leavers as King attributes to the urban youth. The 1972 research showed that some had started joining village polytechnics for training. A few kept rabbits and chickens, and some engaged in some farming on a self-employment basis. Generally, most of the rural unemployed seemed to go through a cooling-off period doing the little work they found but waiting for the moment when they would find a salaried job. An explanation for this may be found in the syllabus analysis (see pp. 136-138).

It is likely that, at least for the rural primary leavers, the motivation they received towards employment was to prepare them "to move about in a well-mapped territory of wage employment and not to explore and create opportunities where wage employment was absent."<sup>2</sup>

#### Implications of Unemployment Issues for Curriculum

Each of the four broad issues outlined above will be discussed to demonstrate their implications for the primary school curriculum. Some of them have broader implications than just for curriculum alone. The wider implications will be mentioned in this section and also at a later stage.

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<sup>1</sup> King, "Skill Acquisition in the Informal Sector of the Economy," pp. 299-300.

<sup>2</sup> Emil R. Rado, "The Relevance of Education for Employment," in Court and Ghai (Eds.), Education, Society and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya, p. 33.

Generally, the issue that the unemployed primary school leavers do not wish to enter the world of work at the primary school level, has implications for the whole economy. The absence of remunerative wage employment for primary school leavers in the formal sector and the general underdevelopment and poverty in rural areas cause the youth to be reluctant to stop their schooling at the primary school level. It has been shown that urban youth seem to find openings into the informal sector, but they pay for this quite dearly since they have to go through private apprenticeships. Research has not shown the same openings for rural youth. This points to the need to develop the rural areas drastically to create paying employment opportunities in the informal sector. At the present stage of development, an enterprise in the informal sector is not very profitable. The general poverty of people means that there is little purchasing power; therefore, propensities to consume are low, costs of production are high, and transportation of products to the market is costly. To earn enough money from rural informal enterprises means much more hard work and larger capital outlays. People who earn salaries, such as teachers, urban employed, and those who are able to obtain big loans, manage to earn more from self-employment enterprises in rural areas than those employed in salaried jobs alone.

This has strong implications for curriculum in that it creates a dilemma for the classroom teacher. Research has found that there is little career motivation, orientation and exploration in the syllabus, and that even the little there is, is towards wage employment. If most remunerative wage employment is available only to secondary school leavers, then it may be said that the curriculum motivates the learner

for a world of work beyond that available for primary school leavers, Given the situation of jobs in the rural areas, the scarcity of jobs in the formal sector, and the high cost of securing a place in the informal sector in urban areas, it becomes difficult to see what approach the classroom teacher should take. The more the teachers inform them about the real facts of the situation facing a primary school leaver, the more the children are motivated to avoid terminating at primary level, regardless of the struggles and difficulties involved. It is unreasonable to expect that primary school teachers will prepare their pupils to aim so low in life as to become cook/houseboys and housemaids. One would expect motivational statements like, "If you don't work hard you will fail the C.P.E. and become a mere laborer or simple garden boy!" This is quite natural. The question that arises is: What kind of technique do we expect the teacher to employ to persuade primary school pupils to develop some respect for some of those menial jobs that have been mentioned in this study?

It is also possible that primary school teachers think that the children in primary school are still too young to be concerned about employment prospects. Research has shown that many of the children show little optimism about employment prospects after school. Other research has shown that unemployed adolescent youth, especially in the rural areas, are not in a hurry to settle down quickly on some steady career. The fact is that, young though they are, they are forced to leave the education system at the primary school level. If the present age at which primary school ends is a "premature" entrance into the labor market, what can the curriculum do about it? This research has tried to show that it

is not age alone that prevents primary school children from being interested in employment prospects. It is the constraints of the strong motivation for secondary school, the examination pressure, and the poor prospects of employment for primary leavers. Even if it were the problem of age, it would require a reshuffling of the education system so as to delay the exit of children from the system in ways other than repeating.

The second issue, that most of the unemployed primary school leavers are from rural schools, has its origin in the disparity among schools. On the one hand, this issue has socioeconomic and political implications. It is not the intention of the writer to discuss them in this study, but they will be touched upon in passing, when curriculum implications are discussed. The issue also raises implications that concern the whole education system at the primary level, and not just the curriculum. These will be discussed in detail here and in latter sections of the study.

The C.P.E. examination is done in English of a higher standard than what rural school pupils can manage. Some rural children fail the examination because they do not understand the questions. The reasons for differences in standards of English have been shown in the study. Even if the examination were done in Kiswahili, urban children would still be superior to rural children in performance. The decision as to whether or not there be a switch to Kiswahili instead of English, as is the case in Tanzania, is still a political one. Given the history of Kiswahili in Kenyan schools, it has even been difficult for politicians to come to quick solutions on this. The present researcher sees no problem in continuing with emphasis on English as it is now; Kiswahili now receives sufficient attention.

The English Paper has been criticized for carrying items and comprehension passages that are more urban, and in some cases more foreign, than rural and Kenyan. It is easy to correct this and strike a balance between rural and urban situations. This would have to spread even into the items found in textbooks and readers used. Readers written by African authors are being produced in greater numbers.

There is also the question of where education standards should be set--at the high-cost school level or at the rural school level? Since historical days, Kenya has used the "model school" idea to set high standards for other students. The Alliance High School was set up for this purpose. It was comparable to some of the best high schools in Britain, as far as the schools for Africans in Kenya were concerned. But the Alliance High School admitted pupils from all parts of Kenya and on the merit of high scores in the examination. If the high-cost primary schools are being used for similar purposes, and the writer would support the idea, it would be useful if they also recruit pupils from all over Kenya or at least only on merit rather than on the social status of parents.

Since independence, some government maintained schools, especially the national schools, have increasingly become just as good as the Alliance High School. This is because there has been an equitable distribution of good teachers and facilities among the government maintained schools. Research has shown that this is not the case with primary schools. In the section on proposed changes it will be shown how the present researcher thinks that the good facilities in high-cost primary schools should be distributed to all parts of the country, at least at the Upper primary school level.

Research has shown that even though there is a unified syllabus and examination for all primary schools, the curriculum in high-cost urban schools includes more enriched education experiences than in the rural schools. History has shown that the curriculum designed for the African children in rural areas in Colonial days was not meant to be of high quality at all. It was aimed at keeping the rural children in the rural areas. The system was fine then, when there were definite racial and class distinctions in the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya. The present Republic of Kenya is determined to wipe out class distinctions among its people, but the government would be deceiving itself if it imagined that the integrated primary school syllabus is doing that. In practice, it is perpetuating the Colonial legacy. The present researcher believes that this issue should be approached in the same way as has been done at the secondary school level. There the government makes a great effort to mix children from the different tribes of Kenya and from all economic classes, especially in the government maintained national secondary schools. Economic and class distinctions are instilled in Kenyan children at the primary school level, and it might be difficult to correct them once they become internalized at that early age. It will be proposed later in this study to change the education system at the Upper primary level so that children from all social groups can mix and have free access to good education similar to that offered in the high-cost primary schools.

The third issue is that the primary school leavers are under-employed and under-utilized. Research has shown that this problem arises because of low development in the rural economy and the lack of



opportunities in the formal sector. The allegation that primary school leavers have no employable skills to offer employers has not been confirmed. On the contrary, they have more knowledge and skills than is required for the type of jobs available for them, and this is likely to remain so even when all the developments planned for the rural areas materialize. If the only opportunities open for the primary school leavers were in wage employment alone, there would be no worry about the present curriculum.

Primary school leavers do not have to depend only on wage employment. They do not have to wait for developments in the rural areas. They can create their own employment, in keeping with the true spirit of "harambee." For them to gain enough competence and confidence to do this, they would need more grounding in the basic industrial and technical skills and knowledge. The basic education in practical subjects in the syllabus would have to be made as strong as the current basic education in academic subjects. This would not require any additional subjects of an industrial and technical nature. It would only mean that what is written in the current syllabus would have to be given more attention and time to reach the learner in the school. Research has shown that there is a gap between precept and practice, especially in the practical subjects. The changes to help bridge the gap have been proposed in the next section of the study.

The issue that only a few of the unemployed primary school leavers engage in self-employment activities has been referred to already to some extent in the discussion of the other issues. The differences between the urban areas and the rural situation on this issue have been

brought out. It has been suggested that the problem can be alleviated in the rural areas if the level of development rises to a point where self-employment enterprises become more well-paying than wage employment, as is the case in urban areas. It has been suggested further that for primary school leavers to have enough competence and confidence to set up their own enterprises, they would need a stronger basic education in the practical subjects than they now receive. The present syllabus contains much pre-vocational knowledge and skills that do not reach the learner. A change is proposed later on how this could be made possible.

The little that has been reported on the urban-school leavers suggests that they are more motivated into paying heavily for apprenticeships and going into self-employment than are the rural school leavers. The factors that discourage rural school leavers have been given. The writer is convinced, however, that the rural school leavers need to acquire more motivation, orientation and exploration while still at school. In addition to this, they need a spirit of hard work, adventure and creativity. They need to have a business attitude and some simple notions of entrepreneurship introduced to them while they are still at school, so that if they fail to find a good job or apprenticeship, they might endeavor to set up their own trade or enterprise. The writer is inclined to agree with Rado when he says that the "little evidence we have suggests that educational systems are geared more towards the production of routine competence than towards creativity."<sup>1</sup> The proposed way in which to tackle this issue is discussed further under the section dealing with suggested changes.

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<sup>1</sup>Rado, "The Relevance of Education for Employment," in Court and Ghai (Eds.), Education, Society and Development, p. 33.

It is important to point out here that the final success of the youth in the field, even with various skills, business aptitudes and good attitudes, will depend on whether or not they are supported at the initial stages of setting up enterprises. The writer has in mind the establishment of some credit and loan systems, advisory or extension work support, to help the youth make a start. While town parents are able to raise money to pay for apprenticeships for their children; and then help them get started, most rural parents are too poor to do that. The kind of support suggested here would ensure that the primary school youth are helped into becoming productive citizens, to justify the investment put into them.

In summary, the discussion of unemployment issues has raised the following implications for the primary school curriculum:

1. It is not easy to expect primary school teachers to motivate children into liking and looking forward to the type of menial jobs available for primary school leavers.

In the rural areas motivation leans towards the salaried jobs available for people with secondary education, since self-employment enterprises are not always very well paying.

2. Teachers may be finding it difficult to interest primary school children in matters concerning employment prospects, at their early age, even though the many who exit from the education system at the primary school level will probably need some guidance.

3. It seems that Kenya intends to maintain the high standards in the high-cost primary schools as a model for setting high standards for other schools in the country. If so, a change similar to that in

secondary schools is needed, in order to distribute the good facilities of high-cost schools to all parts of the country.

4. English of a very high standard is used in the C.P.E. examination, and this puts rural primary school children at a disadvantage as compared with urban children.

5. The items in the C.P.E. examination papers need changing so that they are comprehensible to both rural and urban children.

6. Primary school leavers need a stronger basic education in the practical subjects so as to gain the confidence and competence sufficient for setting up self-employment enterprises. This might be done by ensuring that what is written in the present syllabus under the practical subjects actually reaches the learner. For similar reasons, they need more career motivation, orientation, exploitation, a spirit of hard work and adventure, and some entrepreneurship aptitudes.

The changes to accommodate these implications are discussed in the next two sections.

### Proposed Changes in the Primary School Curriculum

#### Introduction

It has been stated many times in this study that curriculum changes, by themselves, would not alleviate the problems of unemployment for primary school leavers. The issues and implications discussed in the first two sections of this chapter show that there is also a need for changes in the whole education system and in the general economy and society in the whole country.

Before proposing changes, it is important to clarify a point

about the changes. The problems of unemployment of primary school leavers call for changes in two areas. First there is need for changes in the rural economy. These would be to create challenging wage employment opportunities in the rural areas. A few primary school leavers would find jobs in that way. They would also be aimed at raising income levels and improving services in the rural areas to a point where self-employment in the informal sector would be as well paying as wage employment. It is in the informal sector where most primary school leavers should look forward to finding or creating jobs. The present researcher has not discussed the changes in the rural area, since they are beyond the scope of this study.

Research has shown that the amount of pre-vocational skills and knowledge actually learned by the present primary school leavers is not sufficient to enable them to explore possibilities and create jobs in the informal sector. There is a need, therefore, for changing the primary school curriculum and the education system, so as to ensure that the school leavers leave the primary school with enough business and pre-vocational aptitudes and skills to be able to establish their own enterprises. It is the belief of the researcher that the present syllabus has all the academic and practical subjects that would give the required skills and knowledge. All that remains to be added to the syllabus is more vocational motivation and career orientation and exploration. The only other additional program would be the individual projects for all children in the upper primary school, as explained later in this section.

The changes proposed here, therefore, are to increase business and vocational competence in primary school children by making sure that

what is written in the present syllabus reaches all children--urban and rural--without any detractions by the present constraints of examination, repetition, and lack of facilities and trained practical subject teachers. Changes in the curriculum will be discussed first. This will be followed by a discussion of changes in the education system, and then by a discussion of the implications of the changes for the whole economy and society of Kenya.

### Curriculum Changes

The present researcher does not think that there is an immediate need to introduce any more practical subjects into the present curriculum for the purpose of increasing the vocational element in the curriculum. The immediate concern is that the good pre-vocational knowledge and skills written in the syllabus reach the learner in the school. A change is required to ensure this. This would require teachers trained in the handling of industrial and technical subjects, and the removal of the constraints that currently prevent teachers from stressing the practical subjects. These have wider implications than the curriculum can handle; they are brought out in the section on changes in the system.

Care has to be taken to see that the fears of the magnitudes of unemployment among primary school leavers do not drive us into flooding the primary school syllabus with too many subjects. In suggesting this, the writer is guided by a very potent fact that was stressed by Alice Miel when she made the following statement regarding elementary school:

- . . . But the content must not be too much, too broad, for we are not sure if the kids are really making sense of it all.
- . . . Should they have a great deal more information or should they be assisted in getting order [and relevance] out

of the information already introduced.<sup>1</sup>

If all that appears in the present syllabus were learned thoroughly and properly, it would equip the primary school leaver with enough skills, knowledge, techniques and aptitudes required for setting up a self-employment project in the absence of a good wage job.

The immediate change required in the curriculum is that the syllabus should include a stronger element of career motivation, orientation and exploration. This should be done in all subject courses and at all levels from Standard I to the end of the primary. When a fact or information relevant to a career is taught, the teacher should inform the children about that career, let them talk about it, discuss the various good and bad points about it. If possible the classroom lesson should be followed by an excursion to the field to observe people at work in the careers discussed in class. Some jobs can be tried by the pupils practically or through simulation exercises in the classroom. A good syllabus should point out where opportunities in the course would arise for pupils to do what is suggested above.

It is inevitable that motivation will be towards careers and jobs that might never be done by those who leave school at primary school level. Since the whole class is involved, this should not be a great concern. It is possible to discuss the jobs done by people of various levels of education. Even when menial jobs are mentioned, it might be interesting to see what pupils think about them, how important they think the jobs are in the development of the country, and how they might be

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<sup>1</sup>Alice Miel, "Let Us Develop Children Who Care About Themselves and Others," in G. Hass and K. Wiles (Eds.), Readings in Curriculum (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1965), p. 321.

performed better. The important point is that the pupils should be made to become aware of the world of work and to link what they learn with real situations.

The other change proposed here is that primary school pupils should all have individual projects at home. These might be in farming, trade or any business. The individual projects, which could even take the form of apprenticeship, are to offer a practical experience in a vocation, for learning entrepreneurship and all factors that are needed in a self-employment enterprise. For some lucky people these projects might develop into their future careers, others may use them as stepping stones into other careers. The income derived from individual projects would serve as a stimulus towards a desire to be self-employed and partially relieve some parents of financial obligations to their children.

Teachers would have to observe pupils at work on the projects and assess their performances. The assessments would form part of the marks for the practical examination. The implications of this will be discussed later.

The changes mentioned so far would need a good program of guidance and counselling that would also extend to the weaker learners who give indications of dropping out of the system. The secondary-bound would also need guidance for choice of the type of school to go to.

The most urgently needed change in the primary school curriculum is in the C.P.E. examination. Every subject that appears in the syllabus should be examined. It is practicable to establish written multiple-choice and aptitude tests for both the academic and practical subjects. Practical examinations similar to those used by the East African



Examinations Council for the Secondary technical schools can be adopted in the practical subjects taught in primary schools. Added to these two would be assessments of pupils' work on their projects.

Given a diversified secondary school program referred to in Chapter II (pp. 54-55), it should be possible for marks from the written, practical and project examinations to be considered for the selection of the successful candidates for the various secondary schools. If the secondary schools are made comprehensive in their programs, candidates would just be distributed to schools according to their total or average marks in the whole examination.

The rationale for broadening the base of examinable subjects and considering them all for secondary school selection, is to give status to all subjects taught in the school, academic as well as practical. This is necessary if the pre-vocational elements in the primary school syllabus have to reach the learner.

The vocational element could also be strengthened if the items in the examination papers could be chosen so that they lead primary school teachers towards recognizing important pre-vocational skills and knowledge. The ILO Report suggests that if the practical part of the mathematics paper could include shopkeeping problems, simple farming and business accounts, the calculation of crop yields, and a wide range of other problems likely to be met with by the school leaver engaged in agriculture or self-employment, it would be just as good for the terminal student as for the secondary-bound candidates. Similarly the General Paper would include items on such topics as the causes and treatment of coffee berry disease, the use of fertilizers, soil erosion, and the effects of tick-bone

diseases on cattle. Topics such as these are the concern of every progressive farmer in Kenya.<sup>1</sup>

The inclusion of items and topics in an examination in the manner shown above would soon make teachers stress the sections where these come from in the syllabus.

### Proposed Changes in the School System

Some of the issues and implications discussed in the first two sections of this chapter call for a change in the education system. They will be referred to in this section. The system that is proposed here is similar to that proposed by The ILO Report in 1972, with a few important details and differences.<sup>2</sup> The writer proposes that the education system be such that the primary school level should be eight years long, broken up into five years of Lower and Middle Primary, and three years of Upper Primary. For reasons to be explained later, it is further proposed that primary education be followed by four years of secondary and four to six years of university, doing away with the Upper Secondary as at present. The system is illustrated in Figure 4.

The major concern is with what should be done in the primary school and why. The five years of primary education would aim at establishing a firm basic foundation in the literary subjects. The present subjects would still be taught and by using the NPA methods of teaching. This first part of primary has to be done well and without the threats of final examinations. There should be no major examination for promotion of children from the lower five years of primary to the upper primary;

<sup>1</sup>The ILO Report, pp. 524-525.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 241-242.

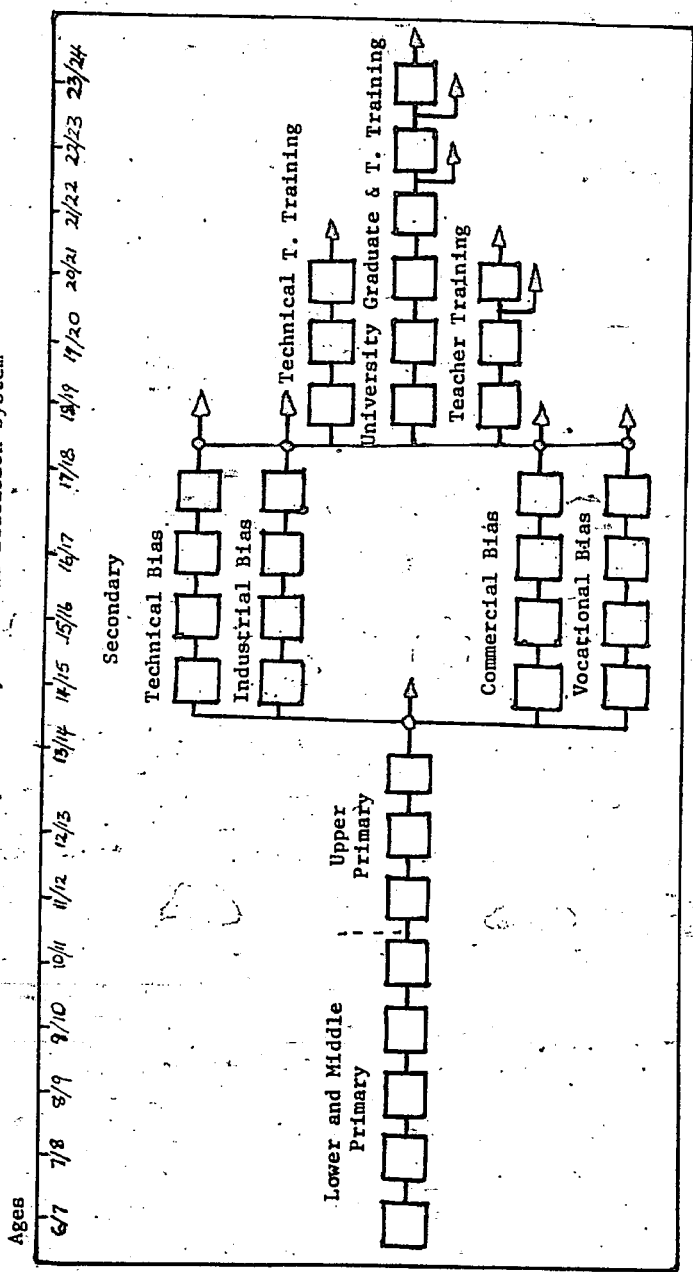
instead children should be redistributed to upper primary classes.

Upper primary education should be offered in schools separate from those of lower primary. They should be large multi-stream, well equipped and well staffed schools, similar to the old "Central Schools" that have been referred to in this report. With many classes, large, well equipped workshops and home science rooms, and staffed with teachers that are trained in the teaching of the practical subjects included in the present syllabus, the upper primary schools should emphasize the teaching of the practical subjects. This is the stage where projects would be introduced. Scheduling of lessons would be such as to allow for practical project afternoons at least twice a week. Of course academic subjects would still be taught, but the time allocated to them would have to be reduced.

The idea of concentrating upper primary education in a few large schools as suggested above is to reap the advantages of economies of scale. The present numerous and scattered primary schools would be impossible to equip and supply with good teachers. It is the lack of these that hampers the proper teaching of the practical subjects. The good outstanding teachers of subjects like science, mathematics, English and Kiswahili can best be utilized in big concentrations of the kind proposed here. The present high cost and medium cost primary schools would be turned into upper primary schools, as they are already large enough and have many facilities. Harambee secondary schools that go only up to Form II would have to be taken over by the government and converted into upper primary schools. The government would convert other primary schools into upper primary ones, with a view towards making sure that all

Figure 4

The Proposed Kenyan Formal Education System



- Key:
1. The thick dots indicate an examination as well as a selection point.
  2. Arrows indicate flow out of the system into the world of work.

children from the five year primary schools have access to large upper primary schools within reasonable proximity.

If all upper primary schools are put at the same level of size, facilities and supply of good teachers, it will be possible to conclude that the advantages now enjoyed by the high-cost urban schools will have been spread to all parts of the country and to all social classes of children. The first major examination would come during the eighth year. This would have to be a broad comprehensive examination as suggested earlier. The practical tests and assessment of projects would be staggered through the whole of the eighth year. The written examination would come towards the end of the year and it would certainly take more than one day to be done. There is no reason why the same security exercised when the East African Certificate of Education examination is done in Kenya and Uganda cannot be applied when the primary leaving examination is done in Kenya alone.

The writer hopes that this arrangement would ensure that children in the upper primary school will have had a good solid two years of practical education and the other academic subjects, before the examination "fever" begins. In this way the primary school education will have given a strong basic education in both academic and practical subjects, and will have devoted enough time to pre-vocational elements required by the pupils who exit from the system at that stage.

It is hoped that a primary school pupil who drops out of the system at the end of eight years of the education described above would not be as badly off as those who terminate their education at the present primary school level.

A broad curriculum of the type proposed in the primary school would need a comprehensive type of curriculum in all secondary schools. It should be possible to avoid situations where students at the secondary school level take only academic subjects, without at least one vocational subject. It should also be possible to enable a student in any school who has an aptitude for practical and technical subjects to find them in the school curriculum.

The present Upper Secondary with its narrow and heavily academic curriculum does not fit into the system envisaged in this proposal. The students should, after the East African Certificate of Education examination, move straight into the university, which already has quite a diversified course structure. To mature themselves and become oriented to the university system of education, students would need one year of orientation courses organized on Faculty or inter-Faculty basis, before they begin the full university courses. This would lengthen university education by one year.

The main focus of this study is on the changes at the primary school level, and it is not intended to discuss the changes in the secondary and tertiary levels of education. Figure 4 shows the appropriate teacher training arrangements.

#### General Implications for the Economy and Society

The changes suggested above, especially at the primary school level, have implications for teachers. There would be a need for teachers qualified in the handling of practical subjects. It was shown in Chapter II that this is already in the planning stage. The secondary

school students who go into teacher training will be required to train in at least one practical subject. The Kenya Technical Teachers College will also help in production of teachers for technical subjects, although they may be mainly for secondary schools. At least with their presence in secondary schools, this will ensure an ample number of secondary school students with a technical education background joining teachers colleges to become primary school teachers. Teachers will have to be consulted on the proposed changes so as to be prepared to do more work, especially at the upper primary level.

The community would be expected to help in the provision of the individual projects and apprenticeships. They would have to be mobilized and educated into seeing the need for more concentration on practical training. The public may not be convinced until it witnesses the successful outcome of the projects. Full community support may also depend on how it sees the emphasis on practical subjects and projects actually help their children to find reasonably good jobs after finishing school.

For the unemployed primary school leaver, the success of applying the knowledge and skills gained in the proposed program may depend on the general development of the rural economy. This point has already been referred to in this study. Rado, while discussing this point, suggested that the experience of the Japanese agricultural revolution in the late eighteenth century may be relevant.<sup>1</sup> It was based not on agricultural education as such, but on the simultaneous improvement by rural craftsmen and peasant farmers of tools, seeds, and methods of cultivation. While no single innovation was striking in itself, the process became cumulative

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<sup>1</sup>Rado, "The Relevance of Education for Employment," in Court and Ghai (Eds.), Education, Society and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya, p. 40.

as news of improved and more profitable farming practices had spread. The same could be said about what would be needed to facilitate the success of self-employment enterprises in rural areas of Kenya, whether in farming or in business.

Financing is always a problem in any innovation. It has already been suggested that concentrating resources in a few large upper primary schools will help in benefiting from the economies of scale. Nevertheless, much money will still be required for equipping the schools really well. The writer is convinced that this is an expenditure which, if well calculated and presented would not fail to produce financial aid from donors. There is no doubt that the creation of upper primary schools of high quality would be a very worthwhile expenditure.

The administration and execution of the broadened examination would also require much money. But it would be an expenditure well worth going into, if the government really cares for the youth of its country and for future economic development, especially in the rural areas, which depends upon the youth.

It is not possible for the proposed curriculum changes to equip the primary school leavers with all they require to start their own business in the informal sector. There would need to be many non-formal programs and institutions to supply them with further training. They would also need further advice and extension services, and credit for the initiation of the enterprises. Markets in rural areas are limited. It might be useful therefore to find markets in urban areas, and this will require improved transportation facilities.

All these conditions must be favorable in order for the school



projects and self-employment enterprises to succeed; otherwise the pupils, teachers and parents will be discouraged in their support of the new programs.

### Summary of Findings and Suggestions

#### Summary of Findings

The purpose of this study was to investigate the problems of unemployment among primary school leavers in Kenya and its implications for the primary school curriculum. In the light of findings, suggestions would be made for possible curriculum changes.

The main objectives were to analyze empirical research that has been done on the problems of unemployment of youth, and on the current primary school syllabus, and then to see what the main issues of unemployment are, and how they relate to the primary school curriculum. The findings from the analyses would be related to the future trends and strategies in Kenya to determine how the primary school curriculum could be changed to reflect the issues of unemployment.

A study of the land, economy and education system in Kenya revealed that for primary school leavers there are employment opportunities only in the informal sectors of urban and rural areas, but more so in self-employed farming in rural areas. The government is now seriously working on creating wage employment in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs in the rural areas, but these may be so competitive that primary school leavers may not find work in them.

The study of the education system revealed that the curricula at the secondary and university levels have become so diversified that the

practical subjects in the primary school syllabus need no longer be regarded as dead-end subjects. There is room for advancing them from the primary school level through university. The study also revealed that, in practice, the primary school curriculum is not as unified as the government believes it to be. There are also an increasing number of non-formal programs that are helping youth to further their vocational training in preparation for employment, or aiding them to re-join the education system.

Survey and analysis of research literature found a long list of issues of unemployment of primary school leavers. Most of the issues emphasized the strong motivation and preparation of primary school pupils for secondary education. There was found to be a greater liking for academic subjects than practical ones, and little preparation for joining the world of work at the primary school level. Most of the unemployed youth were observed to remain in the rural areas, where they are generally idle since the jobs available to them are very simple and uncertain.

The survey and analysis of curriculum and the primary school syllabus confirmed that in practice, academic subjects receive a greater treatment in the curriculum than practical subjects. A lack of career motivation, orientation and motivation elements in the syllabus was revealed by the analysis. Even though there was adequate provision in the syllabus for the career preparation element, which meant that the syllabus contained enough pre-vocational skills and knowledge, the practical subjects were not taught properly in schools. There was a noticeable gap between precept and practice, especially in relation to the practical subjects in the syllabus.

The issues arising from the studies and analyses have been discussed in this chapter. Some of the main implications for the primary school curriculum that need change are that the cause of many of the shortcomings in the curriculum is the C.P.E. examination. The nature and structure of the examination detracts from the quality of teaching in the upper primary school; it leads to an overemphasis on the teaching of the literary and academic subjects over the practical subjects. This causes the curriculum to give a stronger basic education in academic subjects than in practical subjects, yet both are needed for further education, and for creating competence and confidence in school leavers to enable them to establish self-employment enterprises. Motivation in the primary school for secondary education is inevitable since some of the children are still too young to worry much about employment prospects, and since the jobs available nowadays for primary school leavers are so discouraging. There is need to unify the curriculum at primary school level and to close the gap between precept and practice of what is written in the syllabus. The advantages now enjoyed by the high-cost primary schools need spreading out into the rural areas as well.

The proposed changes in this chapter have tried to put into account the implications summarized above.

#### Summary of Proposed Changes

##### Curricular Changes.

1. There is need to increase career motivation, orientation and exploration elements in all subjects in the syllabus.
2. Primary school pupils need a spirit of hard work and adventure to be able to create self-employment.

3. All that is written in the present practical courses in the primary school syllabus needs to be taught thoroughly to give children competence and confidence for establishing their own enterprises.

4. Primary school pupils in the upper primary should establish individual projects at home for learning vocational aptitudes and skills on a practical basis.

5. The C.P.E. examination should be set on all subjects in the syllabus, and all subjects should be used as criteria for selection of pupils for secondary schools. This is to give an equal status to both academic and practical subjects.

6. Question items in the examination papers should include many vocational applications in order to make teachers emphasize the pre-vocational aspects of the subjects.

7. Guidance and counselling programs are needed in primary schools both for career and general guidance.

#### Changes in the System.

1. The primary school should be eight years in duration, with five years of Lower and Middle Primary and three years of Upper Primary. More emphasis should be laid on practical subjects in Upper Primary than on academic subjects.

2. Upper Primary education should be concentrated in a few large multi-stream, high standard and well distributed schools. They should be able to take in all children from the lower schools.

3. There should be no examination for entry into Upper Primary, but rather a re-distribution. The main examination should come during the eighth year of Upper Primary.

4. The entry age into Standard I could remain as it is at present.

5. Secondary schools should offer a comprehensive subject program with both academic and practical subjects.

6. Students should go directly to university after the East African Certificate of Education examination at the secondary level.

#### General Suggestions.

1. Rural development must take place first, creating challenging career opportunities for primary school leavers, and providing attractive and supportive services, before any serious changes are made in the present curriculum and educational system.

2. The community's negative attitudes towards practical subjects in the primary school need changing.

3. Non-formal education programs need expansion, to help primary school leavers further their vocational training after the good foundation laid in the school.

4. There is an immediate need for establishing systems and programs for helping primary school leavers establish self-employment enterprises.

#### Suggestions for Further Research

1. To get a full picture of the vocational elements in the curriculum, more research is needed in the analysis of school textbooks and readers, schemes of work, lesson plans, actual classroom lessons, and actual examination papers. The present research has tried to develop an analytical tool for detecting vocational elements.

2. There is need for literature to furnish researchers, educational and curriculum planners, and teachers with basic information on the activities of primary school children and leavers in the informal self-employment. Such information would be used to motivate future primary children towards considering practical training and self-employment seriously.

3. There is a need for additional research on unemployed primary school leavers in urban areas similar to the research analyzed in this study. This would provide a more complete picture of the unemployment problems of primary school leavers, and lead to the design of a better unified curriculum.

4. Research into the attitudes of people and youth in Kenya towards manual work might be useful as a guide for designing vocationally oriented syllabuses.

5. As yet there has been no study done to determine the direct relationship between the subjects learned in class and the jobs done after school. This researcher only hinted at the argument as to whether general literary subjects at the primary school level are a better preparation for employment than specific technical, industrial and vocational subjects. There is undoubtedly a need for further research in this controversial area of education.

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APPENDIX A

Administrative Map  
of Kenya

## APPENDIX A



Administrative map of Kenya

**Source:**

**United Nations Development Program, Employment, Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya (Geneva: ILO, 1972), p. x.**

## APPENDIX B

Preface to the  
Kenya Primary School Syllabus, 1967

## APPENDIX B

## PREFACE

**Aims of the Syllabus**

In the preparation of this syllabus an attempt has been made to provide both a balanced primary school course for the child's full development and an adequate preparation for the next stage of education. It is hoped that the material selected for the various subject syllabuses is suitable for the age range of the children concerned and that it will be treated by teachers in a way which will take into account the ability of the children, stimulate their interest and lead to useful activities, whether by individuals or by groups. This syllabus places a great emphasis on books which children should use themselves. Without the essential pupils' books, which have been listed, the syllabus cannot achieve its aim.

**Scope of the Syllabus**

The syllabus covers seven years of education in primary schools for children from about the age of six to the age of thirteen.

The syllabus is under constant review. The Curriculum Development and Research Centre, which includes the old Special Centre, Mathematics Centre and Science Centre, is carrying out experiments on the content of the syllabus and methods of teaching. The experiment in a new Primary Mathematics programme is briefly described on page

Information about any changes to be made in the content of this syllabus will be issued in circular form by the Ministry of Education.

If a school wishes to teach any subject not included in this syllabus, permission must be sought from the Chief Education Officer and a syllabus must be submitted to him for approval.

**Medium of Instruction**

In many areas all, or nearly all, schools are now using English as a medium of instruction from the beginning.

These schools should use the syllabus headed "New Primary Approach" except where reference is made in that syllabus to some other syllabus.

They should also use the timetables given in the New Primary Approach Syllabus.

Schools where the medium of instruction is a mother tongue should use the separate syllabus for each subject.

**Schemes of Work**

The syllabus for any subject merely contains the scope of the work to be learnt and taught. Schemes of work have to be drawn up to show the breakdown of the syllabus and the amount of time to be given to each section. Certain schemes of work are being prepared centrally by the Ministry of Education, but schools are under no obligation to use these schemes providing they have a suitable alternative, nor is there any objection to these schemes being modified. *It is the responsibility of the head of a school to see that all his staff have schemes for the work they are doing.*

Classes with different levels of ability and attainment require different schemes and teachers should not blindly follow prepared schemes which are unsuited to the ability of their pupils.

**Source:**

Ministry of Education, Kenya, Primary School Syllabus  
(Nairobi: Government Printer, 1967).

### Curriculum and Time Allocation

The allocation of time to subjects is given below. It is considered that preparation for the Kenya Preliminary Examination is subsidiary to the main purpose of primary education, which is to help children to develop according to their needs and abilities and to prepare them for their future life and for work in secondary school.

There should be no major alteration in the amount of time devoted to a particular subject without the approval of the Provincial Education Officer.

	Number of Periods per Week			
	LOWER PRIMARY NON-N.P.A. CLASSES (30 Min. Periods)			UPPER PRIMARY (40 Min. and 35 Min. Periods)
	I	II	III	IV to VII
English .. .. .	4	4	7	10
Mathematics .. .. .	6	6	7	8
Mother Tongue (Reading, Writing Language Work) .. .. .	10	9	5	
Geography .. .. .	—	—	3	3
History and Civics .. .. .	—	—	2	3
Science, (including Agriculture; Gardening and Health Education) Swahili .. .. .	1	3	4	6
Physical Education and Games .. .. .	5	5	4	4 (3 + 1 optional)
Art and Craft/Needlework and Domestic Science .. .. .	4	4	4	4
Music and Singing .. .. .	1	1	1	1
Religious Education .. .. .	4	3	3	3
	35	35	40	45

### NOTES

(1) This allocation of periods for Standards IV-VII is based on seven 35-minute periods and two 40-minute periods per day.

A specimen morning timetable is given below showing seven periods. A timetable with two 40-minute periods and four 35-minute periods in the morning and three 35-minute periods in the afternoon may be preferred, but the County Education Officer will usually make his own arrangements for the timing of lessons within his area, taking into account local factors.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
8-00	8-15	8-50	9-25	10-00	10-20	10-55	11-30	11-40	12-15
8-15	8-50	9-25	10-00	10-20	10-55	11-30	11-40	12-15	12-50
Assembly and Prayer				Break			Break		

It should be noted that the fifth and sixth lessons coincide with the two *Primary Broadcast* lessons given by V.O.K.

(2) The allocation of periods for Primary I to III is based on 30-minute periods. Normally Primary I to III classes should attend school in the morning only. A specimen timetable is given below:—

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
8-00	8-15	8-45	9-15	9-45	9-55	10-25	10-55	11-25	11-35-12-05	
8-15	8-45	9-15	9-45	9-55	10-25	10-55	11-25	11-35	12-05	12-35
Assembly and Prayer				Break				Break		

It should be noted that the sixth period coincides with the first *Primary Broadcast* lesson given on V.O.K.

(3) If *English* is not taught in Primary I, the time should be used for additional Reading, Writing and Language periods in the Mother Tongue.

(4) The Swahili (Second Language) syllabus is based on four periods per week. The Swahili (Mother Tongue) syllabus is based on three periods a week. The spare period for classes following the latter may be used for any subject at the teacher's discretion.

(5) It should be noted that *Agriculture* and *Gardening* form part of an overall *General Science* course. These subjects should be treated scientifically. Even urban schools which have gardens should set aside plots for experimental work.

(6) Those schools which wish to provide a daily period of *Religious Education* should add extra periods to the timetable.

#### Records and Class Teaching

In the lower primary and the lower part of the upper primary school, it is assumed that all or nearly all of the teaching within a class is done by the class teacher. He will be responsible for making a daily forecast of work and for recording not only the progress of the class but also of each individual child. A certain amount of specialization may be unavoidable in the upper primary classes but should be kept to the minimum possible, especially where slower streams are concerned. In these circumstances, the forecasting and recording will be the responsibility of the subject teacher. It will also be necessary to assess the performance of the class as a whole and of individual pupils through occasional staff meetings—say once a month—and through examinations. Two full-scale examinations a year are probably sufficient. Certainly two weeks of each term should not be wasted on examinations.

#### Libraries

Extensive reading is essential if a child is to make language an easily used and well-understood tool of communication and is to understand the world he lives in. Extensive reading is also a source of pleasure and will help a child to use his leisure time profitably in later life.

In this syllabus great emphasis is placed on the building up of class libraries of graded readers in all languages studied in school.

Circulars containing new recommendations for books for class libraries, and especially subject content and background books, will be issued from time to time by the Ministry of Education.

The section entitled "Books for Class Libraries", printed in the 1962 syllabus for African Primary and Intermediate Schools, has not been reprinted. However, schools which have purchased the graded readers recommended in the various language syllabuses may refer back to this section in the 1962 syllabus for suggestions for extra subject content titles for their upper primary class libraries.

A well-stocked Teachers' Reference Library is an indispensable aid to lively and progressive teaching in all subjects.

When all the reference books referred to in the various subject syllabuses have been obtained, the section on the Teachers' Reference Library (page 177) should be consulted for extra reference books.

#### **Book Lists**

The syllabus contains recommendations for books for pupils and teachers. Except in the "Teachers' Reference Library" section all prices shown are the publishers' catalogue prices as at January 1966. The Kenya Book Association intends, from time to time, to issue up-to-date catalogue price lists to schools.

Schools should be able to obtain books at the catalogue prices.

From time to time, circulars will be issued about new books which are considered suitable for school use.