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RESERVE

EQUITY AND EFFICIENCY IN FINANCING SECONDARY EDUCATION
IN KENYA : KEY ISSUES IN
STATE-COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIP

By

B.M. Makau

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UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
P.O. Box 30197
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EQUITY AND EFFICIENCY IN FINANCING SECONDARY EDUCATION
IN KENYA : KEY ISSUES IN
STATE-COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIP

B.M. Makau

ABSTRACT

In response to constraints in the public budget, which partly reflect a monumental quantitative growth in education since 1963, the Kenya Government has developed state-community partnership in the financing and management of secondary schools. It is envisaged that the great majority of secondary schools will become community institutions, with the periphery playing a much bigger role in financing and managing them. This policy has equity and efficiency implications. This paper, which is part of an on-going study on the financing and management of secondary education in Kenya, discusses current problems with regard to inadequacy of resources in institutions, disparity in the geographical distribution of secondary schools, the plight of poor families in meeting school expenses and bottle-necks in management practices. Recommendations on the reduction of inequity and increasing efficiency as state-community partnership is implemented, are suggested. In the final section, the paper suggests that detailed formulation and implementation of policy would benefit from research in at least four spheres in which no studies are underway.

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EQUITY AND EFFICIENCY IN FINANCING SECONDARY EDUCATION IN KENYA:
KEY ISSUES IN STATE-COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIP

INTRODUCTION

'The central government's finances have been under increasing pressure, especially since the latter half of the 1970s, as the Government has attempted to meet growing demand for social services, especially education.....'

(World Bank: Kenya-Growth and Structural Change, 1983 - p.xiii)

The problem of limited public resources for social development, which characterises sub-Saharan Africa and indeed many other developing areas in the 1980s, has forced a search for policies which while reducing pressure on the public budget, seek to sustain the momentum for social change. One policy initiative which several countries have turned to is decentralisation. The king-pin of decentralisation is the idea that regions and communities in a country should be encouraged to mobilise resources to meet social amenity expenditures for which the central government is unable to fully provide.

In pursuit of decentralisation in education, regions and communities may be required to meet the schools' costs of capital development, maintenance of physical facilities and students' boarding, while the central government undertakes the payment of teachers' salaries and the provision of learning resources, e.g. text-books. While in principle such an arrangement is sound in that it seeks to involve the periphery more in the process of development, it raises certain issues and problems.

A major issue in decentralising financing of education concerns the ability of the periphery to adequately meet the expenses required of it. Given differing levels of economic development between regions and great inequities in household incomes which characterise developing countries, is it realistic for the central government to require the periphery to shoulder a heavier financial burden on a pro rata basis? As decentralisation takes place it is necessary that, in the interest of social justice, care be taken so that inequities are reduced rather than exacerbated.

The exact relationship between the central government and the periphery in a decentralised system raises a second set of issues. It is natural for financing responsibility to be coupled by control of the operation in question. If the periphery is required to foot a heavier bill for education, it is reasonable to expect regions, communities and parents to want to have more say in the planning and management of that education. In order for governments to successfully mobilise resources from the periphery, there should be a considerable measure of devolution of responsibility away from the centre. But, what are the implications of devolution over matters such as curricula and efficient administration? How does the central government control for national standards and at the same time allow adequate responsibility at the periphery? How should the periphery be organised to enable it to efficiently plan, manage and finance education?

This paper is the first report in a research project with the title, 'The Management and Financing of Secondary Education in Kenya'. The project has a strong policy orientation. Its goal is to make evidence based suggestions as to how policies and practices could be streamlined so that the system becomes more efficient and the achievement of learners is improved. Two of the hypotheses which guide the project are relevant to this paper, viz.

- (1) Most parents are unable to meet the current costs of secondary education in Kenya.
- (2) Financial constraint is the main contributory factor to current management practices in Kenya's secondary education system.

Using published as well as freshly collected data, the paper discusses some of the issues raised above as they relate to discernable Kenya Government policy in financing secondary education in the 1980s.

Current policy of the Kenya Government emphasizes the need for decentralisation of development in several social and economic spheres. Reports of Government committees, development plans and other records, as well as public statements by leaders indicate that since the mid-1970s policy has evolved towards the creation of a partnership between the State and the community, not only in financing but also in planning and managing secondary education.

Part I of the paper traces the evolution of the current policy and marshals data which seem to indicate that current financial constraints have a most severe adverse effect on the learning process in secondary schools. Part II provides evidence of disparity between regions in the distribution of secondary school opportunities, and tentatively indicates that a large proportion of the population is under-represented in secondary education because the incomes of the majority of Kenyan households cannot meet current costs. Part III discusses the salient points in the policy of partnership with regard to quality and efficiency. Data on some current practices in the financial management of secondary schools is discussed to show that the Government will need to rationalise and streamline the periphery if the new policy is to lead to increased efficiency resulting in quality learning. The fundamental issue is seen as the creation of a legal, representative and responsible body to manage the community secondary school of the future, and to define the terms of interaction between that body, the ministry responsible for education and the District Development Committee. Part IV deals with policy recommendations arising from the paper, summarises the thrust of the research of which this paper is part and recommends four key areas in which further research is needed in order to assist the detailed formulation and implementation of policy in secondary education.

PART I

CONSTRAINTS AND EMERGENCE OF CURRENT POLICY

Trends in Expenditure and Revenue in the Kenya Government Budget at the Beginning of the 1980s.

A prominent feature of the government budget, which had emerged by 1980/81, was the fact that expenditure grew at a higher rate than revenue. Between 1976/77 and 1980/81 expenditure as a percentage of the Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P.) increased from 24.7 to 35.5, while revenue only grew from 19.3% to 25.6% of G.D.P.¹ One of the causes of the increasing shortfall of revenue vis-a-vis expenditure was the Government's commitment to footing an ever rising bill for the provision of social services such as education. Between 1963/64 and 1981/82 the national recurrent expenditure

1. Republic of Kenya: Report of the Working Party on Government Expenditures (W.P.G.E.), Government Printer, Nairobi July 1982 - Table 1 on p.7.

budget grew at an average annual growth rate of 15.8% while the recurrent public allocation for education expanded at an average rate of 20.6%.²

An outcome of the faster growth of expenditure vis-a-vis revenue was the need for the Government to resort to heavier public borrowing in order to sustain expenditure. The net effect was the reduction of the revenue available for social services.³

By the mid-1970s the imbalance in the budget and the threat posed by the increasing public expenditure on education had been identified in Government (1974-78 Development Plan; Report of the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies - N.C.E.O.P.).⁴ As far as education was concerned, the Government came up with the policy that the allocation for education should be within a 30% limit of the total non-defence budget.⁵ Despite the declared intention, the 30% limit was exceeded between 1977/78 and 1980/81 (Table 1)

Table 1: PROPORTION OF CIVIL RECURRENT EXPENDITURE ALLOCATED TO EDUCATION, 1969/70 - 1981/82 (in Kf Million)

Year	Total	Education	% Share
1969/70	73.9	15.5	21
1970/71	92.5	25.0	27
1971/72	109.5	31.8	29
1972/73	121.8	36.5	30
1973/74	146.1	39.4	27
1974/75	186.5	54.1	29
1975/76	228.6	64.0	28
1976/77	248.3	69.5	28
1977/78	268.0	88.4	33
1978/79	321.0	105.9	33
1979/80	351.3	123.0	35
1980/81	398.0	127.4	32
1981/82	567.9	164.7	29

Source: Report of the W.P.F.H.E., op.cit. - p. 36.

2. Republic of Kenya: Report of the Working Party on Financing of Higher Education (W.P.F.H.E.), October 1982 - p.35.

3. The W.P.G.E. succinctly pointed to the vicious circle created by borrowing in order to sustain expenditure. "... interest charges and debt repayment, which must be given a first claim on Government revenues, have risen rapidly. As a result, the revenues available to finance services provided by ministries have grown more slowly. But spending by ministries has continued to grow at a pace reflecting both the growing demand for Government services and the momentum of bureaucratic creep. Hence, the deficit has tended to increase, necessitating even heavier borrowing than before" - p.8.

4. Republic of Kenya: 1974-78 Development Plan - p.407; Report of the N.C.E.O.P., Government Printer, Nairobi December 1976 - p. 194.

5. Republic of Kenya: Sessional Paper No. 4 on Economic Prospects and Policies, 1975.

Emphasis on Public Financing of Primary Education

Since 1970 the largest share of the allocation for education has been devoted to primary education. In 1981/82 the primary sector accounted for 65.4% of the total recurrent expenditure on education as compared to 12.7% for secondary and 16.2% for higher education.⁶ The higher rate of expenditure on primary education reflects the Government's commitment to providing universal free education at the elementary level,⁷ and is in line with the thinking that social (as opposed to private) rates of return from investment in education are highest at that level.⁸

Commitment to universal free primary education coupled with the high percentage of the education allocation consumed at that level means that, in order to prevent escalation in the public cost of education, finance to sustain growth and improvement in the post-primary sectors has to be generated from non-central government sources.

State and Community Partnership in Secondary Education

Cost-sharing between Government and the Community has been a major feature in the financing of economic and social development since the beginning of the colonial period (Beecher 1949).⁹ Since 1963 the role of the community in initiating and financing development has greatly expanded. While this expansion has resulted in many positive outcomes, it has not been an unmitigated blessing. In education unplanned development arising from community initiatives, has outstripped the Government's ability to provide complementary resources for learning. Communities have put up secondary schools with the hope that the Government would take them over.¹⁰ The Government has attempted to respond positively, but available public funds have not been adequate for the supply of trained professional personnel, physical facilities and learning materials.

6. Report of the W.P.F.H.E., op. cit. - p.36

7. In the 1970s this commitment, which the ruling party made at independence in 1963, took the form of central government take-over of the financing of teachers' salaries and learning materials in primary schools, and the progressive abolition of fees in primary school between 1974 and 1979.

8. See for example, A. Mingat and G. Pscharopoulos: Financing Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Issues of equity and Efficiency of Investment - Some Policy Alternatives, I.M.F. March 1985.

9. Kenya Colony and Protectorate: African Education in Kenya - Report of a Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Scope, Content, and Methods of African Education, its Administration and Finance and to Make Recommendations, September 1949 (Chairman: L.J. Beecher).

10. This fact is well documented, e.g. P.M. Mbithi: Harambee Self-Help:

Partly as a result of the pressure which community development initiatives have exerted on public funds, the state has had to undertake a fundamental and critical examination of the relationship between Government and the people with regard to social and economic development. Current Government policy seeks to 'restore a proper balance between ways and means for sustained development; share more equitably with the people, both financial responsibilities and development initiatives; and improve ... institutions in their role as managers of economic and social change'.¹¹ This policy is backed up by a conviction that 'the development of the nation can be more quickly advanced, and at a lower cost to Government, by allowing Kenyans greater freedom to initiate, carry out and operate their own development projects through the better organisation of collective efforts and the work of voluntary agencies'.¹² Thus in summary current policy aims at creating state-community partnership in which the people take an increased share in both financing and managing development.

The N.C.E.O.P. recommended state-community partnership in secondary education¹³ and the 1979-1983 Development Plan translated the recommendation into policy.¹⁴ The W.P.F.H.E., which studied financing in the post-primary sectors, recommended that in the secondary sector both capital and non-teacher-salary recurrent expenditure, as well as the management of the majority of secondary schools should be transferred to parents and communities.¹⁵ Through the 1984-1988 Development Plan, the Government in principle accepted the recommendations of the W.P.F.H.E. Noting the constraints in the public budget, the need for the country to sustain both the momentum of educational growth and to improve quality, the plan lays down that 'ways and means will be found for passing on a larger share of the cost of post-primary education and training through "cost-sharing" schemes to those who benefit from them and seeking support from local communities'.¹⁶ Specifically on maintained schools the plan lays down

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The Kenya Approach, The African Review Vol.2 No 1, June 1972; N. Nyangira: Relative Modernization and Public Resource Allocation in Kenya, East African Literature Bureau, 1975; E.M. Godfrey and G.C.M. Mutiso: Politics, Economics and Technical Training - A Kenyan Case, Kenya Literature Bureau, 1979; J.D. Barkan with J.J. Okumu (ed.): Politics and Public Policy in Kenya and Tanzania, Heinemann Educational Books, Nairobi, 1979; E.J. Keller Jr: Education, Manpower and Development - The Impact of Educational Policy in Kenya, Kenya Literature Bureau, 1980.

11. Report of the W.P.C.E., op. cit. - p. 1

12. Ibid. - pp. 84-85.

13. Report of the N.C.E.O.P., op. cit. - Recommendation 297 on p.147.

14. Republic of Kenya: Development Plan, 1979-1983 - p. 153.

15. Report of the W.P.F.H.E., op. cit. - Recommendations 30 and 32 on pp.50 & 51; see also p.54 for the argument that savings accruing to Government should be used to provide trained teachers in Harambee Schools.

16. Republic of Kenya: Development Plan, 1984-1988 - p.150.

that '... the development of physical facilities and all boarding costs will be the responsibility of local communities and parents'.¹⁷

INADEQUACY OF RESOURCES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

There are indications that constraints in the public budget have resulted in a serious retrenchment of funds in secondary schools and that this has resulted in deterioration in the quality of learning. Additional resources mobilised at the periphery have only partially offset the shortfall in revenue from the Centre.

The clearest evidence of financial constraints in institutions is to be found in the government maintained schools. Grants-in-aid to maintained secondary schools are given under eight headings which govern the pattern of expenditure as follows: (1) Personal Emoluments for non-teaching staff, (2) School Equipment and Stores (S.E.S.), (3) Boarding Equipment and Stores (B.E.S.), (4) Local Transport and Travelling (L.T.T.), (5) Electricity, Water and Conservancy (E.W.C.), (6) Repairs, Maintenance and Improvements (R.M.I.), (7) Contingencies (8) Special Provision (non-recurrent capital development and major repairs). By 1974 the per capita S.E.S. and B.E.S. grants, arrived at before independence, could no longer adequately meet the learning and living needs of students (Ministry of Education Planning Unit; Kenya Secondary Schools Heads Association - K.S.S.H.A.).¹⁸ In 1976 and 1980 the S.E.S. and B.E.S. grants, which are the only two given on a per capita basis and constitute more than 70% of the budget of boarding schools, were revised as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: TUITION AND BOARDING GRANTS TO MAINTAINED SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1976 AND 1980

	Amount Per Year (Ksh.)	
	1976	1980
S.E.S. (1) Student's Equipment per student	160	200
(2) Library Books per class (Forms I - IV)	300	400
(3) Library Books per class (Forms V - VI)	800	1000
B.E.S. (1) Boarder in low cost school	600	800
(2) Boarder in low cost school (hardship areas)	700	900
(3) Boarder in high cost school	1100	1500

Source: Personal Interview with Ministry of Higher Education officers, August 1983.

17. Ibid. - p.151

18. Planning Unit, Ministry of Education: Financing of Education - Inflation and quality of Education, February 1974; K.S.S.H.A. Memorandum to the Ministry of Education, June 1974.

Together with 1980 revision of the tuition and boarding grants, statutory fees which cover the balance between authorised expenditure and the actual amount received from the Government, were raised to Sh. 450 in day schools, Sh.1350 and Sh. 2250 in low and high cost boarding schools respectively. The schools' expectations, based on the differences between day and boarding schools, was that the B.E.S. per capita grant would be adjusted to Sh. 900 and Sh.1800 in low and high cost schools respectively. As can be seen in Table 2, this did not happen. Moreover, the amounts granted under the other five (non-salary) headings were reduced. Concurrently the Ministry of Higher Education entered into an agreement with the Domestic and Hotel Workers' Union to raise the salaries of non-teaching staff in schools, without giving the schools the necessary extra funds (K.S.S.H.A.).¹⁹ Recent interviews with school heads indicate that since 1980 grants under the non-formula headings have not increased and in some cases, they have fallen below the pre-1980 amounts.

Inadequacy of the Boarding Grant

Using data from 28 boarding schools (16586 students) the K.S.S.H.A. demonstrated that the cost of feeding a student in a low cost boarding school for 270 days increased from Sh.1036.80 in July 1980 to Sh.1271.70 in December 1980. This was due to price increases 'especially those of fuel, milk, maize and bread'.²⁰ Table 3 uses the numbers and quantities in the K.S.S.H.A. data to show the effects of price increases on the cost of feeding a boarder between December 1980 and June 1985.

Scrutiny of Table 3 shows that the daily cost of feeding a boarder has more than doubled between 1980 and 1985. If we assume that a student has to be fed for 270 days in a year, the June 1985 annual per capita cost is Sh. 2589.30. It is obvious that the annual per capita boarding allowances which are still pegged at the 1980 rates are inadequate for all categories of maintained boarding schools. Many schools have had to charge for additional fees in order to cover the cost of food.

Table 3 only takes into account the cost of food. The B.E.S. grant is also expected to cover other boarding items and services. As the prices of commodities have increased such that food consumes more

19. K.S.S.H.A. Memorandum to W.P.F.H.E., February 1981 - p.1

20. Ibid. - pp. 6-7.

Table 3: THE COST OF FOOD IN BOARDING SCHOOLS, DECEMBER 1980 AND JUNE 1985

n - 28 schools (16586 students)

FOOD ITEM	QUANTITY PER DAY	DECEMBER 1980		JUNE 1985	
		UNIT COST (Sh)	TOTAL COST (Sh)	UNIT COST (Sh)	TOTAL COST (Sh)
Curry powder	46 kg	20/-	920/-	100/-	4600/-
Cooking Fat	222 kg	12.15	2697.30	21/-	4662/-
Meat (steak)	1145 kg	15/-	17175/-	25/-	28625/-
Rice	2514 kg	4.32	10860.48	8/-	20112/-
Potatoes (Irish)	2597 kg	1.67	4336.99	2.66	6908.02
Malze meal	4227 kg	1.95	8242.65	3.95	16696.65
Malze	2343 kg	1.46	3420.78	5/-	11715/-
Beans (Dry)	2422 kg	3.30	7992.60	8/-	19376/-
Onions	126 kg	3.50	441/-	10/-	1260/-
Cabbages	3542 kg	1.50	5313/-	5/-	17710/-
Salt	316 kg	2.10	663.60	3.20	1011.20
Tea Leaves	54 kg	13.56	732.24	25.90	1398.60
Milk	1300 litres	3.20	4160/-	5.50	7150/-
Bread	1503 kg	4/-	6012/-	6.20	9318.60
Sugar	1201 kg	4.25	5104.25	7.10	8527.10
	Total		78071.89	Total	159070.17
	Cost per student per day		4.71		9.59

Sources: K.S.S.H.A. Memorandum to W.P.F.H.E., op. cit., information obtained from schools and suppliers in June 1985.

than the amount allowed for boarding, schools have had no choice but to pass on to parents the cost of the boarding aspects. Scrutiny of invitation letters to new students indicate that several schools (visited in May 1985) require students to bring such items as beddings, towels, night-wear, toilet kit as well as paying for their uniforms (see Table 7) on page 17.

The Squeeze on Learning Materials

The costs of learning materials, like those of food, have not remained static. In 1980 K.S.S.H.A. estimated that to provide a student with the basic minimum tuition equipment cost about Sh.250 per year²¹. In 1985 the cost is much higher. Tables 4a and 4b are lists of books considered to be basic for selected O and A level courses. The lists have been compiled from data obtained from heads of departments in several schools and prices (current in June 1985) charged by Nairobi bookshops frequented by schools.

Table 4a: BASIC TEXT-BOOKS FOR AN O LEVEL COURSE

(English Language, Kiswahili, Christian Religious Education, History, Geography, Mathematics, Biology & Physical Science)

<u>English Language</u>	<u>June 1985 Price</u> (Ksh.)
P.A. Ogundipe & P.S. Tregidgo: Practical English III, Longman (K)	86.80
R.D. Cameron: Model English Tests for School Certificate, O.U.P.	26.00
R. Nesbitt: Practical English for the E.A.C.E., MacMillan	55.80
<u>Kiswahili</u>	
Z. Zani: Kiswahili kwa Shule za Secundari II, Heinemann	27.50
A.S. Yahya: Mafunzo ya Kiswahili, O.U.P.	36.40
<u>Christian Religious Education</u>	
E. Welch & S.N. Clements: God Speaks to Men, O.U.P.	62.00
J. Mugambi & N. Kirima: The African Religious Heritage, O.U.P.	50.00
R. Dain & J.V. Diepen: Luke's Gospel for Africa Today, O.U.P.	57.00
Bible (School Edition of Revised Standard Version)	35.00

21. KSSHA Memorandum to W.P.F.H.E. - op. cit. p.2

<u>History</u>		(Ksh.)
G.S. Were & D.A. Wilson: East Africa Through a Thousand Years, Evans & Brothers		105.15
Boahen: A History of West Africa, Longman		82.35
 <u>Geography</u>		
R.G. White: North America, Heinemann		28.50
Gibbs: The Rhinelands		65.00
G.M. Hickman & W.H.G. Dickins: The Lands & Peoples of East Africa, Longman		69.20
Minns: Africa, MacMillan		76.20
Phillips Modern School Atlas		123.50
 <u>Mathematics</u>		
M. Singh: Form 3 Mathematics, Soma (K)		50.00
M. Singh: Form 4 Mathematics, Soma (K)		45.00
Three Figure Maths Tables, Cambridge University Press		23.05
 <u>Biology</u>		
R. Soper & S.T. Smith: An Integrated Approach, MacMillan		76.70
 <u>Physical Science</u>		
G. Sale & H. Johnson: Study Course Physics, O.U.P.		52.00
A. Atkinson: A New Certificate Chemistry		100.00
TOTAL		1333.15

Table 4b: BASIC TEXT-BOOKS FOR AN A LEVEL SCIENCE COURSE
(Biology, Chemistry, Geography and General Paper)

<u>Biology</u>	<u>June 1985 Price</u>
M.B.A. Roberts: A Functional Approach to Biology, E.A.L.B.	93.60
Dweyer & Hall: Ecology Biology Book I, Longman	201.80
 <u>Chemistry</u>	
D. Kelly: A Complete A Level Chemistry, Longman	186.50
G.I. Brown: Introduction to Inorganic Chemistry, Longman	102.50
Heys: New Organic Chemistry	256.50

<u>Geography</u>	(Ksh.)
Monkhouse: Physical Geography, Holden & Stranton	120.15
Hilton: Practical Geography in East Africa, Heinemann	127.25
C. Buckle: Landforms in Africa, Longman	175.00
M. Senior: Tropical Lands - A Human Geography, Longman	178.25
Ojany & Ogendo: Kenya - Physical & Economic Geography, Longman	123.75
Morgan : East Africa, Heinemann	96.70
Mock Phillips Modern School Atlas	123.50
TOTAL	<u>1785.50</u>

The total figures in Tables 4a and 4b should be placed side by side with the 1980 S.E.S. allocations in Table 2. If it is assumed that there are forty students in a form 3 or 4 class and thirty in a form 5/6 Science class, the total per capita S.E.S. allocations can be calculated and related to the text-book costs in Tables 4a and 4b. The total per capita S.E.S. allocation for the two years in form 3 and 4 is Sh. 420 as opposed to Sh. 1333.15 which is the cost of essential text-books for the O level course in Table 4a. The corresponding amounts for forms 5 and 6 in Tables 2 and 4b are Sh.466 and Sh.1785.50 respectively. Thus the cost of supplying essential text-books to an O level student in forms 3 to 4 is three times the per capita S.E.S. allocation. At A level the cost of essential texts is four times the per capita allocation. The inadequacy of the S.E.S. allocation becomes more glaring if it is borne in mind that the comparisons between Tables 2 and 4a/4b do not take into account that out of the same vote schools are expected to purchase library books, supplementary readers, stationery (for both students and teachers) and other essential learning materials, e.g. science materials (including a considerable outlay which has to be required annually in relation to public examinations).

The problem of supplying students with learning materials has been aggravated by curriculum changes which have required schools to completely discard many books in their possession and acquire new titles. It is likely that, if special attention is not paid to this problem, the new curricula under the 8-4-4 system will make the position of schools even more tenuous..

One way in which schools have attempted to respond to inadequacy of funds for text-books is to resort to sharing between two or more students. While comprehensive statements about the effects of sharing on the learning

process must await more detailed investigations under the on-going study, two observations can be made here. First, not all text-books can be shared without damage to learning. In many disciplines, e.g. Mathematics and languages, the text-book is the core material for home-work. If home work is to be set regularly, as is the practice in the better schools, then each student needs a copy of the book which is the base of the exercise. Secondly, even for books which are not completely essential for home work, sharing in day schools has severe limitations. Recently, a Head of a day school strongly argued that sharing between day students is not practical because they have to do a lot of studying away from school.

Recent interviews with heads indicate that while the inadequacy of the boarding vote is viewed as a major crisis which threatens tranquility in the school, there is much less concern about the threat posed by dwindling learning resources. The schools' approach to spending the tuition grant reveal a similar situation: while schools continue to supply stationery to students 'hardly any books are bought for the library' and 'specialised textbooks for A level classes can no longer be afforded'.²² Because of constraints in school funds trade-offs have to be made, but given that books are a key variable in improving academic achievement (Heyneman 1978)²³ it is important that schools should not lose control over their supply.²⁴ The trend observed in several schools is for the authorities to suggest that parents take responsibility for the purchase of some of the essential textbooks. These suggestions place the onus on parents and make the supply voluntary, thereby the schools opt out of their responsibility to ensure that a powerful learning resource is available to all students.

Inadequacy of Physical Facilities

Recent discussions with school authorities indicate that there is probably no improvement in the situation reported by the W.P.F.H.E. with regard to the provision of funds for capital development and maintenance of existing physical facilities.²⁵

22. Minutes of a Meeting Between the Permanent Secretary for Education and Representatives of the K.S.S.H.A., May 1978.

23. S.P. Heyneman et. al.: Textbooks and Achievement: What We Know, World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 298, 1978.

24. World Bank (Education and Training Department): The Costs and Financing of Education in Developing Countries: Policy Options for Efficiency and Equity (Draft Outline), September, 1984. The paper cautions against trade-offs which may result in lowering of the quality of education 'because non-salary expenditures (e.g. text-books) are likely to be sacrificed' - p.9

25. Report of the W.P.F.H.E. op. cit. - pp. 48-49.

Inadequate capital development through government funds has tended to make this aspect the focus of resource mobilisation at the periphery. While some of the physical facilities being funded by communities are essential for quality learning, others could for the time being be traded-off for more learning materials e.g. library books instead of an assembly hall.

Financial Deficits in Schools

Data from up to date audited school accounts should have provided the best evidence of deficits. Unfortunately the audit of school accounts is currently in arrears. Out of ten schools visited in April/May 1985 two had received audited accounts for 1983, one had audited accounts for 1981 and the rest only for 1980.

However, there are indications that schools are operating with deficits. Eight years ago a senior officer of the Ministry of Education observed that nearly all maintained secondary schools 'are operating with huge deficits and face closure due to lack of funds.'²⁶ In 1981 K.S.S.H.A. made similar observations.²⁷ Given that grants-in-aid have not improved since 1980 and prices have risen a great deal, the situation in 1985 must be serious. An interview with a head of a low cost boarding school has revealed that between 1980 and 1984 over Sh. 1.8 million was diverted from Harambee capital development funds to recurrent expenditure in order to avoid termination of contracts with food suppliers. It can be deduced that other schools not blessed with healthy Harambee funds have been forced either to operate with deficits or have stopped purchasing some materials - most likely books and other learning equipment.

Need for Priorities Aimed at Improving Learning

A salient point which emerges from the fore-going discussion is that the periphery has attempted to make good the shortfall of resources from the Centre, but that the efforts have lacked rationalised approaches on the basis of real learning needs. Resource mobilisation at the periphery together with school efforts to manouvre round limited funds have focussed on developing physical facilities and meeting additional boarding costs. There has been much less concern for mobilising local funds or twisting school budgets so that the institutions can continue to supply books and

26. Minutes of the Meeting for Institutional Finances held at Utalii College on 13th July 1978 - p.4.

27. K.S.S.H.A. Memorandum to W.P.F.H.E., op. cit. - p.2.

other learning software. Efforts to make parents responsible for purchasing textbooks only benefit students whose parents see the need and can afford the costs. As the policy of state-community partnership in secondary education is implemented there is need for national professional guidelines so that communities, in their augmented role as financiers and managers, are able to draw priorities aimed at improved learning.

P A R T II
EQUITY AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POLICY
OF PARTNERSHIP

One of the goals of education in Kenya is to 'foster a sense of nationhood and promote national unity'. In order to do this education is expected to 'promote social equality and foster a sense of social responsibility within an educational system which provides equal educational opportunities for all.'²⁸ In light of this key consideration the policy of sharing responsibility for education should take into account the existing distribution of educational opportunities and the effects of passing additional costs to parents. The new policy should aim at reducing inequalities between geographical areas. It should also have an in-built arrangement for ensuring that families with limited material means are not further disadvantaged because they could not afford to pay high fees for their children's education.

The Geographical Distribution of Secondary Schools

Inequity in the geographical distribution of educational opportunities, which originated from colonial approaches and policies (Kinyanjui 1974)²⁹ have continued into the independence era in Kenya (Court and Kinyanjui 1978)³⁰ Table 5 compares the provincial proportions of national population (1979) and the distribution of the four categories of secondary schools in 1983 and 1984. Table 6 analyses the government maintained category by students, accommodation arrangements. By giving visual impressions of the data in Tables 5 and 6, Figures 1 and 2 highlight the disparity in the provincial distribution of secondary schools. With the exception

28. Republic of Kenya: Curriculum Guide for Secondary Schools Vol.I, Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 1973.

29. K. Kinyanjui: Distribution of Educational Resources and Opportunities in Kenya, University of Nairobi - I.D.S. Discussion Paper No. 208, 1974.

30. D. Court and K. Kinyanjui: Development Policy and Educational Opportunity: The Experience of Kenya and Tanzania, I.I.E.P. Unesco 1978.

of Central Province where schools are fairly evenly distributed between districts, the pattern of disparity is continued between districts in a province.³¹

Table 5: DISTRIBUTION OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS BY TYPE OF SCHOOL, PROVINCE AND PROVINCIAL POPULATION - 1983 AND 1984

Province	Proportion of National Population (1979)	Proportion and Number of Schools			
		Maintained (1984)	Assisted (1983)	Harambee (1983)	Private (1983)
Rift Valley	21.1%	17.1% (106)	16.7% (97)	15.7% (210)	17.3% (30)
Eastern	17.9%	16.3% (101)	24% (139)	20.4% (273)	11% (19)
Nyanza	17.3%	16.5% (102)	13.4% (78)	16.6% (223)	23.1% (40)
Central	15.3%	21.8% (135)	34.8% (202)	25.8% (346)	7.5% (13)
Western	12%	11.6% (72)	8.5% (49)	17.7% (238)	8.1% (14)
Coast	8.8%	6.9% (43)	1.4% (8)	3.3% (44)	10.4% (18)
Nairobi	5.4%	4.2% (26)	1.2% (7)	0.5% (6)	22.6% (39)
N. Eastern	2.4%	1.3% (8)			
National Schools		4.3% (27)			
KENYA	100%	100% (620)	100% (580)	100% (1341)	100% (173)

Sources: Republic of Kenya: Kenya Population Census, 1979 - Vol.I, Central Bureau of Statistics June 1981; Kenya National Examinations Council (K.N.E.C.) 1984 Secondary School Choices List; Ministry of Higher Education - Personal Interview, August 1983.

³¹ K.N.E.C. - 1984 Secondary School Choices; Republic of Kenya: Careers Information Booklet, 1984, Kenya National Examinations Council.

Table 6: PROVINCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF MAINTAINED SECONDARY SCHOOLS
BY STUDENTS' ACCOMMODATION ARRANGEMENTS, 1984

PROVINCE	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS			
	Full Boarding	Part Boarding	Full Day	Total
Coast	18 (42%)	1 (2%)	24 (56%)	43 (100%)
Central	62 (46%)	25 (19%)	48 (35%)	135 (100%)
N Eastern	8 (100%)			8 (100%)
Eastern	48 (47%)	28 (28%)	26 (25%)	101 (100%)
Rift Valley	67 (63%)	21 (20%)	18 (17%)	106 (100%)
Western	30 (42%)	33 (46%)	9 (12%)	72 (100%)
Nyanza	79 (77%)	4 (4%)	19 (19%)	102 (100%)
Nairobi	4 (15%)		22 (85%)	26 (100%)
National Schools	26 (96%)	1 (4%)		27 (100%)
KENYA	342 (55%)	112 (18%)	166 (27%)	620 (100%)

Source: Republic of Kenya: Kenya National Examinations Council (K.N.E.C.)
- 1984 Secondary Schools Choices List.

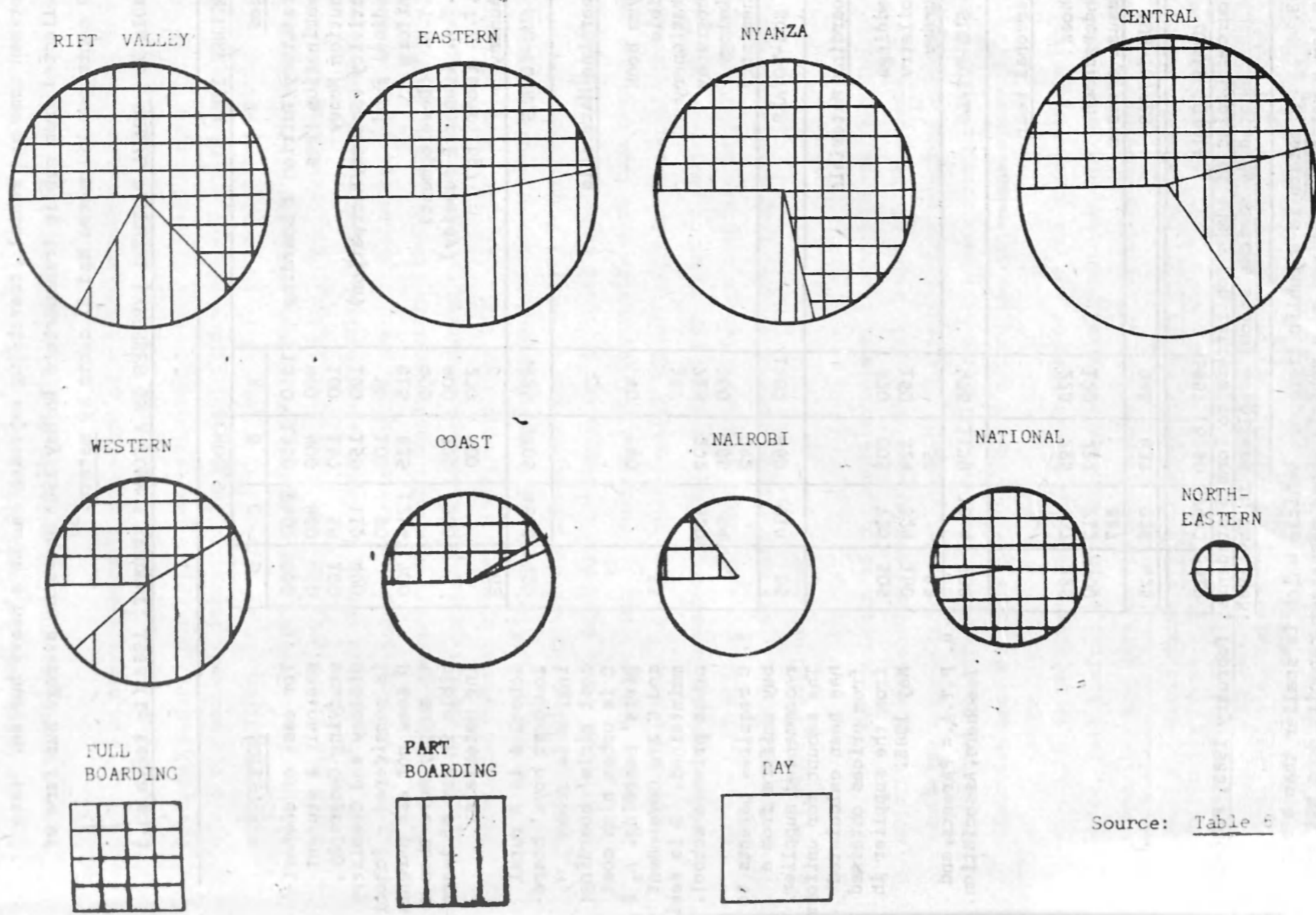
The pattern of secondary school distribution approximates the relative levels of economic development in various regions. Schools are concentrated in regions which have benefited most from economic development (House and Killick 1979).³² In implementing the policy of state-community partnership in secondary education, the Government will need to ensure that the allocation of its resources to the periphery takes into account the need to reduce geographical disparities in the distribution of schools. The areas which are currently disadvantaged will need more government assistance, relative to the other areas, if they are not to fall further back in the development of education.

Income and Parents' Expenses on Secondary Education

Table 7 shows the costs met by a parent in order to educate a student in the four categories of secondary schools in 1985. The grand totals in the table do not include expenses of travelling to and from school,

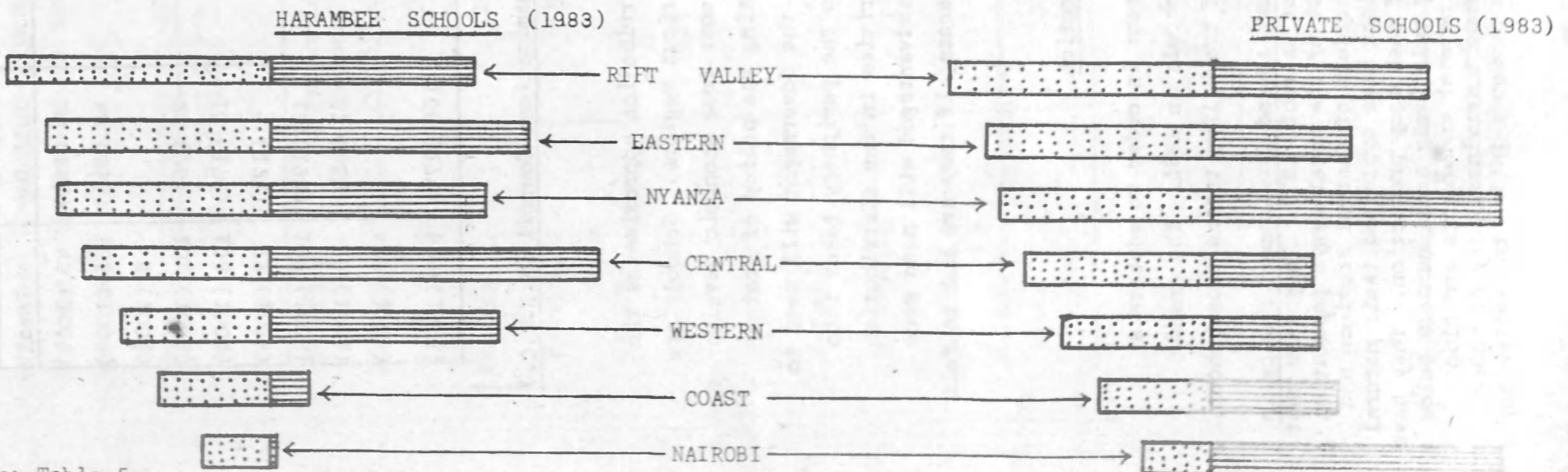
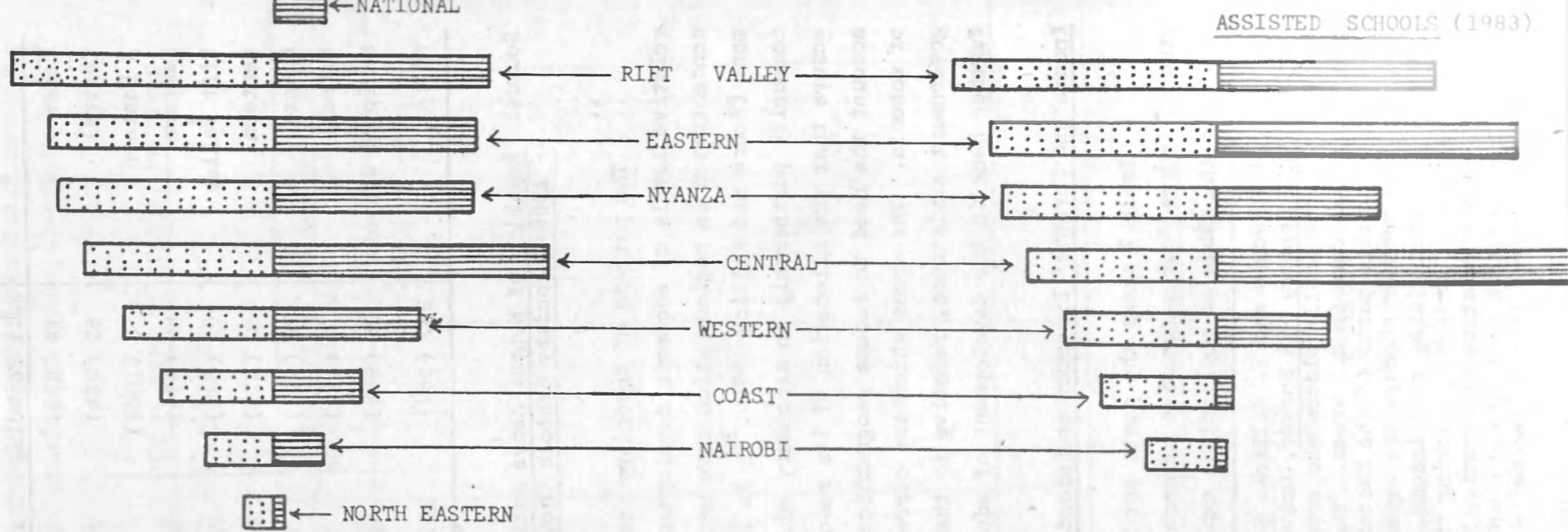
32. W.J. House and T. Killick: Social Justice and Development Policy in Kenya's Rural Economy - A Survey, University of Nairobi, 1979. They show that prosperity among small-holders who comprise 80% of the total Kenya population has not been uniform in all areas. 'The smallholders of Central Province and of the more fertile parts of the Eastern Province have exploited their natural endowments to prosper through the expansion of cash crop production. They have therefore achieved rising real income, leaving relatively small numbers below the poverty line. Generally lacking the same natural endowments and also suffering from a relative deprivation of government services, many of those living in the Western part of the country have probably failed to realise any significant increase in real income' - p.41

Figure 2 - PROVINCIAL DISTRIBUTION OF MAINTAINED SECONDARY SCHOOLS BY STUDENTS' ACCOMMODATION ARRANGEMENTS, 1984 (Percentages)



Source: Table 5

(1984) MAINTAINED SCHOOLS POPULATION SCHOOLS



Source: Table 5

pocket money and other incidentals e.g. the cost of pens, pencils and other stationery items not provided by the school. Depending on the distance between home and school, travelling expenses can be a heavy burden. Data collected from public transporters in May 1985 shows an average bus fare of 27 cents per kilometre and 31 cents by matatu.³³

Table 7: ANNUAL PARENTAL EXPENSES ON A FORM 5 STUDENT¹, 1985 (In Kenya sh.)

EXPENSE ITEM	SCHOOLS				NOTES.	
	A	B	C	D		
1. Fees						
Statutory/Tuition & Boarding	1350	1350	2400	5800	1. For ease of comparison, only a student studying Geography, Biology and Chemistry is considered - School D does not ask parents to supply more than a bible in way of learning materials.	
Examination Fees	400	400	400	400		
Caution Money	100	150	90	100		
Activity (Sports/Recreation)	120	150	112	420		
Medical Fund	50	100	90			
Uniform	815	635	1214	700		
P.T.A. (Development)	400					
P.T.A. (General subsidy)	400	320	200			
P.T.A. (Boarding)	200	600				
Laundry				63		
SUB-TOTALS	3835	3705	4569	7420	2. School A is a rural low cost boys' boarding; B is urban low cost girls' boarding; C is urban high cost girls' boarding. A, B and C are Government maintained. D is semi-urban private school.	
2. Learning Materials						
Hymn Book	40	40				
Bible				35		
Stationery	197					
Geography	715	202	820			
Biology	360	485	94			
Chemistry		242				
SUB-TOTALS	1302	969	914	35		
3. Boarding Materials						3. C requires parents to buy uniform from a recommended supplier. The amount for uniform has been calculated from prices obtained from the supplier in May 1985.
Beddings	320	805	720	505		
Toiletry	150	324	324	150		
Sundry		50		83		
SUB-TOTALS	470	1179	1044	738		
4. Personal Wear					4. P.T.A. = Parents, and Teachers, Association.	
Shoes	225	225	337	225		
Undergarments	120	212	212	200		
Casual dresses			387			
SUB-TOTALS	345	437	936	425		
GRAND TOTALS	5952	6290	7463	8618		

Source: Copies of admission letters to Form 5 students, February 1985, Prices quoted by various school suppliers in May 1985.

33. A matatu is a public transport vehicle which is smaller than a bus. In law a matatu is defined as a vehicle whose passenger capacity does not exceed 25.

The data in Table 7, although limited to four schools, is fairly representative of other schools. (The four schools were selected out of the ten for which data had been obtained). Certain observations can be made about parents' expenses in relation to their incomes.

On average parents are spending a large proportion of their incomes in paying for secondary education. In 1981 Kenya's Gross National Product (G.N.P.) per capita was estimated to be U.S. \$420 (Kenya Shs 4320).³⁴ Given the economic recession in the last four years and a continuing population explosion, it is unlikely that the G.N.P. per capita has appreciably risen. Table 7 shows that a parent has to meet secondary school expenses which are much higher than the G.N.P. per capita. More revealing is the fact that, because wealth in Kenya is not equitably distributed, the majority of households have incomes which are below the expenses of educating one secondary student. Vandermoortele (1982), having marshalled data from the Integrated Rural Surveys conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics between 1974 and 1977, concludes that, '...the lowest 40 per cent of the population receives only 9 per cent of the national income, whereas 60 per cent of the income accrues to the top 20 per cent of the population. This magnitude of inequality is found to be similar in all provinces and sectors'.³⁵ House and Killick review data from Crawford and Thorbecke (1978)³⁶ to show that 'nearly 50% of those in the rural economy receive average household incomes of Kf100 per annum or less. In addition, of the 1.42 million smallholder households (which comprise 80% of the total Kenya population), 44% earn average incomes of less than Kf100 and a further 51% average f250 per annum'.³⁷

On the basis of the above evidence, it can be seen that the great majority of households have incomes which fall short of the expenses of educating a secondary school student. The inescapable conclusion would seem to be that children from poor households are kept away from secondary education because their parents cannot afford the attendant expenses.

In an attempt to find out whether or not the above conclusion holds, data limited to three schools in Nairobi has been analysed. Table 8 summarises the data on the main occupations of parents/guardians with

34. World Bank: World Development Report 1983, published by Oxford University Press - Table 1 on p. 148. At the end of 1981 the exchange rate was one U.S.\$ to KSh.10.2862 - World Bank: Kenya Growth and Structural Change, p.ii.

35. Jan Vandermoortele: Income Distribution and Poverty in Kenya: A Statistical Analysis, University of Nairobi-IDS Discussion Paper No.275 March 1982-p20

36. E. Crawford & E. Thorbecke: Employment, Income Distribution, Poverty, Alleviation and Basic Needs in Kenya, Report of an ILO Consulting Mission, April 1978.

37. W.J. House & T. Killick, op. cit. - p.17.

of
Under-representation/rural populations and blue collar workers in education, particularly in the post-primary sectors is a characteristic feature of developing countries (Mingat & Jee-Peng Tan 1984).³⁸ Several researchers have found that under-representation is not reduced by expansion of the education system, such as the one that has taken place in the Kenyan secondary sector since 1963.³⁹

A lot of the research on causes of under-representation suggests that inter alia, it is associated with the distribution of wealth in a society. Two studies on Kenya associate it with low incomes of the affected sections of society. At the nursery and primary levels, Gakuru (1979) and Kinyanjui (1977) show that families with low incomes are either unable to pay for their children's education or are forced to provide a type of education which, while its cost is relatively low, does not adequately prepare them for advancement up the educational ladder.⁴⁰ With the much higher expenses in the secondary school, it is reasonable to conclude that a great many families have been priced out of education at that level.

Alleviating Hardship in Financing Secondary Education

In several quarters, including the World Bank,⁴¹ the line is being pushed that because the richer sections of society are over-represented in the post-primary education sectors, the state should economise on scarce resources by reducing its allocation to these sectors thereby requiring the beneficiaries to meet most of the expenses. Although the proponents of this approach acknowledge that it is necessary for students from poor households to be assisted through scholarships (the most favoured mode of assistance is through loans to be repaid in the long run), their emphasis is on passing on costs to the bulk of beneficiaries rather than on encouraging greater representation of the poorer sections of society. While these,

38. A. Mingat & Jee-Peng Tan: Who Profits From the Public Funding of Education? A Comparison by World Regions, World Bank, October 1984.

39. See for example, J.B. Olson: Secondary Schools and Elites in Kenya: A Comparative Study of Students in 1961 and 1968 in Comparative Education Review Vol.16 No.1, 1972; L. Weis: Education and the Reproduction of Inequality: The Case of Ghana in Comparative Education Review Vol.23 No.1 1979.

40. O.N. Gakuru: Pre-school Education and Access to Educational Opportunities in Nairobi, M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1979; K. Kinyanjui: Regional and Class Inequalities in Provision of Primary Education in Kenya, 1968-1973, Harvard Graduate School of Education, 1977.

41. E.g. A. Mingat & G. Psacharopoulos, op.cit.; A. Mingat & J.P. Tan. op.cit.; World Bank (Education and Manpower Development Division, Eastern Africa Regional Office): Case Studies on the Financing of Higher Education in Eastern Africa, September 1984; T.R. Bertrand and R. Griffin: The Economics of Financing Education: A Case Study of Kenya.

proposals for financing post-primary education may be good economics, they may not be good politics in Kenya. In a country striving to achieve national cohesion, the alleviation of hardship to the poorer members of society and the provision of equal opportunities for advancement must receive serious consideration in financing policies. Rather than accept under-representation in post-primary education of some sections of the population as a fait accompli and institutionalise it by offering opportunity to the few who can afford the costs, it seems that a better policy would be to find ways in which a combination of public and private resources are deployed to increase the representation of the poor. Viewed from this angle, the policy of state-community partnership in education would be a failure if it did not take into account the overall government policy of promoting the development of the whole community.

The alleviation of hardship in implementing state-community partnership should benefit from the experience of current practices. Since 1976 the Government has been operating a bursary scheme according to which a maintained secondary school receives 5% (8% in ten hardship districts)⁴² of the total net statutory fees due to it as a grant-in-aid to assist needy students. This is a clear sign that the Government is concerned about the plight of the poor.

It is one thing to set aside bursary funds; it is a different matter to ensure that the recipients are the people for whom the scheme is intended. There seems to be no clear pattern as to how the current grants-in-aid bursaries are allocated. This researcher was informed by officials in the ministry responsible for education that the allocation to individual students has been delegated to the schools' boards of governors. Interviews with heads of schools have failed to establish a clear pattern of how boards go about the allocation. The only fact emerging as general practice is that the board acts on the recommendations of its secretary, who is the head of school. The criteria used in recommending and, more important, the methods used in collecting the relevant data are not clear. After some probing, several heads have insisted that a school ought to be able to discover needy families because all students are required to pay fees regularly. In other words, the method is to wait and see, and the relevant data is failure to pay as required. A few heads have hinted that in some schools, evidence of academic potential and good

42. These are Mandera, Wajir, Garissa, Marsabit, Turkana, West Pokot, Samburu, Baringo, Lamu and Tana River.

behaviour are taken into consideration in making recommendations for bursary allocations. Only in two schools out of a dozen visited in mid-1985 was there found systematic efforts to collect data and to use it as the basis of bursary allocation. On the whole most schools seem to be inclined to the view that bursaries should be administered 'through the District Education Boards whose members know better the backgrounds of the pupils'.⁴³

There are legitimate reasons as to why the allocation of bursaries at the school level appears to be haphazard. As pointed out by several heads, given the many cases who need assistance the funds available are grossly inadequate. As a consequence schools have to be cautious. Publicising the bursary scheme is avoided lest schools be flooded by requests, some probably supported by falsified data, which the available funds could not satisfy. Schools need fool-proof evidence of hardship. This is why they wait to see who among their new intakes is unable to pay. On the other hand, the current approaches may be undermining the basic objective of alleviating hardship and providing more secondary school opportunities to the poor. Making academic potential (as revealed in the selection examination or progress in class work) a criterion for allocating bursary is prejudicial to the poor because that potential is most likely negatively correlated with a history of deprivation in early childhood and lower down the educational ladder. Secondly, the bursary scheme ought not to have been seen as a discrete unit of policy at the secondary level. It should have been seen as part of the reduction of inequity in the society. The scheme could have been publicised so that poor families see it as a rope extended to rescue them. Primary school children from poor families should be encouraged to work hard for selection into secondary schools with the knowledge that some (if not all) of their fees will be met from other than their parents' pockets.

P A R T III

QUALITY AND EFFICIENCY IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

Key Ideas in the Policy of Partnership

The discussion elsewhere in this paper has established that there are two key ideas in the new policy. First, there is need for the community to supplement limited public resources in secondary education. Secondly, the

43. K.S.S.H.A. Memorandum to W.P.F.H.E., op.cit. - p.2.

Government is concerned that partnership should result in higher quality education and increased efficiency of the system.

Devolution of Responsibility Away From the Centre

When fully implemented, the policy of partnership should result in most secondary schools becoming community schools. The distinction between maintained, assisted and Harambee schools is intended to disappear. The emerging community schools should receive certain subsidies from the Government, with the balance of revenue being raised by parents and communities. Since parents and communities will assume a heavier burden in financing, they will naturally expect to have a much greater control over the schools than is the case at the moment. The dictum, no taxation without representation, makes considerable sense in such a set up. Parents and communities will be interested in ensuring that their financial contributions are put into the best use for the education of their children.

Clearly the Government, which will continue to partly finance education, has a duty to ensure that the system of education continues to have certain national norms and standards, e.g. in matters of curricula (development, implementation and evaluation), teacher training, teachers' remuneration, selection for further education on the basis of merit, and efficient utilisation of resources. However, in order for the new policy to succeed, it will be necessary for the Government to delegate to the periphery some of the functions which are currently the responsibility of the centre. Trade-offs will need to be made so that the periphery is made sufficiently responsible not only in financing, but also in managing secondary education. These trade-offs should result in both a saving in public funds and a more efficient and qualitative system of education.

Need to Streamline the Periphery

The starting point in implementing the policy of partnership should be a clear definition and establishment of the periphery as an effective partner of the Government. Currently the periphery is not sufficiently organised such that it can effectively plan, finance and manage secondary education. Interviews between this researcher and heads, chairmen/members of school boards and other leaders indicate that, apart from the Government and school staff, there are at least seven groups involved in secondary education in various parts of the country. These groups are

the parents of students, Parents, and Teachers' Associations (P.T.A.), boards of governors, old students' associations, sponsors (religious and other), the community and District Development Committees. While the existence of so many interested parties is of benefit to education, it is a source of actual or potential problems. Conflict between some of the parties is inherent in the situation because the role of each is not clear in every case. Secondly, the situation tends to militate against equitable distribution of assistance to schools in an area.

Indications have been found that some heads are caught up in conflicts between various bodies with an interest in secondary education. A common conflict is between the P.T.A. and board of governors.

Boards of governors are appointed by the minister under the Education Act and have defined wide-ranging responsibility over finance, discipline and other matters for the good governance of the schools. Every maintained school has a board of governors. On the other hand P.T.As are a relatively new development: some schools have yet to set up a P.T.A. Where a P.T.A. has been set up, it registers as an association under the Societies Act. In other words, as far as Government control is concerned P.T.As come under the Registrar of Societies and not the minister responsible for education. The role of the P.T.A., as compared to that of the board, is limited. One P.T.A. of a school in Nairobi states its objectives as follows:

- 'This is a non-political Association formed for the purposes of:-
- (a) bringing closer together the staff and parents of the school;
 - (b) providing, through its fund raising efforts, equipment, scholarships and improvements to the school'.⁴⁴

Three causes of conflict between boards of governors and P.T.A. have been identified as follows:

- The board of governors may antagonise the P.T.A. by treating it as a rubber stamp for the board's decisions to raise more school funds from parents.
- The P.T.A. may argue that the school is the responsibility of the board and the Government, with the consequence that the P.T.A. refuses or drastically amends, or delays the board's recommendations for raising more funds from parents, even though the school may be in dire need of such funds.

⁴⁴. Constitution of the Parents' and Teachers' Association of Kenya High School - p.1.

- The P.T.A. executive may attempt to take over the functions of the board because the former argues that it is more important since it represents the parents.

In some schools possible conflict between the board and P.T.A. is partially averted by arranging for some common membership. For example, in Kenya High School three of the seventeen members of the P.T.A. executive committee (including the chairman) have been co-opted into the school's board of governors. This sort of solution is not satisfactory and may only be temporary: its success depends on consensus on the part of the principal actors at a particular period in time. Moreover it does not protect schools from conflicts involving the other interested parties. Situations have surfaced where a powerful old students' association, influential community leaders and school sponsors (particularly religions and foreign non-governmental organisations - NGOs) are pushing in a different direction from the board or even the P.T.A.

The issue involved is one of principle. The question to be answered is, what sort of body ought to constitute the periphery as the partner with whom the Government will work?

The other key point in establishing the periphery is to define the position of the community school of the future in the wider context of the Government's development strategy. Government policy is geared to making the district the focus of development through the District Development Committee (D.D.C.). How are the bodies charged with managing individual community schools of the future to relate to the D.D.C.? Currently, communities are involved in raising Harambee funds to assist the capital development of secondary schools. Evidence obtained through interviews with school heads and board members indicate that a community's success in raising funds varies, depending on the degree of interest and ingenuity of the leadership in a given school. Thus in a district the Harambee effort may only benefit some schools, while others suffer relative neglect. In some districts D.D.C.'s have attempted to regulate the Harambee effort in order to ensure equitable distribution to all schools, but this is ^{by}no means widespread. For the future, it seems necessary that the D.D.C. should co-ordinate the capital development plans of all schools in the district. For example, the D.D.C. could take over the responsibility of organising major Harambee drives for this purpose. Since it is desirable that the resources

needed by a school are best visualised in their totality, it seems sensible that D.D.C.s should play a role in the recurrent needs of secondary schools. However, the exact role to be played by D.D.C.s in secondary education begs for comprehensive answers to several questions, including the following:

- 1) What will be the relationship between the D.D.C. and the ministry responsible for education (including its field offices)?
- 2) How will the Government channel its subsidy to secondary schools? Will it be direct to schools (as is the case now), or will it be through the D.D.C.? If the Government subsidy is to be channelled through the D.D.C., the implication is that the district will be expected to play a major role in planning secondary education and in allocating funds to schools. This will require the D.D.C. to have adequate qualified personnel who are able to undertake these functions efficiently. It will also be necessary to lay down how the bodies managing schools will liaise with the D.D.Cs.
- 3) Will the D.D.C. have a supervisory as well as a financing function in secondary schools? Responsibility for financing implies a supervisory role. What personnel will be necessary to make the D.D.C's. supervisory role efficient?

Giving the Periphery Financial Responsibility

Meaningful involvement of the periphery is a pre-requisite of successful planning for development by the central government (Mbithi & Barnes 1974).⁴⁵ The successful implementation of the policy of partnership will depend on the devolution of financial control which enables the periphery to feel sufficiently responsible for planning the essential requirements of schools, to raise the balance of revenue, and to ensure sound management and efficient administration of school finances. In other words, the essence of devolution must be to hand over ^{to} the periphery both the short and long term budgetary function in schools. A budget in this sense is regarded as a plan for the co-ordination of resources and expenditures. There will be merit in allocating the Government's recurrent subsidy on a per capita basis (or according to a known formula) so that each school authority knows well in advance what revenue needs to be raised locally. Secondly, while the centre should give general guidelines on items of school expenditure, the periphery should be responsible for deciding on the final budget for schools.

45. P.M. Mbithi & C. Barnes: A Conceptual Analysis of Approaches to Rural Development, University of Nairobi - I.D.S. Working Paper No. 154, March 1974.

There could be risks in shifting financial control away from the centre. It could be argued that the move might result in more cases of mis-allocation and misappropriation of school funds, which at the moment are major worries in the ministry responsible for education. Counter to this argument should be the ideal that a school authority representative of the community which has to raise considerable amounts for its youth's education, provides a better and immediate check on what heads and their staff do, than irregular controls by a distant ministry. The real risk would seem to be that school authorities at the periphery may not turn out to be as responsible as desirable. Yet in order for such responsibility to be demonstrated or otherwise, the opportunity must first be given through devolution. Interviews with members of school boards and P.T.As as well as heads indicate that the current situation does not in fact cater for water-tight financial control. Because neither the boards of governors nor the P.T.As, both of whom are involved in resource mobilisation at the periphery, feel fully responsible for what goes on in the schools, there is danger that unscrupulous staff at the school could exploit for personal gain the fluid set up. It is essential that the streamlining of the periphery be accompanied by full accountability for the functioning of the school.

Financial planning is greatly facilitated by a thorough appraisal of the trends in expenditure and revenue in the immediate past. It has been noted elsewhere in this paper that the audit of school accounts, which should provide the most reliable picture of trends in expenditure and revenue is grossly in arrears in many schools. In contrast, several P.T.As have been found to be up to date with the management and audit of their finances, which they have carefully kept separate from those administered by the boards of governors. In fact the P.T.As have an incipient sound financial management and audit system. All P.T.As reviewed by this researcher have a treasurer and vice-treasurer in their executive committees. They also organise audit by professionals in private business. These arrangements could be built upon so that the body managing future community schools is entrusted with both the accounting for and the audit of school funds.

In many parts of the country, particularly the larger urban centres, professional accountants who are members of the association of Certified Public Accountants of Kenya (C.P.A.K.) have set up business. Arrangements could be made for these professionals to audit school finances, thereby obviating the need to expand the ministry's audit unit at considerable cost to Government.

Up to the mid-1970s private auditors undertook the audit of the accounts of a number of secondary schools. This arrangement was discontinued because it was argued that there was often collusion (over audit fees and unwillingness to expose malpractices) between private auditors and some schools. Interviews with several C.P.A.K. members indicate that the professional body, which did not emerge until the latter 1970s, has taken steps to enhance professional ethics. These professionals have expressed interest in the possibility of discussion between their association and Government with a view to controlling for exorbitant audit charges. As far as the school end is concerned, a responsible and representative body which knows that it is its duty to raise revenue, should be able to prevent malpractices by the school staff. The Ministry's own audit unit, in addition to continuing to audit accounts of schools who are too far from private professionals, should provide an extra check through spot inspections. As a final check, the release of the Government subsidy for the succeeding year could be made dependent on receipt of audited accounts for the previous year. Whatever arrangement is made, it is vital that the proposed community schools be able to use up to date audit reports in planning their finances.

P A R T IV

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Providing Schools with Cheaper Equipment and Services

The data on boarding and tuition discussed in Part I underscores the necessity of finding ways of making school provisions cheaper. Some of the approaches which could be developed include the following:

- (1) The possibility of producing cheaper textbooks, stationery, science materials and other learning materials.
- (2) In boarding schools the thrust should be for cheap but balanced diets: as far as possible schools should use locally produced commodities and should be prepared to adjust menus to the availability of certain foods.
- (3) To reduce expenses on energy, schools should use cheaper local fuels: e.g. firewood or charcoal instead of petroleum oil or gas.
- (4) Pooling of resources, e.g. transport and specialised physical facilities, between neighbouring institutions should result in savings.
- (5) Cheaper ways of building using local materials should be seen as a serious proposition.

Clearing Deficits in Maintained Secondary Schools

As the partnership policy is implemented care should be taken to ensure that parents and communities are not landed with an impossible task. The Government should consider providing maintained schools with funds to clear most of the outstanding deficits. This would give parents and the community a fair chance of success as they take over the financing of the community schools of the future.

Alleviation of Hardship to Poor Families

The alleviation of hardship to poor families in relation to the expenses of secondary education should be a central tenet of the policy of partnership. The recommendation of the N.C.E.O.P., 'To arrange for remission of fees where the family income is proved to be inadequate'⁴⁶ should be the basis of action. Except for orphans with no close relatives or children of completely destitute families (who should not be many), every secondary school student should pay something towards his or her education. For orphans and the completely destitute, opportunities for the students and/or relatives should be planned so that they usefully contribute towards the school's welfare in kind, e.g. through essential labour. For the rest of the students, fees should be graduated (within an agreed range) according to families proven ability to pay. In order to make this scheme workable, two key issues must be thoroughly thought through -

- The authority running the school at the periphery must plan the raising of revenue with the knowledge that all students will not be able to pay equal amounts in fees. All the sources of school revenue - Government grant, local authority contributions, N.G.O. assistance, Harambee fund drives, returns from investments and the fees from parents - should be carefully projected so that as far as possible shortfalls in revenue are avoided.
- A systematically organised data base should be built up so that decisions on how much each parent is to pay are facilitated. The collection of socio-economic status data should start in primary school, if not earlier. The Government should organise a multi-pronged approach to the exercise: information should be sought for through the sub-chief and village leaders; primary schools should also be asked to collect data. Revision of data should be organised. As part of the registration for the examination for selection into secondary school, the data should be computerised. To assist the whole exercise, secondary schools should be organised such that they select students from a known number of feeder primary schools.

46. Report of the N.C.E.O.P., op. cit. - p. 183.

The Authority to Manage the Community School of the Future

A single legally established authority should take charge of the management of each community secondary school. The authority should be set up on the basis of representation, which is the principle in question in the conflicts between school boards and P.T.As discussed in Part III of this paper. All the bodies currently involved in financing a school should be represented in the unified authority. It should be borne in mind that representation is best seen to be so when it is based on election rather than nomination: election implies that evaluation of the success of the representatives is closely tied to fulfilment of a specified mandate.

The authority managing each school should have control over the school's budget, as well as accounting and auditing procedures. Effective control along these lines should lead to more efficient utilisation of resources and result in higher quality in learning.

THE ROLE OF RESEARCH

Research is an essential tool in initiating changes aimed at improving education. The successful implementation of state-community partnership in secondary education will require a lot of research which makes substantive recommendations on the crucial issues of equity and efficiency.

The research of which this paper is part aims at building a full picture of the current financial situation in all categories of secondary schools. The two sides of finance-revenue and expenditure - are being surveyed so that the final report contains data which is representative of the nation. Such data should assist in the detailed planning and implementation of state-community partnership.

The on-going study was conceived as a probe into some of the factors which influence learning in schools. Consequently it aims at more than carrying out a survey. It seeks to make interpretations and inferences which have a bearing on equity, quality and efficiency of the secondary school system. In this respect the study is concerned with:

(1) Collecting, analysing and interpreting data on parents' expenses on secondary education and their implications for the ideal of providing opportunities to all sections of the population;

(2) Establishing optimal expenditures for quality learning, bearing in mind the financial constraints which face the Government, schools, communities and parents; the final research report should contain recommendations on minimum essentials particularly in the tuition and boarding items of expenditure;

(3) Establishing the role of current authorities at the periphery, particularly boards of governors and P.T.As, in both raising revenue and managing finance for the improvement of learning.

Obviously there are other areas in which research is required in order to assist detailed policy formulation and implementation. These areas include -

- (1) The equity and efficiency implications of district focus for development as it relates to State-Community partnership in secondary education.
- (2) Ways in which teacher effectiveness can be improved in the face of financial constraints and as the new policy is implemented.
- (3) The development of relevant curricula but which the country can afford.
- (4) The day vs. boarding schools debate. It is obvious that day schools are cheaper than boarding. However, the move to day schools, which is part of the current policy, should be systematically approached in order to avoid possible lowering of learning standards. There is need for research into ways in which boarding influences achievement, with a view to making recommendations as to how some of the approaches could be adapted in day schools.

It is recommended that the Government takes the initiative to identify suitable researchers in these spheres and to raise the necessary research funds. One way in which the Government could save on scarce public funds is to seek the assistance of donors, many of whom have in the past assisted research in this country.

C O N C L U S I O N

State-community partnership is the Government's policy response to constraints in the financing of secondary education in Kenya. The Government is concerned that this policy initiative should lead to a more equitable geographical distribution of schools, alleviation of the plight of the poor so that more of their children can participate in secondary education, and while reducing pressure on the public budget, result in increased efficiency of the system and quality learning. This paper has highlighted some of the

problem areas which need attention if state-community partnership is to succeed. Action has been recommended along the following lines:

- (1) The centre should retain certain manouvre in the disbursement of funds to the periphery so that the Government is able to selectively intervene in order to reduce disparity in the distribution of schools.
- (2) A system which requires parents to meet school expenses according to their ability to pay should be worked out.
- (3) Measures to make provisions and services in secondary schools cheaper should be developed.
- (4) Both the centre and the periphery, while not neglecting the development of physical facilities and boarding provisions, need to see the erosion of learning materials particularly books as a major threat to achievement in the schools.
- (5) In order to be able to run the community schools of the future effectively, the periphery should be streamlined and given financial and management responsibility.
- (6) More research on key aspects of equity and efficiency of state-community partnership is needed. The Government should stimulate such research.

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