



**Thesis by
JUMA,
Magdallen
Nafula**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN KENYATTA
UNIVERSITY**

**DETERMINANTS OP FEMALE
PARTICIPATION IN PRIMARY EDUCATION: A
STUDY OF KWALE AND TAITA-TAVETA
DISTRICTSr KENYA**

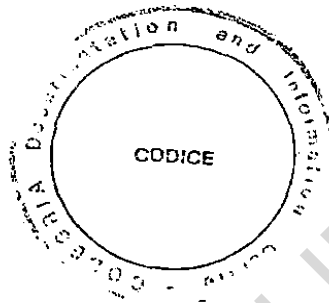
1994



16 JAN. 1995

05.03.03
JUM.
7786

**DETERMINANTS OF FEMALE PARTICIPATION IN PRIMARY
EDUCATION: A STUDY OF KWALE AND TAITA-TAVETA
DISTRICTS, KENYA**



BY

MAGDALLEN N. JUMA

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 1994.

COPYRIGHT

No part of this thesis may be reproduced, stored in any retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise without the prior written permission of the author or Kenyatta University.

All Rights Reserved.

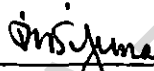
D E C L A R A T I O N

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



MAGDALLEN NAFULA JUMA

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as University supervisors.



PROF. DANIEL N. SIFUNA
Department of Educational Foundations
Faculty of Education
Kenyatta University.



DR. PAULINE RIAK
Formerly of the Department of Sociology
Faculty of Arts
Kenyatta University.



PROF. STEPHENE N. MUTUNGA
Department of Educational Administration,
Planning and Curriculum Development
Faculty of Education
Kenyatta University.

D E D I C A T I O N

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved
late father, Andrew Oworì Ochumbo.

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate factors that determine female participation in primary education in Kwale and Taita-Taveta Districts of the Coast Province of Kenya.

The study was based on a conceptual framework which centres on a gender structuring theory in which it is argued that culturally determined ways of defining women and men and their roles in a given society shape gender specific opportunities and constraints. It influences the manner in which the society orders its relations of production and the distribution of resources including education that result in gender differences.

Seven research tasks guided the study. They included: (i) participation rates of girls in primary education in the two districts, (ii) participation rates as related to socio-economic factors, (iii) the influence of the educational level of the family members, (iv) socio-cultural attitudes towards education, (v) the effect of household labour activities, (vi) school based factors and their perceptions on the importance of girls' primary education.

The sample population of the study consisted of 120 household heads, 20 headteachers, 10 Islamic religious leaders, 2035 pupils from Standard Six, Seven and Eight of whom 1037 were girls. Data was collected through documentary review, in-depth interviews with household heads, headteachers and Islamic religious leaders, while primary school pupils completed a questionnaire. Participatory observation was also carried out in a small number of schools and households selected from within the main sample.

Research findings established that there exist serious disparities in the provision of educational resources in the two districts which dates back to the colonial period. Taita-Taveta which was fully integrated into the colonial economy and is relatively among the rich districts in the country, has more educational resources than Kwale and girls' participation rates in primary education are higher. Boys and girls ratios in this district are equal. Government intervention through the abolition of the so-called school fees benefitted girls only marginally with a small rise in enrolment, but did not significantly alter the boy - girl ratio in Kwale.

Girls' participation is not only affected by low enrolments, but also by promotion or progression rates. It was established that with the expansion of primary education after independence, drop-out rates rose from about 20 to 40 per cent for Kwale, while in Taita-Taveta the range was from 11 to 20 per cent. Although drop-out rates appeared high for both boys and girls in Kwale it affected the latter more seriously than the former. Drop-out rates for girls are not only high throughout the classes, but become more pronounced in the upper classes.

Taita-Taveta does not only register low drop-out rates but also retains more girls in the primary school system through repetition. Research findings also established that in terms of socio-economic factors, a large proportion of the community is involved in productive economic activities that enables them to meet the high cost of their children's education as compared to Kwale.

Closely related to the parental socio-economic background is the educational level of the family members. It is an important factor influencing the

participation of girls in primary education, for parents who themselves are educated, impart a positive view of schooling among their children. Taita-Taveta has a high percentage of parents who attained basic education than Kwale.

The study also concludes that although a vast majority of parents in both Kwale and Taita-Taveta, have positive attitudes of educating both boys and girls, they are generally less inclined to educate girls than boys and harbour some traditional values that discourage the former's active participation in primary education. Religion which constitutes part of the socio-cultural factors was found to have a strong impact on girls' education. In Kwale where the population is predominantly Muslim, religious leaders who hold a strong sway are not only opposed to schooling in general, but to girls' education in particular. Western education is believed to have a disruptive effect on Islamic institutions.

The socio-cultural attitudes that tend to discourage girls' schooling encourage them to participate more in domestic and farm work, thereby reducing their participation in education.

With respect to school factors, although on the overall headteachers did not think that the school environment is discriminative against girls, it was established that the primary school teaching force is male dominated in the two districts and holds very negative views about girls' schooling which adversely influence their participation.

Finally, the study concludes that the communities in both Kwale and Taita-Taveta hold positive views about the importance of providing basic education to girls. The provision of literacy, numeracy and cognitive skills in primary education enhances women's ability to perform the multitude functions that contribute to social and economic development.

A number of factors identified in the study are readily subject to alteration through policy intervention. It is therefore recommended that the literacy campaign which the government has been waging should be stepped up as well as public awareness strategy to change gender stereotypes about female education.

A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T

The successful completion of this study was made possible by the cooperation, assistance, financial and material support by a number of individuals. I wish to acknowledge with deep appreciation the financial support from the Council for Development of Social Science Research in Africa, CODESRIA.

I owe special appreciation to my supervisor Dr. Pauline Riak, formerly of Kenyatta University for her dedication and commitment to this study. She was a great source of inspiration. My profound gratitude and appreciation to my supervisor, Prof. Daniel N. Sifuna for his tireless support, intellectual stimulation, constructive criticism and encouragement. I also thank Prof Stephene Mutunga for his commitment in supervising my thesis. The three supervisors worked as a team and due to their hard work I was able to complete the dissertation in good time.

A lot of thanks go to colleagues and friends, Prof. Mbilinyi, Prof. Galabawa, Dr. Abagi

and Dr. Wamahiu for their support in the execution of this study. Special thanks go to our staff at the Extra-Mural Centre Mombasa.

A lot of appreciation to Catherine Wandera for typing the first draft of the thesis, Joseph Anyuka for his assistance in fieldwork and finally I wish to acknowledge great assistance accorded to me by our messenger, Mr. Charo Shikari. Unfortunately, Charo died before the completion of the fieldwork. May Charo rest in peace and a lot of thanks for his patience in duplicating all the questionnaires for this study..

The study would not have been undertaken in the first place except for the support and cooperation of all primary pupils from Kwale and Taita-Taveta Districts, teachers, headteachers, Muslim leaders, Education Officers and Research assistants, Mr. Dominic Chimwani, Mr. Rashid, Mr. Bakari, Miss Asha and Fatuma. A lot of appreciation to Grace Mwangi and Carolyne Kariuki for their patience in typing the dissertation.

I can not forget to pay special tribute to my beloved husband Joseph Odera Juma for having been very supportive of my academic endeavours

and being a great source of inspiration. I wish to acknowledge my husband's financial, material and emotional support. His immense contribution went a long way in making this study a success. I also thank my children, Katarina, Tito, and little Andrew for their patience and understanding. Last but not least I wish to thank my beloved mother Perusi, my brothers and sisters, especially Agnes for their encouragement. A lot of thanks to my house helpers, Regina and Peter for their great help in looking after the children.

TABLE OF CONTENT

	<u>Page</u>
Declaration	ii
Dedication	iii
Abstract	iv
Acknowledgements	ix
Chapter One: <u>INTRODUCTION</u>	
Background	1
Statement of the Problem	9
Purpose of the Study	10
Significance of the Study	12
Definition of Terms	17
Theoretical Framework	19
Organisation of the Study	22
Chapter Two: <u>LITERATURE REVIEW</u>	
Literature Review	23
Gender Determinants	27
Household Determinants	35
School Determinants	65
The Returns of Female Education	79
Conclusion	90
Chapter Three: <u>RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</u>	
Introduction	95
Research Locale: An Overview	95

	Page
Selection of Research Sites	96
Research Instruments and Data Collection	101
Pre-testing of Research Instruments .	105
Training of Research Assistants	106
Data Analysis	108
Chapter Four: <u>BACKGROUND TO THE AREA</u> <u>UNDER STUDY</u>	
Goographical Setting	110
Climate and Vegetation	115
Historical Background of the People .	117
Population	123
Colonialism and the Development of a Capitalist Economy	124
Development of Education in Kenya: An Overview	138
Development of Education in Kwale and Taita-Taveta	146
Summary	164
Chapter Five: <u>A REVIEW OF THE STATE OF</u> <u>GIRLS ACCESS TO PRIMARY</u> <u>EDUCATION IN KENYA</u>	
Introduction	167
The Colonial Period	170
Developments after Independence	178
Summary	196

	Page
Chapter Six: <u>DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS</u>	
<u>AND DISCUSSION</u>	
Participation Rates of Girls in Primary Education in Kwale and Taita-Taveta	199
Occupation and Income of the Parents ...	226
Parental Level of Education	233
Socio-Cultural Attitudes and Girls' Participation in Primary Education	246
Household Labour Activities and Girls' Participation in Primary Education	260
School Based Factors and Girls' Participation in Primary Education	270
Perceptions on the Importance of Girls' Primary Education	282
Summary	287
Chapter Seven: <u>SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND</u>	
<u>RECOMMENDATIONS</u>	
Findings and Conclusions	295
Recommendations	304
Further Areas of Research	306
LIST OF REFERENCES	307
APPENDIX A	
Interview Schedule for Household Heads	328
APPENDIX B	
Interview Schedule for Primary School Head- masters/Headmistresses	348

	Page
APPENDIX C	
Questionnaire for Primary School Pupils	364
APPENDIX D	
Interview Schedule for Islamic Religious Leaders	384
LIST OF MAPS	
<u>MAP</u>	
Map No:1 - Location of Districts	112
Map No:2 - Taita-Taveta District Administrative Boundaries	113
Map No:3 - Kwale District Administrative Boundaries	114
LIST OF TABLES	
Table 3:1 Distribution of Primary Schools, by Divisions in Kwale and Taita- Taveta Districts	97
Table 3:2 Sample Size	100
Table 3:3 Kwale District - Sample School, Enrolment 1992	109
Table 3:4 Taita-Taveta District - Sample School Enrolment 1992	109
Table 5:1 Female and Male Attendance in Schools in 1953	178
Table 5:2 Female Proportion of Standard 6 and Standard 7 Enrolments by Province 1979	194

	Page
Table 6:1 Primary School Enrolment in Kwale and Taita-Taveta Districts Between 1971 and 1992	201
Table 6:2 Enrolment in Primary Schools by Standard and Sex, in 1971	206
Table 6:3 Enrolment in Primary Schools by Standard and Sex, in 1973	206
Table 6:4 Enrolment in Primary Schools by Standard and Sex, in 1974	207
Table 6:5 Enrolment in Primary Schools by Standard and Sex in 1975	207
Table 6:6 Enrolment in Primary Schools by Standard and Sex in 1979	208
Table 6:7 Enrolment in Primary Schools by Standard and Sex in 1984	208
Table 6:8 Enrolment in Primary Schools by Standard and Sex in 1986	209
Table 6:9 Enrolment in Primary Schools by Standard and Sex in 1988	209
Table 6:10 Enrolment in Primary Schools by Standard and Sex in 1992	210
Table 6:11 Drop-out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex in 1971	211
Table 6:12 Drop-out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex in 1973	211

	Page
Table 6:13	Drop-out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex in 1974 212
Table 6:14	Drop-out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex in 1975 212
Table 6:15	Drop-out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex in 1979 213
Table 6:16	Drop-out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex in 1984 214
Table 6:17	Drop-out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex in 1986 214
Table 1:18	Drop-out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex in 1988 215
Table 6:19	Drop-out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex in 1992 215
Table 6:20	Headmasters' Estimated Annual Drop-out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex 216
Table 6:21	Headmasters' Estimated Annual Repetition Rate (%) by Standard and Sex 216
Table 6:22	Father's Occupation 232
Table 6:23	Mother's Occupation 233
Table 6:24	Household Occupation 234
Table 6:25	Household Estimated Monthly Income 235
Table 6:26	Land Ownership 236

	Page
Table 6:27	Eldest Family Girls' Employment 237
Table 6:28	Father's Level of Education . 238
Table 6:29	Mother's Level of Education . 238
Table 6:30	Education Level of Household Respondents 239
Table 6:31	Education Level of the Eldest Girls in the Family 240
Table 6:32	Household Knowledge of Kiswahili and English 241
Table 6:33	Attitudes of Households Towards Schooling of Girls 246
Table 6:34	Future Career Aspirations by Sex 246
Table 6:35	Level of Education Desired .. 247
Table 6:36	Level of Education Desired by Gender 247
Table 6:37	Socio-Cultural Attitudes Towards Girls' Schooling 248
Table 6:38	Religious Background 260
Table 6:39	Frequency of Children's Participation in Household Labour 261
Table 6:40	Girls' Education and Household Work in Kwale District 262

	Page
Table 6:41	Frequency of Children's Work in Household Labour by Sex and District..... . 263
Table 6:42	Pupil's Frequency of Participation in Domestic Work 264
Table 6:43	Children's participation in Domestic and Farm Duties. Distribution by Sex, Age and District (Per Cent) 265
Table 6:44	Household Attendance of Parents' Teachers Meeting 266
Table 6:45	Distance to the Nearest Primary School 266
Table 6:46	School-Based Factors and Girls' Education - Kwale District ... 267
Table 6:47	Parents' Consultations with Teachers on their Children's Progress 268
Table 6:48	Length of Period Away From School in a Term 268
Table 6:49	Reasons for Absence from School 269
Table 6:50	Parents' Discussion with Children about their School-work 269
Table 6:51	Teachers by Qualification and Sex in 1992 276
Table 6:52	The Contribution of Girls' Education to the Individuals and Development - Kwale District .. 277

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background

Although there have been many years of effort, the extent of female illiteracy is likely to remain one of the greatest problems of the world by the end of this century. According to UNESCO estimates, there were still 889 million illiterate adults in 1985 of which 561 million were women. Nearly half of the women in developing countries do not know how to read and write. In these countries female illiteracy rate ranged from 19.2 per cent in Latin America and the Caribbean to 47.4 per cent in Asia and 64.5 per cent in Africa (UNESCO, 1988).

It is, however, acknowledged that the last few decades have been marked by a definite improvement in the literacy situation of women and illiteracy rates decreased in most countries. Weighted averages by region show that female illiteracy rates decreased quite sharply between 1970 and 1985 in Africa and in Latin America, and somewhat more slowly in Asia. The number of countries where more than 80 per cent women remain illiterate decreased significantly while the number of countries where

fewer than 20 per cent of women are illiterate has increased. These major strides are reflected in falling illiteracy rates for younger women; a significantly higher proportion of 10 to 24 year-olds are literate than those aged 35 years or over (UNESCO, 1988).

It has also been established that countries which have the highest rate of women's illiteracy have also very low enrolment rates for girls in primary education. On the other hand, countries which have recently succeeded in reducing their female illiteracy rates significantly are those which have often succeeded in achieving universal primary education. In spite of the efforts to increase female educational opportunities, however, enrolment ratios in primary education are generally lower for girls than boys in many of the developing countries at the primary school level. In 1986, for instance, a large percentage of countries had gross ratios below 70 per cent with a majority being in Sub-Saharan Africa. Girls were generally under-represented in primary enrolment. As a result, average female enrolment ratios were estimated at 66.8 per cent in Africa (85.1 per cent for boys), 72.5 in Arab states (94.4 per cent for boys) and

94.3 per cent in Asia (113.8 per cent for boys). Low income semi-arid countries in Africa had only the equivalent of 19 per cent of their female school-age population enrolled in primary schools (UNESCO, 1988; World Bank, 1988: 61).

The difference between girls and boys enrolment is obviously more marked in certain regions and in certain cultures than in others. Within countries, there are differences between urban and rural areas and between various social, cultural and religious groups. Consequently, although most findings indicate that girls relative to boys seem to have less access to educational opportunities, there are exceptions that make generalisations difficult. The absence of systematic analyses of the interplay factors between gender and other socio-economic variables in terms of access to education within particular countries, further limit our knowledge about the critical variables that determine access.

Before discussing the Kenyan situation with regard to women access to education, it is important to mention that the need to educate women comes from the recognition of their crucial role in society, namely, they give birth to children and play a major role in the implementation of any family planning

programmes; they bear the main responsibility for the nutrition and health of their families and of children in particular. They play the predominant part as educators for the following generation; and finally in the poorest strata of society whether rural or urban, women perform economic functions which are increasingly crucial for their families' survival (Caillords, 1989).

There are numerous studies which have shown the impact of education in development whether social or economic. Education for example contributes significantly to the reduction of women's fertility level. Maternal education is said to play a major role in determining the level of infant and child mortality and influences the educational achievement of children as Caldwell has shown with particular reference to Nigeria (Caldwell, 1979). It was shown in Nepal that the literacy level has a positive impact on school enrolment and pupil retention. (Kasaju and Nanandher, 1985).

Studies have also shown that education increases productivity of workers in the modern sector of the economy. There is increasing evidence that education can raise the productivity of self-employed workers

in the urban informal sector. With regard to rural areas, a study summarising the effects of education on agricultural productivity in different countries concluded that four years of primary education, commonly considered as the minimum level of retaining literacy, increased farmers' productivity on the average by 7.4 per cent across countries and the effects of education were much more likely to be positive in modernising agricultural environments than in traditional ones (Jamison and Lau, 1980).

These and many other examples show that by educating people and women in particular, to acquire information, knowledge and skills, by increasing their self-confidence and raising their status, education can play an important role in promoting economic development and social wellbeing.

In Kenya, women are said to constitute slightly over 50 per cent of the country's population. Their participation in small scale agricultural productivity, farm management and in the various development activities is well documented (Pala, 1978). With regard to education, statistics now tend to show that sex differences in enrolment

have diminished at the primary school level with the increasing expansion of the education system. Girls constitute 49 per cent of primary, 41 per cent of secondary students and 30 per cent of university students. The university participation rates are said to be strongly affected by the retention of women at lower levels, which seems to decrease by about 10 per cent as girls ascend from one level of education to another (Kinyanjui, 1978).

In primary education, girls' enrolment has grown steadily since the achievement of independence. In 1963, girls accounted for 34 per cent of primary school enrolment. By 1975 it constituted 45 per cent and in 1979 it had risen to 47.2 per cent. In 1989 it was estimated to be 49 per cent with some districts registering 50 per cent. This means that since the achievement of independence, female enrolment has increased at a faster rate than that of boys, enabling girls to approach some degree of equality in enrolments. (Eshiwani, 1985: 19).

Although girls' enrolment at the primary level now stands at 49 per cent, this figure is not evenly distributed by the entire country due to serious regional disparities. Surveys have

indicated provincial enrolments to be 39 per cent Coast, 50 per cent Central, 48 per cent Eastern, 49 per cent Nairobi, 47 per cent Rift Valley, 48 per cent Western, 47 per cent Nyanza and 27 per cent North Eastern (Keino, 1985: 4).

Regional differences in the provision of educational opportunities correspond to economic and political development in the country which have their origin in the colonial system. Areas of higher economic development have witnessed enormous expansion of educational facilities as compared to those with low economic advancement. Consequently, educational development is not only related to the economic development of the region, but there is a close relationship between the overall educational progress and the advancement of female education. Areas which are backward educationally are also backward in terms of female education. This is particularly the case with most districts of the Coast and North-Eastern Provinces. In these areas, there has been some resistance to allowing children of both sexes to attend school. Although considerable progress has been made in school attendance for boys, educating girls has been less acceptable. Resistance to schooling is

influenced by cultural and economic factors.

As a result of socio-economic and cultural factors, girls are fully represented in primary schools in Central, and Nairobi Provinces. At the district level, girls achieved parity in a number of districts. Kiambu 50 per cent, Kirinyaga 49 per cent, Murang'a 50 per cent, Nyandarua 49 per cent, Nyeri 50 per cent, Taita-Taveta 49 per cent, Embu 50 per cent, Machakos 49 per cent, Meru 49 per cent, Kisii 49 per cent, Kitale Municipality 49 per cent, Uasin Gishu 49 per cent and Kakamega 49 per cent. At the other extreme, there are 12 districts in which enrolment of girls in the primary schools has remained proportionally low, despite considerable increases in the actual numbers. These districts include: Kilifi 31 per cent, Kwale 37 per cent, Tana River 37 per cent, Isiolo 37 per cent, Marsabit 31 per cent, Garissa 30 per cent, Wajir 31 per cent, Narok 36 per cent, West Pokot 36 per cent, Samburu 29 per cent, Turkana 27 per cent and Mandera 19 per cent (Eshiwani, 1985: 10).

Although Kwale and Taita-Taveta District in the Coast Province, boarder each other, they sharply contrast in terms of educational development.

Kwale is listed among the less developed districts. At independence primary school enrolment was estimated at 20 per cent and by the late 1970s it had risen to about 48 per cent. The male female ratio has however, remained relatively low. In 1977 it was estimated to be 1.81. The recent Socio-Economic Profiles remarked that the district still lags behind in education with literacy levels below the national average, and the enrolment of girls in primary schools is one of the lowest in the country (Republic of Kenya, 1990:19).

Taita-Taveta, on the other hand is ranked among the highly developed districts. At independence it was estimated to have over 60 per cent primary school enrolment which was estimated to be close to 90 per cent by mid-seventies, and male-female ratio has reached parity of about 1.03 (Republic of Kenya, 1978:6).

Statement of the Problem

The research which is reported in this study is an empirical qualitative investigation which explores factors contributing to female participation in primary education in Kwale and Taita-Taveta districts of Coast Province in Kenya. The study

examines at the micro-level, the nature and effect of socio-economic, cultural, and family attitude towards female participation in primary education. Specifically, the study looks at girls contribution to household labour and wage-earning activities as they affect their participation in school.

The magnitude of both in and out of school factors which facilitate girls participation in primary education are examined. In addition, factors such as teachers' attitude and students own perceptions are examined. The study utilises qualitative approach analysing macro-level data (national-level data) and micro-level data (District data and school data). The investigation utilises indepth methodologies which focus on the community, household, and school's perception on female access to primary education.

Purpose of the Study

The overall purpose of this study was to examine factors that determine female participation in primary education in the Districts of Kwale and Taita-Taveta of the Coast-Province. To this end, the study sets out to accomplish the following objectives:

1. To determine the nature and effect of socio-economic, cultural and family attitudes towards female participation in primary education.
2. To find out how girls' contribution to household labour affect their participation in primary education.
3. To identify school based factors that hinder girls' participation in primary education.

To achieve these objectives, the study investigated the following research questions:

- (a) What are the participation rates of girls in primary education in Kwale and Taita-Taveta?
- (b) How are the participation rates related to socio-economic factors?
- (c) What is the influence of the educational level of the family members on girls' participation?
- (d) To what extent do socio-cultural attitudes towards education influence female participation in primary education?

- (e) What is the effect of household labour activities on girls' participation in primary education?
- (f) What school based factors affect girls' participation in primary education?
- (g) What perceptions centre on the importance of girls' education?

Significance of the Study

There has been a growing concern about the plight of women not only in Africa, but elsewhere in the world. Women are underrepresented in education and employment. As has been observed, the position women occupy and what status they are accorded in contemporary Africa, is to a significant extent, determined by the quantity and quality of the formal education they have access to (Nzomo 1989:20).

An analysis of factors determining women participation in primary education is important in view of the fact that in Kenya as in many African countries, the primary cycle is the only accessible level of education available to most children, especially those from the low socio-economic

status. The study is also significant in view of the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) held in Jomtien, Thailand in 1990. The conference did not only affirm the provision of education to all people, but noted that 'the most urgent priority is to ensure access to, and improve the quality of education for girls and women and remove every obstacle that hampers their active participation' (World Conference on Education for All: 1990).

The current reality facing a large proportion of the rural communities in Kwale and Taita-Taveta District is one of unacceptable poverty, of illiteracy, of restricted access to education, of undernourishment and further diminishing access to employment (Republic of Kenya, 1990: 31). There is a need on the part of planners to understand major constraints that hinder female access rather than to attribute failure to uncooperative attitudes, derived from stereotyped behaviour of the Coastal Islamic culture.

The Kenya Rural Literacy Survey of 1988 revealed an overall adult literacy rate of only 54 per cent, with female literacy rate of 40 per cent. This low female literacy rate is one of

the major obstacles of development. For example, the high rate of maternal and child mortality which still persists in some parts of the country, result from this low educational achievement. The areas where literacy rates are lowest such as Kwale, Elgeyo Marakwet and South Nyanza with an average of 34 per cent are estimated to have the highest levels of poverty as well as child and maternal mortality and morbidity.

In Kwale among the factors contributing to high child mortality is the low female literacy rate. Child mortality stood at 150 per 1000 children under five years in 1986 while national figure stood at 74 per 1000 children. This means that lack of basic education and other factors tend to limit full utilisation of females as a human resource necessary for child survival. A study of this nature which utilises a micro-level approach in examining factors affecting female participation, is useful in generating practical knowledge on women which should assist policy makers and implementers in designing more meaningful intervention strategies to improve their participation and retention in primary education leading to higher standards of life. Since education has many attributes necessary for child

survival and improvement of the family as a whole, it is imperative to increase women participation which will have practical implications for the development of Kwale as a district.

Women in the districts of Kwale and Taita-Taveta need assistance to participate in development. This is likely to be achieved when researchers and planners alike demphasize men's role in development that has tended to relegate women's efforts. Women need chance 'to earn money outside the traditional subsistence economy. They also require knowledge about child care and nutrition. It is therefore inevitable that basic education should be made available to girls irrespective of their socio-economic background. It is during this Stage that basic knowledge is inculcated to the child for an economically productive and satisfying life (Ghai:1977:4). Without formal education most of the girls end up marrying at a relatively early age.

If obstacles hampering female access in education are not rectified at the primary school level, which is the foundation of a solid progression in education, then girls cannot be expected to participate and progress meaningfully in higher

education. This study is therefore important: in enhancing female participation in education since it aims at investigating why different households in Kwale and Taita-Taveta make varying decisions of educating or not educating their daughters.

The aspects selected for investigation, namely, the literacy level of households, girls' contribution to household labour, cultural and family attitudes to education as major determinants of female participation in education and withdrawal have implications for the formulation of national policies to promote education. A factor such as the percentage of literacy in a given household is particularly important for policy purposes since the government has for long been waging a national literacy campaign.

Equally important are the family's attitudes towards education and modernisation which would stress on earning opportunities for the children as opposed to traditional attitudes that discourage schooling, and encourage children to work and generate income. These can be achieved through educational intervention among adults by way of adult literacy campaigns.

That investigation is also important for a better understanding of viable methods of research which explore the perceptions of the community, household and the school. Gender sensitive researchers are fairly recent in this country, and therefore qualitative paradigm utilising a case study approach increases knowledge on women research. Methods of investigation such as participatory observation, structured and unstructured interviews enhance capacity building for researchers on gender sensitive issues.

Definition of Terms

Primary School: For the purpose of the study, primary schools are understood to be those institutions within the formal education system which seek to provide, for a period of eight years, school age children with basic knowledge and skills in reading, writing, arithmetic and general principles. Primary schools provide education according to a national compulsory curriculum, although local

variations and modifications are possible within certain limits. The primary school is considered as an instrument for preparing the younger generation for future life and selecting those pupils who seem fit for further schooling at secondary school. Instruction is provided mainly by specialists who have been prepared for their assignments in special institutions. For one to be considered a primary graduate the person must sit for Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE).

Household:

Is defined as a person or group of persons living together under one roof or several roofs within the same compound or homestead area and sharing a community of life by their dependence on a common holding as a source of income and food which usually and not necessarily involves them in eating from a common pot.

Determinants: Factors or conditions which influence girls either to be involved or fail to get involved in primary education.

Female Participation: This refers to girls' enrolment and the chances they have for entering and completing primary education.

Socio-Economic: This relates to a combination of socio and economic factors, more specifically to income and social position.

School Factors: Includes identifiable school-based conditions that affect the involvement of girls in primary education.

Theoretical Framework

This study was guided by a theoretical framework which postulates that culturally determined ways of defining women and men and their roles in a given society at a particular historical

time period shape gender specific opportunities and constraints. The process by which this takes place is often referred to as gender structuring, namely, the means by which a society orders relations of production, reproduction and distribution between females and males from the household to the wider community (Jogger, 1983:132). The way resources are distributed including educational resources results in gender differentiation (Papanek, 1985: 317-346).

The behavioural norms and expectations that result from gender structuring begin in the home and community and subsequently taught and reinforced in the school setting. Too often girls learn at an early age that they are expected to limit themselves to activities at home and are tracked at school to courses which reinforce their roles as domestic producers and reproducers and that may exclude them from other productive careers (Davidson and Kanyuka 1992: 446-460). El-Sanabary goes beyond gender structuring and calls it the 'cult of domesticity' in which women are not only subordinated but are also ideologically oppressed through domestic labour (El Sanabary, 1989).

This study therefore utilises a theoretical framework based on gender structuring process to account for differentiation in participation and withdrawal rates. This approach identifies key factors of female participation which have not predominantly featured in many studies. It first and foremost utilises the household dimension as a key determining factor in girls' participation in education. The community or society in which the household exists contributes immensely to girls' access to education. Within the household dimension, factors such as socio-economic and cultural background, sex of the child, contribution to household activities and educational background are explored.

An important perspective of the theoretical setting is a development based view point in which modernisation is seen as a positive process through which women are freed of traditional constraints that limit their status and activities. Education within this perspective, and if freed from gender-structuring, is a part of the modernisation process, which directly enhances women's well-being through the knowledge and skills that they acquire and through shifts in attitudes and values. Women's

lack of status is the result of cultural sex role stereotypes, social attitudes, low self-esteem, role conflicts and lack of confidence from which education can play a liberating role.

Organisation of the Study

The study is organised as follows:

Chapter 1 is an introduction;

Chapter 2 is a review of related literature;

Chapter 3 discusses research methodology;

Chapter 4 provides an overview about the geographical setting of the area of study namely Kwale and Taita-Taveta, and disparities that emerged in economic and education development between the two districts since the colonial period;

Chapter 5 reviews the state of girls access to primary education during the colonial and post-independence era in Kenya;

Chapter 6 focuses on data presentation, analysis and discussion;

Final chapter draws some conclusions, makes recommendations and indicates areas of further research.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

From the preceding background chapter, it is apparent that barriers to female education should be seen from a wide range of factors. These include attitudes and perceptions of the value of the education to the community, political and social-economic development of a region, and the economic benefits derived from schooling, all of which constitute important determinants of enrolment rates.

At the family level in particular, girls' education is influenced by expectations of the effect of schooling on acquisition of different moral attitudes, their domestic life and even the acquisition of paid jobs. Thus, the decision to send a girl to school is based on a diverse set of expectations about the effect of schooling upon her adult life. These expectations differ from family to family. Under certain conditions, these expectations may lead to substantial schooling for girls. For example, when parents expect their daughters to return home after schooling and economically support them or when the parents are sure that the girls

will get employed in the modern economic sector, there may be substantial schooling for the girls. However, even when the circumstances are favourable, the time children spend in school entails costs in terms of activities which contribute to the economy and social welfare of the community. How each family overcomes these conflicts varies considerably. The family has to consider the child's role especially labour at home. This role may play or not play any significant part in the family's economy. This leads to differentiated access to schooling for the girls within a given community, (Chege, 1983:131).

In this context, to assess the relative importance of major determinants to female access to primary education, a number of factors were identified for review. First, there are factors that refer largely to the individual characteristics of the school-age children, followed by characteristics of the children's household and lastly characteristics of the primary schools.

Among the individual characteristics of the rural Kenyan children that are likely to influence whether they enrol in school, gender is certain to

head the list. Close behind should be the economic and educational status of the family as it affects the daily life of the child. For most rural households, limited landholdings and other resources place a premium on activities that support the household. For many families children are expected not only to contribute to household chores but also, where possible, to engage in productive and wage earning activities. In reviewing educational patterns in Bangladesh, Egypt and other developing countries, Papanek¹ observes, for instance, that in countries where children's schooling faces many barriers of direct and indirect costs, as well as accessibility of schools, family decisions about children's schooling depend not only on available resources but also on what is hoped that education will do for the children as individuals and for the collective interests of the household. The poorer the family, then the more vital may be the supportive activities of the children, (Papanek, 1985:317-346).

The likelihood that a child will remain in school can also be expected to be influenced by cultural attitudes within the family. Parents who themselves are educated, other things being equal, are highly likely to impart a positive view of

schooling among their children. Studies in other parts of the less industrialized world, almost invariably report that the educational experience and outlook of parents is transmitted to their offspring. In many instances, parental education is a more significant predictor than any other factor. A study of the determinants of educational participation among a large sample of the rural population of Botswana in 1974, for example, finds that the education of the household is the single most important determining factor. (Chernichovsky, 1985: 319:336).

Another factor, characteristics of the school and curricula may be a particularly powerful determinant in many third world countries. With highly dispersed rural populations in some countries, comparatively few schools, the distance a child must travel to school is no small consideration in that some rural areas are without roads and motorised transportation. With regard to curricular many text-books and other teaching materials which have a pronounced sexist bias.

The study therefore proceeds to review literature relating to major determinants of

female participation in primary education, namely, gender, household, and school characteristics as well as returns to female education.

Gender Determinants of Primary Education Participation

There are studies which have focused on gender as an important determinant of school participation. Some trace gender discrimination to the pre-colonial and colonial times. Robertson discussing women's education and class formation in Africa, argues that one group was usually omitted from the colonial transformation, since colonialists, missionaries and local peoples all used gender as a criterion for deciding who could receive formal education. Girls usually were not sent to school, and the few who were, received an education that would not fit them for the more prestigious and better paid jobs that were opening up for men, or even for the less desirable wage occupations, (Robertson, 1986:93).

The gender discrimination in colonial education is also discussed in a study on education in Tanzania. It is noted that female education was not a priority for the colonial authorities. African women came at the bottom of the list of priority to schooling.

Even during the period of educational expansion in the late 1950's, women's enrolment increased only slightly, for example, from a handful to 204 female students in post Standard 8 schooling and these students were enrolled mainly in government run schools in urban areas. Women's low enrolment, it is asserted was partially due to official policy (i.e. lack of places, resistance to expansion for girls), but the policy was also augmented by traditional leaders who complied with and in some cases encouraged the policy utilising arguments of tradition and custom. Where schools did exist, 'tradition' legitimatised curricula based on gardening and domestic science. Hence, it is concluded that official government policies, augmented by arguments for tradition, created structural constraints limiting women's education both in quantitative and qualitative terms, (Mbilinyi and Mbughuni, 1991:28).

The study does not only blame the colonial government of creating and sustaining selected aspects of customary or traditional laws and practices that perpetuated women inferiority, but sometimes 'invented' 'tradition' which maintained

women in a subordinate role. This subordination is said to have risen out of the colonial economic structure. The low priority to women's education was as a result of the labour needs of local economic systems. Women's labour was increasingly relied upon to provide casual workers for large-farms and plantations as well as family labour in peasant production systems. By making economic use of women's 'free labour', men were freed to join the migrant labour and to enter the semi-skilled occupations open to Africans, (Mbilinyi and Mbughuni, 1991:3). As cash crop production increased or men migrated to seek employment, women's labour intensified in the production of goods and services which sustained the household, in addition to the multiple tasks necessary to reproduce the family. Eventually, the colonial state even went as far as to make explicit policies to keep women in the countryside. These policies recognised women's key role in reproduction and maintaining an orderly fabric of rural society, (Mbilinyi and Mbughuni, 1991:34). And yet the same policies also prevented women from transforming agricultural production. For example, whatever official support was provided to African peasant farming, such as extension services, farm inputs

and equipment and co-operative society membership was limited to male household heads. These policies are evidence of the vested interests of the colonial state in perpetuating and indeed increasing women's oppression in the patriarchal farming system. In this context, therefore, the emphasis on domestic science and homecraft for women schooling in the colonial system is seen as a part of these larger efforts, (Mbilinyi and Mbughuni, 1991:40).

With the achievement of independence in many African countries, despite governments' efforts to promote equity in their social policies, gender discrimination and differentiation persists at all levels of the formal education systems. Women have had less access to education in terms of quantity of enrolment. In Kenya, while it is the government's objective that every child irrespective of his or her sex or social background gets equal opportunities in education, gender discriminative policies are still in vogue. Kinyanjui, for example, observes that the education system favours boys in the allocation of opportunities available at the secondary school. Citing 1972 selection for Form One, it is noted that 14 per cent of primary school

leavers were given secondary school opportunities in government aided schools which had 44 per cent of all the available Form One places in the country. In this way, about 25,800 pupils were given opportunities for secondary education. About one third of these places were allocated to girls; the other two-thirds went to boys. What this means is that the allocation mechanism at the end of primary school tends to reinforce the unequal opportunities existing between girls and boys at the primary school level. (Kinyanjui, 1978:22).

This situation had not changed much by the 1980s. One study observes that in rural Kenya, girls' poorer performance in primary school (compared to boys) influences their lower secondary enrolment rates. Entrance to the few government secondary schools is rationed by admitting only those who pass the primary leaving examination. Even when girls graduate from the primary level, relatively few (10.6 per cent in 1981 compared to 12.9 per cent for boys) were admitted to the government managed lower secondary schools. A higher proportion of qualified girls (29.1 per cent) entered the unaided and lower-quality secondary or 'harambee' schools compared to only 22.9 per

cent for boys. The harambee schools it is stressed are also the alternative for students who fail, (World Bank: 1989). A 1982 World Bank study analysing household level data found that girls were 17 per cent less likely than boys to pass the primary leaving examination and more girls attended 'harambee' schools than government secondary schools. (World Bank, 1989:13).

Keino also laments of fewer opportunities for girls at the secondary school level. It is noted that unlike primary schools, secondary schools are sex segregated with fewer facilities for girls especially in the better quality aided system in the science stream, (Keino, 1985:5). Primary schools on their part, although they are co-educational and with a uniform curriculum, it does not mean that its content is even - handed in its treatment of the sexes. It is noted that sex differentiation begins in Standard One where girls are tracked into home science courses, while boys are taught more job related skills in agriculture and carpentry. Girls are cast into a mould of future homemakers, child rearing while boys are lost into economic producers and leaders. (Keino, 1985:10). In this regard post-independence education

policies in many African countries are similar to those of the colonial regimes in their gender differentiation.

Some studies have also focussed on economic returns as a factor militating women participation in schooling. A World Bank survey on girls' education at the primary and secondary school levels, notes that when women earn less than men, girls are often kept home to do chores and boys are sent to school. It is stressed that economic policies that constrain women's ability to earn, through self employment or in the wage labour force, also limit their returns to female schooling and do discourage parents from educating daughters. Macro-economic policies may protect some sectors and penalise others; disadvantaged people who cannot compete effectively may be locked into non protected sectors. Legal or regulatory barriers to women's participation in the labour force or policies that effectively restrict women's access to information and resources also help perpetuate the tradition that girls stay home from school to do more chores, (Herz, 1991:31).

Some studies have gone to the extent of suggesting that in certain African countries, where female education seems to threaten male authority, the solution is to keep girls' education lower in quality and quantity than that of boys. In other cases, girls are denied education because it threatens male authority by up setting the traditional limits set for women's aspirations, (Robertson, 1986:110).

What seems to emerge from this section of the review is that women's formal education in many African countries is still pursued in the same goals as the colonial era. Although at the policy level, there are commitments to promoting equity, discriminative practices are pursued that tend to deny female access to education. Consequently, girls have less access to education in terms of quantity of enrolment and they tend to be concentrated in gender stereotyped subjects. This state of affairs still exists in Kenya, despite statistical revelation, that girls have reached parity with boys at the primary school enrolment. There are serious disparities in primary school enrolment with regard to gender between districts, which make this study important to explain factors that contribute to the differences.

Household Determinants of Primary Education
Participation

While educational policy and practice have an immediate bearing on the likelihood of school participation, an array of other characteristics of the child's family may be equally influential as well. In this section, the study reviews literature on the relative effect of what are termed as household determinants' on educational participation. These include; cultural factors, children's contribution to household activities and earnings, and household occupational and economic status.

(a) Cultural factors: Cultural factors and community attitudes to education have been the focus of a good number of studies. In a study commissioned by the United Nations on the status and role of women in Eastern Africa, it was argued that the attitudes of parents on girls' education has not kept pace with modernity. Many resist the idea that girls' education must keep pace with that of the boys. Traditional attitudes towards women and their place in society militate against education for girls. Some tribes have insisted on girls remaining home during puberty for initiation

and betrothal ceremonies. (UNO, 1967:7).

A good example of this was the Maasai resistance to Western education in the colonial period. Chege argues that the colonial government and Christian missionaries in Kenya campaigned against early marriage and circumcision of girls among the Maasai. There was no consideration of the functional roles these rites played in the tribe. To the Maasai, however, these two institutions were very important in preserving established ethical values and attitudes, and attempts to destroy them was not only considered as a serious threat to the community, but a way of spreading anarchy and to destroy their family and tribal life, (Chege, 1983:83).

As a compromise, girls in school were sometimes left to choose between whether to be circumcised or not by the missionaries. Girls being made to choose between education and the tribal values obviously opted for those values that came from a positively valued and more emotionally attractive into their systems of action. Moreover, it is usually easier to do or think as expected, rather than to choose an alternative way, particularly since the objective conditions of a society are likely to

support what is culturally and ideologically expected, rather than what is deviant or non-conformist. Hence most of the Maasai girls withdrew from school. For them the traditional patterns of social life meant more than uncertain promises of education, (Chege, 1983:89). Today as it was in the past, Maasai girls have little or no say about whether they avail themselves of opportunities for education. The parents, kinfolks "boding" or betrothed suitors decide if they have to attend school.

In communities which did not practise female circumcision, there were socio-cultural factors which played and continue to play a crucial role in militating against girls' participation in education. Because of the sexual division of labour and the system of bridewealth, and marriage, girls were often denied education, even in households communities wealthy enough to support schooling. Girls were valued as objects of exchange value for example in bridewealth exchange and the custom of charging fines for adultery or pregnancy of unmarried women, (Mbilinyi and Mbughuni, 1991:35).

In many areas parents feared to send their girls to school because they feared the loss of income, or they withdrew them with approaching puberty. Furthermore, schoolgirls were considered less submissive and obedient, more resistant to local patriarchal systems and more promiscuous. Their schooling was not seen as raising their bridewealth, but instead lowered their exchange value, (Mbilinyi and Mbughuni, 1991:36). Parents, and in particular mothers, also had cause to favour boys' education in that they were dependent on adult sons for old age insurance. In addition, the sexual division of labour meant that mothers had to rely on their daughters' labour.

These attitudes and perceptions continue to influence girls' enrolment in some communities. Mulopo in Zambia observes that gender inequalities is caused by parental resistance to send their daughters to school. The future sex roles of a girl as defined by a typical African society, he argues would be such that she would be a mother, housewife, home keeper and others. These roles at best would require only a minimum level of education. Parents therefore are not usually enthusiastic to send their daughter to school. The expected sex

roles of a boy include being a bread winner for the family, and in the modern economy this entails the acquisition of knowledge and skills that provide one with access to wage employment. Boys are therefore expected to acquire as much training as possible so as to attain a higher status as heads of families and as successful heads of their respective households. Girls on the other hand are expected to depend on their husbands for their livelihood. Sex-role expectations of the society, it is concluded initiated sex imbalance in school and career that has been sustained for a long time, (Muliopo, 1988:43).

A couple of studies in Kenya, have also pointed out socio-cultural constraints to female participation in education. Maritim notes that faced with economic problems, parents particularly in the rural areas where over 95 per cent of schools are located are forced to carefully select their children to go to school. In this selection process, girls are at a disadvantage and boys are favoured because they are deemed the soundest and longest term investment and security in old age.

This is particularly the case of families in the lowest socio-economic structures. Their daughters are married early in order to provide economic support in terms of bride-wealth to the family. These economic and cultural constraints work against the improvement of educational opportunities for girls. Boys who are culturally expected to inherit their parents' property are also given financial and social support to strive for excellence in the various tasks in order to maintain the status quo. On the other hand, the culture inculcates among girls that their future is much dependent upon the success of their husbands and thus parents have no firm control over it. (Maritim, 1990:28). For girls therefore, the less family pressure on them to continue in school, and the cultural definition of their roles, the instrumental need and the motivation for academic excellence may not generally be of crucial significance for them.

Maritim also criticises socio-cultural organisation in the homes for contributing to poor performance in schools. It is argued that girls in rural areas have poorer learning conditions in the homes than boys. Because of the cultural

norms of the parents - children's exclusive sleeping arrangements, whereby adolescent boys and girls are not expected to sleep under one roof with their parents, boys normally have their own study huts or cottages some distance from their parents' houses. However, girls are not generally afforded such learning conditions, but instead, are expected to study and sleep in the kitchen or in their grandmothers' houses. These factors seriously affect girls in day schools, (Maritim, 1990:29).

Maleche sees ignorance and poverty as combining to hamper the education of girls especially in the rural setting in Kenya. He argues that parents neither understand nor fully appreciate the need for education. They still argue that education will make girls discontented and immoral, and therefore less willing to undergo heavy labour in the field combined with domestic drudgery which is traditionally their lot in life. It is also noted that equally important to girls' education is the home environment. In the home, girls acquire an image of themselves and their place in society as adults. This image is a hindrance to their interest in education. They are conditioned from an early age

to the belief that women are inferior to men, that her place is in the home and garden, that she is there for the pleasure of the man and bear him children, and that she is to be seen and not heard. This undue emphasis on marriage, motherhood, and on an inferior status results in undue pre-occupation with marriage, and inhibits the development of imagination, initiative and independent thought, (Maleche, 1972:28).

Maleche further argues that equally important in the home influence is the nature and level of conversation. Since most girls keep very much to their mothers or girl friends, the cultural level of conversation in the home is anything but less stimulating educationally. Usually, conversation centres around the day's events, beer, food, dress, children and gossip about other people. This kind of environment does not generally encourage girls aspiration for education, (Maleche, 1972:25).

Studies in other parts of the less industrialised societies also point to the socio-cultural factors as hampering female participation in education. Dove notes that in a community organised into nuclear families the choice of

whether to encourage a child to attend school is the family's own. In the joint or extended family system the choice is complicated by the fact that many more people are involved in decision making. Those with authority in the family ultimately make the decisions about which children should go to school, if any and for how long but implementation of such decisions rests finally with the household intimately affected by the fact that the children who go to school cannot perform the duties they traditionally had. In a community where ties of kinship are close, it is likely that the family authorities, whether heads of households or others will desire a common attitude towards school attendance. In this way it may be that only sons, but not girls are sent to school, (Dove, 1980:71).

Two studies in rural Nepal by Gajendra Shrestha and Ashby identify gender as an important characteristic in household decisions to send children to school. It is argued that among the individual characteristics of rural Nepalese children that influence whether they enrol in school, gender is the most prominent. It is concluded that subjective perceptions of the value of schooling discriminate among children within the family with

respect to sex with boys given preference to participate in education, (Shrestha, et. al., 1986:511).

In a study of one community in India it was noted that because girls are married at an early age they need preparation for all their duties in good time. The school offers nothing in that line, so it is better for the girls to stay home to learn from their mothers, aunts and grandmothers. They get a thorough education of practical apprenticeship and socialisation. Any risk of their being disoriented by the school is avoided. The school is not rejected as such, but what it offers is not enough to displace the necessities of domestic education, (Oxenham, 1974:213).

Some studies also show that individual attitudes in the community can undermine the quality of education. Examples include, the ease with which parents keep their children at home from school to work, or even enrol them and allow them to drop out after a few grades. Such behaviour it is observed, is often related to the fact that they are not convinced that a worthwhile education is being offered, (Baker, 1988:24).

A study carried out by the Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa, has, however, revealed some positive attitudes towards female education. In Botswana and Lesotho primary schools draw more girls than boys. As a matter of fact, Lesotho is an exception at three levels of the educational system. It is shown that in the two countries where the menfold are away in the mines in South Africa, mothers manage many duties without the help of their daughters. The drop-out rate for girls is generally lower than that of boys. It is argued that mothers in these countries value schooling as being good in itself, whether or not it leads to a salaried job. Reading, writing, counting, a little idea of science are all valued simply as being good for the children and therefore a sufficient justification for school attendance, (Oxenham, 1984:212).

These positive attitudes are however not widespread in many African countries. In some communities parents are concerned about the compromises modern education may promote in cultural and religious integrity and in other situations early marriages intervenes. This means that cultural beliefs tend to reinforce the perception that there is little benefit in female participation in

education and therefore, limit their access to education , (Ponsi, 1988:18).

On religious grounds, Muslims have generally been suspicious of Western education and have seen it as a serious threat to their social structure. Education is known to interfere with the Koranic educational system, male and female roles, the nature of parenthood and the Islamic ethical and religious system. The common practice among many conservative Muslims especially in the rural areas for example, is for a father to give his daughter in marriage when she is about 12 years of age. A girl, ideally should experience her first menstruation in her husband's home and should be married before her sexual potential is fully developed. Underlying this attitude is the fear of possible conception outside wedlock. Lost virginity and illegitimacy are considered to be more the result of parental irresponsibility than the outcome of uncontrolled sex. Thus the implication for a father of such developments can be serious. He may for example, be prevented from acquiring a position of authority in the community, for a man is often chosen for such a position on the basis of his ability to control, manage and rear his family correctly. To

send a daughter to school, of the western type school, increases in the minds of many Muslim parents the risk of losing her virginity, especially if she has to stay beyond a few classes of the primary school. Western education will not only lead to a higher incidence of loss of virginity and its attendant consequences, but also undermines the system of seclusion or purdah which is often practised by Muslim communities. In the past only wives of practising mallams went into seclusion (Clarke, 1979:136):

There are however, some studies which seem to dispute this view. It is argued that beliefs based on religious affiliation or membership in particular ethnic groups are often identified, particularly by outsiders, as being responsible for denying educational opportunities for girls. It is pointed out that Islam is often cited as an example because it is believed incorrectly, to require the seclusion of girls and women from the outside world, including from schools, (Porter, 1990:7). Cynthia Nelson for example describes a widely held type of Islamic gender divisions. It posits a male household head responsible for both the material and legal welfare of his wife and children and possibly also his

mother and sisters. He has authority over other family members and is responsible for making decisions about their lives. According to this model the role of a Muslim woman should be complimentary to that of her husband, her sphere of work and concern being solely her home and family, (Nelson, 1984:6). It is asserted that this ideal type is reflected exactly as presented, although it is a pervasive stereotype found in non-Muslim books and newspapers in many parts of the world, (Porter, 1990:8). Strobel has suggested that while some belief systems simply fail to actively advocate the formal education of girls, there are other situations in which girls are deliberately kept away from school in order to protect them and their communities from new forms of knowledge and practices that may threaten their beliefs and traditions, (Strobel, 1979:10).

(b) Household Level of Education: Sociological studies have established a direct relationship between parental educational level and children's enrolment and promotion in education. Prewitt argues that equal educational opportunities in Kenya as elsewhere are undermined by the strong ties of family loyalty. There is a marked tendency for the

better educated families to ensure that their offsprings are schooled, and preferably school in the superior institutions. Partly this occurs through the natural advantages linked to geographical distribution of educational opportunities, for the greater number of school places and the quality schools are located where children of the already educated families are concentrated, (Prewitt, 1974: 206).

It is further argued that very early in the life of their children educated parents are able to provide differential advantages. The home environment is especially significant when schooling, as in Kenya where it is organised around formal and formidable terminal examinations. Wealthier, educated parents who purchase books and educational toys, who speak English in the home, who utilise private nursery schools, and who otherwise deploy resources in a manner creating pre-school conditions conducive to successful school performance, provide initial advantages which are difficult to match in poor uneducated and rural families, (Prewitt, 1974:207). Several studies on social stratification and education have overwhelmingly supported this position.

Maleche sees Western educated women as a powerful drive for increased female enrolment. From education they have learnt fundamental rules of health education, care of children and nutrition. They also have increased opportunities of employment which means more economic independence. Their education puts them on an intellectual level with men. These women have been working to increase female enrolment in schools and training, (Maleche, 1972:29).

In Ghana it was found that western educated parents valued the literacy skills and numeracy, the access to a wider world of knowledge and experience, and the socially disciplining effect of the school. They did not therefore justify expenditure on education mainly in terms of investment. If a salaried job followed, that became a happy token. Ten years of schooling was not regarded as a wasted effort, and on the contrary, failure to afford schooling for one's children was regarded as social disgrace, (Oxenham, 1984:213).

Chege in the study of the education of Maasai girls, establishes that parental level of education seems to be a major factor influencing participation

of girls in schools. Over sixty per cent of the girls came from families that fathers had had some formal education. Forty five per cent of them came from families that had fathers who had obtained formal education up to primary school level. Girls from the most educated family background constituted $\frac{1}{6}$ of the CPE candidates. Sixty nine per cent of the girls came from homes in which mothers had some education. The educational level of older family members had a similar effect, (Chege, 1983:146-147).

Shrestha in reference to Nepal also established that literacy of adult family members is the single most important determinant of whether children participate in formal school. It is observed that a 'child's father's education is substantially more predictive of educational participation if the child is a girl rather than a boy'. The correlation of father's education with educational participation was 0.337 for girls, but .202 for boys. It is also argued that parents who themselves are educated, other things being equal, are likely to impart a positive view of schooling among their children, (Shrestha, 1986:513).

Studies in many other nations almost invariably report that the educational experience and outlook of parents is transmitted to their offspring. In many instances, parental education is a more significant predictor than any other factor. A study of determinants of educational participation among a large sample of the rural population of Botswana in 1974, for example, found that the education of the head of the household is the single most determining factor, (Chernichovsky, 1985:330).

(c) Occupational Factors: The family occupational factors which are closely intertwined with the educational level of the members are likely to have an important bearing on pupil's participation in education. A number of sources refer to urbanisation as a predisposing condition for educating women. Robertson notes that parents in urban areas are more liable to afford education, to be conversant with wage job opportunities for their daughters or to be more concerned that their daughters get a modicum of education in order to make suitable wives for educated men. She concludes that while in her study the correlation for the growth of boys' education was nil, the post independence growth of girls' education correlated positively at 0.35 with an

increase in the proportion of the population that was urban, (Robertson, 1986:99).

Chege in his study of the Maasai girls, shows that parental occupation is an important determinant of female participation in primary education. Maasai parents who held regular employment, entrepreneurs and agro pastoralists, took a lead in sending their daughters to school and showed a high degree of commitment to education. It is noted that although pastoralist parents appreciate the value of education for their daughters, in general, they lacked knowledge and further education opportunities available for girls, which militate against the development of positive attitudes towards education. (Chege, 1983:141).

The study also notes that although parents regarded formal schooling for the girls in its own right it must nevertheless compete with other forms of socialisation and other avenues of socialisation. Thus the attitudes towards the value of formal education are not negative in the sense that parents regarded schooling as being of little use, but rather that other opportunities could be of equal status. They also tended to blame education

as a basis from which girls migrate to urban centres and become prostitutes. (Chege, 1983:144).

Further with regard to occupation, Chege found out that there were more girls in school from families that possessed individual pieces of land. The number seemed to be higher for the parents who had small land holding between one and fifty acres. The possession of land therefore had an important bearing on school enrolment. Among the Maasai, parents who have their own land, it is usually easy to subdivide it for animal grazing in which case boys and girls in the family were not required to look after animals. Besides the Maasai who own large sizes of land such as ranches, are quite wealthy and employ people outside the families to do domestic work. They therefore do not retain children at home, while parent without land of their own are either on or off the ranch and it is usually necessary for children to be retained at home to graze animals, (Chege, 1983:145).

The occupation of the first family girls, namely, being in regular employment also influences demand for education among the Maasai. The largest number of girls in the study came from homes that

had the first girl in regular employment. Very few girls came from families that had the first family girl either in self-employment or employed as labourers. (Chege, 1983:150)

In Tanzania, research shows that girls chances for going to primary school are strongly influenced by the socio-economic position of their families. Although there appears to be no simple, unilinear relationship between gender, income levels and the decision to educate a child, gender and future investment returns are a major factor in this decision, (Mbilinyi, 1973:10). This was found in 1969 surveys of Tanga and Mwanza carried out by Mbilinyi and was later confirmed in Malekela's findings concerning secondary girls, (Malekela, 1983:20).

(d) Contribution to Household Labour and Income:

Many studies highlight contribution of family labour and income as factors hindering participation in education. The United Nations study on the role of women in East Africa notes that parents often want children particularly girls, to stay at home and help with work or with the younger children. Even when permitted to attend school, girls have

often been required to do so much work at home that they have been unable to find the time or have been too tired to study. Some parents have not wanted their daughters to make the sometimes long and arduous journeys to school because of physical strain, (UNO, 1967:7).

Maleche's study makes similar observations on the contribution of girls to family labour in Kenya. It is noted that girls are still taken away from school to help in the garden and home, to nurse babies, clean the house, fetch firewood and water, cook food, milk cows and help to make beer. Many girls already exhausted from early morning work and hungry may have long distances to walk to school where there is usually no mid-day meal. After school the girl has to walk back home and do her daily duties in the home before she gets her evening meal. The resulting physical and mental exhaustion lowers the general vitality of a girl and makes learning uninteresting and ineffectual, (Maleche, 1972:30).

This situation has been documented in other parts of Africa. McSweeney and Freedman found that the workload of school age girls in the rural

communities, like those they studied in Burkina Faso, was such that they had little time to pursue education or complete school assignments, (McSweeney and Freedman, 1980:40). This situation has also been reported by Mitchnick in a study of rural women in Zaire. The study showed that girls aged 10-14 carried a workload equal to 55% of a full-grown woman's workload, while boys of the same age did 15% as much as their mothers. This undoubtedly reflects the opportunity cost of sending a daughter to school, (Mitchnik, 1976:10).

This state of affairs applies to many less industrialised countries. In a UNESCO (1979:2) study on education opportunities for girls and women in South-East Asian countries, it is noted that where educational opportunities are available, barriers to equal utilisation of opportunity are clearly seen in circumstances in which parents bear the cost of education or need the labour of their children to supplement the family income. It is observed that;

The opportunity cost of education in countries in which child labour has economic values is further compounded in the case of girls, by the norms which ascribe to girls and women the special

domain of household responsibilities. Working mothers are dependent on the assistance of their daughters in looking after younger siblings and innumerable household chores except in the circumstances where the extended family network is still available or where affluence permits the employment of domestic aids. It is not uncommon therefore to see girls in both urban and rural economically deprived families ministering to children little younger than themselves, and drawing water, collecting fuel, cooking and cleaning the house when they should be in school. (UNESCO-UNICEF, 1979:2).

Deble in an international comparative study on school wastage among girls and boys at the first and second levels of education lists several factors mentioned in various countries related to household labour that tend to buttress the refusal to send girls to school or to justify their absenteeism;

At home, the daughter has a certain number of duties that would be impossible to perform if she left the house at regular hours in order to attend school. Housework is always mentioned as a vital necessity: considerable importance is attached to helping with preparing meals, and where necessary, to fetching water and other numerous tasks. Female children also take part in raising crops, or in craftwork, (Deble, 1980:89).

What seems to emerge from many studies is that because poor families rely more on each family member to contribute to the family's survival, the opportunity costs of educating children are higher for poor families. They are also higher for girls. The opportunity costs include lost chore time and foregone earnings. Throughout most of sub-saharan Africa and South Asia, the heavy work burden of rural women may force them to take their daughters at home to help with care of younger siblings, time consuming tasks on the farm, and such household chores as cleaning, cooking and collecting fuel, (Herz, 1991:20).

Researchers have attempted to quantify girls' labour as compared to that of boys. Research from Malawi shows that the school age girls spend more time than boys on household chores and spend less time the first hour after school studying or relaxing. In Burkina Faso, time-use studies reveal that girls from the age of 7 on spend 3.5 hours a day on household tasks compared with only 1.5 hours for boys and in the Gambia, 10 per cent of female dropouts from primary school are said to dropout to stay home to care for siblings, (Herz, 1991:28).

In Nepal, studies have documented that the demand for girls' labour exceeds the demand for boys' labour by half and in India, Bangladesh and Nepal by the age of 5 many girls are involved in such household responsibilities as collecting water and fuel, as managing younger siblings and farm activities. Between the ages of 10 and 15 girls work 8 to 10 hours a day on productive activities and outside the home, (Jamison, 1987: 279-306). Time studies in India have shown that younger girls worked 5.5 hours and older girls 7.7 hours a day in adult household and agricultural tasks, whereas younger boys spent only 1.8 hours and older boys 3.6 hours on such tasks, (World Bank, 1988).

In general, girls do more chores than boys. Girls care for siblings, fetch wood and water and in other ways that ease their mother's drudgery. They also contribute to household production by caring for animals, pounding grain and others. Time allocation studies have shown that in settings as different as Nepal and Kenya, girls get involved in household production tasks at a much younger age and work longer hours than boys. Many girls are classified as "non-working" (not in the labour force) but most girls from poor families spend substantial amounts of time running the household. In rural Indonesia for example, girls aged 10 to 15 in the poorest households worked

an average of 94 hours a month, compared with 70 hours in the middle-income households and 26 hours in the wealthiest households. The corresponding averages for boys' household labour were 38 hours, 8 hours and 9 hours, respectively, (Sajogyo, 1985: 28).

In some regions, boys and girls specialise in their contributions to the family, and boys work more in the wage labour force. In the Philippines, for example, among children aged 12 to 14, girls spend more than twice the hours in household activities than boys do, but girls work half as much in the labour force. In Bangladesh, girls 13 to 15 years spend ten times as many hours as boys in household activities, but boys spend twice as much time in crop production and about five times as much time in wage work. But poor families in Asia also receive some cash income from girls. Extreme household poverty often forces girls to enter the labour markets at a young age. In India, 1981 data showed that of the girls aged 11 to 13 years, 24.3 per cent of those in rural areas and 9.3 per cent in urban areas were in the wage labour force. In Latin America, however, the

roles seem sometimes to be reversed. Among Peruvian children out of school 30 per cent of girls aged 5 to 7 years and 50 per cent of girls 8 to 10 years reported working for wages, slightly higher percentages than reported boys, (Herz, 1991: 27).

Girls household activities, especially in Asia and Africa, is said to have more impact than boys' activities on the parents earnings. Girls' work at home often permits parents, especially mothers, to work more on the farm or in the labour force. In sending girls to school the family loses the income that the mother might have earned because the daughter substitutes for the mother in doing home chores. This is particularly true among poor families, where girls' labour may be crucial to family survival. Micro-level research in India, for example, has shown that girls can handle women's work in agricultural operations, and a 10 per cent increase in female wages lowers the school attendance rate of girls from poor families by about 5 per cent. A study from Botswana showed that the enrolment of children is sensitive to the presence of grandparents or other elders who eliminate or reduce the need for child labour. Girls are also withdrawn from school more often than boys to substitute

for their mothers in caring for younger siblings who fall ill. In principle the picture might be similar for sons in areas where boys or men traditionally herd cattle. But in practice the picture for sons in many countries is different from that for girls. Sons do fewer chores at home and so do not liberate either parent to earn more. The full opportunity cost of educating girls may therefore be higher than that for boys, especially for poor families. This difference may help explain why poor parents often invest less in their daughter's schooling than in their sons, (Herz, 1991:28).

In this section of the review it has been seen that a wide array of characteristics of child's family which are termed as household determinants have an immediate bearing on the likelihood of school participation. These include cultural factors and community attitudes to education. In some communities, for example girls are kept at home during puberty for initiation and betrothal ceremonies while in others girls are valued as objects of exchange, for example in bridewealth, which contributes to denying them education. Other household characteristics which influence female participation in education centre on parental level of education,

their occupation and children's involvement in household labour and income. There is a marked tendency for the better educated families to ensure that their offsprings are schooled including girls and they afford the cost of schooling. It was also seen that in most communities in Africa and Asia, especially in the lower socio-economic groups girls are engaged in household chores and income than boys.

Although these household factors which tend to influence girls' participation in primary education have featured in national surveys of various countries, there have been few studies focusing on these issues by way of case studies comparing differences in enrolments at the district levels as this study has attempted for Kwale and Taita Taveta. Among the few local studies in this area is Chege's study on the education of Maasai girls, but its main focus was on the socio-economic factors that affect girls enrolment and their performance. This study goes a little beyond Chege's study since it also examines school determinants of female participation.

Moreover, considering the fact that sharp differences exist between Kwale and Taita Taveta in girls participation in primary education which indicates that there could be other factors beyond the households which contributes to the disparity between the two districts that merit a close examination. Little is known about the distribution of educational resources and how that affects girls' participation. Within the households themselves there is a need to know the most powerful determinants in order to recommend some intervention that is likely to increase more participation.

School Determinants of Participation

The most systematic studies into the gender dimension of the educational process covering important issues such as curriculum content, teachers' attitudes and expectations, students' own perceptions, teacher-student and peer group interactions in schools and others have been carried out in Europe and North America. This is an aspect of gender and educational research that is least developed throughout Africa, (Dirasse, 1990:50).

Several studies have, however, focussed on cost to be a factor militating against female participation in primary education. In Ghana, withdrawal from primary and middle schools was explained by the parental failure to afford the expense. Even though tuition was free, uniforms, exercise books and all other familiar demands added up a sizeable drain in household income (Oxenham, 1984: 213). These factors are also highlighted in Nkinyangi's study of socio-economic determinants of repetition and withdrawal at the primary school level in Kenya. He observes that the phenomena of withdrawal does not only reflect the socio-economic status of the family but also sex differences. Girls tend to be the victims of dropout as opposed to boys in low socio-economic families. In situations where parents cannot pay fees for both boys and girls, girls are sacrificed outright. Male siblings are allowed to proceed while, female siblings are allowed to drop out. Girls who therefore go to school and proceed through unimpeded are a select group determined not only by the socio-economic status of the family, but also by prevailing sexist attitudes regarding the perceived costs and benefits of girls education. (Nkinyangi, 1980:248).

In a Unesco survey in South-East Asia countries, it is observed that inability to pay fees and purchase books, equipment and clothes compels parents to invest in the education of their boys, whom, they see as a source of future family support in preference to their daughters, whose economic contribution could well be to a different household; (UNESCO, UNICEF, 1979:2).

The Unesco survey also cites other educational factors that militate against girls education. It mentions lack of adequate buildings, equipment and a shortage of qualified teaching personnel particularly in remote areas. Girls are particularly disadvantaged by the fact that countries with difficult terrain and lack of transport facilities, access to schools is even more difficult for girls than boys. In conservative societies, lack of women teachers in remote areas is mentioned as a serious inhibiting factor to increasing girls' participation in education. It is also argued that the formal education system has its inbuilt weakness which adversely affects participation. The insensitivity of the administrative machinery and the rigidity of the educational structure prevents

adjustment to socio-economic needs which influence school attendance. In rural agricultural communities, for instance, school terms are often not adjusted to the demand for juvenile labour during harvesting seasons with the result that large scale absenteeism may lead to school withdrawal. The absence of women teachers in rural schools and difficulties in making the curriculum more suitable to girls are cited as factors affecting girls' participation. (UNESCO, UNICEF, 1971:1).

Some studies focus on role stereotyping as a serious hindrance to girls' interest in formal schooling. McGrath in her study notes that even where female primary school enrolment has approached 50%, girls' horizons are being limited by the imposition of role stereotypes. By the time girls reach the fourth grade, their visions of occupations open to them are largely narrowed to four: teacher, secretary, nurse or mother. Boys of the same age do not view their occupation potential through such restrictive classes. It is further argued that instead of anticipating social change, and preparing children to live in the society of the future, primary schools reflect current or even

outdated social patterns. Schools therefore become mechanisms for social control, and perpetuate conformity, social stratification and dependence on others for learning. Young girls often excel academically partially because elementary school values are congruent to the traditional demands of the female sex role. Primary education reinforces obedience, social and emotional dependence and docility. Subsequently, girls become prisoners of their own experience and others' expectations, (McGrath, 1991:27).

(a) Physical Environment: Some focus on studies which have discussed these issues may provide more insight on how school determinants influence enrolment. Considering the school environment it is argued that girls have special needs for physical protection, and tradition often demands special concern for girls' privacy and social reputations. In cultures where female seclusion is practised, the impact of that tradition on girls enrolment after puberty is likely to be substantial. Safety and cultural concerns may leave parents feeling obliged not to send girls to school even when the opportunity cost of girls chore-time is low, unless schools are

located close to home, equipped with facilities such as separate lavatories, well supervised and served by female teachers. (Herz, 1991:29).

In Kenya in recent years the cultural factors and the school have generated considerable controversy. Muslim girls in some parts of the country are expected to wear 'buibui' or other garments that cover their heads, chest, body, arms and legs down to their ankles. This style of dressing has raised debate on what is considered the appropriate dress for the 'Western schools'. In addition swimming classes could be a source of embarrassment for Muslim girls as menstruation which is regarded as pollution prevents them from swimming from time to time. An additional difficulty for Muslim girls is that of attending a mixed swimming class, or one with a male instructor, which is considered immodest. (Porter, 1990:10).

The closer the school to home, the less parents tend to worry about girls safety or reputations because girls can be kept under close watch. Where transport is difficult or costly and where populations are dispersed, distance is likely

to matter more. Empirical evidence exists on the nature of this constraint. In Egypt, for example, the location of a school within 1 Km of a community resulted in an enrolment rate of 94 per cent for boys and 74 per cent for girls and when the distance was 2 Km, boys' enrolment fell only slightly to 90 per cent, but girls' enrolment declined sharply to 64 per cent. In Ghana a long distance to primary school significantly deters girls' enrolment but not boys. (Herz, 1991:29).

(b) Female Teachers: The issues of teachers is equally important. Maleche focuses on the quality of teachers and examinations as major hinderances to girls access to schooling. It is noted that among the adverse school conditions are inefficient teaching and an unhealthy preoccupation with examinations. It is pointed out that it is often the case that some teachers are unqualified or, if qualified, are out of date in subject matter and methods of teaching. And, if they are up to date, they are not necessarily dedicated. They view teaching as a secondary choice to higher education. It gives them a livelihood and some status in society. It is a stepping stone to a better job

in business, industry or politics. Their job as teachers is therefore in drilling children for examinations, and in practice this often means boys where the school is mixed. Examinations being so highly competitive, girls suffer the most because from their upbringing they underestimate themselves and their abilities. Male teachers tend to neglect them, and girls are quick to sense this and the lack of dedication on the part of the teachers. They lose enthusiasm for learning and look forward to marriage. (Maleche, 1972:31).

In some settings, girls are expected to be taught by women and in others parents prefer that girls be taught by women. In Pakistan and Bangladesh, for example, cultural factors strongly favour female teachers for girls, although only about a third of primary school teachers in Pakistan and a fifth of those in Bangladesh are women. In Kenya it was found out that as much as girls are taught by men, parents worry about possible pregnancies, (Herz, 1991:30). The shortage of female teachers is usually worse in rural areas. This is often caused by such conditions as poor roads and limited public transport which may

especially restrict women's mobility. Research evidence now suggests that a shortage of female teachers can inhibit girls' school attendance particularly at the secondary school level. (Herz, 1991:31).

The school curriculum has been identified by some researchers as a focal point of discrimination against girls. In many parts of the world, girls have fewer opportunities to take mathematics and science subjects and do less well in examinations than boys in spite of there being no difference in their innate ability. (Eshiwani, 1983).

Deen describes the hidden curriculum, which reinforces social stereotypes about appropriate female and male behaviour. The hidden curriculum is expressed through the methods in which formal curriculum material is presented in the classroom and in classroom interaction, (Deen, 1978:20). It has been observed that through the hidden curriculum girls are subject to their teachers' negative attitudes regarding their abilities and that classroom participation is at times dominated by boys with no intervention by the teacher, who may not even realise that this is happening, (Megarry, 1980). In the classrooms at times girls are rewarded for being

quiet, docile and neat in their work, while boys are rewarded for getting the right answer. The creative, intelligent, lively girl, who fidgets, laughs and is always putting her hand up for attention is seen as naughty. A boy acting in the same way is simply bright, (United Nations, 1985:16).

(c) Curricula and Textbooks: The effect of curriculum and general quality of schooling to female enrolment may be especially strong because parents may insist more on quality before they pay the costs of educating girls. They may be unenthusiastic with girls' schools whose curricula is heavily biased towards low paying skills such as knitting, sewing and secretarial work instead of teaching such essentials as mathematics and science. Such curricula shortcoming has a major effect on girls future employment opportunities as it hinders women's access to better paying jobs. (Herz, 1991:30).

Textbooks and other teaching materials have been criticised for their pronounced sexist bias that discourages girls from thinking of themselves as good students or as suited to any but few traditional occupations. Often books are said to portray men as intelligent and adventurous, seeking

employment in new, exciting and profitable fields. Women are depicted as passive, admiring and suited only for traditional roles, if they are shown at all, (Kelly, Elliot, 1982:2). A study in Zambia, for example found that although textbooks systematically treated men's activities as admirable, women appeared rarely and primarily in domestic roles and were characterised as passive, stupid and ignorant, (Hyde, 1989). Girls may therefore receive subtle messages from textbooks that guide them into traditional roles.

Obura in a recently completed study on primary school texts in Kenya, gives a very vivid account of their sexist bias that do not only lead girls into traditional roles, but also contributes to their failure and withdrawal from school. The study focused on text books in all the subjects of the primary school curriculum. In reference to mathematics texts, it is noted that they depict a picture of the active male engaging in work and business in a wide range of fields, earning cash, buying land, houses, farms, cattle, vehicles, food, clothing, borrowing and taking loans to develop his financial capacity; saving and investing substantial

profits. Women in contrast, are mainly absent from these activities, but when they do appear in the textbook they are engaged in domestic and poultry activities, (Obura, 1991:37). It concluded that the effects of this image on girl learners are predictable. The results of unfavourable learning conditions for girls in this subject in the classroom are:

1. Girls under achieve in mathematics at the first possible opportunity, in the primary leaving certificate. They are provided with fewer and fewer places in school at the upper echelons of the system....
2. They 'select themselves out' as the current idiom goes of science at school and university levels; they do not apply for places in technical courses. But one of the root causes of this withdrawal from science based technical courses is that they are simply not qualified to enter these courses. They do not have the required mathematical skills.
3. They drop out of school at a faster rate than boys, at a rate of over 30 per cent from the secondary schools, (Obura, 1991:39).

In the sciences, textbooks depict fewer female characters than mathematics textbooks. They deliberately describe scientists as he and address the pupil as he. It is noted that this is consistent with the evidence that if various factors, among them textbooks content and orientation, work against female participation in science, then girls opt out of science in the secondary school, perform worse than boys in primary school examinations and withdraw mentally from compulsory science classes, (Obura, 1991:47).

The sexist overtones are equally depicted in the language textbooks as well as all the subjects of the school curriculum. Female adults for example, are referred to as 'mother' and are more often depicted in unremunerated, supportive and quiescent roles in language textbooks. It is noted that girls probably begin to wonder why they are in school at all when the Kiswahili and English books stress the home orientation of women's lives. In the entire curriculum of the primary school, it is rightly concluded that there are sufficient reasons presented through the textbooks for girls to lose interest in school activities which are male-

oriented, (Obura, 1991:76).

As it has already been pointed out, the most systematic studies into the gender dimension of the educational process covering important issues such as curriculum content, teachers' attitudes and expectations have still to be carried out in less industrialised world in general, and Africa in particular. Some studies are however, beginning to emerge focussing on educational cost as it contributes to lower female participation, physical protection and social reputation, teachers' gender and the discriminative nature of the curriculum and textbooks. Although this study will not venture into analysing sexist biases in primary school texts, it is important that more data is provided in the area of educational processes as they affect female participation, to avoid generalisations on gender discrimination based on American and European researchers. Not much information is available locally portraying the views held by parents, pupils and teachers on how educational processes could be contributing to less girls' participation in primary education.

The Returns to Female Education.

It is widely believed that the benefits from education accrue to individuals, families and societies. Individuals for example, can expand their interests and skills and earn more income. The broader social benefits of education relate to aspects such as lower fertility, better health and more education for the next generation. (Herz, 1991:11). This section reviews literature on education and private economic returns to individuals and the broader social returns to families and societies as it affects women.

Many economic and sociological theories predict that education increases women's participation in the labour force. This prediction is based on the notion that education favourably affects women's willingness and ability to enter the labour market. It provides them with the necessary credentials for employment and therefore a strong inducement to enter the labour market. Education is also said to change women's attitudes towards their own role in the household and in the workplace, (Mincer, 1962). For instance, in countries where the prevailing gender norm is that

women are confined at home and exclusively attend household chores, while men work and bring home the bread, primary education can assist in breaking down this traditional gender division of labour. Remy who studied the economic activity of women in Nigeria, for example commented that 'without exception, the women in my sample who have been able to earn a substantial independent income, had attended primary school, (Mincer, 1962). Urdang's study of women in Mozambique provides further evidence that the lack of education among women tends to reinforce the gender division of labour, (Urdang, 1989). Girls primary education thus establishes the basic skills and opens up options on a wider range of economic activities. Literacy, numeracy and cognitive skills increase women's ability to take part in various development efforts and related vocational training programmes.

Various researches have attempted to show a direct relationship between education and production processes. There is now accumulating evidence that the primary education helps to increase farm productivity. In India, a study showed that literate farmers produce higher yields per acre

because they have more access to agricultural and co-operative training, seek more contact with agricultural extension workers, and are better able to implement new ideas and to use existing facilities., (Floro and Wolf, 1990:23). There has also been evidence suggesting a strong link between primary education and nonformal training programmes, because it broadens participants' horizons, raises their aspirations and familiarises them with modern concepts and institutions., (Floro and Wolf, 1990:24). Basic skills are therefore a necessary condition if further non formal training is to be successful.

Although these studies demonstrate the importance of primary education in economic participation, it is reckoned that women face many barriers in formal employment and self-employment that constrain their earnings as farmers or entrepreneurs and so limit the returns to female education. For instance, research shows that women farmers often have less access than men farmers to information, technology, inputs, land and markets. These effectively restrict many women to low productivity, low-paying lines of work,

(World Bank, 1989). When women are therefore unable to produce or earn much despite long hours spent working, the returns to female schooling are considerably reduced. It is, however, not easy to break the cycle but part of the answer is to cease protecting certain sectors, remove the labour market barriers, and try to promote women's access to education, information and resources so that they can gain mobility and escape the low-productivity, low paying sectors. It is only then that returns to female education will rise and generate a greater demand for schooling, (Khandker, 1990:60).

Social returns of female education has often been estimated in terms of the impact of girls' schooling on such aspects as health, fertility and children's learning. A considerable body of research exists on these issues. One reason for the focus of research in this area undoubtedly lies in the extreme importance of these issues to most of the poorer countries of the world.

One social return that is often not given prominence however, is that of the skills gained in school that tend to enhance more social interaction. It is generally assumed that the most important skills

that girls gain from a primary education are literacy and numeracy. In a study with rural women in Zimbabwe, they stated that 'Education is very important these days.' 'Without it, I can not even read the signs on the road. Also education will help us when we are working and speaking in co-operatives'. The study found that the lack of any formal education clearly influenced how women saw themselves. 'Without education you are nothing in this world', (Zimbabwe Women's Bureau, 1981). In Nigeria, Callaway found that one of the primary impacts of education for girls in the society was increased contact outside their households and the opportunity to find social reinforcement for self-conceptions and aspirations that they had developed, (Callaway, 1980). In general, few studies exist that directly address the questions of educational impact on women's self esteem, confidence and perspective on life and how these changes affect the larger social context.

Research has focussed on maternal education and child health. Research from different countries suggests that on the average schooling for women is associated with a reduction in child mortality.

A study in India, for example, found that infants of illiterate women in rural areas had a mortality rate more than double that of infants whose mothers had a primary school education, (Caldwell, 1979:33). A study in the relationship between child nutrition and factors such as family income and maternal education revealed that literate mothers made better use of scarce resources for their children's welfare than did illiterate mothers with higher incomes, (Floro and Wolf, 1990:56). Cochrane, Leslie and O'Hara reviewed the literature on the effects of parental education on child health and concluded that maternal education is closely related to child health, whether measured by nutritional status or infant child mortality, stating that the evidence on the significance of the relationship was unequivocal, (Cochrane, O'Hara, et.al., 1980:30).

In addition to the impact of education in improving children's health, research also shows convincingly that women's education leads to smaller families, while men's education has less effect. Female education has been established to reduce fertility, especially where family planning services are available. It is linked with later marriages,

lower fertility rates, the desire for smaller families, increased practice of contraception and generally increased practice of more effective methods of contraception. The relationship is stronger as women's education increases, (Herz, 1991:21). In a study on unmarried adolescent females in rural India for example, it was found that the ideals of family size were significantly associated with the level of schooling. The least educated respondents, within a range of from zero to eight years of schooling desired an average of over one child more than the most educated., (Schultz, 1989). In-depth country studies reinforce the point that women with more education have fewer children. In almost every country studied in recent years, educated women have fewer children than uneducated ones. These studies suggest that secondary education often has a much greater influence on family size than primary school, (Herz, 1991:22).

Although less researched, girls education has also been associated with increased desires to educate their children. Several studies summarised by Behrman suggest that parental schooling promotes children's schooling, (Behrman, 1990:39). Mother's

education has been correlated with increased participation in education by their children in Nicaragua, Brazil, Malaysia, the Philippines and Peru. Within the African setting, a study in Botswana found rural female headed households were more likely than others to send their children to primary school. In Tanzania, it was found that the more affluent peasant households were headed by men, who tended to invest surplus in marrying an extra wife, thereby adding to the domestic labour pool. In contrast, female household heads saved their income to pay school fees and expenses and encouraged their children to study and prepare for entrance examinations. In another study of women in Ghana it was found that their attitudes shifted with increased schooling. Women play the dominant role in financing their children's education, paying school fees for both sexes even in situations where men have refused to support girls' schooling, (Floro and Wolf, 1990:50). A more recent study in Ghana finds that maternal education is the main influence on children's schooling whether for boys or girls. But the effect on girls is roughly twice as great, whether for girls' actual enrolment or for the probability

that the girls will continue to the next grade. Paternal education also promotes children's enrolment, more for girls than for boys, but the maternal effects are stronger, (Lavy, 1992:20).

A few critical studies, however, have cast serious doubts as to whether women draw much from current systems of education in Africa. It is argued that African women generally perform important functions in bringing in household income, but the type of education most women receive in terms of its quality, quantity and content neither prepares them for the stiff competition for jobs requiring formal education nor provides alternative skills. This is because vocational schools tend to be home economics-oriented for women, teaching cookery, household economy, health care and handicrafts, but seldom with a view to their marketability. The road which leads girls to school is in fact only a detour which leads them back to the home, (Robertson, 1986:109).

African women, it is further argued, perform most of the agricultural labour, but one of the most salient aspects of women's education in

Africa is their exclusion from agricultural education. One study goes as far as suggesting that 'not sending girls to school in the context of contemporary rural Liberia is a rational choice' because it does not help their agricultural skills and may unrealistically raise their aspirations, (Robertson, 1986:110). In the present African context, practical skills required for factory or agricultural work can best be taught through on the job training or in an apprenticeship. Since women are not often offered wage employment, but instead they are usually self-employed, the apprenticeship system is the most viable for disseminating new skills to them at low cost. Sending most girls to primary schools neither gives them sufficient apprenticeship training nor skills that are relevant for finding wage employment. Their aspirations may rise, even though with the expansion of low quality primary education, many may finish primary school still functionally illiterate, (Robertson, 1986:112). This dilemma suggests that education is not only economically dysfunctional for women but also prepares them for subordination. A typical example of this situation is in Ghana where older generations of women who were independent entrepreneurs send their daughters to school to

become secretaries, or nurses and wives for upwardly mobile husbands or in Northern Nigeria where girls schooling hinders accumulation of independent resources by their mothers whose seclusion inhibits their participation in trade, (Robertson, 1986:112). The expansion of education in the view of these researches therefore has become a disaster for women both by reducing their labour force participation and by increasing their subordination to men. It has neither raised their economic participation nor broken down sex-stereotyping either in education itself or in the labour market, (Robertson, 1986:113).

In this section, some literature on the return of female education has been reviewed. It is argued that benefits from education accrue to individuals, families and societies. Many economic and sociological theories predict that education increases women's participation in the labour force. Although studies demonstrate the importance of primary education in economic participation, it is reckoned that women face many barriers in formal employment and self-employment that constrain their earnings as farmers or entrepreneurs and so limit the returns to female education.

Social returns of female education is often estimated in terms of the impact of girls schooling on aspects such as health, fertility and children's learning. Although some research has been carried out on issues of individual and social returns of female education, more researches need to be carried out to establish a large body of knowledge in these areas. With the rampant problem of school leaver unemployment and a sharp decline in the quality of education provided in schools, primary school participants and their parents need to be given some opportunity to assess the impact of education. This study is to provide such opportunity in Taita - Taveta and Kwale Districts with a probable result of encouraging policy intervention to promote increased participation of girls in education.

Conclusion

From this review of literature, it is seen that barriers to female education should be interpreted from a wide range of factors. These include attitudes and perceptions of the value of education to the community, the political and socio-economic development of a region, and the economic benefits derived from schooling, all which constitute

important determinants of enrolment rates. On the basis of these factors, the study formulated some determinants of female participation in primary education, which included gender, household and school characteristics and returns of schooling.

With regard to gender discrimination in education it was seen that in many African countries it is still pursued in the same goals as the colonial era. Although at the policy level, there are commitments to promoting equity, discriminative practices are pursued that tend to deny female access to education. Consequently, girls have less access to education in terms of quantity of enrolment and they tend to be concentrated in stereotyped subjects. This state of affairs still exists in Kenya, despite statistical revelations that girls have reached parity with boys at the primary school enrolment. There are serious disparities in primary school enrolment with regard to gender between districts which make this study important to explain factors that contribute to such differences.

On household determinants it is seen that a wide array of characteristics of a child's family have an immediate bearing on the likelihood of school participation. These include cultural factors and community attitudes to education, parental level of education, their occupation and children's involvement in household labour and income. Although household factors which tend to influence girls' participation in primary education have featured in national surveys of various countries, there have been few studies focusing on these issues by way of case studies comparing differences in enrolments at the district levels as it is attempted in the study. Considering the sharp differences which exist between Kwale and Taita-Taveta in girls participation in primary education, these seem to indicate that there could be other factors beyond the households which contribute to the disparity between the two districts.

In the review of school determinants, it was pointed out, the most systematic studies into the gender dimension on the educational process covering important issues such as curriculum content, teacher's attitudes and expectations have still

to be carried out in less industrialised countries in general and Africa in particular. Some studies are however, beginning to emerge focusing on educational cost as it contributes to low female participation, physical protection and social reputation, teachers' gender and the discriminatory nature of the curriculum and textbooks. Although this study will not venture into analysing sexist biases in primary textbooks, it is important that more data are provided in the area of educational processes as they affect female participation to avoid generalisation on gender discrimination based on American and European researches. Not much information is available locally portraying the views held by parents, pupils and teachers on how educational processes could be contributory to less girls' participation in primary education.

Some studies have also attempted to demonstrate on how benefits from education accrue to individuals, families and societies. There is generally a paucity of data in this area which necessitates more research to establish a large body of knowledge. With the rampant problem of school leaver unemployment and a sharp decline in the quality of education

provided in schools, primary school participants and their parents need to be given some opportunity to assess the impact of primary education.

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The methods employed in this study draw on a wide range of quantitative and qualitative data collection techniques. The use of survey techniques applied to a stratified random sample of households, pupils and headteachers was considered to be insufficiently sensitive to provide a detailed understanding of factors affecting female participation in primary education. An indepth study approach had to be employed to allow for interactive interviewing and observation of households and schools. The indepth approach also enabled the researcher to balance the picture emerging from the survey which was inevitably subject to the limitations of questionnaire as instruments of inquiry.

The design discusses research locale, selection of research sites and sampling procedures, sources of data, research instruments, pre-testing of instruments and training of research assistants.

Research Locale: An Overview:

The Coast Province of Kenya was chosen for the study because according to national statistics, it

is one of the provinces with low female participation in primary education, (Kenya Country Paper, 1989:9). Kwale District in Coast Province was chosen for the study because it has low participation rates of girls in primary education, (42 per cent) compared to the national figure of 48.7 per cent by 1991, (GOK, 1992, Wamahiu, 1992). Taita-Taveta in Coast Province is the only district with high level female participation in primary education. In fact, female participation rate is 49 per cent, which is slightly more than the national figure. It was imperative to compare why the two districts adjacent to each other have marked differences in female participation in education.

The study was conducted in government primary schools in all administrative divisions of both districts. District Education Officers in both districts provided lists of all primary schools. According to District records in 1992, Kwale District had 263 primary schools while Taita-Taveta had 171 primary schools.

Selection of Research Sites

In order to conduct effective field survey, it was first of all necessary to narrow down the

research locale into manageable research sites. In some divisions there were more primary schools than others as shown in Table 3:1.

TABLE 3:1
Distribution of Primary Schools by Divisions
in Kwale and Taita-Taveta Districts:

KWALE		TAITA-TAVETA	
DIVISIONS	NO. OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS	DIVISIONS	NO. OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS
Matuga	40	Wundanyi	44
Msambweni	97	Voi	51
Kinango	89	Mwatate	51
Kubo	37	Taveta	25
TOTALS	263		171

Source: District Education Officers, Kwale and Taita-Taveta.

Sampling Procedure:

1. The number of schools in Taita-Taveta = 171

The number of administrative divisions = 4

Assuming average distribution, then each

division has $\frac{171}{4} = 42.75$ Schools
= 40 Schools

Taking 5% of the Sample = $5/100 \times 40 = 2$ Schools
 2 Schools per division.

2. The number of schools in Kwale District = 263

Number of divisions = 4

Assuming average distribution, then each

division has $\frac{263}{4} = 65.75$

Taking 5% of the Sample = $5/100 \times 66 = 3.3 = 3$

Schools per division.

3. Ratio of Taita-Taveta District schools to
 Kwale District Schools is $171:263 = 1:1.538$
 $= 1:1.5$ (Multiply by 2 to make
 whole numbers)

Hence if 2 schools are selected per division
 in Taita, then 3 schools should be selected
 per division in Kwale District. In Kwale,
 the sample consisted of (3 schools).

(3 Schools x 4 divisions) = 12 schools.

In Taita-Taveta (2 Schools x 4 divisions)

= 8 Schools.

In Kwale, 3 schools were randomly selected from
 each of the divisions while in Taita 2 schools
 were randomly selected from each of the divisions.

The class level of the participating classes was chosen largely from the standpoint of their age and ability to handle a questionnaire. More specifically, according to literature on gender participation in education, it is noted that there is parity in girls' participation from class one to class four. From class five onwards, girls start dropping out of school much more than boys and their participation is low. It was therefore important to find out how girls participate in primary education specifically from class five to eight.

According to the pilot study, class five were not able to handle a questionnaire and were excluded from the study. During the actual study all pupils (both boys and girls) from classes six, seven and eight responded to the questionnaire. Though the study focusses on girls, boys' response to issues pertaining to female education was of great interest. As regards household interviews, two pupils (a boy and a girl) who responded to the questionnaire were randomly selected from class six, seven and eight. In each school, there were six pupils, (three boys and three girls). Each of the pupil was followed by the researcher to his or her home for

interview with the household head.

TABLE 3:2

Sample Size

DISTRICT	NO. PRIMARY SCHOOLS	NO. GIRLS	NO. BOYS	NO. HEAD TEACHERS	NO. HOUSEHOLDS
TAITA-TAVETA	8	724	637	8	48
KWALE	12	313	398	12	72
TOTAL	20	1037 Boys	1035 Girls	20 Headteachers	120 Households

Sources of Data

Sources of data included documentary review, questionnaire, interview schedules and participant observation guides.

Documentary review covered colonial education reports, Ministry of Education annual reports, Development Plans, District Education records and school records.

Household data were collected through in-depth interviews with household heads within the schools' catchment area while headteachers' data was obtained through interview schedules. In-depth interviews were also held with Muslim religious leaders. A questionnaire was administered to primary school pupils.

Research Instruments and Data Collection

Two major considerations are important in selecting instruments. First, the instruments selected must measure whatever is being investigated namely be valid and secondly, they should be reliable. This section of the study describes the instruments used, highlighting the rationale for their choice.

(a) In-Depth Interviews

Household information was collected through indepth interviews with heads of households. These were households within the school catchment area. Through interviews, attitudes of parents towards female education, traditional values and customs and girls participation in education, were explored.

Interview schedules for heads of households also focused on household members educational background and religion, and occupational status of the members. Information was sought on household income, household chores for children, factors about the drop-out rate of children and parents choice between education of girls and boys.

In-depth interviews were also held with ten Muslim religious leaders to assess their views about the role of education and the Islamic religion. The indepth interview method is considered to have greater advantage over a questionnaire for collecting data from heads of households for a number of reasons. Since the purpose of the study was to find out factors which interfere with female participation in primary education and parents attitude towards education of girls, it was only an interview method which would bring out real experiences much more vividly than a questionnaire. Furthermore, an interview method provided an opportunity for indepth probing. Though the interview method was extremely expensive in terms of time and money, it provided high response as opposed to most questionnaire.

Interview guides for focused group discussions centred around themes such as views on girls participation in education, girls participation in household chores, girls responsibilities in school, and many others.

(b). Questionnaire

The pupils' questionnaire, contained items on family background and school related information. The kind of data solicited centred around a number of important clusters thought to be related to the phenomena of female access to primary education. In the family background area, these were the father's and mother's educational level, father's occupation and kind of business owned by the family. School related information centred around attendance, repetition record, and school achievement. The questionnaire was administered by the research assistants to all the primary pupils of standard six, seven and eight. Research assistants were present during the answering of the questionnaire and explained contents of the questionnaire to the pupils.

Special care was taken to have information on pupils social background that was as reliable as

possible. On the day before pupils were asked about their socio-economic background, they went home with specific instructions about what kind of information to obtain from their parents, that is, their parents educational attainment, occupation, business, size of family land and others.

Most of the information pertaining to family background and school-related variables was gathered as early as possible during school year 1992. This was important to avoid missing any children who might drop out of school to "scare away birds from the gardens before harvest time". A record of interviewed children was kept during several visits to the research schools. From the pupils who responded to the questionnaire, two were randomly selected from each of the study classes and the head of their households interviewed.

(c) Headteachers' Interviews

The Headteachers' interview schedule contained items on:- Staff members and his own academic qualifications, enrolment of pupils in school disaggregated into boys and girls, the number of repeaters and drop-outs in school, and factors contributing to attrition.

(d) Participant Observation

The researcher and research assistants were participant observers in a small number of schools and households selected from within the main sample. This allowed for interactive interviewing, observation of teachers, parents and pupils at work, and the opportunity insights which were emerging from the questionnaires.

In-depth interviews were also held with 10 Muslim leaders to assess their views about the role of education and the Islamic religion.

Pre-testing of Research Instruments:

The instruments were pre-tested in Waa location of Matuga division, Kwale district. The instruments included: households', headteachers' and Muslim religious leaders, interview schedules, teachers and pupils questionnaire. The pre-testing was done in Voroni primary school. The pre-testing revealed some weaknesses in the instruments. Before actual data collection, weaknesses in the instruments were rectified. It was also found from the pilot study that class five pupils were not able to read, understand and answer the questionnaire and were therefore

excluded from the research.

Training of Research Assistants

Four research assistants were selected. The criteria for selecting research assistants depended on the following:

- (i) Age level: they were above 25 years of age. Maturity helped to create confidence among the respondents.
- (ii) They were required to have completed Form Six and obtained a pass grade. In Taita-Taveta, it was possible to get Form Six leavers but in Kwale it was not possible so the research assistants from Kwale District had completed Form Four. This calibre of assistants were expected to understand the interview technique and communicate with the respondents and be able to record relevant important information.
- (iii) Ability to communicate fluently in the mother-tongue. The research assistants from Taita-Taveta had to be fluent in both Taita and Taveta languages, while, the research assistants from

Kwale had to be fluent in both Digo and Duruma languages.

- (iv) Ability to work independently, honestly and dedicatedly. The first session of training comprised discussion of research techniques, interview schedules, questionnaire, and observation guides. The researcher and research assistants discussed all questions and possible probing questions on the interview schedule. During the training session at Vroni Primary School, and in the households within the schools catchment area, the researcher demonstrated to the research assistants how to record information. Each of the four research assistants interviewed heads of households at different sessions and recorded information. Afterwards, the notes were compared and discussed according to how information had been recorded. The team of researchers again interviewed other heads of households (whose children attended Vroni Primary School) and recorded information independently. The researcher again discussed the recorded information. When the researcher was satisfied with the four assistants ability, they were required

to carry out the research in both Kwale and Taita-Taveta Districts.

Data Analysis

The data for this study was analysed qualitatively and quantitatively where applicable. The researcher processed the data through categorisation of data: content analysis. This shaped the focus of the study and addressed specific research questions. Computer analysis for relevant quantitative data utilised SSP package and cross tabulation where necessary. Descriptive statistics involving frequencies, percentages, and mean were used.

TABLE 3:3

Kwale District - Sample School, Enrolment 1992

SCH- OOL	CHIRI- MANI	VYONG- NWANI	MBUGU- NI	TSIM- ANYA	MBEG- ANI	MTSAM- VIANI	CHEN- GONI	MDOMO	MWALU- KOMBE	MAGAO- NI	KIDO- MAYA	MKWIRO	SUB-TOTAL
BOYS	211	170	237	89	66	131	257	105	222	140	146	74	1948
GIRLS	172	165	178	74	50	91	120	57	183	134	119	103	1446
TOTAL	383	335	415	163	116	222	377	162	405	274	265	177	2193

TABLE 3:4

Taita-Taveta District Sample Schools Enrolment 1992

SCHOOL	MWALUKILORITI	KITOBO	MKWAJINI	WRAY	KIGOMBO	WUSI	FIGINYI	ST. JOHN'S	SUB-TOTAL
BOYS	202	222	224	285	200	387	246	391	2157
GIRLS	210	233	204	284	191	406	264	404	2196
TOTAL	403	455	428	569	391	793	510	795	4353

CHAPTER FOUR

BACKGROUND TO THE AREA UNDER STUDY

Geographical Setting

Location: Kwale District is one of the six districts comprising the Coast Province. It is situated in the southernmost part of Kenya along the Indian Ocean. The District is bordered by Taita Taveta District in the west, Kilifi District in the north and Republic of Tanzania in the south. The District covers a land area of 8,257 square kilometres and 65 square kilometres of water.

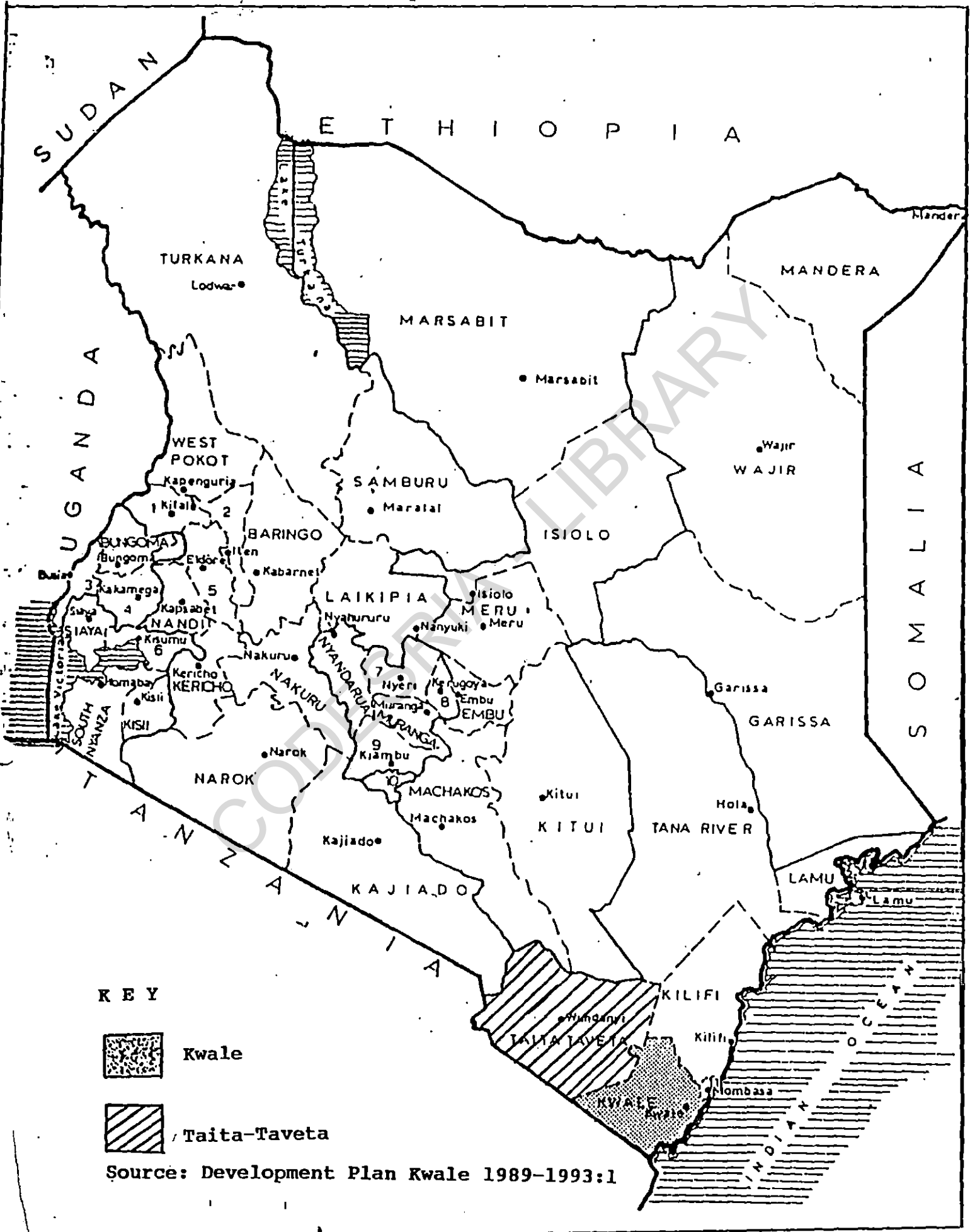
The district has four major topographical zones with an altitude ranging from the sea level to 420m. in the Shimba Hills and 842m. on the Kibashi Hill bordering Taita Taveta District. The main topographical zones consists of the coastal plain which is generally below 30m. above sea level and extends 10km. inland; behind the coastal plain is the "foot plateau" which rises in some places between 60m. and 135m. and then the coastal uplands or the Shimba Hills which lie at an altitude of 150m to 462m., and finally the Nyika plateau or

hinterland which extends from the western edge of the coastal uplands and lies between 180m. to 300m.

Taita Taveta District is situated in the south west part of the Coast Province. It borders Tana River, Kitui and Machakos Districts to the north, Kwale and Kilifi Districts to the east, Kajiado District to the north-west and the Republic of Tanzania to the south and south-west.

The District covers an area of approximately 16,975 square kilometre of which 16 square kilometres represent lakes. Some 10,500 square kilometres, or 62 per cent of the District is occupied by Tsavo East and Tsavo West National Parks. The District may be divided into two major regions; namely, the mountains which rise to 2150m. consisting of the Taita Hills, Sagalla and Kisigau ranges, and the lowlands which rise to 300m. above sea level composed of the two Tsavo National Parks and rangelands.

LOCATION OF DISTRICTS
(Map No.1)



KEY



Kwale

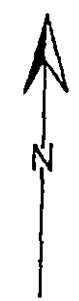
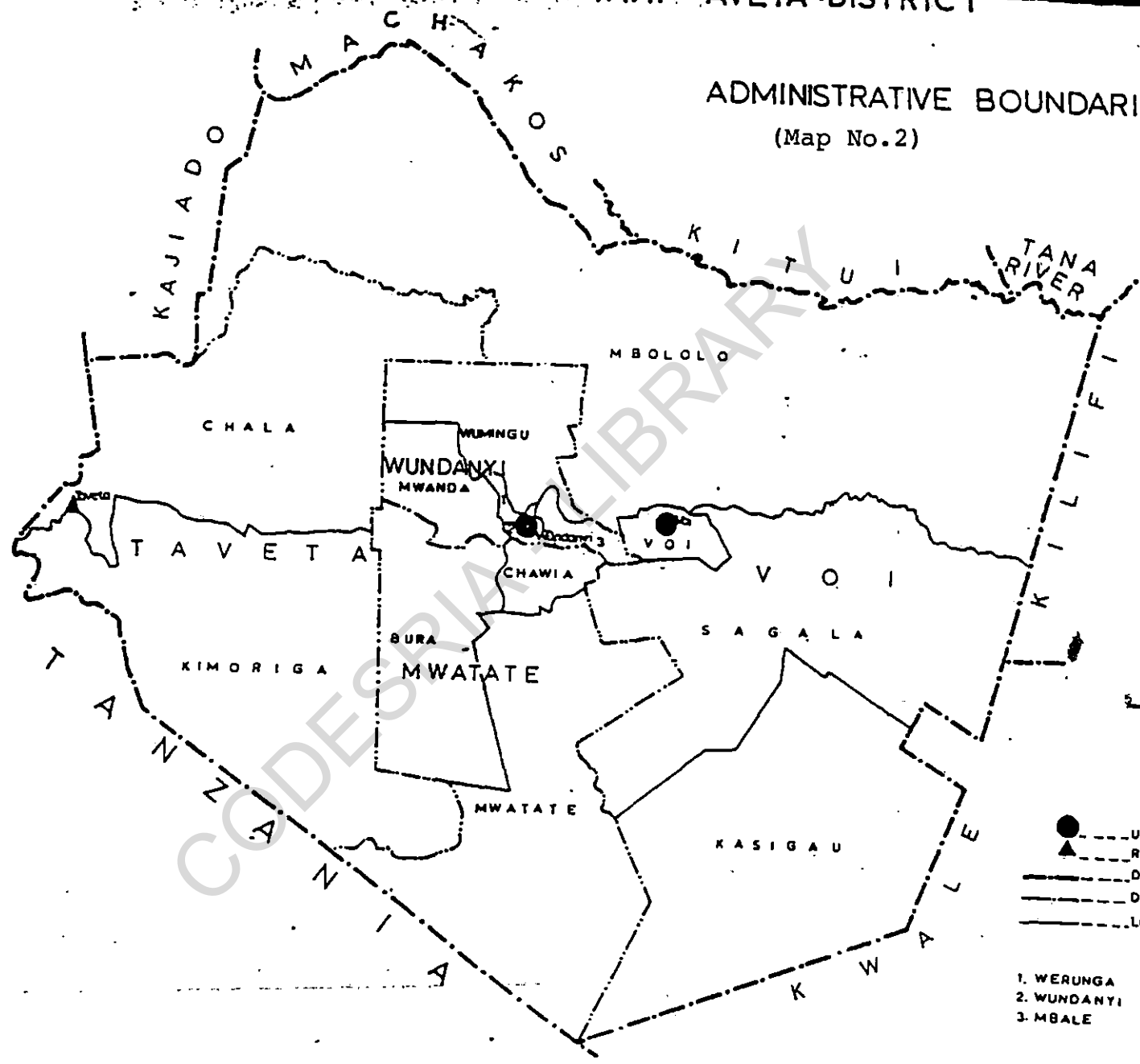


Taita-Taveta

Source: Development Plan Kwale 1989-1993:1

ADMINISTRATIVE BOUNDARIES

(Map No.2)



- URBAN CENTRES
- ▲ RURAL CENTRES
- DISTRICT BOUNDARY
- DIVISION BOUNDARY
- LOCATION BOUNDARY

1. WERUNGA
2. WUNDANYI
3. MBALE

Climate and Vegetation

Kwale has a monsoon climate which is hot and dry from January to April. The rainfall is bi-modal with the long rains starting from March to June. The short rains begin in September and end in November. The amount of rainfall diminishes landwards from the coastal plain. There is a 75 per cent probability of annual rainfall between 800mm and 1500mm in the coastal plain and the coastal uplands especially in Shimba Hills. Some parts of the district lie in the rain shadow and as such record very little rainfall in a year. Humidity varies from 60 per cent to 95 per cent. The annual maximum temperature range is between 26°C and 30°C in the hinterland. The mean annual minimum temperature is 22°C.

Taita-Taveta District is generally situated in a dry region except for the high catchment areas in the hills. It is affected by the south-east trade winds. The hilly areas receive topographic rainfall. Although mean rainfall in the district ranges from 250mm. in the lowlands to 1200mm a year in the highlands, the rainfall pattern on the average is as follows: Upper zone more than 1100mm, medium altitude and foothills between 600mm and 880mm, and

lower zone, such as Maunga and Maktan less than 450mm. The district, however, receives sufficient and well distributed rains in only three out of every ten years. The mean temperature is estimated to be 24.9°c.

Vegetation wise, Kwale District has mangrove forests or swamps and coconut plantations along the coastal strip. The indigenous forests of the Shimba Hills are also one of the remnants of the coastal forests. The only other remnants of forests in the interior constitute former settlements or Makaya of the Digo and Duruma. The rest of the district's vegetation comprises of grasslands and acacia thorn bushland.

Taita Taveta is covered by a variety of sparsely distributed deciduous bushlands and thickets with widely scattered trees. The dominant tree is the baobab *adansenia digitata*. Evergreen and semi-evergreen bushlands are scattered around the streams, and deep sandy loam. A large stretch of grassland extends towards the Tanzania border. The upper hillslopes (Kasigau, Sagalla, Taita and others) are covered by remnants of forests on the upper parts.

Historical Background of the People

The Indigenous inhabitants of what is today Kwale District are the Digo, Duruma and Segeju. The Digo and Duruma belong to a larger ethnic groups known as the Mijikenda. The Mijikenda people occupy two Districts on the Coast; Kilifi and Kwale. They are a Bantu speaking people and comprise nine closely related communities. The word Mijikenda is a recent Swahili coinage meaning those belonging to the nine villages. The Mijikenda themselves refer to these nine villages as makaya chenda, (Mutoro, et.al, 1987:8).

The traditions of the origin and migrations of the southern Mijikenda communities, namely, the Digo and Duruma are closely related to the traditions of the origin and migrations of the rest of the Mijikenda society. In general, the Mijikenda traditions claim that the ancestors of the present day Mijikenda society came from Shungwaya. Shungwaya is a legendary place thought to have been located some place to the north of Pate islands. The Segeju traditions also affirm Shungwaya as their original homeland.

After their arrival the Digo and Duruma in their present homeland, each one of them built a kaya or a large palisaded settlement which they named after their ethnic group. The Segeju never built any kaya. They lived in scattered homesteads from the very beginning. During the kaya occupation period, the Duruma and the Digo like the rest of the Mijikenda communities lived like single family and strictly adhered to the Mijikenda traditional values. The values included an appreciation of the Mijikenda laws and rights of inheritance as set out by their elaborate system of government by elders or gerontocracy. The elders monopolised both the esoteric knowledge and valuable resources, (Mutoro, 1987; see also Speear, 1978).

Under their rule, the Mijikenda within the makaya became wealthy and also experienced population explosion. Their wealth was partly contributed by the control of long distance as well as local trade.

As trade continued to prosper, young people within the Mijikenda communities became rich and disobedient. As more people started to abandon the makaya and disrespect the council of elders,

the social, economic and political fabric that held together the Mijikenda society became threatened. The kaya which had been the symbol of their unity was being abandoned as a central residential village. Each family started to put up its own homestead - leading to the collapse of the Mijikenda society in the nine villages, (Mutoro, 1987:12-13).

The Arabs and Swahili were the first groups of outsiders to try and penetrate the Mijikenda region, but did not have much impact on the Mijikenda institutions. These were followed by the European Christian missionaries who started coming by about 1846, but they too did not seem to have had much influence on the Digo, Duruma, Rabai and others as will be discussed later. After the missionaries, were the representatives of the Imperial British East African Company who also failed to have a significant impact.

In 1895, the British government declared Kenya a British colony and protectorate. At this time, the Mijikenda economy had become so poor that it did not attract British interests. As a result of this, the Mijikenda took some time to experience effective British administration. This took the form

of taxation and forced labour on plantations which became so severe that it led to an open rebellion in 1913 and 1914, (Ogot, 1974:168).

The Taita and Taveta are said to be the indigenous ethnic group of the Taita-Taveta District. Oral traditions of the origin of the people who now form the Taita indicate that they came from various diverse directions. Their origins include Mwangea hill in Giriama and places beyond such as Malindi, Lamu and Misri (Egypt), Pokomo, Kamba, Kikuyu, Kwavi, Galla, Pare and Shambala, (Socio-Cultural Profile, Taita-Taveta, 1987:20).

Whatever their antecedents, the Taita in general appear to have settled down to live quite amicably together, evolving a common culture and reserving their aggression for the dangers of the surrounding plains. In the nineteenth century, they were a regular menace to passing caravans and would raid as far afield as Ghaggà, Ugweño, Pare and Usambara, while themselves remained immune to counter-attack in their mountaneous surroundings, (Socio-cultural Profile, 1987:32).

The first regular settlement of outsiders in the area was the establishment of the CMS mission at Teri in Saghala by Alfred Wray in 1883. The mission at first made little headway as will be discussed later. The Imperial British East Africa Company had little direct impact on the Taita apart from employment of large numbers of them as porters.

The origins of the Taveta appear less complicated and date back to only about 10 generations and to around 1700AD. The earliest settlers in the forest seem to have been a small group from Usambara, followed by groups from Ugweno, Kamba, Taita, Chagga, Arusha and Kahe. These disparate peoples seem to have combined fairly quickly and well to form a common Taveta culture. Linguistically, Kitaveta can be regarded as a dialect of Kipare, so the Pare settlers would seem to have been the dominant group, (Frontera, 1977:107).

The Taveta evolved a political system comprising a formal central governing council, the njama and a system of age sets irika which were central to community operations. Through interactions with the Maasai and Kwavi, they established a military

system which was essentially defensive, using the forest as a perimeter penetrated by only four maze-like paths closed arched gateways, and this coupled with the strong central government and irika forces effectively ensured their protection, (Frontera, 1977:114, see also Prins, 1952:30).

Throughout the nineteenth century Taveta was a favourite stopping point for the caravan trade providing security from Maasai attack and abundant food stocks for the journey up-country. Relations with the caravans were well organised. Camping areas were provided some distance from Taveta's dwellings and hongo tax was extracted in the form of beads and cloth. Although the Taveta interacted with many powerful groups of people through the caravans, they were able to successfully preserve their political and social integrity, partly due to their economic self-sufficiency and partly to the controlling power and wisdom of the njama. (Socio-cultural Profile, Taita Taveta, 1987:30).

The strategic position of Taveta was transformed by the building of new transport and communication lines in the 1890's which led to the serious decline in the caravan trade. Thereafter

Taveta became a back-water still self-sufficient but out of the mainstream of political and economic development. The Taveta, however, at first welcomed European missionaries and settlers, partly because they were used to assimilating outsiders and partly to counteract the rapacious designs of some of the surrounding groups. (Socio-cultural Profile, 1987:32).

Population

Kwale District ethnic composition is dominated by the Mijikenda and the Segeju group who constitute about 83 per cent of the District. The dominant sub-group are, however, the Digo whose traditional settlement areas are confined to the eastern and southern belts of the coast and the Duruma who are settled in the northern and western regions. Other groups in the District include the Kamba who constitute about 9 per cent of the population, the Luo, Swahili, Shirazi, Kikuyu, Taita and Luyia.

In Taita-Taveta, the Taita constitute over 75 per cent of the total population, while the Taveta comprise only 5 per cent of the population, being a minority even in their own division. Other numerically important groups include Kamba, who have

settled around Kasighau, the Duruma, the Luo and Luyia who are mainly employed in the sisal estates.

Colonialism and the Development of a Capitalist Economy

Perhaps Franz Fanon's description of colonialism as it pertains to the exploitation of the periphery countries by the metropole countries and its long term effects in bringing about regional differentiation at the periphery, is a good summary which explains the radical transformation which has taken place in Kenya since the establishment of colonialism. He writes:

Colonialism hardly ever exploits the whole of a country. It contents itself with bringing to light the natural resources, which it extracts and exports to meet the needs of the mother country's industries, thereby allowing certain sectors of the country to become relatively rich. But the rest of the country follows its path of under-development and poverty, or at all even sinks... into it more deeply. Immediately after independence, nationals who live in the more prosperous regions realise their good luck... The districts which are rich... come to the forefront, and dominate the empty panorama which the rest of the nation presents. (Fanon, 1968:159).

In Kenya, the important factor in the penetration and subsequent incorporation of the country into the world capitalist economy began with the construction of the Kenya - Uganda railway during the period 1895 - 1901. Earlier than that, incursions from the coast to the interior was limited to traders, explorers and Christian missionaries. The Coast, however, had long contacts with foreign merchants which were not extended to the hinterland until the building of the railway from 1895 to 1901.

The railway was built with a loan provided by the British Treasury and to repay the loan and to terminate the annual grants-in-aid paid by the British to establish Pax Britannia, over the new territory, the land had to be made 'productive'. Many colonial officials in the new territory and in Britain saw the establishment of extensive white settlement as a means of bringing this land to production. It was argued:

The settlers would invest capital and produce crops; the railway would earn revenue by carrying them to the Coast, and by carrying the imports inland, they would earn abroad, and government would finance its activities by levying tariffs on these imports. (Leys, 1975:29).

In 1902, the Crown Lands Ordinance was enacted and had the effect of putting all land in the country under the crown, thereby making it easy to alienate specific areas for occupation by the new settlers. A Land Department was established in 1903 and in the same year the first official grants of land were given. Land was not being bought, but simply alienated. Charles Eliot who was by now the administrator of the East African Protectorate invited white settlers from Britain and the British colonial enclaves in South Africa, Canada, Australia and New Zealand to settle in what came to be known as the White Highlands. Between 1903 and 1915 about 1000 settlers were already occupying about 4.5 million acres of land specially alienated for them by the colonial government, (Leys, 1975:40; Sorrenson, 1968:45).

Land alienation took place both in the interior and the Coast of Kenya. At the coast, by the closing years of the nineteenth century, the earlier policy of avoiding grant monopolies and concessions began to be replaced by one of encouraging them. Within the first seven years of the twentieth century, European firms and syndicates, apart from individuals had acquired concessions on all land

along the coast from Lamu to Vanga. The Agricultural Department, as a way of helping European planters and farmers, established five experimental farms at Malindi and Mazaras near Mombasa. These farms carried out tests on the suitability of products like cotton, sisal and various types of rubbers, and thus provided seedlings and advice to the European planters, (Salim, 1973:117). In the Taita-Taveta area, Ewart Grogan alienated over 150,000 acres of land for planting sisal and totally ignored any claims to it by the local Taveta, (Socio-Cultural Profile Taita-Taveta 1987:31).

The land which was alienated for white settlement consisted of a broad plateau covering a little more than one third of Kenya's most fertile 223,960 square miles, (Brett, 1974:175). The land stretched from the coastal plains through the Central Highlands, the Rift Valley to Western and Nyanza Provinces.

To make the alienated land productive required the establishment of suitable infrastructure and a steady supply of cheap labour. To ensure the supply of labour it was argued:

... the African had to be made to enter the world of money as a wage labourer rather than an independent producer since as long as he has an independent control over his own land the African peasant would not be forced to work for the settler but would continue to produce on his own account, (Brett, 1974:169).

Several socio-economic factors forced the African to sell his labour. First, the process of allocating the best land to Europeans reduced the productive area available for African agriculture. Second, the relocation of Africans in specifically demarcated areas or Native Reserves undercut a pre-capitalist mode of production which was based on intensive shifting cultivation. These, together with the effects of a rapidly rising population were already beginning to cause much congestion and overcrowding in the Native Reserves. As a result many Africans who were either becoming landless, were being forced to squat on European land in exchange of their labour, or were compelled more directly to sell their labour on settler farms, (Brett, 1974:198).

The meagre wages paid for African labour were, however, not turning out workers in large numbers the settlers considered adequate for their

farms. Europeans were therefore forced to employ both fiscal measures like direct and indirect taxation and coercive forces to acquire more labour, (Zwanenberg: 1975:105). The settlers were able to enforce these measures because for a long time in the colonial period, they controlled both the political and legal institutions in the country as well as the coercive machinery of the state.

Labour for European enterprises at the coast was difficult to procure as it was for the settlers upcountry. This forced the European Coast Planters Association to join hands with the settlers in the interior to press the government for a solution which led to the introduction of taxation. Coastal Africans, however, generally maintained reluctance to work on European farms, (Salim 1973:117). By 1910 therefore, the bulk of labour for European planters on the coast was from the interior ethnic groups and Taita-Taveta. Failure to recruit labour among the coastal people contributed to the often repeated assertions that these people were lazy and thriftless, (Salim, 1973:133).

Outside the settler dominated economy, Africans were integrated into the colonial economy through the production of food crops and petty trade. In this context, the two districts Kwale and Taita-Taveta remarkably differed in their participation in the colonial economy. Kwale had a relatively lower degree of integration into the colonial economy than Taita-Taveta.

Although a considerable part of its most fertile coastal land was alienated in the colonial period, it seems that the population was able to feed themselves and to pay tax from sales of tree crops like coconuts and cashewnuts rather than by participating in the migrant labour economy, (Carlsen 1980:35). Thus most of the labour in the plantations in the district and in Mombasa town was supplied from upcountry. Further, due to the relatively low population density, the colonial government as early as 1938 had plans for a settlement scheme in the district. At the beginning of the fifties the first families of Taita and Kamba settled in Shimba Hills Settlement Scheme, which in 1969 had a population of 7,819, (Carlsen, 1980:55).

By the time of colonisation cassava was the staple food crop of the Wadigo and was grown all over the parts of the district populated by this ethnic group, whereas maize was staple food of the Duruma. Rice was grown in some areas along the coast, particularly near Shimoni and Vanga. Since the 1950s there was a diversification in the cropping pattern. Some different cash crops were introduced. Cotton was introduced in 1950 and sugar cane started to spread among the peasants living near the sugar factory at Ramisi. But these crops never became as popular as tree crops which included cashewnuts, pawpaws, mangoes and citrus fruits, (Carlsen, 1980:72).

In terms of labour supply to the sugar factory, traditionally most of the workers have been from up-country especially Luo and Kikuyu. In 1975 for example of the 615 employees at Ramisi only a minority were local people. Cattle keeping as an activity has not been important due to the prevalence of tsetseflies in parts of the district, (Carlsen, 1980:73).

The fact that the district was less integrated in the colonial economic system than the population of Taita-Taveta has been of great significance for the development of the non-farming activities. Generally, the traditional activities like blacksmithing have continued in much the same way as before the colonial time, whereas other activities like carpentry, tailoring and bicycle repair have developed later in Kwale District than in other parts of Kenya. The reason for this was partly due to the fact that money incomes were scarce and partly that it was difficult for local craftsman to compete with workshops in Mombasa.

The most important non-farming activity in the district is fishing which takes place all along the coast. The methods of fishing have however, not changed much over the years. Most of the fishermen still use small wooden canoes and fish with hook and wire. Most of the fish caught are dried and sold to markets all over the district by fish traders on bicycles. An important observation is that fish selling as a source of income in the district is undertaken by the male population, a thing that contrasts with other parts of the country, (Carlsen, 1980:74).

The relatively late development of the monetary economy in the district has also meant that the establishment of shops in planned rural markets started later in Kwale District than in most other parts of Kenya, (Carlsen, 1980:128). On the whole therefore employment in non-farm enterprises is less significant in Kwale than in Taita-Taveta.

The Taita-Taveta people by the time of colonisation through long distance trade, they were already involved in exchange with the Western economy. They sold surplus agricultural produce and labour in exchange for imported goods such as salt, cloth, iron-hoes and other coastal trading goods, (Nazzaro, 1977:5).

In the early colonial period staple crops in Taita-Taveta were maize, sorghum, sugar cane, beans and bananas. But due to scarcity and instability of rainfall, these crops were often poor and the district was for a number of years, a food deficit area which had to import food to avoid starvation and famine, (Nazzaro, 1977:59).

Vegetables and chillies were introduced during World War I as cash crops for the higher and lower

areas of the district, respectively and soon became the most important cash crops of the district. During the Second World War vegetable growing expanded very rapidly and Taita Hills in particular became the major source of vegetables for the fast growing Mombasa market. By the end of the war, the Taita were exporting 120,000 shillings worth of vegetables, an impressive growth in a comparatively short period of time, (Carlsen, 1980:67).

Coffee was introduced in the district by the Holy Ghost missionaries. By the time of the Swynnerton Plan in 1954 over 1000 acres were under coffee production. Other small holding crops included pyrethrum, tea and hybrid maize. By 1959 coffee alone earned the district about \$13,600, (Carlsen, 1980:68).

Since 1910, when the first sisal estates were established, fibre processing has been the most important non-agricultural activity in the district, but production and employment have fluctuated according to export prices. By the mid-seventies, however, about 4,500 people were employed in the sisal industry, (Carlsen, 1980:69).

In terms of trade, before 1920, the African traders were mainly engaged in the local trade in agricultural produce and in homecrafts like pottery. By 1920, however, there were already over ten African - owned shops in the rural areas of the district, although it was difficult for them to compete Asian traders - stationed in places like Voi, Wundanyi and Mwatate, (Carlsen, 1980, 71).

With the establishment of the Local Native Councils they tried to regulate internal trade by setting aside plots for shops and market areas. A large number of small shops were opened in the rural areas of the district in the mid-fifties and by 1958, 400 small dukas were estimated to have been built. There were also rapid developments in the opening of carpentry workshops in the upper locations of the district based on timber from the forests in the hills, (Carlsen, 1980:89).

African participation in trade outside the local markets did not become significant until after the Second World War, when the export of vegetables and chillies started to rise. A number of co-operative societies were formed to handle this trade, of which the most important was the

Taita Vegetables Growers Society, but also some private companies and individual traders participated in this trade, (Carlsen, 1980:79).

To demonstrate the economic importance of Taita-Taveta District in 1969, for example, among 21 districts, it was ranked 8th in terms of marketed output per capita, only surpassed by the high potential districts of Central, Rift Valley and Eastern Provinces. This is quite significant, despite the fact that the district has less high potential land equivalent per capita than the Central Province, (Carlsen, 1980:66).

By the time of independence in Kenya in 1963, regional differentiation based on the level of a region's integration in the colonial economic system was quite pronounced. The districts of Kwale and Taita-Taveta, could be classified into different regions of economic growth. The regions which had been at the forefront of the colonial economy were after independence also the leading ones in all spheres of the Kenyan economy and social life.

First of all were the urban areas which were the hub of European business and social life,

namely, some Kenya's earliest municipalities of Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru, Thika, Nyeri, Eldoret and Kitale. Secondly, a number of districts in the Mount Kenya area and the Rift Valley which had largely been the enclave of European settlement such as Kiambu, Kirinyaga, Murang'a, Nyandarua and Nyeri of Central Province; Nakuru, Trans Nzoia, Uasin Gishu as well as large tracts of Kericho, Laikipia, Nandi in the Rift Valley Province; and other areas of Masaku and Meru in the Eastern Province; and Taita Taveta in the Coast Province.

Following closely behind these, were the majority of the African districts which largely engaged in subsistence production and which were at the periphery of the settler enclave but which together with districts closer to the enclave, supplied the bulk of the labour force for the settler economy. In some of these districts as well as those above, some cash crop farming was undertaken by rich peasants before and after independence. The districts in this category comprise the populous districts of Kisii, Kisumu, Siaya and South Nyanza in the Nyanza Province; Bungoma, Busia and Kakamega in the Western Province;

Embu and Kitui in the Eastern Province; and Elgeyo Marakwet in the Rift Valley Province.

Below these districts were a range of districts in the Coast Province which include; Kilifi, Kwale, Lamu and Tana River; Isiolo and Marsabit in the Eastern Province; Garissa, Mandera and Wajir in the North Eastern Province; and Baringo, Narok, Kajiado, Samburu, West Pokot and Turkana in the Rift Valley Province. All these districts remained at the extreme periphery of capitalist development. In particular the arid and semi-arid pastoral districts of the Rift Valley, Eastern and North Eastern Provinces are extreme examples of the effects of colonial neglect, (Nkinyangi, 1980).

In the analysis of educational development in Kenya it is evident, that the distribution of educational resources closely corresponds to the regional differentiation in socio-economic growth. Regions which were at the periphery of the colonial economic system were also neglected in providing them with educational opportunities.

The Development of Education: An Overview

The development of education as has already been pointed out was associated with how closely a region was integrated into the colonial economy. This relation influenced the social demand for schooling and the amount of funds the local government authority and the population of the area were willing to devote to the development of education. Schools, therefore tended to be concentrated in the first and second regions discussed in the previous section.

For most of the agricultural people, the European settlements on the borders of their reserve and the loss of their agricultural land and created a group of people that had no alternative but to turn their attention elsewhere. Moreover, the colonial government created a demand for skilled and semi-skilled labour as well as clerical jobs in their reserves. For these people, going to school gave someone an opportunity to work in a European office or industry with a higher status and relatively good pay. As Munro has observed:

The rise of educated Africans
within a reformed system of
local government during the

inter war period both grew out and further reinforced African desires for access to formal education. In most parts of the highlands including areas where education had hitherto been little prized Africans became increasingly aware that education held a key to understanding, using and possibly even controlling the political and economic systems introduced under colonial aegis. The success of the favoured few who by accident or design, had been first to obtain schooling to gain entry to the better paid or most esteemed occupations and to acquire familiarity with new institutions and technology, resulted in greater numbers taking to education, (Munro, 1975:147).

From Munro's observation, social inequality seemed to have been imported during colonialism through education. The social inequality and regional differentiation persisted and even intensified after independence. Rodney also makes the same point with regard to education and colonialism.

There was a definite correlation between the degree of colonial exploitation and the amount of social services provided. That applied to education in particular, so that urban, mining and cash crops areas had a virtual monopoly of schools. That was partly due to the capitalist policy of enhancing the labour power of workers, but it was also a consequence of efforts

made by Africans inside the cash economy. They made demands on the colonial administration, and they also went through a great deal of sacrifice and self-denial to get more school places, (Rodney, 1974:263).

The development of schooling in Kenya was closely associated with missionary work. The early Christian missionaries set up the first schools at the coast at the turn of the nineteenth century, but with the opening of the Kenya-Uganda Railway, their movement inland was swift and widespread. But their activities in the hinterland were often unplanned and uncoordinated, often depending on the ability and enthusiasm of individual missionaries who happened to be on the spot. By the beginning of World War I, they had established many stations and several schools, (Osogo, 1971:103). The schools established during this period were in the areas in which, the missionaries had already established their spheres of influence and expansion in new areas was seriously limited. The schools were largely in the Native Reserves surrounding the colonial settler enclave, namely, within agricultural community with whom missionaries found it easier to work with than the nomads.

Before examining the development of schools in Kwale and Taita-Taveta a number of general and important highlights need to be made with regard to differentiation in educational developments. It should first of all be understood that African reactions to missionary education in many parts of Kenya, first began with suspicion and rejection before 1920's, but changed slowly to acceptance, and thereafter to enthusiasm and clamorous demand beyond the capacity of the mission churches or the colonial government to meet, (Ranger, 1965:58).

With regard to regional differentiation, the first important observation is that not all missionaries were supportive of African educational activities. Generally the major Protestant and Catholic groups were very energetic in their educational efforts and often vigorously competed each other in the setting up of new schools and extending their spheres of influence. Several other missionary groups, particularly the fundamentalist denominations from the U.S.A. were, however, not enthusiastic about education and preferred to mainly engage in evangelisation, (Munro, 1975:102). Moreover, the fundamentalist denominations were not always as well endowed as

the Protestant and Catholic groups to meet the demands of a rapidly expanding educational system. Some of the American missionaries believing in a separation of church and state, even refused government grants-in-aid for educational purposes. A typical example of these groups was the A.I.M. (American Inland Missionaries) as Munro has illustrated:

Most of the AIM missionaries came to resent their congregations' demand for education believing that evangelism should take priority over education in the church and that the money received from home churches should be devoted principally to preaching. They grumbled about 'secondary affairs' creeping into mission work and about over emphasis on temporal rather than spiritual salvation, (Munro, 1975:153).

By 1930's, the few schools that the AIM missionaries had set up were in such poor quality and were steadily deteriorating, (Munro, 1975:102). As a result of the mission's lack of serious educational programme, the colonial government even recommended the withdrawal or the reduction of educational grants made to the A.I.M. school, (Munro, 1975:104).

Secondly, Christian missionaries' demarcation of spheres influence greatly contributed to regional differentiation in educational activities. Depending on the missionary group operating in a particular area, certain patterns of educational development emerged within individual districts as well as across different districts. Some uneven patterns of educational development became quite significant between districts managed by the fundamentalist groups and other denominations of the Protestants and Catholic groups, (Anderson, 1970:30).

Regional differentiation was also influenced by the close association of Christianity and education. The penetration of Christianity in the Kenyan societies had a greater impact in explaining the regional variation in educational development between the Coast Province where Islam dominated vis-a-vis the upcountry agricultural districts where Christianity was predominant. As will be discussed later, although Christian missionaries established their first schools at the coast, after their failure to convert Africans in greater numbers, they moved inland with the building of the Kenya-Uganda Railway. The competing religious systems of Christianity and Islam therefore curtailed the

number of mission schools that were set up in this area and the effect of this historical inheritance is demonstrated in the low educational development in some of the coastal districts, and in the general attitudes expressed towards Western type of schooling as opposed to the type of education provided in the Islamic oriented education, (Salim, 1973:193).

Finally, regional differentiation was further strengthened with the creation of the Local Native Councils in 1925. With the establishment of the LNCs the government started to channel funds to missionary, government and independent schools through them. This meant that districts with a strong social demand for education as well as organised structures to express this demand benefited most from the LNC funds. This implied that the more a district was closely integrated into the colonial economy, the higher the social demand for education and the more the LNC and the people were willing to devote resources to the development of education, (Nkinyangi, 1980:89).

The relatively richer districts of Western Kenya and those of Central Kenya and to a great extent Taita-Taveta at the Coast, therefore would

raise substantial amounts of money through taxation and levies to build schools and pay teachers while the relatively poor ones were limited in their ability to raise such funds. On the other hand, a whole range of districts, especially pastoral or in the arid and semi-arid areas of the country, which never fully interacted with the missionaries or were never fully incorporated into the money economy, had little or virtually no monetary resources to implement their educational programmes. These included such districts as Baringo, Samburu, Elgeyo Marakwet, Kilifi, Kwale, Narok, Kajiado, West Pokot, Garissa, Wajir and Mandera. This process helped to accentuate educational disparities both within and across the districts, (Nkinyangi, 1980:90).

The unequal pattern of development which had already taken root was further reinforced by the government when it altered existing educational rules and introduced a policy of 'matching grants' to African local authorities. This meant that Local Native Councils which allocated more money to education correspondingly received more funds from the central government. This policy strongly reinforced the already existing differences between

the rates of development of the rich and poor districts in the country, (Lowman, 1970:8).

The Development of Education in Kwale and Taita-Taveta

Christian missionary activities at the coast started with the Catholic missionaries from Portugal in the sixteenth century. The second wave of missionary work was by Johann Krapf when he opened a mission station in 1849 at Rabai Mpia among the Northern Mijikenda. Within a short time of his arrival, he was joined by Johann Rebman and they started translating parts of the Bible into Kiswahili and Kirabai to provide reading materials for their pupils in preparation for baptism. They also went further in their limited education system by starting a boarding school for the sons of chiefs, (Furley, and Watson, 1978:69).

Although missionary work among the Northern Mijikenda was partially successful after initial resistance and opposition, similar work in Kwale, particularly, in Digoland and Durumaland was sporadic and limited. In 1879 William Jones, a liberated catechist went on a preaching tour among the Duruma, but did not establish any mission

station, (Temu, 1972:69). In 1885, Wakefield of the Methodist missionaries started a station at Mazeras, but did not seem to have had any lasting effect on the Duruma, (Anderson, 1977:6).

In Digoländ early attempts to open a mission station by the CMS in 1862 failed because two missionaries appointed to carry out missionary work contracted malaria and died. A Digo catechist sent from Rabai to try evangelical work was allegedly murdered in an old heathen ritual; (Stovold, 1946:58). In 1882, the CMS opened a mission station in the Shimba Hills but was not successful. Between 1911-14 attempts were again made by the CMS to establish around thirteen bush schools in Digo areas, but they did not seem to have attracted a sizeable number of Digo pupils. By 1924, however, missionaries had partially succeeded in opening bush schools in Kwale District in predominantly Duruma and Kamba areas.

The government also tried to promote education in Kwale District. In line with its policy of opening schools in areas where missionary education activities were limited, in 1919 to 1920, it esta-

blished three schools, at Vanga and Tiwi. The schools were, however, subsequently closed down due to poor attendance, outbreak of smallpox and bad relations with the local people, (Salim 1973:196). In 1921, the government undeterred by the initial failures, opened the Coast Technical School at Waa. The school seems to have made some headway in enrolling pupils from the Digo, Rabai, Duruma and Giriama areas (Wamahiu, 1988). Despite initial enthusiasm with the government school by the Digo as demonstrated in their cooperation with the construction of the school, their positive attitude in education was not sustained as was evidenced by the following statement:

It was hoped that the opening of the Coast Technical School, Waa, would prove an attraction and that the local tribes would evidence a desire for education. On the contrary, it was only by constant exhortation that the Wadigo could be induced to send their children at all... This is regrettable when one considers the large number of other tribes who offer themselves for instruction with utmost eagerness, (Wamahiu, 1988:199).

Although the Phelps Stokes Commission which visited the Waa school in 1922, was particularly

impressed with it, the Commission had important reservations about the type of technical training offered, stating that, "it has but little relation to the neighbouring village life and seems to be designed chiefly to prepare for employment with Europeans... it is emphatically urged that the training of the pupils shall be more directly related to the service in the Native villages, and especially to the encouragement of Native agriculture", (Jones, 1924:119).

Christian missionaries tried to explain their apparent failure with coastal communities in their evangelisation process. Many confessed by the turn of the century, that their work there had been a failure. The United Methodists for example, admitted that the coastal regions, chiefly because of malaria, cannot maintain a large population, and that their missions there could not be expected to grow much beyond the population that existed by then. It specifically recommended its future work to concentrate in the highlands, (Temu, 1972:92).

The Catholics particularly saw Islam among the Mijikenda as a major obstacle to evangelisation.

It is noted that among the southern Mijikenda, there was no hope of converting the Muslim Digo, and very little could be achieved with the Duruma in Kwale - Mariakani area of whom over a quarter had also accepted the Muslim faith, (Baur, 1990:31). The northern Mijikenda are said to have resisted both Islam and Christianity. It is noted:

The faithfulness with which they stuck to their traditions is the more remarkable in that they were the first to be opposed to foreign influence. The secret of their resistance lay in their well organised social structure anchored in the Kaya, the sacred villages of selected elders who ruled the whole society. They had also their own kind of 'schools', in which children were taught religious truths, moral behaviour and cattle rearing. Their whole mentality was, and still is, very religious but rather magical, expressing itself in strong superstitious beliefs... (Baur, 1990:32).

Christian missionaries also admit that evangelisation and education failed to attract coastal people because of its close association with ex-slaves who were rated as second class people, (Baur, *ibid*:30). Most of those who acquired formal education at Rabai and Freetown in the early days of its introduction were either runaway or

freed slaves who converted to Christianity. Schooling was not only equated with slavery, but the Mijikenda detested the rigid and harsh discipline that accompanied it, (Wamahiu, 1988:199). For the Digo and some of the Duruma who were already Muslim, fear of conversion to Christianity was a major factor restraining them from joining colonial schools. The evangelical nature of the early schools, even government schools, made these people view Western education with considerable suspicion.

More importantly, however, their failure to participate in education was economic. As it has already been pointed out, Kwale District is among the districts that were not fully integrated in the colonial economic system. The socio-economic importance of Western education was not readily visible to Digo children. The graduates of the Coast Technical School, for instance were not employable, leading to a local dissatisfaction with the school. As far as the colonial government was concerned, Kwale was not a priority area of development. It was also said to be too remote from Nairobi for 'Heads of Departments' who had more pressing problems to cope with to take much

interest in it. It was noted:

The result is that Kwale is generally regarded as being a backwater which is therefore entitled to but a 'low priority' in most things, and money and efficient staff are only grudgingly provided so that plans are remarkably difficult to implement. (Wamahiu, 1988:206).

The development of education in the district was therefore painfully slow. In 1928, Kwale LNC was requested to take the responsibility of funding of Waa school after the school had lost its 'Arab' status on realisation that it failed to attract Arab children, (Mambo, 1982:13). The school was also facing an uncertain future due to inferior technical training courses that it offered which were said to be contributing to its graduates' unemployment, (Mambo, 1982:13).

The next move by the government was to hand over the Waa school to the Holy Ghost Fathers, a missionary society of the Roman Catholic Church, in 1935. This move was said to be on economic grounds, and further it was believed that although the school was expected to train pupils for lucrative trades, it had not proved successful, (Mambo, 1982:14).

The Holy Ghost Fathers too experienced a lot of problems in the running of the school. First of all they were anxious to relocate the school for health reasons, because it was situated in a swampy area which gave rise to malaria and bilharzia, (Wamahiu, 1988:205). Second, the missionaries encountered hostility from the surrounding predominant Digo Muslims who went as far as accusing them of requiring Muslim pupils to eat out of cooking pots in which pork had been prepared, (Wamahiu, 1988:204). The school which had been renamed St. George's School, Waa, and the only post primary school in Kwale District was transferred to Kilifi in 1948.

The transfer of St. George's School to Kilifi created a serious educational vacuum in Kwale for a number of years. This meant that the district was not benefitting from any central government financial assistance since it had instituted a new policy in 1948 in which it assumed responsibility for secondary education only. The LNC was expected to finance elementary and primary education, (Mambo, 1982:14).

It was not until 1952 that two intermediate schools were opened, at Mazeras and Kwale Township. In 1956, the number of intermediate schools were increased to three with the opening of Waa Intermediate School in the buildings formerly occupied by St. George's School. The Kwale Technical and Trade School, a government institution offering a four year programme in carpentry and masonry was opened in 1955. Demands for a secondary school were however, resisted by the government which argued that the failure by Digo parents to accept the idea of paying school fees, reflected the lack of real interest in the development of formal education in the district, (Mambo, 1982:16).

Following post-independence developments, Kwale had 263 primary schools. The total number of pupils in primary schools were estimated to be 68,946 with 2,215 teachers in 1988. The schools were generally said to be poorly maintained, suffering from such problems as poor buildings, lack of equipment, lack of desks, teachers' houses and lack of trained teachers who constituted 53.9 per cent. The district was also said to have registered a high drop out rate of girls from schools due to

early marriages and search of employment, (Republic of Kenya, 1988:21).

At the secondary school level, Kwale does not compare very well with other districts in the country. The district has only one government maintained boys' school and one government maintained girls' school. These are Kwale Boys High School and Matuga Girls' High School respectively. The three government mixed secondary schools are Waa, Taru and Lukore. Government maintained schools with a Harambee stream include Kinango, Mazeras and Shimba Hills. These are day mixed secondary schools. The unaided Harambee category of schools include Ngombeni, Lunga Lunga, Mivumoni and Diani which is a mixed school and Bombolulu for girls. There are also two private schools in the district, one sponsored by the Catholic church and another one by Ramisi Sugar Company. The district had a total of 20 secondary schools with a total enrolment of 1,512 boys and 1,118 girls in 1988, (Republic of Kenya, 1988:22).

Taita Taveta District differed sharply from Kwale in its response to missionaries and education.

In 1890 several Taita traders selling skins in the vicinity of Rabai expressed to the CMS a desire for a European to live among them, (Strayer, 1978:34). A similar invitation was extended to the Holy Ghost Fathers, (Baur, 1990:21). The positive reception of the CMS at Taveta also owed much to the commercial interests. Taveta as has been pointed out, during the nineteenth century, became an important link in Arab and Swahili penetration of the interior by acting as both a trading centre and a rest and supply station for caravans about to cross Maasailand. Although the CMS first considered establishing a centre in Taveta in the mid 1880's owing to John Kirk, the British Consul's urging, it was not until 1892 that a mission station was established, (Strayer, 1978:34).

Although the CMS missionaries, J.A. Wray and W. Morris established a station in Taita in 1882, by 1885 they were still facing opposition from elders. Wray quoted the people of Sagalla as telling him 'White Man, you are living in our country, but you do not buy our ivory, cattle, or slaves; neither do you pay our children for coming to school. We feel we are not getting the

profit out of you which we had hoped for', (Strayer, 1978:35). Although missionaries had previously assisted the Taita with famine relief, in 1887 they openly accused the CMS of causing famine, (Temu, 1972:40).

Following the declaration of the protectorate and the building of the Kenya-Uganda Railway, relations between the missionaries improved considerably. This gave rise to increased missionary activities. Elementary schools were started. Pupils who graduated from these schools were admitted into the boarding school at Freetown where they were given instructions in Kiswahili, English and preparation for pupil teaching, (Temu, 1972:42).

Father Le Roy of the Holy Ghost missionaries who had founded a mission station at Bura in 1892 to serve as an excellent 'half-way house for the caravans' also started serious evangelical work among the Taita. Educational work was strengthened by arrival of the Precious Blood Sisters who carried out teaching assignments as well as medical work, (Baur, 1990:30).

The first CMS missionary in Taveta was Alexander Steggal. He cooperated with the Taveta and helped them in many ways, giving education and industrial training, developing an extensive irrigation system for the mission and built two bridges over the Lumi River and interceding with the government on their behalf, (Socio-Cultural, Profile Taita Taveta 1987:30-31). By 1901, there had gathered around the mission station a community of almost four hundred people, organised into separate homesteads, most of whom came to mahoo because of famine or political dislocation in their home regions. Mahoo meant happy land or veritable land which originally was very dry, but made productive by constructing a canal for its irrigation. Steggall also edited the first newspaper in East Africa, the Taveta Chronicle which appeared from 1895 to 1901 in English, Swahili, Chagga and Maasai, (Strayer, 1978:57). After his departure in 1905, the mission station declined and was more or less abandoned until after World War I.

The presence of missionaries in Taita-Taveta was important in the development of the district.

They did not only initiate the opening of many bush schools, but played an intermediary role between the people and colonial administrators. Furthermore since the people professed Christianity, the uneasiness which pervaded the Islamic community under 'Christian' administrators in Kwale District was virtually absent, (Mambo, 1982, 24).

The vegetable project started after World War I, moreover, brought into the district substantial amounts of money which was used to support the development of education. The district's integration into the colonial economy through this project and the introduction of other cash crops gave it a headstart in the expansion of education as compared to Kwale District, (Carlsen, 1980:123).

Taita-Taveta was the first district in the Coast Province to implement the 1924 LNC Ordinance. In 1926, the LNC made a modest vote to support education in the district which was subsequently raised with the expansion of schools. Some of the resident missionaries who were also members of the LNC were an important contributory factor

in the provision of grants-in-aid towards African education, which was not the case with a number of the coastal districts, (Mambo, 1982:23).

Community initiative in the development of education also played a major role. Parents and the community working through the missionary societies engaged in self-help programmes towards education. With the support and encouragement of the churches, the Taita community became very active participants in raising large sums of money towards education, (Mambo, 1982:24). Through such funds it was possible to run a good number of unaided schools. In 1939 the District Commissioner referred to the community enterprise as follows:

The running of these unaided schools had been in the hands of the CMS, but this year (1939) the financial responsibility of each school has been shouldered off on to a local committee appointed to carry this responsibility in respect of its own individual school, (KNA, 1939:2).

The community initiative which was commonly known as the church parent enterprise was critical in Taita Taveta's educational development. As the

enterprise continued to fund the unaided schools, the LNC concentrated its resources on the more advanced elementary schools. Furthermore through church-parent cooperation the quality of education in the district was uplifted through frequent supervision of schools. This was in great contrast with Kwale District, where missionary educators were hardly involved in the supervision of schools, (Mambo, 1982:24). As had already been discussed contacts between the Holy Ghost Fathers and the Muslim community at Waa had invariably encouraged antagonism.

With a fairly well established system of unaided and aided elementary schools, the people of Taita Taveta were well placed to demand secondary or central schools. By 1948 there were four of these schools at Mbale, Kigombo, Wusi and Bura. Consequently, Taita-Taveta District was in a position to derive educational benefits from the grant-in-aid rules which were then operative and stipulated that 'secondary education was to be financed by the Central government and assisted by fees, (Mambo, 1982:25). Kwale District did not have such advantage.

It is, however, not being suggested here that Taita Taveta did not experience financial problems in the management of its schools. Shortages of funds was a perennial problem with the LNC. Through the intervention of groups such as the missionaries however, the LNC was saved from such difficulties by direct government gifts. For example, in 1947, the District Commissioner reported such a gift:

The poverty of the Local Native Council again handicapped development in this sphere (education). It was found possible to provide £555 towards the total District Education Board commitment to £2,940,150. The balance provided by interim grants from the Government... It is noteworthy that expenditure by the District Education Board for the year is three times what it was in 1942, (KNA, 1947:3).

On the whole the development and demand for education in Taita Taveta compared favourably with other more advanced districts of Western, Central, Rift Valley and Eastern Kenya, that constituted the white settler enclave. The demand for education in the district was so high that following World War II, the Taita began organising themselves to collect money and build a school at Wundanyi. The

CMS and the colonial administration nervous about this development manoeuvred it into what was considered to be useful channels. In 1945, the District Commissioner reported the following of the independent school movement:

The movement was directed into helpful cooperation between the independents, missions and government by the helpful attitudes of Mr. Foster, the Director of Education at a large baraza held at Wundanyi on 15th February. The compromise reached was that those elements of the tribe who were most keen on educational advance should collect voluntary subscription which should then be paid over the way of a grant to the African Anglican Educational Subcommittee, which would be the Authority administering any new schools established. (KNA, 1945:6).

The Holy Ghost Fathers in 1950 opened their second station in Taita. The Precious Blood Sisters who had withdrawn from Bura during the World War I returned in 1925 and undertook considerable work in education. Their primary school became a secondary school in 1965, the first Catholic Girls' Secondary School in the Coast Province. They also pioneered St. Joseph's Teacher Training College in 1940. After independence, it was incorporated

into Shanzu Teachers College, (Baur, 1990:33-34).

Following post-independence developments, Taita-Taveta has 35 secondary schools. Out of these 11 are government and 24 are Harambee and government aided. Total enrolment into these schools in 1988 was 6,924 whom 3,721 were boys and 3,203 were girls, (ROK, 1988:25).

Summary

In conclusion, this chapter has made an attempt to analyse the disparities in educational facilities between Kwale and Taita-Taveta Districts of the Coast Province. An important conclusion that has been drawn is that the more a district was closely integrated into the colonial economy, the higher the social demand for education and the more administrative structures and the people were willing to devote resources to the development of education. In this regard Taita-Taveta which was relatively among the richer districts raised substantial amounts of money through taxation and levies to build schools than Kwale.

It was also seen that Christian missionaries who were a dominant force in the development of African education, often had unplanned and uncoordinated educational activities which contributed to educational differentiation between regions and within districts. They also established their spheres of influence in the Native Reserves which surrounded the colonial settler enclaves. Districts like Kwale which were not fully integrated in the colonial economic system tended to suffer from missionary neglect. Kwale in particular was peripheral to missionary activities because of religious antagonism between Christianity and Islam which curtailed the numbers of mission schools that could be established in this area.

By the time Kenya attained independence in 1963, the process of regional inequality had already been completed. The regions which had been at the forefront of the colonial economy were after independence also the leading ones in all spheres of the economy and social life. Although the government instituted some compensatory policies for areas which were lagging behind, these policies seem not to have worked successfully. Moreover such policies have

been undermined by contradictory state policies that tend to encourage competition on the basis of locality and region to generate resources for development. With regard to education, these policies have been demonstrated by the government's readiness to assist districts which organise harambee (Self-help) and establish harambee secondary schools which are subsequently aided by the Ministry of Education. This policy has in effect reinforced the colonial regional inequality in the distribution of educational institutions in the country.

CHAPTER FIVE

A REVIEW OF THE STATE OF GIRLS ACCESS TO PRIMARY EDUCATION IN KENYA

Introduction

In the previous chapter, it was seen that the development of education in Kenya was associated with how closely a region was integrated in the colonial economy. This relation influenced the social demand for schooling and the amount of funds the local government authorities and the population of the area were willing to devote to the development of education. Schools therefore tended to be concentrated in the first and second regions of the colonial economic growth.

Alongside the regional disparity in educational development, was the influence of the emerging social classes. After the First World War the colonial administration was no longer confined to the establishment of the British Empire, but had extended it to the introduction of 'Western Civilisation and Progress'. African government officials were the first targets and beneficiaries of this change, and started agitating for increase in school enrolments. Once popularity of education had been established among the families of the first participants in the colonial socio-

economic structure, it began to generate a competitive momentum of its own.

It should be pointed out that although Africans continued to clamour for more schooling, and enrolments continued to rise throughout the colonial period, educational growth was limited by the fact that access to education was closely related to wealth. Only those families who could afford to pay fees and release children and youths from their duties in meeting family subsistence, could obtain access to the first rungs of the educational ladder (Munro, 1975:159).

As Munro points out:

The families with the necessary means were generally those whose members had responded to educational opportunities in the 1920's, had become actively involved in the market economy and developed contacts, sometimes through inter-marriage, with the influential figures in government and church. Education in short tended to become a reinforcing mechanism by which the innovating maintained the economic and social gap which had opened between them and the rest of the community, (Munro, 1975:159).

By the 1930's therefore, the benefits brought about by the possession of some education, engagement in activities such as petty trade and commodity production were already beginning to create class differentiation within the African community.

It is also important to note that Africans were competing for education, not only against other races but also against each other. Their efforts to enhance schooling both in qualitative and quantitative terms were directed at the relative advantage of the group undertaking them than at the overall advancement of the entire African community, (Ranger, 1965:84). The system of financing education through the payment of taxes by all benefitted only a few of those who sent their children to school. The poor could not afford to pay both the school fees and taxes and did not therefore send their children to school. The more prosperous however, were both able to pay school fees and to reap the benefits of the tax system as well, (Ranger, 1965:85).

Disparities in the distribution of educational resources were not confined to region and socio-economic classes. They were even more critical with regard to gender. As it has been pointed out:

"But one group was usually omitted from this (colonial) transformation, since colonialists, missionaries and local people all used gender as a criterion for deciding who would receive formal education. Girls usually were not sent to school; the few who were, received an education that would not fit them for the more prestigious and better paid jobs that were opening up for men, or even for the less desirable wage occupations, (Robertson, 1986:93).

This chapter tries to review the state of girls access to primary education in the colonial period and since the achievement of independence in Kenya.

The Colonial Period

The state of education for girls was influenced by the nature of the colonial economy and to some extent by the cultural values. The establishment of colonialism in Kenya and the incorporation of its economy seriously contributed to the breakdown and disorientation of the traditional societies. It particularly paved way for the disintegration of the traditional division of labour between men and women. The settler economy ushered in a new division of labour in the country which was enforced by the colonial state.

In the newly established colonial economy males were required to provide the labour needed for the settler economy. This change did not only affect the division of labour between African men and women but also affected the attitudes of rural people towards jobs which existed outside their communities. African males who wanted jobs with better pay and status in the colonial society began to seek Western education. Since women were not initially recruited for colonial labour, they had less incentive to acquire Western

education, and since men were culturally more inclined to respond to foreign intrusion in their society, they readily accepted Western education and later on participated in the colonial economy more readily than women, (Kinyanjui, 1978:17).

With the expansion of the colonial economy however, women increasingly assumed more productive roles. Their roles have generally been discussed in relation to different labour systems that existed in colonial Kenya. Stichter has distinguished three colonial labour systems, namely:

Semi proletarianised migrant labour in European agricultural and industrial undertaking; squatter or resident labour on European estates; and independent peasant cash-crop production, (Stichter, 1975:45).

Within each of these labour systems much of women's actual work was the same as in the traditional subsistence economy, although it was now part of the colonial production, (Dubel, 1981:21). In the migrant and non-migrant labour systems for instance, women subsidized the low wages paid to the male workers to enable foreign capitalists to make large profits. Women also bore the cost of the long term reproduction of the labourers in childhood and old age, and the cost of reproducing the next generation of labourers. Women's tasks were food preparation, child

bearing and rearing in addition to agricultural production. With the increasing number of men leaving subsistence farming, the bulk of the agricultural labour fell on women. The division of labour shifted in the direction of women doing more of the men's work. Even within the labour system, where men could avoid entering the wage labour sector through cash crop production, women were still responsible for the subsistence sector and often had to work on the cash crop fields as well, (Dubel, 1981:22).

For women it, was therefore extremely difficult to enter the wage labour sector because of the critical importance of their work in maintaining subsistence agricultural production. In this regard, hardly were any jobs available for women except prostitution, domestic servants and casual labour on plantations, although when the migrant labour system started to shift into a more full time wage labour, after the Second World War, their participation in labour wage increased slowly. Otherwise, generally women were concentrated in low-wage and low status jobs during the colonial period while men by as early as the 1920's and 30's had already acquired new marketable skills. This was as a result of their access to Western education as compared to women, (Dubel, 1981: 23). Although it is admitted that the possibilities

of education for Africans were very limited, men to a great extent did benefit more from the colonial education than women. Women's access to schools was very limited indeed.

Girls' poor participation in colonial education was reinforced by the traditional cultural norms. These norms influenced the willingness of parents to send their daughters to school. In many of the Kenyan communities, women's social position was related to the creation and recreation of life. They performed important economic tasks and experienced autonomy within their field of production to some extent. But they had no political, social and ritual power.

This traditional view about the status of women was in large measure shared by the first Europeans who settled in Kenya. The Christian missionaries who pioneered African education in Kenya were middle-class educated men with Victorian ideals. Although they did not approve of many African traditional customs and practices, their encouragement of women's education was primarily motivated by the need to provide the men with literate wives, (Dubel, 1981:23). They considered women as being wives of men, mothers of children, housewives in their homes without any status of autonomy. In their view the education of women had to fulfill that objective.

These views were reflected in the educational work of the missionaries. Their conceptualisation of sex roles determined the structure and curriculum of the educational system. Upto 1905 no boarding facilities for girls in the mission stations were available. The first classes for African girls included laundry and some training necessary for administering services necessary for missionaries and settlers, (Murray, 1974: 53). Other classes for girls were started around 1907 in a few parts of Kenya. Some of these classes were not so much boarding schools, but a combination of orphanages and refugee centres which came to be known as Native Girls Homes. These homes often consisted of girls who ran away from home in order to escape arranged marriages, (Dubel, 1981:23). The missionaries did not know how to deal with these problems and sought from the colonial administrators a legal solution which they were also unable to provide.

The educational opportunities for girls were so limited that by 1925, the colonial government openly decried the fact that education of women and girls seriously lagged behind that of men. It was stressed that 'efforts should be undertaken on the grounds that educated wives and mothers would contribute to the general welfare of the home and the community', (KNA, Annual Report, 1926:12). It was

still generally perceived that their education would not contribute to their personal well being per se. The curriculum of this education was therefore in the field of health, nutrition, needlework and childcare. In 1927 the Director of Education expressed the view that for the education of girls, he favoured substituting what he called the three B's for the three R's, namely: "baby, bath and broom", (Trignor, 1976:206).

The colonial government was therefore willing and attempted to set up education for girls and women, but only at the time and to the extent it considered to serve its own interests best. The curriculum ignored women's work in subsistence agriculture and wage labour. The low attendance of girls in primary schools which persisted for a greater part of the colonial period, justified a senior Education Officer to state that girls are as yet content with only the rudiments of literacy, (Report on Native Affairs, 1948:25).

With increasing urbanisation, especially after World War II, educational opportunities for women tended to grow. This was so as it is often argued, that parents in urban areas were more liable to be able to afford education and to be more conversant with wage job opportunities for their daughters or were more concerned that their daughters get a modicum of education in order to make suitable wives

for educated men, (Robertson, 1986:99). Christian missionaries who had initially trained girls to be good, enlightened wives, now saw them begin to acquire paid jobs as washer-women and house assistants in European households. They thus began to enter the wage-earning economy. As their role in subsistence agricultural economy declined, they joined their men-folk in the wage earning occupational structures. Among the first recruits of wage labour were those from around mission stations where most of the land had been alienated, (Mutua, 1978:165).

The government was however, slow in opening up training opportunities for expanded occupational structures for women. In 1950 for example, the first training school for women in the country was of a Jeanes school type drawing its students from married women. The curriculum consisted of the following subjects: cookery, housewifery, laundry work, hygiene, childcare, first aid, home nursing, needlework, hand-work, games, curios, literacy, agriculture and simple accounting, (Sherperd; 1955:2). The purpose of the training was to produce women leaders of the community.

Until after the end of World War II, girls attendance of school was generally low. The first high school for African girls was opened in 1949 from where they also had the opportunity to attend Makerere

College in Uganda for more advanced education. Figures available for 1953 indicated comparative numbers of males and females in attendance at school as follows:

Table 5:1

Female and Male attendance in Schools in 1953

<u>Primary</u>	<u>1 Year</u>	<u>2 Years</u>	<u>3 Years</u>	<u>4 Years</u>
Male	71,229	50,822	41,694	39,127
Female	28,279	18,223	12,934	10,115
<u>Intermediate</u>	<u>5 Year</u>	<u>6 Years</u>	<u>7 Years</u>	<u>8 Years</u>
Male	20,134	14,152	8,263	5,440
Female	4,629	2,814	1,760	955
<u>Secondary</u>	<u>9 Years</u>	<u>10 Years</u>	<u>11 Years</u>	<u>12 Years</u>
Male	2,072	946	398	298
Female	347	108	25	11
<u>Post Secondary</u>	<u>13 Years</u>	<u>14 Years</u>		
Male	31	18		
Female	-	1		

Source: Nancy E. Sherpherd, African Women in Kenya,
Nairobi Department of Community Development
and Rehabilitation, Mimeograph, May 1955

It was estimated that during the last two decades of colonial rule, the number of African girls attending elementary schools constituted about 25 per cent of all school going African children. Within the secondary education, the distribution between sexes was extremely skewed with 5 to 10 per cent of the pupils were girls, (Sherpherd, 1955:2).

Developments after Independence

With the achievement of independence, Kenya placed considerable importance on the role of education in promoting economic and social development. This resulted in the rapid expansion of the education system to provide qualified persons for the growing economic and administrative institutions of an independent state, (Sifuna, 1990:161).

The expansion and reform in the education system were also motivated by political pressures. Almost every politician and election manifesto leading to independence elections called for more educational opportunities of all types, cheaper or free education, universal primary education, Africanisation of syllabuses and teaching staff and an atmosphere in which the African personality and culture could flourish, (Sifuna, 1990:162).

There were external factors which also contributed to the expansion of education, especially at the higher levels. Among the important ones was the Report of the Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa, which met in Addis Ababa in May 1961. In addition, the Kenya government and the United Kingdom requested the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to undertake a survey of economic development of Kenya. A ten member mission studied all aspects of Kenya's economy, and education was treated as one sector for funding. The mission in particular pointed to the bottleneck at secondary level as the most critical educational need. The Education Commission (Ominde Commission) which was appointed to survey the existing educational resources and advise the government in the formulation of National Policies for education to meet immediate manpower demands and eventually to aim at the provision of universal primary education, (ROK, 1964:60).

These developments ushered in a rapid expansion of education at all levels of the education system, and was reflected in the increase in the number of students enrolled in schools. At the primary level, enrolment increased from 891,533 in 1963 to over 4.3 million in 1983. The number of teachers at this level increased from 22,665 to 119,709, while schools increased from

6,198 to 11,856. In 1982 Standard One enrolment of school age children all over Kenya was estimated at 83.9 per cent, 84.7 per cent for boys and 83.2 per cent for girls. The net enrolment ratio increased from 36 per cent of this age groups to 93 per cent in 1979, (Sifuna, 1990:162). In 1990 primary school enrolment had risen to 5,392,000. Enrolments at the secondary and university levels also increased dramatically.

Before examining specific girls' access to primary education, it is important to make some general observations regarding post independence educational developments and the state of women participation. Post-independence socio-economic developments have not succeeded in uplifting the low status of women. Gender discrimination and differentiation persists at all levels of the formal education system, in spite of government efforts to promote equity in its social policies. Women have had less access to education in terms of quantity of enrolment, they tend to be concentrated in gender stereotyped subjects, and they continue to have less access to higher positions in the labour market and household economy, as well as decision making at all levels, including the educational hierachy, (Mbilinyi, and Mbughuni, 1991:1). For a variety of historical and cultural reasons, for example, a majority of women are to be found

managing and cultivating small-scale farms, engaging in family - run petty trade and commerce in rural areas, and employed in informal arrangements. At present less than 20 per cent of those employed in the formal sector only 16 per cent of those holding jobs classified as high and middle level which include working as nurses, teachers, and secretaries, positions with limited prestige, remuneration and promotion possibilities, are women. As a group in formal employment, they earn less than men, (Krystall, 1978:56).

Women participation in formal education reflects their economic position. Although at the primary school level, the enrolments of boys and girls in some regions have reached equality, girls' chances of reaching the higher levels of the formal education system are considerably less than those of boys. When money is scarce, parents, especially fathers prefer to invest in their sons education to higher levels because of the anticipated economic return. This means that there are fewer women available for opportunities in formal employment especially at the higher levels, although this situation has started to change in the last decade or so, (Krystall, 1978:58).

Cultural expectations and values also play an important role in influencing the pattern of women's participation in formal education. There are regions

where parents wish to protect their daughters from contact with alien and non-traditional exposures. Even in regions where there is acceptance of the importance of education for women, it has been observed that parents tend to discourage 'too much' education for their daughters. There is always the fear that a girl, if too highly educated, may have difficulties in finding a husband or being "a good wife". They prefer their daughters with secondary education to enter such occupations like teaching, nursing and secretarial work, which require relatively short periods of preparation and are relatively easy to combine with household responsibilities, (Krystall, 1978:59).

The expansion of primary education since the achievement of independence contributed to a steady rise in the proportion of girls' enrolment. In 1963, girls accounted for only one-third of the primary school enrolment. By 1979, however, the proportion had risen to 47 per cent. As it was noted at the official level:

Significant progress in improving girls representation occurred even before the elimination of school fees for the first four years of primary school in 1974. In 1973, girls numbered up to 45 per cent of the total enrolment indicating parental willingness to invest in the education of daughters, (CBS, 1984:57).

Statistics now tend to show that sex differences in enrolment have diminished at the primary school level with the increasing expansion of the education system. In 1989 it was estimated to be 49 per cent with some districts registering 50 per cent. This means that since independence, female enrolment has increased at a faster rate than that of boys, enabling girls to approach some degree of equality in enrolments, (Eshiwani, 1985:10).

Girls' primary school participation, however, varies considerably, at provincial and district levels. Regional differences in the provision of educational opportunities for girls corresponds with the three regions of economic and political development in the country discussed in the previous chapter. Girls are most fully represented in the primary schools of Central and Nairobi provinces. At the district level, girls had achieved parity with boys in 14 districts and municipalities by 1979 coinciding with the first and to some extent the second economic and political regions. As discussed earlier these are districts which were successfully integrated in the colonial economy. Their differentiation with other regions was reinforced by post independence development policies which have involved the ideology of ethnic competition, rural development and authorita-

rian political approach. As it has aptly been pointed out:

... the state and the dominant classes would like Kenyan peasants to believe that improvements in their lives or hopes for their children depend on competition, on the basis of ethnicity and locality, for scarce resources, all which are in the hands of a state which will reward good (hard-working, obedient) districts with government aid for rural projects and punish bad (lazy unruly and/or politically troublesome) districts with deprivation of resources..., (Lamb, 1977:50).

This policy has been demonstrated through generous government support of loyal districts which generate large funds for development through harambee and a deprivation of districts which do not generate much funds through such means or express political dissent.

The government does not however, think its own development policies tend to enhance regional inequalities. While recognising that in districts and municipalities where there is parity in boys and girls' enrolment are areas with advanced economic and educational development, than the rest of the nation, it blames the existing regional disparity on the colonial legacy. It is noted that regions with high enrolments were favoured initially in the construction of school facilities prior to independence and consequently had a higher proportion of adults with four or more

years of primary school attendance than the rest of the nation, (CBS and UNICEF, 1984:52). It is noted that:

The strength of the relationship between educational attainment of adults and primary school attendance strongly suggests that prior to the achievement of universal primary education the past history of development of education had a considerable influence on the attendance within a district, if only because districts with higher than average adult educational attainment are more likely to have schools or because educated parents are more motivated to seek (and more able to afford) education for their children than those without such backgrounds, (ROK, CBS, 1978:9).

Not much is said about the corrective measures to be taken to assist regions with low girls enrolments to improve. Emphasis is placed on why there are disparities between districts. It is noted that the localities which were educationally advanced also tended to be leaders in economic development. These have relatively high cash incomes from agriculture, formal and informal employment which has enabled parents to meet the direct costs of schooling for both their sons and daughters' as well as the indirect costs of foregoing their daughters' assistance in the home and farm. Economic development is also said to have provided an incentive for educating daughters, as well as sons, since it multiplied the possibilities for women to enter wage or self-employment. Parents

could begin to look forward to economic return from boys and girls who reached the high levels of educational attainment. Additionally, the income earning potential of an educated daughter had begun to raise her marriage value. Finally, it is said that the increasingly prevalent view that it is daughters, rather than sons, who will help their parents financially as they mature also may have motivated parents to invest in their daughters education, (CBS, 1978:53).

Data have also shown that at the other extreme there are a number of districts in which girls composed less than 45 per cent of the primary school enrolment. In about 12 of them, girls accounted for less than 37 per cent of the total. The low enrolment in these districts is also blamed on the historic patterns of educational and economic development, (CBS, 1978:54). As it was discussed earlier, these are districts which were not fully integrated in the colonial economy. They fall in the arid and semi-arid regions of the country, and they include; Garissa, Mandera, Marsabit, Narok, Samburu, Tana River, Turkana, Wajir, Kajiado and West Pokot. The people who live here are mainly pastoralists. In the colonial period, they had very limited contact with the colonial economy and Christian Missionaries. Their way of life was the least disturbed by incorporation into capitalist economy, by way of

land alienation or the supply of labour. Hence their way of life was not disturbed by colonialism, (Kinyanjui, 1978:20).

Educationally, these districts fell into the bottom of educational attainment in school enrolment and education for girls. In the 1987 girls participation rates were as follows:- Marsabit 36 per cent, West Pokot 39 per cent, Turkana, 34 per cent, Samburu 37 per cent, Wajir 30 per cent, Garissa 29 per cent, and Mandera 24 per cent. Other districts with low girls' participation rates included Kwale 42 per cent, Kilifi 40 per cent and Tana River 42 per cent, (ROK, 1989:110).

In these districts low participation rates of girls is attributed to cultural factors, especially early marriages, (ROK, 1989:111). The fact that there is some resistance in these areas to allow children of both sexes to attend school cannot be denied. Whereas some measure of progress has been achieved in the last two decades for school attendance for boys, educating girls has been less acceptable. Resistance to schooling is however, both cultural and economic. Young children by attending school, are seen to be removed from traditional economic activities as well as from the cultural influence of the community.

Studies on pastoralist areas are beginning to show that economic factors play an important role in limiting the participation of children in school. The assertion at the policy level however, is that the substantial proportion of the population in these areas is not fully aware of the social and economic benefits that result from education of their young people, (ROK, 1975:1978:10). A programme which the government launched to raise pastoralist communities' participation in schooling through the provision of boarding schools failed not because parents in these areas are unwilling to send their children to school. Pastoralist communities' interests and concerns for the education of their children are not any less than those of the parents in other areas of the country. Behind their reluctance lies an explanation of their inability to pay the relatively exorbitant school fees and to meet other costs which are necessary in order to participate in the boarding schools allegedly built for them, (Chege, 1983:107).

It is for these economic reasons that the progressive abolition of school fees, which began in 1974 benefitted girls only marginally and also had a slight effect on regional disparities. In the districts and municipalities where ability to pay and perception of benefit already had created an advantageous climate for female education, the

average increase in girls' representation in primary school was only 2.2 per cent for the entire six years period, (CBS, 1984:54).

The largest average increase in female primary school enrolment is said to have initially occurred in the districts with the greatest disadvantage to girls in 1973, but the gain is said to have been too small to change girls' educational chances appreciably. These were the low opportunity districts in the arid and semi-arid regions predominantly occupied by pastoralist communities, (CBS, 1984:55). The factors tending to depress female enrolment before 1974, continued to operate after the presidential decree abolishing fees in the first four years of the primary school.

Following the introduction of free education in the four classes the government, however, introduced other funds that only camouflaged the term 'school fees'. These funds were under building fund, activity fund, equipment levy, and others. While the payment of some of the funds were compulsory others were collected on harambee basis. Besides these funds, parents were required to supplement the school equipment with text books, exercise books and other writing materials. The total amount of money spent by each parent for a single child, in rural areas, for instance

turned out to be much higher than original fees paid before the presidential pronouncement. The government eventually acknowledged that such increasingly compulsory contributions contravened its intention to provide greater access to primary schooling, (ROK, 1978:11).

It was also acknowledged:

Although the abolition of school fees enabled the government to achieve considerable progress towards its goal of attaining universal primary education, the policy initiative was however, less successful in narrowing the gap between the districts with the highest and lowest attendance, (ROK, 1978:12).

An incentive such as the provision of free education in itself may have an important political connotation, because it is seen as an indicator of government's effort in trying to raise enrolment in primary schools. But little if any did it affect the differentiated enrolment rates in the various regions of the country. For the arid and semi-arid districts parents were less able to pay the direct and indirect costs of their daughters' education. Economic realities and tradition combine to reinforce the perception that there is no benefit in education, and if anything its acquisition is a potential threat to their girls. Girls educational opportunities are further constrained by the comparative inaccessibility of educational facilities in these districts, (Chege, 1983:108).

The economic conditions contributed to a high dropout rate, especially among the low socio-economic families and in the less developed districts. The attrition rate has tended to affect girls more than boys. Nkinyangi in his study of repetition and drop-out rates, however shows that the pattern of dropouts is consistent with the regional socio-economic disparities. Among the regions with the lowest drop-out rates are the country's largest municipalities and the rich agricultural districts, and the most shocking manifestation of the drop-out problem is the arid and semi-arid or pastoral districts. The study also shows that the underlying problem of drop-out is the ability of the family to pay for the cost of education, (Nkinyangi, 1980:246). Girls tend to be the victims of drop-out as opposed to boys in low socio-economic families. In situations where parents cannot pay for both boys and girls, girls are sacrificed outright. Male siblings are allowed to proceed while female siblings are allowed to dropout. It is concluded that girls who therefore go to school and proceed through unimpeded, are a selected group determined not only by the socio-economic status of the family but also by prevailing sexist attitudes regarding the perceived costs and benefits of girls education, (Nkinyangi, 1980:246).

One survey has made an important disclosure. In the old primary school system, in many parts of the country, the proportion of girls enrolled in standard 7 dropped dramatically. This was not due to a sudden exodus of girls as they faced their final year of the primary school, but to a large number of male repeaters in standard 7, (Krystall, 1978:56). The low enrolment of girls in this class was explained by the fact that nationally, when a child's CPE performance failed to secure a secondary school place, parents tended to encourage their sons to repeat Standard 7, but were far less willing to give their daughters a second chance. Studies have not yet been carried out on the 8-4-4 education system, but their conclusions are not likely to be different. The study concluded that in most districts, the proportion of girls enrolled in each grade of the primary school tended to remain at or close to the Standard 1 level through Standard 6. The high proportion of girls in Standard 6 was therefore presented as strong evidence to attest to the fact that once in primary school, a girl's chances of completing the seven years tended to be little different from boys. In fact in Central Province, they were slightly higher while in Eastern Province, the same and in the remaining provinces only marginally lower, (Krystall, 1978:57).

Table 5:2

Female Proportion of Standard 6 and Standard 7
Enrolments by Province 1979

	Coast	Central	Eastern	Nairobi	Rift Valley	Western	Nyanza	North Eastern
Std.6	38%	51%	48%	48%	45%	47%	44%	24%
Std.7	36%	48%	44%	48%	39%	42%	36%	24%

Source: Situation Analysis of Children and Women in Kenya
(1984) CBS/UNICEF p. 56.

For primary school pupils, continuing to secondary school involves completing Standard 8 and obtaining scores in the primary school leaving examination (KCPE) which merit a secondary school place and being able to afford the cost. Studies have as yet to be carried out to determine girls performance in the KCPE in the 8-4-4 education system. On the basis of the old system, however, the CPE eliminated a larger proportion of girls than boys from the education system. It was concluded that 'by the time a class entered Form 1, approximately three quarters of the girls who entered Standard 1 had been eliminated from the formal educational system, compared to only two-thirds of the boys who entered Standard 1 at the same time, (Krystall, 1978:58).

As girls advanced towards secondary education, obstacles that contribute to their low participation become even more pronounced. In economically advanced districts, the same factors which originally increased the likelihood of a primary school education for girls now boost them over the potential barriers to a secondary education. In other districts, the factors which reduce the chances of obtaining some primary schooling press even harder as a girl tries to make her way to secondary school. Thus in a significant number of districts girls are doubly disadvantaged. They have less chance than their male peers and less chance than their female counterparts in other parts of the country of entering and completing primary school, of succeeding with KCPE and of securing and financing a place in secondary school, (Krystall, 1978:58).

Generally studies have established that in varying degrees, boys tended to perform better than girls on the old CPE since this examination worked against girls in the same way it worked against children who come from poor homes. Some reasons for the differences in performance have been suggested as follows:

The higher proportion of male repeaters give boys an advantage over girls. In addition, the higher proportion of male repeaters suggests greater parental concern for their sons to advance to higher educational levels. This concern may translate itself in a lowered sense

of competence or more limited aspirations among girls. It also may express itself in a greater willingness to excuse boys from household responsibilities so they can study. However, we cannot eliminate the adequacy of school preparation as a factor contributing to girls lower pass rates. Research has found that there are specific areas of the curriculum, like mathematics, which are taught less well to girls because teachers consider boys more important to educate or brighter than girls and transmit these attitudes through differential treatment, (Krystall, 1978:59).

Apart from the overall poor performance, girls are generally allocated a third of secondary school places, while boys are allocated two thirds of the places. This implies that the allocation mechanism at the end of primary education tends to reinforce the unequal opportunities existing between girls and boys at the primary school level, (Kinyanjui, 1978:24).

As already pointed out, pupils whose (KCPE) performance fails to secure them a secondary school place are encouraged by their parents to repeat Standard 8. This is not generally the case with girls. It has, however, been observed that in the most economically and educationally advanced districts, enrolment of girls and boys in the final class of the primary school approaches parity, which indicated that parents also encouraged both boys and girls to repeat standard 8. Girls' smaller repetition disadvantage contributed to their CPE performance and made it more nearly comparable

to the performance of the boys in their localities and considerably higher than the performance of girls in the rest of the country. The repetition disadvantage for girls increased progressively as one moved from the original 'high opportunity' districts to places of extreme female educational disadvantage, (Krystall, 1978:60). Thus in many respects, girls chances of qualifying for secondary school are strongly linked to the level of socio-economic development in their locality.

Summary

This chapter has attempted to demonstrate the fact that gender discrimination in education, started as far back as the colonial period. In the colonial transformation, an important group, women, were deliberately omitted. The establishment of colonialism in Kenya and the incorporation of the country's economy into the capitalist economy seriously contributed to the breakdown and disorientation of the traditional societies. It particularly paved way for the disintegration of the traditional division of labour between men and women; incorporating the former and marginalising the latter. Men were readily availed with education to facilitate their effective participation into the colonial economy.

Christian missionaries who pioneered the development of African education in the country strongly believed in the ideology of the inferiority of women. Many were middle-class educated men with Victorian ideals. Although they did not approve of many African traditional customs and practices, their encouragement of women's education was primarily motivated by the need to provide the men with literate wives. They considered women as being wives of men, mothers of children, housewives in their homes without any status or autonomy. The few girls who attended school were exposed to a curriculum which fulfilled such an objective. As a result of these attitudes and practices, girls constituted less than 30 per cent of primary school enrolment at independence in 1963.

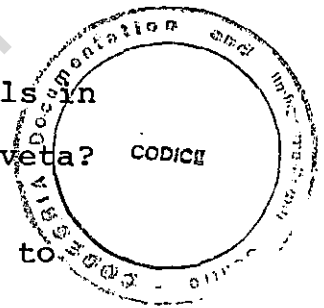
Post-independence socio-economic developments have not succeeded in uplifting the low status of women. Gender discrimination and differentiation persists at all levels of the formal education system in spite of alleged government efforts to promote equity in social policies. Women have had less access to education in terms of enrolment. Although parity in enrolment at the primary school level has been realised in many of the 'advanced' districts, girls are victims of a high drop-out rate at the lower levels of the primary school and of 'push out' in Standard 8.

CHAPTER SIX

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter contains data presentation, analysis and a discussion of the research findings. The findings are organised around seven research questions that guided this investigation, namely:

1. What are the participation rates of girls in primary education in Kwale and Taita Taveta?
2. How are the participation rates related to socio-economic factors?
3. What is the influence of the educational level of the family members on girls' participation?
4. To what extent do socio-cultural attitudes towards education influence female participation in primary education?
5. What is the effect of household labour activities on girls' participation in primary education?
6. What school based factors affect girls' participation in primary education?
7. What perception centre on the importance of girls' primary education?



Participation Rates of Girls in Primary Education in
Kwale and Taita-Taveta

The expansion of primary education was not considered an immediate priority by the independent Government of Kenya. The Education Commission Report of 1964 endorsed the provision of free primary education as a valid educational objective. Primary education was said to contribute to economic progress by providing a reservoir of candidates for secondary and higher education and fulfilling the minimum basic education requirement for participation in the modern sector of the economy. It was however, not so important in this respect as secondary, commercial, technical and higher education, (ROK, 1964:6). Consequently, too great an emphasis on primary education was not to be allowed to hinder economic growth in these other sectors. Emphasis was therefore placed on expansion of higher levels of education, although some provision was made for a slow but steady increase in the primary school enrolment. Efforts were generally made to avoid its rapid expansion to meet popular demand. As a result its increase over the period 1964 to 1969 was only 20 per cent from 1,010,819 in 1964 to 1,209,899 in 1969, (Tuqan, 1976:84). The Development Plan 1970/74 aimed to increase enrolments to 1,833,000 thus trying to cover 75 per cent of the primary school age population in 1974, (ROK, 1969:20).

Table 6:1

Primary School Enrolment in Kwale and Taita-Taveta
Districts Between 1971 and 1992

YEAR	1971	1973	1974
Kwale	20,998 (49.4)	18,040 (-14.0)	30,441 (40.7)
Taita Taveta	19,142 (18.3)	22,237 (13.9)	29,345 (24.2)
YEAR	1975	1979	1984
Kwale	33,150 (8.1)	44,924 (26.2)	62,277 (27.8)
Taita Taveta	30,838 (4.8)	39,802 (22.5)	48,274 (17.5)
YEAR	1986	1988	1992
Kwale	67,134 (7.3)	71,219 (5.7)	78,443 (9.2)*
Taita Taveta	51,659 (6.5)	56,574 (8.6)	62,043 (8.8)

*Figure in parenthesis represents percentage increase. The 1992 figures also indicate 56.4% Kwale and 78.7% Taita Taveta enrolment of school age children in the two districts.

Source: Ministry of Education Annual Report 1992.

From Table 6:1 the analysis of expansion rates for a selected number of years between 1971 and 1992, shows that there was an enormous expansion of primary education in the two districts of Kwale and Taita Taveta. Kwale in particular registered high enrolments ranging from 49.4 per cent and 40.7 per cent in 1971 and 1974 respectively. It also registered a high enrolment increase of 26.2 per cent in 1979 and 27.8 per cent in 1984. Taita-Taveta also recorded high enrolment increase in these years, although the increase rates are relatively steady.

The rapid expansion of primary education has often been claimed to have increased girls' opportunities for participation in education, (Eshiwani, 1985:10). This does not appear to be the case as revealed by the boy-girl ratios for the years under discussion (1971-1992). While in Taita Taveta, the approximate ratio has remained around 1:1, in Kwale, they have ranged from 2.5:1 in 1971 to 1.2:1 in 1992. Thus despite the increased expansion of the primary school system, girls' participation tends to follow closely along the lines of past and present disparities in educational and socio-economic development.

Government intervention through the abolition of the so called school fees as shown in Tables 6:2 to 6:6 benefitted girls only marginally, with a small

rise in enrolment, which did not significantly alter the boy-girl ratio especially for Kwale. Taita Taveta District where ability to pay and perception of benefit already existed before the presidential directive of 1973 which initiated the progressive abolition of fees, the policy decisions seems to have enhanced an advantageous climate for increased female participation.

The largest average increase in female enrolment, however, initially occurred in Kwale, a district with the greatest disadvantage to girls, with close to 200 per cent increase while Taita Taveta recorded about 100 per cent between 1973 and 1974. (See Table 6:3 to 6:4). Kwale later experienced a very sharp drop, which made the gain too small to change girls' educational chances appreciably. Thus, despite government intervention Kwale continued to remain a low opportunity district.

As it has often been argued the political bonus, abolishing school fees was made meaningless for a number of reasons. At the time the abolition of school fees was decreed, no counter measures were announced as to how to replace the revenue lost through the abolition of school fees. Consequently, primary schools in almost all the districts were flooded by many more pupils than usual and eventually the situation reverted to square one when school committees decided to raise

a new school levy in the form of building or development fund.

The new fund was of course never considered to be a permanent feature, but a purely spontaneous reaction to an emergency. Even if the new levy was able to generate enough funds to put up new facilities it seems that no consideration was made as to how it might take to collect enough funds or as to the necessary time-lag between availability of funds and the erection of new facilities. The new fund in effect became a permanent feature, and hence the immediate effect of the government intervention and implications arising from it were to make primary education much more expensive than before. Moreover, while the payment of some of the funds were compulsory others were collected on Harambee basis. Besides these funds, parents were often required to supplement the school equipment with textbooks, exercise books and other educational materials.

The government recognised the serious shortfall in the directive as follows:

... the abolition of school fees for the first four years of primary schooling did not inaugurate an era of completely free schooling. From 1974 through 1978 primary schools collected an equipment levy of Shs.10.00 from each child in Standard 1 through 7 which was forwarded to the

district education boards to supplement the equipment grant from the Central Government. In addition many primary schools imposed supplementary fees for such items as building funds, activity costs, uniforms, feeding schemes etc., which were estimated to have raised about K£12.5 million in 1976. This figure suggests that such supplementary fees added some Shs.30 on the average cost of sending a child to primary schools. The recognition that such increasingly compulsory contributions contravened the intention of the Government to provide greater access to primary schooling prompted His Excellency the President to abolish the payment of all extra fees from 1978 onwards and to substitute for their voluntary community fund raising efforts through Harambee collections as a supplementary source of financing schools, (ROK, 1978:8).

These political statements did not alter the situation on the ground. Schools defied the directive and new levies were continued, making primary education exceedingly expensive. In a district like Kwale, socio-economic factors therefore continued to depress female enrolment as they had done before government intervention to provide free primary education.

Table 6:2

Enrolment in Primary Schools by Standard
and Sex, in 1971

K W A L E				T A I T A - T A V E T A			
Standard	Male	Female	Ratio	Standard	Male	Female	Ratio
1	2,399	1,032	2.3:1	1	2,127	1,845	1.1:1
2	1,918	780	2.4:1	2	1,550	1,397	1.1:1
3	1,615	610	2.6:1	3	1,498	1,376	1.0:1
4	1,383	536	2.5:1	4	1,406	1,233	1.1:1
5	1,021	351	2.9:1	5	1,288	1,043	1.2:1
6	991	319	3.1:1	6	1,238	1,057	1.1:1
7	951	329	2.8:1	7	1,222	862	1.4:1
Total	10,278	3,957	2.5:1		10,329	8,813	1.1:1

Table 6:3

Enrolment in Primary Schools by Standard
and Sex, in 1973

K W A L E				T A I T A - T A V E T A			
Standard	Male	Female	Ratio	Standard	Male	Female	Ratio
1	3,366	1,595	2.1:1	1	2,683	2,307	1.1:1
2	2,407	1,029	2.3:1	2	2,069	1,862	1.1:1
3	1,737	795	2.1:1	3	1,771	1,603	1.1:1
4	1,518	625	2.4:1	4	1,409	1,249	1.1:1
5	1,343	527	2.5:1	5	1,290	1,187	1.0:1
6	1,204	440	2.5:7	6	1,281	1,074	1.1:1
7	1,065	389	2.7:1	7	1,346	1,106	1.1:1
Total	12,640	5,400	2.3:1		11,849	10,388	1.1:1

Table 6:4

Enrolment in Primary Schools by Standard
and Sex, in 1974

Standard	K W A L E			Standard	T A I T A - T A V E T A		
	Male	Female	Ratio		Male	Female	Ratio
1	9,317	4,931	1.8:1	1	4,642	4,406	1.0:1
2	3,251	1,505	2.1:1	2	2,605	2,281	1.0:1
3	2,289	1,007	2.2:1	3	2,190	2,049	1.0:1
4	1,678	832	2.0:1	4	1,757	1,655	1.0:1
5	1,441	586	2.4:1	5	1,374	1,187	1.1:1
6	1,311	523	2.5:1	6	1,308	1,194	1.0:1
7	1,298	472	2.6:1	7	1,436	1,161	1.2:1
Total	20,585	9,856	2.0:1		15,312	14,033	1.0:1

Table 6:5

Enrolment in Primary Schools by Standard
and Sex, in 1975

Standard	K W A L E			Standard	T A I T A - T A V E T A		
	Male	Female	Ratio		Male	Female	Ratio
1	5,258	3,372	1.5:1	1	3,258	3,151	1.0:1
2	7,009	3,552	1.9:1	2	3,874	3,803	1.0:1
3	3,030	1,479	2.0:1	3	2,375	2,255	1.0:1
4	2,106	940	2.2:1	4	2,002	1,856	1.0:1
5	1,564	799	1.9:1	5	1,638	1,482	1.1:1
6	1,431	620	2.3:1	6	1,340	1,200	1.1:1
7	1,429	561	2.5:1	7	1,384	1,221	1.1:1
Total	21,827	11,323	1.9:1		15,870	15,968	1.1:1

Table 6:6

Enrolment in Primary Schools by Standard
and Sex, in 1979

K W A L E				T A I T A - T A V E T A			
Standard	Male	Female	Ratio	Standard	Male	Female	Ratio
1	8,897	5,895	1.5:1	1	4,066	3,960	1.0:1
2	4,080	2,503	1.6:1	2	3,230	3,196	1.0:1
3	3,588	2,189	1.6:1	3	2,925	2,821	1.0:1
4	3,228	1,931	1.6:1	4	2,778	2,569	1.0:1
5	3,221	1,818	1.7:1	5	2,752	2,644	1.0:1
6	3,267	1,543	2.1:1	6	2,671	2,634	1.0:1
7	1,895	869	2.1:1	7	1,874	1,692	1.1:1
Total	28,176	16,748	1.6:1		20,286	19,516	1.0:1

Table 6:7

Enrolment in Primary Schools by Standard
and Sex, in 1984

K W A L E				T A I T A - T A V E T A			
Standard	Male	Female	Ratio	Standard	Male	Female	Ratio
1	7,285	5,844	1.2:1	1	4,188	3,873	1.0:1
2	6,266	4,708	1.3:1	2	3,734	3,531	1.0:1
3	5,970	4,238	1.4:1	3	3,601	3,538	1.0:1
4	4,958	3,712	1.3:1	4	3,616	3,688	0.9:1
5	4,322	3,121	1.3:1	5	3,396	3,412	0.9:1
6	3,916	2,343	1.6:1	6	3,161	3,241	1.0:1
7	3,571	1,973	1.8:1	7	2,752	2,543	1.0:1
Total	36,288	25,939	1.3:1		24,448	23,826	1.0:1

Table 6:8

Enrolment in Primary Schools by Standard
and Sex, in 1986

K W A L E				T A I T A - T A V E T A			
Standard	Male	Female	Ratio	Standard	Male	Female	Ratio
1	7,688	5,852	1.3:1	1	4,651	4,351	1.0:1
2	5,760	4,544	1.2:1	2	4,129	3,794	1.0:1
3	5,501	4,113	1.3:1	3	3,579	3,353	1.0:1
4	3,715	4,728	0.7:1	4	3,528	3,384	1.0:1
5	3,256	4,083	0.7:1	5	3,252	3,210	1.0:1
6	4,083	2,820	1.4:1	6	3,091	3,196	0.9:1
7	3,870	2,521	1.5:1	7	3,255	3,479	0.9:1
8	3,120	1,480	2.1:1	8	2,420	2,117	1.1:1
Total	36,993	30,141	1.2:1		27,905	26,884	1.0:1

Table 6:9

Enrolment in Primary Schools by Standard
and Sex, in 1988

K W A L E				T A I T A - T A V E T A			
Standard	Male	Female	Ratio	Standard	Male	Female	Ratio
1	8,112	6,328	1.2:1	1	4,538	4,590	0.9:1
2	6,308	4,811	1.3:1	2	4,236	4,052	1.0:1
3	5,476	4,227	1.2:1	3	3,928	3,652	1.0:1
4	4,998	3,757	1.3:1	4	3,586	3,427	1.0:1
5	4,225	3,088	1.3:1	5	3,239	3,140	1.0:1
6	3,588	3,101	1.1:1	6	3,211	3,127	1.0:1
7	4,238	2,256	1.8:1	7	3,397	3,651	0.9:1
8	2,892	1,629	1.7:1	8	2,271	2,014	1.1:1
Total	39,837	21,197	1.3:1		28,406	27,653	1.0:1

Table 6:10
Enrolemnt in Primary Schools by Standard
and Sex in 1992

Standard	K W A L E			Standard	T A I T A - T A V E T A		
	Male	Female	Ratio		Male	Female	Ratio
1	7,435	5,923	1.2:1	1	4,830	4,478	1.0:1
2	6,971	5,393	1.2:1	2	4,472	4,062	1.1:1
3	6,353	4,843	1.3:1	3	4,257	4,076	1.0:1
4	5,817	4,361	1.3:1	4	4,094	4,115	1.0:1
5	5,081	3,875	1.3:1	5	3,880	3,916	0.9:1
6	4,137	3,210	1.2:1	6	3,401	3,473	0.9:1
7	4,007	3,170	1.2:1	7	3,557	3,595	0.9:1
8	4,437	3,330	1.3:1	8	2,958	2,879	1.0:1
Total	44,338	34,105	1.2:1		31,449	30,594	1.0:1

Table 6:11Drop Out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex in 1971

K W A L E			T A I T A - T A V E T A		
Standard	Male	Female	Standard	Male	Female
1	20.0	24.4	1	27.1	24.2
2	25.7	21.7	2	3.3	1.5
3	14.3	12.1	3	6.1	10.3
4	26.1	34.5	4	8.3	15.4
5	2.9	9.1	5	3.8	-3.1
6	4.0	-3.1	6	1.2	18.4
Total	14.0	18.0		8.7	11.1

Table 6:12Drop Out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex in 1973

K W A L E			T A I T A - T A V E T A		
Standard	Male	Female	Standard	Male	Female
1	37.4	27.8	1	22.8	19.2
2	27.8	22.7	2	14.4	13.9
3	12.6	21.3	3	20.4	22.0
4	11.5	15.6	4	8.4	4.9
5	10.3	15.8	5	0.6	9.5
6	11.5	11.5	6	-0.5	-2.9
Total	20.5	20.0		11.2	11.5

Table 6:13Drop Out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex in 1974

	K W A L E		T A I T A - T A V E T A			
	Standard	Male	Female	Standard	Male	Female
1		65.1	69.4	1	43.8	45.9
2		29.5	33.0	2	15.9	13.9
3		26.6	17.3	3	19.7	19.2
4		14.1	29.5	4	21.7	28.2
5		9.0	10.7	5	4.8	-0.5
6		0.9	9.7	6	-9.7	2.7
Total		38.9	45.2		20.3	23.1

Table 6:14Drop Out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex in 1975

	K W A L E		T A I T A - T A V E T A			
	Standard	Male	Female	Standard	Male	Female
1		-33.3	-5.3	1	-18.9	-20.6
2		56.8	58.3	2	38.6	40.7
3		30.4	36.4	3	15.7	17.6
4		25.7	15.0	4	18.1	20.0
5		8.5	22.4	5	18.1	19.0
6		0.1	9.5	6	-3.2	-1.7
Total		17.5	24.8		11.8	12.8

Table 6:15Drop Out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex in 1979

Standard	K W A L E		Standard	T A I T A - T A V E T A	
	Male	Female		Male	Female
1	54.1	57.5	1	20.5	19.2
2	12.0	12.5	2	9.4	16.7
3	10.0	7.1	3	5.0	8.9
4	0.2	5.8	4	0.9	-2.9
5	-1.4	51.1	5	2.9	0.3
6	41.9	43.6	6	29.8	39.7
Total	24.8	30.0		10.8	11.6

Table 6:16Drop-Out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex in 1984

	K W A L E		T A I T A - T A V E T A			
	Standard	Male	Female	Standard	Male	Female
1	12.9	19.4		1	10.8	8.8
2	4.7	9.9		2	3.5	-0.1
3	16.9	12.4		3	-0.4	-4.2
4	12.8	15.9		4	6.0	7.4
5	9.3	24.9		5	6.9	5.0
6	8.1	15.7		6	12.9	21.5
Total	10.2	14.9			5.8	5.5

Table 6:17Drop-Out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex in 1986

	K W A L E		T A I T A - T A V E T A			
	Standard	Male	Female	Standard	Male	Female
1	25.0	22.3		1	11.2	12.8
2	4.4	9.4		2	13.3	11.6
3	32.4	-14.9		3	1.4	-0.9
4	12.3	13.6		4	7.8	5.1
5	-25.3	30.9		5	4.9	0.4
6	5.2	10.6		6	-5.3	-8.8
7	19.3	41.2		7	25.6	39.4
Total	12.3	14.8			7.9	4.3

Table 6:18Drop-Out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex in 1988

K W A L E			T A I T A - T A V E T A		
Standard	Male	Female	Standard	Male	Female
1	22.2	23.9	1	6.6	11.7
2	13.1	12.1	2	7.2	9.8
3	8.7	11.1	3	8.7	6.1
4	15.4	17.8	4	9.6	8.3
5	15.0	-0.4	5	0.8	0.4
6	-18.1	27.2	6	-5.2	-16.7
7	31.7	27.7	7	33.1	44.8
Total	12.7	15.5		7.9	9.2

Table 6:19Drop-Out Rate (%) by Standard and Sex in 1992

K W A L E			T A I T A - T A V E T A		
Standard	Male	Female	Standard	Male	Female
1	6.2	8.9	1	7.4	9.2
2	8.8	10.1	2	4.8	-0.3
3	8.4	9.9	3	3.8	-0.9
4	12.6	11.1	4	5.2	4.8
5	18.5	17.1	5	12.3	11.3
6	3.1	1.2	6	-4.5	-3.5
7	-13.2	-5.0	7	-16.8	19.9
Total	6.5	7.5		5.9	5.2

Table 6:20

Headmaster's Estimated Annual Dropout Rate (%) by Standard and Sex.							
Standard	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
KWALE							
Male	18	7	11	8	9	11	12
Female	23	10	15	14	15	14	16
T/TAVETA							
Male	10	5	7	7	5	4	9
Female	11	6	8	7	7	6	11

Table 6:21

Headmaster's Estimated Annual Repetition Rate(%) by Standard and Sex.								
Standard	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
KWALE								
Male	4	5	3	6	7	10	12	16
Female	3	4	5	4	5	7	8	11
T/TAVETA								
Male	6	7	8	6	7	12	14	16
Female	4	5	6	5	6	8	12	13

Girls' participation is not only affected by low enrolments, but also by promotion or progression rates. Tables 6:11 to 6:21 illustrate drop-out rates between boys and girls for a selected number of years from 1971 to 1992. It is clear from these tables that there is a lot of differentiation in progression between the different grades and gender. Promotion is generally lowest in Standards 1-2 where on the average it is about 80 per cent of the enrolment for Taita Taveta, but lower than 70 per cent for Kwale. Thereafter, for the former it picks up to about 90% in Standard 2-3 and remains relatively constant for the former to the upper classes. Kwale tends to exhibit a very erratic picture in many of the classes.

In examining progression rates it is apparent that government figures do not seem to give an accurate picture of the situation since they are too optimistic over progression rates. They are purposely hiked upwards to show the positive impact of its policies especially the removal of fees in the primary school segment, (ROK, 1978:9). The existence of dropouts is often the underlying cause of variations in the progression grade. By comparing dropout figures from the period before the so-called abolition of school fees and after it, tends to show that the impact of government claims for its policy on school fees is largely negative. As tables

6:12 and 6:13 show dropout rates rose from about 20 per cent for Kwale to about 40 per cent and for Taita Taveta from about 11 per cent to 20 per cent. This shows that ironically the situation worsened with effect that government policies actually made education more expensive as already pointed out.

It is now generally acknowledged that drop-outs rates are by far much higher than it is officially recorded. For example, it has been estimated that in 1976 about 571,980 pupils were enrolled in the Standard One class all over the country. Out of these, only 371,525 or about 65 per cent reached the final grade in 1982. This completing group included repeaters and drop-ins of the earlier cohorts; which implies that the drop-out rate is higher than the estimated 35 per cent. Similarly of the 1979 Standard One intake about 450,000 only 158,850 in 1986 or 35.3 per cent reached the final primary school grade in 1986. It was also estimated that of the total primary school drop-out, 65 per cent of them drop-out before completing the fourth grade (Ngau, 1990:20).

The pattern of drop-out as it is estimated is also quite consistent with the lines of regional socio-economic disparities which were discussed in the introductory chapters. Among the regions with

the lowest drop-out rates are the country's largest municipalities and the agricultural districts in which Taita-Taveta falls, while shocking manifestations of the drop-out problem are the arid and semi-arid districts as well as less developed districts in which Kwale District falls. The differentiation in drop-out rates is reflected in Tables 6:11 to 6:20.

Although the drop-out rate is high for both boys and girls especially in Kwale District it tends to affect the latter more. There is a higher drop-out rate for girls throughout the classes and becomes even more pronounced in the upper classes of the primary school. Although socio-economic factors determining pupil participation will be discussed later, data seems to indicate that in situations where parents cannot pay the school fees for both boys and girls as is the situation in the rural Kwale and Taita-Taveta Districts, girls are sacrificed outright. They are left to drop-out. Male siblings are allowed to repeat or continue with their education while female siblings are allowed to drop-out. The socio-economic factors combine with the prevailing sexist attitudes regarding the perceived costs and benefits of girls education. Each of the primary school hurdle seems to eliminate a large proportion of girls than boys from the primary school system. By the time a class completes Standard Eight

approximately three quarters of the girls who entered standard one have been eliminated from the formal school system, and each obstacle makes intra-female differentials even more pronounced. While in economically advanced areas the factors which originally increased the likelihood of primary school education for girls' boost them over potential barriers for more education, in districts like Kwale where factors that reduce the chances of obtaining more primary education press even harder as a girl progresses. Thus in less developed districts girls are doubly disadvantaged. They have less chance than their male peers and less chance than their female counterparts from more developed areas of entering and completing primary schools, (CBS, 1984:58).

Table 6:21 on repetition rates indicates that repetition is largely a problem of upper primary classes. This is because of these classes' association with the secondary school selection examination at the end of the primary school. Consequently, for the two districts, repetition in the lower classes is generally small. Another factor that suggests that repetition is closely tied to the upper classes is that a number of tables on drop-out rates for the years indicated (1971-1992), there are classes which register a negative drop-out rate. In fact the repe-

tition rate in the upper classes, tends to make an impact on pupil progression rate and minimises the presence of drop-outs. This phenomenon is likely to be most serious than it is portrayed in the headmaster's reports and government statistics because there are many cases of reported and unreported repetitions.

The competitiveness of the secondary school selection examination puts much pressure on pupils to repeat the upper primary and because the habit is generally discouraged by the government, it is widely known that the situation renders itself to much cheating and under-reporting of repetition. Parents and their children invent all sorts of ways of defeating the official rules. These often entail transferring to other schools in the area or in other districts or locality. In the process many children even change their names. The net effect of these migrations, especially when they are on inter-district lines is that they result in negative drop-out rates into the districts where pupils migrate from.

The districts with the highest reported repetition rate are usually the most developed in socio-economic aspects. It is in this regard that Taita-Taveta in this study tends to generally exhibit a relatively

higher repetition rate than Kwale. This finding seems to suggest that the more developed is a district's secondary educational system the higher the repetition rate in upper primary school.

The repetition rate is no longer a phenomenon that is confined to boys only. The negative drop-out rate as shown in tables 6:11 to 6:20 also applies to girls, although the repetition rate is higher with boys than girls especially in Kwale where the proportion of girls drops rather dramatically in classes six to eight. As it has been argued elsewhere with regard to boys relative better performance in the KCPE, the higher proportion of male repeaters gives boys an advantage over girls. In addition, the higher proportion of male repeaters suggests a greater parental concern for their sons to advance to higher educational levels, (CBS, 1984:58). It is, however, noted that communities which are favourably disposed towards women moving away from traditional roles into wage earning formal employment and which consequently send girls to school in large numbers will also place a high value on girls educational success. Such communities try to ensure through harambee efforts and political means, that there is an adequate number of places available for girls in local secondary schools and the education they receive is of good quality. As a result of the

combined influence of these factors, girls attending primary schools in better developed districts like Taita-Taveta are highly motivated in school and therefore compete for equal opportunities with boys even on the aspect of repeating, (CBS, 1984:59). This is why Taita-Taveta tends to display a relatively lower rate of female drop-out and a higher rate female repetition than Kwale.

Occupation and Income of the Parents

In this section we consider the occupation and income of the parents as important factors in pupil participation in school. In the historical analysis it was pointed out that disparities in regional development and the socio-economic conditions of the family were at the root cause of influencing access to school and the progression through school as well.

In the pupils' and household questionnaires, they were asked as part of their socio-economic background, to state their parents' employment, (for the households) their actual employment. This had an important bearing on the study since occupation is an important determinant of the parent's ability to contribute towards the physical development of the schools and the purchase of materials and equipment needed for teaching. In many districts of the country parents are

required to contribute to the running of schools through the Parents' Teachers' Association.

From tables 6:22 and 6:23, it is apparent that a majority of the pupils had parents who were employed in one way or another. It is however, noted that in both Kwale and Taita-Taveta districts, a fairly high proportion of pupils came from families where a majority of parents are within the low employment, a factor that has considerable influence on the contribution of the education of their children. What is equally important is that those in occupations take the lead in sending both boys and girls to school. A comparison of the two districts indicates that Taita-Taveta District has a higher proportion of parents in formal employment. There were 6.0 per cent of the fathers who are teachers, 7 per cent civil servants, 22.9 per cent labourers, 19.3 per cent in business, 24.1 per cent farmers as compared to 6.2 per cent, 2.8 per cent, 13.4 per cent, 10.0 per cent and 33.6 per cent for Kwale respectively. For mothers, Table 6:23 shows 4.8 per cent teachers, 7.3 per cent labourers, 11.3 per cent business or self-employed and 22.7 per cent as farmers for Taita-Taveta and 1.8 per cent, 6.6 per cent, 4.5 per cent and 22.4 per cent respectively for Kwale.

The occupational differences between Taita-Taveta and Kwale are supported in Table 6:24 which shows house-

hold occupational differences. It is shown that in Taita-Taveta 22.9 per cent are small cash crop farmers, 10.5 per cent salaried employment as compared to 19.4 per cent, 4.2 per cent and 11.2 per cent respectively in Kwale. This phenomenon is further supported by Table 6:25 which indicates that about 60 per cent of the household and parents in Taita-Taveta have some regular monthly income ranging from 100 to 2000 Kenya shillings. It should, however, be qualified that although Table 6:25 gives a general indication of the monthly income it was difficult to obtain accurate information on household and parents earnings.

The economic differences as reported by respondents to this study are supported by the Development Plans (1989-1993) for the two districts. It is estimated that in Taita-Taveta the public sector employs 6 per cent of the total labour force in the District and it is followed by the business and commercial sector which absorbs 11.7 per cent, most of whom are self employed. On the overall, 25 per cent of the total labour force is said to be employed, earning salaries or wages while 75 per cent are smallholders who earn their living by working on their small farms and at the same time act as seasonal and daily wage labourers, (ROK, 1988:31).

In the Development Plan, it is noted that Kwale is a district with a very low number of major urban and trading centres and relatively, fewer jobs in the non-agricultural and small-scale commercial and informal sectors. Much of the population is engaged in agricultural activities. A small category's source of employment is limited to the tourist industry concentrated in Diani and Tiwi locations, and the Bixa and Ufuta factories. The Ramisi sugar factory closed early in 1988 and declared 4500 skilled and semi-skilled workers redundant. Private sector wage employment is estimated to be 6 per cent while small scale business and the informal sector is 7.2 per cent. Agricultural and livestock activities constitute about 80 per cent, (ROK, 1988:36).

Land ownership as shown in table 6:26, it is clear that most families in the two districts own small parcels of land generally below 6 acres on the average. In Kwale, due to the persistence of traditional communal relationships, members of extended families and lineages have use rights in subsistence farming. Traditionally disposal rights of land were not vested in any one individual, although with the increasing individualisation of land tenure, a person who acquires a title deed may legally dispossess other relatives from traditional family land, (UNICEF Report 1991:60).

The comparison of employment and income in Kwale and Taita-Taveta, as to be expected of a largely uneducated, illiterate people, the large Muslim population in the former is disadvantaged in terms of employment. Unemployment is rampant as evidenced by the distribution of occupations in Tables 6:22, 6:23 and 6:24. Few are qualified for high level employment, being poorly educated and lacking in technical training. It is thus not surprising that the vast majority of the respondents have access only to poorly paid, low status jobs. Professionals constitute a small portion of the respondents.

An examination of employment by gender in Tables 6:23 and 6:27 reveals that more females than males are unemployed. Again fewer females than male respondents are to be found in skilled clerical jobs requiring at least some basic education. Similarly, relatively fewer females would be categorised as professionals.

Poverty therefore seems to be a major factor in denying a majority of children from Kwale District to primary schooling and the chance to complete it. Many household heads indicated that they are unable to meet and sustain the costs of education. The implementation of Structural Adjustment Programmes compels parents to share the cost of providing education, namely, put up school buildings, buy and maintain

school facilities, buy books, school uniforms and other related educational materials. Such financial commitments coupled with the struggle to feed and offer shelter to the children become inhibitive to poor households.

As it has already been pointed out, in many cases poor parents have to make a choice of who to take to school, whether it is a boy or a girl. In a district, like Kwale, where tradition is still strong, girls are not taken to school or they may be withdrawn from school to release the scarce resources for the boy. At times girls are married off so that parents get money to educate boys.

To appreciate the economic factor in the education of children in Kenya, it should be pointed out here that education is not fully subsidised by the state. This therefore means that a child's educational opportunities are dependent upon the economic resources of his or her family to pay school fees, uniforms and other educational materials. Although school fees was officially abolished since 1974, there are many financial contributions that parents are expected to make towards the primary education of their children although these tend to vary from one district to another.

In the rough estimation that was made during the study in Kwale and Taita-Taveta in 1992 before the

steep devaluation of the Kenya shilling, the basic cost of education in each of the lower classes of the primary school in a year was roughly Kshs.450 (US\$12.85).

For the upper classes the expenditure per pupil was about Kshs.900 (US\$ 25.72). These are however only initial expenses. In addition to school fees, a pupil needs to provide his or her own exercise books and writing materials, an expenditure of approximately Kshs.200 (US\$ 5.71) per year. Additionally there is strong educational and social pressure from teachers and parents' committees to clothe pupils in uniforms. For boys the basic requirement is cotton shorts and shirts which cost roughly Ksh.175 (US\$ 5). For girls the cost of the uniform was estimated to be about Kshs.280 (US\$ 8.0). Hence the financial outlay for a girl's uniform is almost twice that of a boy's. It was not therefore surprising that lack of cash for basic costs of education and uniforms was the most frequently cited by the household heads as a reason for girls dropping out of school or non-enrolment.

The investment in girls' education as will be discussed later is weighted against the need for a daughter's household labour, which seems to take precedence over schooling. It is of course difficult to separate factors of socio-cultural male bias from economic considerations, but the fact that a girl's uniform is twice the cost of a boy's uniform and that her

labour contributes significantly to household maintenance, may determine the gender specific selection of who goes to school.

In the questionnaire, some pupils mentioned hunger as being a cause of why girls drop out in lower grades, a condition that was not mentioned by the households. For Kwale which is not agriculturally well endowed, households run out of food crops 3 or 4 months after harvest and are forced to buy food. As is commonly expected the cash for this expenditure is not easily available. Consequently, there is cyclical hunger which certainly affects pupils to concentrate and hence apathy and disinterest in schooling leading to drop-outs. Although boys are equally as affected by hunger as girls their motivation to stay in school is greater than for girls, given that they experience fewer socio-cultural constraints that girls face. Thus, economic constraints and social attitudes and norms towards girls' work, influence whether a girl has the opportunity for basic education and once she enrolls, how long does she remain in school?

Parental Level of Education

Parental level of education seems to be a major factor influencing the participation of girls

in primary education. Close to 87 per cent of the girls in Taita-Taveta District had fathers who had some primary education and a fairly high percentage, 25 per cent who had been to secondary schools. This too applied to the education of mothers, most of whom had primary and even secondary education. Parental education is shown in tables 6:28 and 6:29. This data are supported by the 6.30 which shows the educational level of the household respondents. For Taita-Taveta 18.8 per cent of the household did not go to school, 10.5 per cent left before finishing primary education, 54.0 per cent completed primary education, 6.2 per cent did not complete secondary education while 10.5 per cent completed secondary education.

Table 6:22
Father's Occupation

<u>Types of Occupation</u>	KWALE		TAITA TAVETA	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Teacher	43	6.2	80	6.0
Clerk	12	1.7	38	2.9
Policeman	10	1.4	29	2.2
Army Officer	7	1.0	14	1.3
Civil Servant	20	2.8	93	7.0
Sub-Chief/Chief	12	1.7	21	1.6
Labourer	95	13.4	305	22.9
Self-employment/ Business	71	10.0	257	19.3
Farmer	238	33.6	321	24.1
Total	708	100.0	1327	100.0

Table 6:23

Mother's Occupation

<u>Type of Occupation</u>	KWALE		TAITA-TAVETA	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Teacher	11	1.8	64	4.8
Clerk	-	-	6	0.5
Policewoman	2	0.3	5	0.4
Army Officer	3	0.4	11	0.8
Civil Servant	11	1.5	19	1.5
Labourer	47	6.6	97	7.3
Self-employment/ Business	32	4.5	151	11.3
Farmer	238	33.6	321	24.1
Not specified	443	62.5	674	50.1
Total	708	100.0	1327	100.0

Table 6:24

Household Occupation

<u>Occupation</u>	KWALE		TAITA-TAVETA	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Pastoralist	2	2.8	1	2.1
Subsistence	41	56.9	21	43.8
Small Scale Cash Crop farmer	14	19.4	11	22.9
Large Scale Cash crop farmer	-	-	-	-
Petty trader	3	4.2	5	10.4
Large Scale Business	1	1.3	1	2.1
Wage earner/salaried employmentt	8	11.2	5	10.4
Unemployment	3	4.2	4	8.3
Total	72	100.0	48	100.0

Table 6:25

Household Estimated Monthly Income

	<u>K W A L E</u>				<u>T A I T A - T A V E T A</u>			
	Household		Pupils		Household		Pupils	
<u>Income in Kenya Shillings</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
No Regular Income	54	75.0	483	68.2	18	37.5	580	43.7
Less 100	1	1.3	77	10.9	3	6.2	132	9.9
100 - 500	3	4.2	68	9.6	10	20.8	331	24.9
600 - 1000	1	1.3	56	7.9	4	8.4	159	12.0
1100 - 1500	3	4.2	13	1.8	3	6.2	66	5.0
1600 - 2000	2	2.8	11	1.6	2	4.1	59	4.5
2100 - 2500	1	1.3	-	-	4	8.4	-	-
2600 - 3000	4	5.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Over 3000	3	4.2	-	-	4	8.4	-	-
Total	72	100.0	708	100.0	48	100.0	1327	100.0

Table 6:26

Land Ownership

Acreage	<u>K W A L E</u>				<u>T A I T A</u>		<u>T A V E T A</u>	
	Household		Pupils		Household		Pupils	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
None	-	-	118	16.7	-	-	68	5.1
Less 1 acre	5	6.9	22	3.1	7	14.6	94	7.1
1 - 3 acres	7	9.8	282	39.8	22	45.8	932	70.2
4 - 6 acres	19	26.4	198	28.0	6	12.5	217	16.4
5 - 8 acres	10	13.9	-	-	9	18.8	-	-
7 - 9 acres	31	43.0	51	7.2	4	8.3	7	0.5
10 acres and above	-	-	37	5.2	-	-	9	0.7
Total	72	100.0	708	100.0	48	100.0	1327	100.0

Table 6:27

Eldest Family Girls' Employment

Type of Employment	<u>K W A L E</u>				<u>T A I T A</u>		<u>T A V E T A</u>	
	Household		Pupils		Household		Pupils	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Unemployed	9	12.5	70	10.6	4	8.4	132	9.9
Housewife	37	51.4	389	55.1	9	18.7	159	12.0
Labourer/House maid	5	6.9	4	0.9	7	14.5	66	5.0
Self-employed	11	15.3	141	20.3	10	20.7	331	24.9
Skilled employed	6	8.3	101	12.4	13	27.2	580	43.7
In School	4	5.6	3	0.7	5	10.5	59	4.5
Total	72	100.0	708	100.0	48	100.0	1327	100.0

Table 6:28

Father's Level of Education

	K W A L E		TAITA-TAVETA	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Primary	203	28.7	743	56.0
Secondary	124	17.5	392	29.5
University	18	2.6	33	2.5
Adult Literacy	1	0.1	1	0.1
None	362	51.1	158	11.9
Total	708	100.0	1327	100.0

Table 6:29

Mother's Level of Education

	K W A L E		TAITA-TAVETA	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Primary	186	26.3	813	61.3
Secondary	46	6.5	218	16.4
University	1	0.1	9	0.7
Adult Literacy	-	-	1	-
None	475	67.1	286	21.6
Total	708	100.0	1327	100.0

Table 6:30

Education Level of Household Respondents

	KWALE		TAITA-TAVETA	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Did not go to school	40	56.6	9	18.8
Left before finishing primary school	9	12.6	5	10.5
Finished primary	16	22.3	26	54.0
Went to Secondary school but left before completing	2	2.8	3	6.2
Completed Secondary school	4	5.7	5	10.5
Beyond form four	-	-	-	-
Total	72	100.0	48	100.0

Table 6:31

Education Level of the Eldest Girl in the Family

	K W A L E				T A I T A - T A V E T A			
	Household		Pupils		Household		Pupils	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Did not go to school	39	55.3	389	55.1	8	16.7	132	10.4
Left before finishing primary school	10	13.9	141	20.3	8	16.7	159	12.4
Finished primary school	9	12.6	101	12.4	15	31.2	580	40.2
Went to secondary school but left before comple- ting	8	11.2	70	10.6	7	14.5	66	5.3
Completed Secondary school	3	4.2	4	0.9	6	12.5	331	26.7
Beyond form four	2	2.8	3	0.7	4	8.4	59	5.0
Total	72	100.0	708	100.0	48	100.0	1327	100.0

Table 6:32

Household Knowledge of Kiswahili and English

	K W A L E				T A I T A - T A V E T A			
	Kiswahili		English		Kiswahili		English	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
None	5	6.9	52	72.2	-	-	22	45.9
A little	28	38.9	16	22.3	2	4.2	13	27.1
Well	28	38.9	1	1.3	14	29.2	7	14.5
Very Well	11	15.3	3	4.2	32	66.6	6	12.5
Total	72	100.0	72	100.0	48	100.0	48	100.0

The Taita-Taveta picture sharply contrasts with that of Kwale, where 51.1 per cent of the fathers had no education at all, while 28.7 and 17.5 per cent respectively had primary and secondary education. A high proportion of the mothers 67.1 per cent had no education, 26.3 per cent primary and 6.5 per cent secondary education. With regard to household heads 56.6 per cent stated that they did not go to school. 12.6 per cent left before finishing primary, while 22.3 per cent completed primary school. A relatively small proportion 5.7 per cent completed secondary school and 2.8 per cent left.

The impact of education on girls' participation is also reflected in the educational level and employment of their eldest sisters. Table 6.31 shows the educational level of the eldest girl in the family. It is clear that there are more 'educated' girls in employment in Taita-Taveta than in Kwale District. This means that an 'educated' family encourages its children in school work and this is further reinforced by girls from such families who are in regular employment.

An important factor which relates to the parental education level is that of language. It is clear from table 6:32 that a high proportion of household heads in Kwale, 72.2 per cent have no knowledge of the

English language as compared to 45.9 per cent in Taita-Taveta. As other studies elsewhere have demonstrated that English which is a medium of instruction in the school system is crucial in pupils' success in primary education, (Gakuru, 1979:40).

Several studies have attested to the importance of parental education and language in students' participation in education.

Socio-Cultural Attitudes and Girls' Participation in Primary Education

Socio-cultural factors are generally difficult to assess since they encompass a wide range of activities. These include attitudes reflecting the old division of labour and unequal training opportunities which require that women conform in what are considered suitable feminine work occupations, attitudes towards education and modernisation as well as religion. In this section, the study mainly focusses on socio-cultural attitudes as they relate to gender structuring and the role of religion.

As it has been stated in other studies, culturally determined ways of defining women and men and their roles in a given society at a particular historical time period shape gender specific opportunities and constraints.

The process by which this take place is often referred to as 'gender structuring', namely, the means by which a society orders relations of production, reproduction and distribution between females and males from the household to the wider community, (Jogger, 1983:132). The way resources are distributed including educational resources results in gender differentiation, (Papanek, 1985:317-346).

The behavioural norms and expectations that result from gender structuring begin in the home and community and subsequently taught and reinforced in the school setting. Too often girls learn at an early age that they are expected to limit themselves to activities at home and are tracked at school to courses which reinforce their roles as domestic producers and reproducers and that may exclude them from other productive careers, (Davidson, Kanyuka, 1992:446-460). What has been referred to as the cult of 'domesticity', (El-Sanabary, 1989:9), applies very much to the situation in Kenya in general and Kwale and Taita-Taveta in particular.

The influence that parents have directly and indirectly on their childrens' achievement and aspirations have been well documented elsewhere, (Mbilinyi, 1969). This study measured parents attitudes about

educating girls in comparison to boys as shown in Table 6:33. The household heads were asked to say what they thought about educating boys and girls, the number of both sexes who are enrolled in school and their aspirations for them, and parental attitudes towards their daughters persistence in school.

When asked whether they think it is more important to educate a boy or girl, the vast majority of parents in both Taita-Taveta and Kwale said both should be educated as shown in Table 6:33 although the percentage was higher for the former 77.1 per cent and 58.6 per cent for the latter. It is however, noticeable that 23.4 per cent of the households in Kwale and 6.2 per cent in Taita-Taveta indicated that it is more important to educate boys because they are more likely to return the educational investment and they are better able to concentrate on their studies. Girls by contrast were considered less serious and unable to concentrate because they have other considerations such as getting married. What was equally important was that both Christian and Muslim parents of both sexes generally believe in educating both boys and girls. This was particularly the case with Kwale where predominantly most of the respondents were Muslims as will be discussed later.

TABLE 6:33Attitudes of Households Towards Schooling of Girls

	KWALE		TAITA-TAVETA	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Both boys and girls	42	58.6	37	77.1
Boys only	17	23.4	3	6.2
Girls only	-	-	5	10.5
Girls should not go to school	13	18.0	3	6.2
	72	100.0	48	100.0

TABLE 6.34Future Career Aspirations by Sex

	MALE		FEMALE	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Lawyer	11	1.1	6	0.6
Doctor	156	15.3	45	4.4
Executive Manager	34	3.3	20	2.0
Civil Servant	72	7.1	113	11.1
Engineer	58	5.7	8	0.8
Teacher	130	12.8	204	20.1
Nurse	26	2.6	448	44.1
Army Officer	136	13.4	20	2.0
Police Officer	60	6.0	24	2.4
Farmer	7	0.7	4	0.4
Business	11	1.1	18	1.8
Unspecified	316	31.1	107	10.5
	72	100.0	48	100.0

TABLE 6.35

Level of Education Desired

	KWALE		TAITA-TAVETA	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Finish Primary School	154	21.7	94	7.1
Finish Form 2	21	3.0	37	2.8
Finish Form 4	172	24.3	316	23.8
Enter University	127	17.9	287	21.6
No Opinion	220	31.1	593	44.7
	708	100.0	1327	100.0

TABLE 6.36

Level of Education Desired by Gender

	Finish Primary		Finish Form 2		Finish Form 4		Enter University		No Opinion		Total	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Male	(133)	13.1	(27)	2.7	(244)	24.0	(196)	19.3	(415)	40.8	(1018)	50.0
Female	(112)	11.0	(31)	3.0	(244)	24.0	(218)	21.4	(412)	40.5	(1017)	50.0

SOCIO CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS GIRLS SCHOOLING

KWALE DISTRICT

	HOUSE-HOLD		HEADTEACHERS					PUPILS				
	A	D	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD
1. Education interferes with traditional practice	(21) 29.9	(51) 70.1	-	-	(2) 16.6	(3) 25.1	(7) 58.3	(74) 10.5	(67) 4.5	(64) 9.0	(198) 28.0	(305) 43.1
2. Education spoils girls	(18) 13.9	(62) 86.1	(1) 8.3	(3) 25.1	-	(3) 25.1	(5) 41.6	(59) 8.3	(52) 7.3	(72) 10.2	(206) 29.1	(319) 45.1
3. Education makes girls discontented and immoral	(10) 13.9	(62) 86.1	(1) 8.3	(2) 16.6	-	(5) 41.6	(4) 33.4	(66) 9.3	(76) 10.7	(90) 12.7	(191) 27.0	(285) 40.3
4. Schooling does not prepare girls as future housewives	(29) 41.7	(42) 58.3	(2) 16.6	(2) 16.6	(2) 16.6	(3) 25.1	(3) 25.1	(57) 8.1	(78) 11.0	(113) 16.0	(190) 26.8	(270) 38.1
5. Married educated girls contribute to a different family	(20) 27.8	(52) 72.2	(3) 25.1	(4) 33.4	-	(2) 16.6	(3) 25.1	(77) 10.9	(106) 15.0	(117) 16.5	(176) 24.9	(232) 32.8
6. Girls depend on husbands for livelihood	(22) 30.6	(50) 69.4	-	(2) 16.6	-	(6) 50.0	(4) 33.4	(96) 13.5	(122) 17.2	(81) 11.4	(168) 23.7	(241) 34.0
7. Girls should be married at the ages of 12 or 13	(27) 37.5	(45) 62.5	-	(1) 8.3	-	(2) 11.6	(9) 75.0	(106) 14.9	(96) 13.6	(89) 12.6	(175) 24.7	(242) 25.0
8. Parents prefer sending sons to schools than daughters	(27) 37.5	(45) 62.5	(4) 33.4	(95) 41.6	(1) 8.3	(2) 16.6	-	(122) 17.8	(137) 19.4	(90) 12.7	(182) 25.7	(177) 25.0
9. In Muslim communities education interferes with seduction	(25) 34.8	(47) 65.2	(1) 8.3	(6) 50.0	(3) 25.1	(1) 8.3	(1) 8.3	(137) 19.4	(157) 22.2	(96) 13.6	(171) 24.2	(147) 20.8
10. Girls drop-out of school due to early marriages	-	-	(3) 25.1	(6) 50.0	(1) 8.3	(2) 16.6	-	(145) 20.5	(164) 23.2	(80) 11.3	(164) 23.2	(155) 21.9
11. Women are inferior to men	(34) 47.2	(38) 52.8	-	(2) 16.6	(1) 8.3	(3) 25.1	(6) 50.0	(154) 21.8	(168) 23.7	(99) 14.0	(148) 20.9	(139) 19.6
12. The community in the district has no interest in girls' education	(29) 40.3	(43) 59.7	(3) 25.1	(3) 25.1	-	(3) 25.1	(3) 25.1	(119) 23.9	(169) 23.9	(94) 13.3	(188) 26.6	(138) 19.5

TAITA-TAVETA DISTRICT

	HOUSE-HOLD		HEADTEACHERS					PUPILS				
	A	D	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD
1. Education interferes with traditional practice	(15) 68.7	(33) 31.3	-	-	-	(4) 50.0	(4) 50.0	(142) 10.7	(55) 4.1	(50) 3.8	(288) 21.7	(192) 59.7
2. Education spoils girls	(8) 16.7	(40) 83.3	-	-	(1) 12.5	(2) 25.0	(5) 62.5	(89) 6.7	(56) 4.2	(93) 7.4	(272) 20.5	(517) 61.6
3. Education makes girls discontented and immoral	(12) 25.0	(36) 75.0	-	-	(2) 25.0	(3) 37.5	(3) 37.5	(90) 6.8	(93) 7.0	(103) 7.8	(255) 19.2	(186) 59.3
4. Schooling does not prepare girls as future housewives	(18) 37.5	(30) 62.5	-	(1) 12.5	(1) 12.5	(3) 37.5	(3) 37.5	(91) 6.9	(178) 13.4	(122) 9.2	(270) 20.3	(166) 50.2
5. Married educated girls contribute to a different family	(11) 48.7	(37) 51.3	-	-	-	(2) 25.0	(2) 25.0	(84) 6.3	(177) 13.3	(156) 11.8	(316) 23.8	(594) 44.8
6. Girls depend on husbands for livelihood	(17) 35.5	(31) 64.5	-	-	(1) 12.5	(2) 25.0	(5) 62.5	(141) 10.6	(214) 16.1	(171) 13.0	(303) 22.8	(497) 37.5
7. Girls Should be married at the ages of 12 or 13	(19) 39.6	(29) 60.4	-	-	-	(1) 12.5	(7) 87.5	(151) 11.4	(246) 18.5	(154) 11.6	(263) 19.8	(513) 38.7
8. Parents prefer sending sons to schools than daughters	(19) 39.6	(29) 60.4	(1) 12.5	-	(2) 25.0	(2) 25.0	(3) 37.5	(173) 13.9	(272) 20.5	(167) 22.5	(287) 27.8	(428) 32.4
9. In Muslim communities education interferes with seduction	(23) 47.9	(25) 52.1	-	-	(1) 12.5	(2) 25.0	(5) 62.5	(182) 13.7	(313) 21.6	(163) 12.5	(311) 23.0	(359) 27.1
10. Girls drop out of school due to early marriages	-	-	-	(2) 25.0	(4) 50.0	(2) 25.0	-	(262) 19.8	(320) 24.1	(166) 12.5	(286) 21.6	(293) 22.1
11. Women are inferior to men	(22) 45.9	(26) 54.1	-	-	-	-	-	(308) 23.2	(309) 23.3	(120) 9.0	(273) 20.6	(317) 23.9
12. The community in the district has no interest in girls' education	(22) 45.9	(26) 54.1	-	-	(1) 12.5	(1) 12.5	(6) 75.0	(277) 20.9	(302) 22.8	(144) 10.9	(284) 21.4	(320) 24.1

A-Agree, D-Disagree, SA-Strongly Agree, U-Undecided, SD-Strongly Disagree

What seems to come through in the study is that in terms of measuring attitudes through a likert scale, generally household, headteachers and pupils are quite positive on the participation of girls in education, irrespective of the districts of their origin. As shown in Table 6:37 the three groups do not hold negative views about the education of girls. The three groups do not consider education as interfering with traditional practices or contributing to the degree of immorality. The Muslims in particular did not support the view that girls should be married at the ages of 12 or 13 or schooling interferes with the traditional Muslim seclusion practice. These attitudes however, were displayed in more indepth interviews with Muslim religious leaders as will be discussed later.

Household attitudes towards an ideal educational attainment level were different for boys and girls. A relatively small percentage of parents in Kwale 8.5 per cent and 3.5 per cent in Taita-Taveta felt that completion of class 8 was optimal for girls. Many thought girls should be educated to Form 4, although slightly fewer parents in the two districts felt their daughters should attain university education. The proportion of households who felt that for their sons, Standard 8 was sufficient was lower than that of the daughters in the two districts. About a quarter felt that Form

4 education is sufficient for their sons. The majority felt that university level is optimal educational level for their sons. This sharply contrasts with their views on the optimal education of their daughters. Consequently it is seen that not only is there some bias about who should go to school, but there is also a difference in the educational level that parents think their sons and daughters ought to achieve.

When asked about their own educational goals a higher percentage of both male and female, 13.1 and 11.0 per cent wished to complete Standard 8, 24.0 per cent complete secondary education and 19.3 and 21.4 per cent respectively wished to enter university; as shown in table 6:36. At district comparison, however, in Kwale 21.7 per cent primary, 24.3 per cent secondary and 17.9 per cent university. In Taita-Taveta percentages were, 7.1, 23.8, 21.6 per cent respectively. It is interesting that 44.7 per cent in Taita-Taveta had no option as shown in table 6:35.

The study also attempted to measure gender structuring as it relates to socio-economic roles by examining career aspirations of the school children and their parents. Most often the aspirations are congruent with the accepted gender role norms of a particular society, (Davidson, Kanyuka, 1992:461).

In this study as shown in Table 6:34 it was found that 44.1 per cent of the girls preferred careers in nursing, following by 20.1 per cent who selected teaching, Interestingly the household heads held similar views about boys and girls. The majority about 46.2 per cent preferred that their daughters become nurses and 21.1 per cent wanted them to become teachers. A small percentage 5.3 per cent envisioned them to become doctors and 2.2 as engineers. The only other career cited as being suitable for girls was clerical work. The career aspirations for boys on the other hand were much broader, ranging from pilot, engineers, doctors, civil servants or administrators and executive managers. It is therefore safely concluded that daughters reflect the attitudes of their parents and the broader community about them, namely, that females should pursue careers in which they can use skills associated with the care of others and domesticity, (Davidson, Kanyuka, 1992:462).

Early marriages and motherhood are major causes of high drop-out rates among girls in many communities in Kenya. As shown in Table 6:47 many headteachers 25.1 and 50.0 per cent, indicated that they 'Strongly agree' as well 'Agree' in Kwale that girls drop-out of school due to early marriages; 20.5 per cent and 23.2 per cent of the pupils share the same views. The problem is similarly cited by most head-teachers in Taita-Taveta,

although they are not shared by pupils in this district.

The study also attempted to focus on the extent parental attitudes affect their daughters' persistence in education. They were specifically asked why more girls drop-out between Standards One and two. Reasons for this were varied, but a majority especially in Kwale cited the prohibitive costs of education. A few mentioned the negative or disinterested attitudes of parents towards educating girls. What is however most interesting is that pupils, both boys and girls did not seem to realise the bias against educating girls. Looking at Table 6:37 while 37.5 per cent of the households and about 45 per cent of the headteachers admit some bias against girls in Kwale, this is not considered a serious problem with the pupils. The problem is even less perceived by pupils in Taita-Taveta. They do not generally cite negative parental attitudes towards educating girls as a major reason why girls drop out of school. By the upper classes the impact of parental attitudes is almost negligible.

The role of religion especially Islam as a cultural factor affecting the process of development and modernisation has been examined by numerous sociologists. There are those who see it as a relatively non-progressive conservative force, (Clarke, 1978:135). In this study, 61.1 per cent of the household respond-

ents, and 65.2 per cent of pupils in Kwale were Muslims. They were a negligible proportion in Taita-Taveta where 27.3 of the household and 11.8 per cent of the pupils were Catholics and 66.6 per cent of the households and 84.5 per cent of the pupils were Protestants as shown in table 6:38.

What should be pointed out from the outset is that in areas where Islam has existed for centuries like the Coast Province, there has developed an educational system and ideology which is considered by many Muslims to be by and large acceptable, consequently attempts to establish a Western system of education does not normally meet their approval, (Bellotti, 1975). The Christian presence through the schools is considered by some Muslims as being disruptive. The Western type of education is seen as benefitting the young but a negative transfer from learning to behaviour. It is also seen as the main instrument for the spread of a non-Muslim ideology and culture.

In our interviews with the Muslim religious leaders, they seem to view education with deep suspicion. The more conservative of the leaders see schooling as leading to a higher incidence of loss of virginity and its related consequences but also undermines the system of seclusion. They contend that women

should be confined to the home and prevented from engaging in occupations outside the home. To send girls to school therefore tends to destroy a very valuable tradition. Western education according to them is leading to certain unacceptable innovations which have altered the accepted view held by male members of society of the ideal wife and bringing about change in the prescribed roles of women which have been rigidly defined by religion and custom. Muslim men tend to see the ideal woman as submissive, obedient and contented to enjoy the status of her husband. The Muslim religious leaders seem to be dismayed by the changed role of educated women in their society. Women, they claimed are beginning to behave like men, to determine their role in society, to regulate the dispensing of their services and to act independently of men. To them education has radically altered the male held model of an ideal Islamic woman and wife.

It was argued that Islam provides a blue print of the social order since it organises society. It sets out the correct relationship between the ruler and ruled, parents and children. It maintains order and unity and lays down strict guidelines for what is to be considered good and bad. The leaders emphasized the point that the virtues most highly valued in a Muslim society namely respect for authority, honesty,

truthfulness and obedience to parents are not emphasized to the same extent in Western schools as they are in the Quranic schools. Schooling is disruptive since it allows for the disrespect and encourages its pupils to look different. Parents and religious teachers are not always obeyed and their wisdom and experience is subjected to a lot of questions. In other words it was claimed that the socialisation process through which Muslim children internalised the norms, culture and beliefs of the society had been undermined by the school.

Religious leaders were harsh on the role of the school in weakening the teaching of religion. Secular education was being preferred by the young to the wisdom handed down by elders and contained in the Quran and teachings of the prophet. The ability to memorise and recite the Quran by heart were being disregarded and besides schools were inculcating anti-Islamic practices like smoking and drinking. Some of the leaders interviewed still regarded the school as an instrument of Christian evangelisation. The leaders argued that the imparting of 'knowledge' is not value free. It involves the transfer to the recipient one's outlook and ethos. Education as transmitted by the schools imposes Christian ideals to Muslim children.

Education as provided by the school was also considered to be irrelevant as it led to the neglect

of Islamic arts and crafts and leaves many young people with the knowledge they cannot apply or use. In Islamic education one does acquire the ideology but also skills to become a tailor or trader which is successfully learnt through apprenticeship and becoming self-reliant. They also rejected the idea of children just attending primary schools and going to Quranic schools afterwards since they are usually too tired to learn anything.

Household Labour Activities and Girls' Participation
In Primary Education

The socio-cultural attitudes that tend to discourage girls' schooling encourage them to participate more in household chores. The study attempted to gauge boys and girls involvement in household work as it affects their schooling. The general picture that emerged from our household respondents, headteachers and pupils themselves is that although children's work input has considerably declined with the high school enrolment, their work is still quite sizeable. Despite the long school hours and long walking distances, children are not relieved of the obligations to work, even if many have to work in agriculture only during weekends and vacations.

Table 6:39 only includes families with land to cultivate and who have children in working age around eight years and over, staying in the home. It gives a crude indication of children's domestic labour which is aggregated by gender in Table 6:41 and 6:43.

In the interview with the households heads, there was relatively little difference between the social strata with respect to whether children worked or not. There were however more children of peasant families who worked daily. The emphasis on work only at week-ends and during vacation was dominant among rich peasant families whose children attended school more frequently. Generally without further probing household heads tended to minimise the fact that children quite often worked 'daily before and after school'. The impression conveyed was that this only took place 'once in a while' children on their part, however, indicated that they worked daily before school 'very often' 41.4 per cent in Kwale and 47.8 per cent in Taita-Taveta. They also indicated that they worked daily after school, 'very often' 48.6 per cent in Kwale and 56.2 per cent in Taita-Taveta.

In order to get a clear picture about the age and sex pattern of the tasks performed by children, table 6:43 reflects the percentage of children in each age group and sex who do the different tasks

listed. There were multiple answers as children could help with several of the domestic and farm duties. Generally the pattern reflects what is traditionally male and female duties, showing more female involvement in household duties of fetching water, collecting firewood and childcare. Likewise males are more involved in herding. Agricultural work seems to be a duty for boys as well as girls. With respect to age the heavy duties such as farm work increase with age, whereas most other duties are heaviest for the group of 9-15 year old children.

As table 6:43 illustrates by the age group of 4-6 years old children, many are already involved in the necessary duties at home. Around half of the girls in ages up to 15 years are involved in childcare, whereas this work is much less burdensome for boys. Fetching water and collecting firewood is another typical task for women, which is shared with their female children as soon as possible. Even if some boys and girls do this before 7 years of age, it is only a characteristic job for more than half of the girls from the age of 9 years. Household duties consisting of cooking, cleaning, preparing the grains, grinding and others are clearly the work of girls, and most help from the age of 7. One third or less of the boys assist with this kind of work only in cases where there is no sister

in the home to carry out the work. With respect to herding, this is one of the traditional male duties and for boys it plays a major role compared to other duties. Herding is the work for over half of the boys of 7-15 years in both districts.

From table 6:40 it is evident that according to household heads mentions, girls are heavily engaged in more domestic as well as farm work as compared to the boys. This is strongly supported by table 6:42 in which a majority of the household heads in both districts indicated that girls worked 'daily' before and after school.

What is however quite interesting is that girls were not conscious of the fact that they do more work 'daily' before and after school than boys. It appears as if their work is so routinely carried out that to them it is a normal process. It was not until the phenomenon of the availability of study time at home that they expressed concern over it due to childcare and household commitments. In comparison it was found that boys had twice as much time for studying at home as girls. Girls spent about 70 per cent of their time in domestic and childcare, whereas boys spent about 35 per cent of their time on similar tasks.

TABLE 6:38

Religious Background

	K W A L E				T / T A V E T A			
	HOUSEHOLD		PUPILS		HOUSEHOLD		PUPILS	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Catholic	13	18.0	29	4.1	13	27.3	156	11.8
Protestant	10	13.9	214	30.2	32	66.6	1123	84.6
Muslim	44	61.1	461	65.2	2	4.1	45	3.4
Traditionalist	3	4.2	1	0.1	1	2.0	3	0.2
No Religion	2	2.8	5	0.4	-	-	-	-
Total	72	100.0	710	100.0	48	100.0	1327	100.0

TABLE 6.39

Frequency of Children's Participation in Household Labour

	KWALE				TAITA-TAVETA							
	Works daily before and after school		Weekends & Vacations only		Works Throughout		Works daily before and after school		Weekends & Vacations only		Through-out	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Never	4	5.7	-	-	4	5.7	8	16.6	-	-	2	4.1
Once in a while	37	51.3	23	31.9	31	43.0	6	12.5	9	18.7	10	20.9
Often	19	26.4	36	50.0	26	36.1	16	33.4	19	39.5	19	39.5
Very Often	12	16.6	13	18.1	11	15.2	18	37.5	20	41.8	17	35.5
Total	72	100.0	72	100.0	72	100.0	48	100.0	48	100.0	48	100.0

GIRLS' EDUCATION AND HOUSEHOLD WORK
KWALE DISTRICT

	HOUSE- HOLD		HEADTEACHERS					PUPILS				
	A	D	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD
1 Girls should stay home to be trained and assist in household labour	(18) 25.0	(54) 75.0	(1) 8.3	(1) 8.3	-	(1) 8.3	(9) 95.1	(77) 10.9	(106) 15.0	(117) 16.5	(176) 24.9	(252) 32.9
2. Girls earn more money when employed than schooling	(27) 37.5	(45) 62.5	-	-	(1) 8.3	(2) 16.6	(9) 75.1	(65) 9.2	(94) 13.3	(83) 11.7	(168) 23.7	(298) 42.1
3 Girls work more than boys in the homes	(28) 38.8	(44) 61.2	(2) 16.6	(6) 50.0	(1) 8.3	(3) 25.1	-	(140) 19.8	(158) 22.3	(81) 11.4	(188) 26.6	(141) 19.9
4 It is more profitable for girls to stay home and work than schooling	(28) 38.8	(44) 61.2	(1) 8.3	(1) 8.3	-	(3) 25.1	(7) 58.3	(120) 16.9	(115) 16.2	(93) 13.1	(161) 22.7	(219) 30.9
5. Girls drop-out of school due to household work	(43) 47.2	(38) 52.8	(3) 25.1	(6) 50.0	(1) 8.3	(2) 16.6	-	(140) 19.8	(158) 22.3	(81) 11.4	(188) 26.6	(141) 19.9

TAITA-TAVETA DISTRICT

	HOUSE- HOLD		HEADTEACHERS					PUPILS				
	A	D	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD
1 Girls should stay home to be trained and assist in household labour	(7) 14.5	(41) 85.5	-	-	-	(1) 12.5	(7) 87.5	(84) 6.3	(177) 13.3	(156) 11.8	(316) 23.8	(594) 44.8
2. Girls earn more money when employed than schooling	(22) 45.8	(26) 54.2	-	-	-	(2) 25.0	(6) 75.0	(112) 8.4	(171) 12.9	(150) 11.3	(311) 23.4	(583) 43.9
3. Girls work more than boys in the homes	(23) 47.9	(25) 52.1	-	(3) 37.5	(1) 12.5	(4) 50.0	-	(253) 17.7	(291) 21.9	(159) 12.0	(302) 22.8	(340) 25.6
4 It is more profitable for girls to stay home and work than schooling	(20) 41.6	(28) 58.4	-	-	-	(4) 50.0	(4) 50.0	(205) 15.4	(263) 19.8	(154) 11.6	(301) 22.7	(404) 30.4
5 Girls drop-out of school due to household work	(29) 60.4	(19) 39.6	-	(2) 25.0	(3) 37.5	(2) 25.0	(1) 12.5	(253) 17.7	(291) 21.9	(159) 20.0	(202) 22.8	(340) 25.6

A - Agree D - Disagree SA - Strongly Agree U - Undecided SD - Strongly Disagree

TABLE 6:41

Frequency of Children's Work in Household Labour by Sex and District

	KWALE				TAITA-TAVETA			
	MALE		FEMALE		MALE		FEMALE	
	<u>N</u>	%	<u>N</u>	%	<u>N</u>	%	<u>N</u>	%
Works daily before and after school	15	28.8	40	55.6	8	16.6	31	64.7
Works on Weekends and vocations only	44	61.1	2	2.8	27	56.3	3	6.2
Works throughout	13	18.1	30	41.6	13	27.1	14	29.1
TOTAL	72	100.0	72	100.0	48	100.0	48	100.0

TABLE 6:42

Pupil's Frequency of Participation in Domestic Work

	KWALE				TAITA-TAVETA			
	Never	Once in a While	Often	Very Often	Never	Once in a While	Often	Very Often
Works daily before school	(106)15.0	(135)19.1	(174)24.6	(293)41.4	(99)7.5	(273)20.6	(321)24.2	(634)47.8
Works daily after school	(50)7.1	(131)18.5	(183)25.8	(344)48.6	(37)2.8	(238)17.9	(306)23.1	(746)56.2
Works on Week-ends and vacations only	(39)5.5	(92)13.0	(194)27.4	(383)54.1	(26)2.0	(158)11.9	(353)26.6	(790)59.5

Table 6:43

Children's Participation in Domestic and Farm Duties. Distribution by Sex,
Age and District (Per Cent)

District Age	F E M A L E							M A L E						
	Agri- culture	Herd- ing	House- hold	Fetch- ing	Collect ing fire wood	Child Care	Trade	Agri- culture	Herd- ing	House- hold	Fetch- ing wood	Collect ing fire	Child care	Trade
KWALE														
4 - 6yrs	3	-	20	19	11	23	-	4	16	10	15	11	10	-
7 - 8yrs	4	-	46	47	45	54	5	13	32	8	17	13	19	8
9-11 yrs	52	21	67	63	65	47	8	67	23	24	41	16	21	14
12-15yrs	78	15	68	66	61	37	9	72	56	11	13	9	5	12
16 & Over	81	7	63	57	53	14	19	89	26	9	17	4	-	20
TAITA-TAVETA														
4 - 6yrs	4	-	30	11	13	59	-	9	39	14	18	11	27	-
7 - 8 yrs	9	13	72	52	67	60	5	44	38	7	3	4	13	-
9 - 11yrs	57	18	79	65	50	44	11	61	51	3	2	3	2	16
12 - 15yrs	62	-	70	59	68	38	18	65	44	-	-	-	-	9
16 & Over	67	-	83	88	82	33	-	58	32	-	-	-	-	13

Table 6:44

Household Attendance of Parents' Teachers Meeting

	K W A L E		T A I T A-T A V E T A	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Never	16	22.2	3	6.2
Once in a while	10	13.8	14	29.2
Often	31	43.2	12	25.0
Very often	15	20.8	19	39.6
	72	100.0	48	100.0

Table 6:45

Distance to the Nearest Primary School

Distance	K W A L E				T A I T A-T A V E T A			
	Household		Pupils		Household		Pupils	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Less 1km	16	22.2	292	41.2	10	20.8	557	42.0
1 - 3 km	48	66.7	315	44.5	35	72.9	693	52.2
4 - 6 km	4	5.5	83	11.7	1	2.1	68	5.1
7 - 9 km	2	2.8	16	2.3	1	2.1	7	0.5
10 & above	2	2.8	2	0.3	1	2.1	2	0.2
Total	72	100.0	708	100.0	48	100.0	1327	100.0

KWALE DISTRICT

	HOUSE-HOLD		HEADTEACHERS					PUPILS				
	A	D	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD
1. Education leads to unemployment	(11) 15.3	(61) 84.7	-	(1) 8.3	(2) 16.7	(4) 33.3	(5) 41.7	(105) 14.8	(88) 12.4	(68) 9.6	(161) 27.1	(286) 40.4
2. Education leads to early pregnancies	(2) 32.4	(48) 66.6	(2) 16.7	(2) 16.7	(1) 8.2	(3) 25.0	(4) 33.3	(80) 11.3	(72) 10.2	(95) 13.4	(168) 23.7	(293) 40.4
3. Only boy should acquire skills for employment	(26) 36.2	(46) 63.8	(2) 16.7	(3) 33.3	-	(4) 33.4	(3) 25.0	(79) 11.2	(97) 13.7	(94) 13.3	(196) 27.7	(242) 34.2
4. Parents send boys when cost of education is high	(25) 34.8	(47) 65.2	(5) 41.7	-	(3) 25.0	-	(4) 33.3	(137) 19.4	(90) 12.7	-	(182) 25.7	(177) 25.0
5. Long distance to school favours boys	(30) 41.7	(42) 58.3	(3) 25.0	(6) 50.0	(1) 8.3	(2) 16.7	-	(122) 17.2	(132) 18.6	(90) 12.7	(187) 26.4	(177) 25.0
6. Parents fear domination of schools by male teachers	(23) 31.9	(49) 68.1	(1) 8.3	-	(1) 8.3	(5) 41.7	(5) 41.7	(101) 14.3	(136) 19.2	(88) 12.4	(189) 26.7	(194) 27.4
7. Female teachers would attract girls to school	(35) 48.7	(37) 51.3	(93) 25.0	(4) 33.4	(1) 8.3	(3) 25.0	(1) 8.3	(118) 16.7	(171) 24.2	(89) 12.6	(171) 24.2	(159) 22.5
8. Teachers pay more attention to boys	(22) 30.6	(50) 69.4	-	-	(1) 8.3	(4) 33.3	(8) 65.7	(140) 19.8	(166) 23.4	(85) 12.0	(168) 23.7	(149) 21.0
9. School materials favour boys	-	-	-	-	-	(3) 25.0	(8) 65.7	(131) 18.5	(131) 18.8	(105) 14.8	(185) 26.1	(154) 21.8
10. Girls drop out due to pregnancies	(39) 54.2	(33) 45.8	(2) 16.7	(7) 58.3	(1) 8.3	(1) 8.3	(1) 8.3	(140) 19.8	(165) 23.3	(96) 13.6	(152) 21.5	(155) 21.9
11. Girls drop due to boys harassment	(17) 23.7	(55) 76.3	-	(1) 8.3	-	(4) 33.3	(7) 53.3	(131) 18.5	(133) 18.8	(105) 14.8	(185) 26.1	(154) 21.8
12. Girls drop out due to lack of funds	(38) 52.8	(34) 47.2	(1) 8.3	(1) 8.3	(2) 16.7	(94) 33.3	(4) 33.3	(148) 20.9	(186) 26.3	(99) 14.0	(163) 23.0	(112) 15.8

TAITA-TAVETA DISTRICT

	HOUSE-HOLD		HEADTEACHERS					PUPILS				
	A	D	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD
1. Education leads to unemployment	(7) 14.5	(41) 85.5	-	-	-	(6) 75.0	(2) 25.0	(175) 13.2	(91) 6.9	(58) 4.4	(176) 13.3	(827) 62.3
2. Education leads to early pregnancies	(110) 20.9	(38) 79.1	-	-	-	(6) 75.0	(2) 25.0	(76) 5.7	(142) 10.7	(154) 11.6	(163) 19.8	(692) 62.1
3. Only boy should acquire skills for employment	(21) 43.7	(27) 56.3	-	(1) 12.5	-	(4) 50.0	(3) 37.5	(134) 10.1	(131) 17.4	(178) 13.4	(303) 22.8	(481) 36.2
4. Parents send boys when cost of education is high	(18) 37.5	(30) 62.5	-	(3) 37.5	(3) 37.5	-	(2) 25.0	(173) 13.0	(273) 20.5	(167) 12.6	(287) 21.6	(428) 8.3
5. Long distance to school favours boys	(24) 50.0	(24) 50.0	-	(3) 37.5	(2) 25.0	(3) 37.5	-	(187) 14.1	(288) 21.7	(149) 11.2	(319) 24.0	(384) 28.9
6. Parents fear domination of schools by male teachers	(14) 29.2	(34) 70.8	-	-	(1) 12.5	(3) 37.5	(4) 50.0	(193) 14.5	(272) 20.5	(156) 11.8	(300) 22.6	(406) 30.6
7. Female teachers would attract girls to school	(20) 41.6	(28) 58.4	-	(4) 50.0	-	(1) 12.5	(3) 37.5	(218) 16.4	(296) 22.3	(157) 11.8	(297) 22.4	(359) 27.1
8. Teachers pay more attention to boys	(15) 31.2	(33) 68.8	-	-	-	(2) 25.0	(96) 75.0	(260) 19.6	(258) 19.4	(140) 10.6	(297) 22.4	(372) 27.1
9. School materials favour boys	-	-	-	(1) 12.5	-	(2) 25.0	(5) 62.5	(234) 17.6	(282) 21.3	(146) 11.0	(279) 21.0	(386) 29.1
10. Girls drop out due to pregnancies	(29) 60.4	(19) 39.6	(1) 12.5	(2) 25.0	(1) 12.5	(4) 50.0	-	(246) 18.5	(350) 26.4	(188) 11.9	(279) 21.0	(294) 22.2
11. Girls drop due to boys harassment	(17) 35.5	(31) 64.5	-	-	(1) 12.5	(3) 37.5	(4) 50.0	(234) 17.6	(252) 21.3	(146) 11.0	(279) 21.0	(386) 23.1
12. Girls drop out due to lack of funds	(23) 47.9	(25) 52	-	-	(1) 12.5	(6) 75.0	(1) 12.5	(270) 20.4	(338) 25.5	(170) 12.8	(265) 20.0	(284) 21.4

KEY: A- AGREE, D - DISAGREE, SA - STRONGLY AGREE, U- UNDECIDED, SD - STRONGLY DISAGREE

Table 6:47

Parents' Consultations with Teachers on their
Children's Progress

	KWALE				TAITA-TAVETA			
	Households		Headteachers		Household		Headteachers	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Never	15	20.8	2	16.6	3	6.2	-	-
Rarely	35	48.6	7	58.4	18	37.6	3	37.5
Sometimes	16	22.3	2	16.6	21	43.7	4	50.0
Often	6	8.3	1	8.4	6	12.5	1	12.5
Total	72	100.0	12	100.0	48	100.0	8	100.0

Table 6:48

Length of Period Away From School in a Term

	KWALE		TAITA-TAVETA	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
More than three weeks	35	4.9	20	1.5
2 - 3 weeks	36	5.1	23	1.7
1 - 2 weeks	59	8.3	123	9.3
4 - 5 days	91	12.9	108	8.1
1 - 3 days	207	29.2	368	27.7
Never	280	39.5	685	51.6
Total	708	100.0	1327	100.0

Table 6:49

Reasons for absence from school

	KWALE		TAITA-TAVETA	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
School funds	481	67.9	686	51.7
School uniform	184	26.0	506	38.1
School materials	39	5.5	127	9.6
Not specified	4	0.6	8	0.6
Total	708	100.0	1327	100.0

Table 6:50

Parents' Discuss with Children about their schoolwork

	KWALE		TAITA-TAVETA	
	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>%</u>
Never	15	20.8	3	6.2
Once in a while	35	48.6	18	37.6
Often	16	22.3	21	43.7
Very often	6	8.3	6	12.5
Total	72	100.0	48	100.0

Table 6:40, household heads, headteachers, as well as pupils are opposed to the idea that 'girls' should stay at home and be trained to assist in household labour. Headteachers in particular are of the view that girls do more work in the homes and that adversely affects not only their study time at home, but also seriously affects their concentration to academic work. It is also contended by the household heads and school-heads that household work contributes to the high dropout rate among the girls in both Kwale and Taita-Taveta Districts.

School Based Factors and Girls' Participation in Primary Education.

The existence of a 'hidden curriculum' which encourages girls to be 'servile and have little pride' has been noted and documented by many studies. By and large this has been found to be related to teacher expectations which are differentiated for students of different sex and to a sexual division of labour in work and play activities in the classroom and the school. These factors interact with differential student expectations for their future position in society and peer group pressure, both of which reflect the objective position of women in society.

This study examined a number of school factors that would influence girls participation in primary education in Kwale and Taita-Taveta Districts. Among these factors were distance to the nearest school. The distance that a pupil travels to school was particularly important especially in Kwale with a relatively sparse population in some areas. Most rural areas in the two districts are without roads and motorised transportation of any kind and many children must walk 1-2 hours often traversing inhospitable topologies and hazardous surroundings particularly in Taita-Taveta in areas outlying the National Parks. Distance to the nearest school did not, however, appear to be a serious problem as reflected in Table 6:45. Both the household heads and pupils indicated that they travelled less than 3Km to school.

The study also tried to measure the communities in the two districts interest in education, through the attendance of Parent's Teachers Association meetings, consultations with the teachers on children's school progress, discussions with the children about their work, and problems of pupils attendance of schools. As shown in table 6:44 parents in Kwale indicated, 43.2 and 20.8 per cent that they attended PTA meetings 'often' and 'very often' respectively. In Taita-Taveta it was 25.0 and 39.7 per cent respectively. This seems to

suggest that the communities in the two districts have a high interest in education. When they were however asked about how often they consult with the teachers on their children's school progress, it was clear that many parents in Kwale 48.6 per cent rarely do consult. This was supported by 58.4 per cent of the headteachers as shown in table 6:47. In Taita-Taveta on the other hand 43.7 per cent of the household indicated that they sometimes consult and 50.0 per cent of the headteachers supported that view.

With respect to how 'often' parents discuss with their children about school work, 48.6 per cent in Kwale and 37.6 per cent in Taita-Taveta indicated that they do so once in a while, 22.3 and 43.7 per cent respectively suggested that they often do, while 8.3 per cent in Kwale and 12.5 per cent in Taita-Taveta were of the view that they discuss school work with their children 'very often'. This seems to suggest that parental interest in their children's school progress is much higher in Taita-Taveta.

Turning specifically to attitudes and activities that could affect girls' participation in primary education, on the whole, the views of household heads, headteachers and pupils are quite positive as shown in table 6:46. The widely held view that schooling contributes to early pregnancies and therefore dropout from school,

was supported by most parents, headteachers and pupils. Headteachers indicated that parents discriminate against girls when the cost of school is high. Although both headteachers and household agree that the presence of more female teachers on staff would increase more girls participation, they did not think the domination of male teachers on staff reduces girls participation. They did not also think girls dropout of school due to harassment by boys.

The high drop-out rate for girls was largely blamed on lack of funds. This view was held by a majority of parents, 52.8 per cent in Kwale and 47.9 per cent in Taita-Taveta. The problem of school cost also affects school attendance and it is most serious in Kwale where only 39.5 per cent of the pupils indicated that they had never missed school. A similar response in Taita-Taveta was 51.6 per cent as shown in table 6:48. The overwhelming reasons for absence from school as reflected in table 6:49 was being sent away from school because of 'school funds', 67.9 per cent for Kwale and 51.7 per cent for Taita-Taveta.

Although on the overall, headteachers did not think teachers discriminated against female pupils in their teaching behaviour, they could not deny the fact that their influence had a great impact on pupil aspirations and achievement than they actually seemed to

realise. As it has been discussed elsewhere, teachers' expectations of their pupils, namely, the inferences they make about the pupils' present and future achievement and classroom behaviour have a substantial impact on students' academic performance, (Herz, 1991:11).

The way that teachers structure and select the interaction process with pupils, shape girls' and boys' participation and persistence in school. This is particularly the case with the predominant mode of teaching in the primary schools which relies heavily on rote learning and voluntary pupil response, means that in a classroom situation where boys have been socialised from birth to be assertive and girls to be submissive and quiet, it is often the case that boys do dominate.

In the interviews with the headteachers, they admitted that generally within classroom interactions girls were 'shy'. Eighty per cent commenting on behaviour noted that girls were better behaved than boys but boys are better prepared in class, as they often know answers to questions when asked.

With respect to academic achievement, 95 per cent of the headteachers thought that boys perform better than girls in class. Among the reasons given for boys' better performance were girls' lack of ambition or motivation and the spirit of competition. In Kwale in particular some headteachers cited girls

so-called immorality acts or loose morals that lead to early pregnancies. About 50 per cent of the heads stated that girls lack the ambition to work hard because they are lazy. Forty-five per cent mentioned girls lack of interest to repeat the Standard Eight class, while others mentioned pregnancy and the pressure to get married as among the factors that contributed to poor performance by girls.

As regards the factors that contribute to better performance for boys, most of the reasons cited were negative responses about girls rather positive responses about boys. This means that male teachers' negative attitudes towards their female pupils academic ability tend to thwart the academic ambitions these pupils have. Since these teachers expect female pupils to be less achievement oriented than their male counterparts, the female pupils tend to respond accordingly. Hence, girls who enter school have to cope not only with societal attitudes that perceive them as less intelligent, less achievement oriented and less academically capable than boys but also with the gender stereotypes that school staff have about female pupils which reinforce these attitudes, making it doubly difficult for girls to overcome negative perceptions and achieve excellent results in school, (Floro, Wolf 1991:18).

Table 6:51

Teachers by Qualification and Sex in 1992

K W A L E

GRADE	S1	P1	P2	P3	Untrained	Total
Male	(24) 1.2	(520) 25.8	(145) 7.2	(119) 5.9	(720) 35.7	(1528) 75.8
Female	(8) 0.4	(179) 8.9	(70) 3.5	(34) 1.7	(196) 9.7	(487) 24.2
T A I T A T A V E T A						
Grade	S1	P1	P2	P3	Untrained	Total
Male	(29) 1.6	(543) 30.7	(155) 8.8	(48) 2.7	(216) 12.2	(991) 56.0
Female	(12) 0.7	(401) 22.6	(109) 6.2	(53) 2.9	(203) 11.5	(778) 44.0

KWALE DISTRICT

	HOUSE-HOLDS		HEADTEACHERS					PUPILS				
	A	D	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD
1. Girls education beneficial to development of a country	-	-	(7) 58.3	(4) 33.4	-	(1) 8.3	-	(184) 26.0	(205) 29.0	(95) 13.4	(132) 18.6	(92) 13.0
2. Education provides numeracy and literacy	(54) 75.0	(18) 25.0	(10) 83.8	(2) 16.2	-	-	-	(213) 30.1	(220) 31.1	(90) 12.7	(114) 16.1	(71) 10.0
3. Literacy beneficial in daily activities after school	(49) 68.1	(23) 31.9	(8) 66.7	(4) 33.3	-	-	-	(200) 28.2	(219) 30.9	(102) 14.4	(117) 16.5	(70) 9.9
4. Literacy and numeracy useful for training	(43) 59.7	(29) 40.3	(9) 75.1	(3) 24.9	-	-	-	(211) 29.8	(245) 34.6	(83) 11.7	(103) 14.5	(66) 9.3
5. Community problems	(51) 70.8	(21) 29.9	(8) 66.7	(4) 33.3	-	-	-	(231) 32.6	(242) 34.2	(62) 8.8	(111) 15.7	(62) 8.8
6. Literacy and numeracy helpful in nutrition and childcare	(61) 84.7	(11) 15.3	(8) 66.7	(4) 33.3	-	-	-	(252) 35.6	(255) 36.0	(62) 8.8	(98) 13.8	(41) 5.8
7. Girls schooling beneficial in family life education	(66) 91.6	(6) 8.4	(4) 33.3	(7) 58.3	(1) 8.3	-	-	(265) 37.4	(237) 33.5	(56) 7.9	(92) 13.0	(58) 8.2
8. Educated women encourage their children to attend school	(62) 86.1	(10) 13.9	(8) 66.7	(4) 33.3	-	-	-	(295) 41.7	(253) 35.7	(49) 6.9	(74) 10.5	(37) 5.2
9. Education discourages traditional practices	(64) 88.8	(8) 11.2	(4) 33.3	(8) 66.7	-	-	-	(317) 44.8	(241) 34.0	(51) 7.2	(65) 9.2	(34) 4.8
10. Education makes girls less dependent to men	(66) 91.6	(6) 8.4	(4) 33.3	(7) 58.3	-	(1) 8.3	-	(333) 47.0	(300) 42.4	(17) 24	(39) 5.5	(19) 2.7
11. Education helps girls to effectively manage their affairs	(63) 72.0	(9) 28.0	(5) 41.7	(7) 58.3	-	-	-	(346) 48.9	(301) 42.5	(19) 2.7	(29) 4.1	(13) 1.8

TAITA-TAVETA DISTRICT

	HOUSE-HOLDS		HEADTEACHERS					PUPILS				
	A	D	SA	A	U	D	SD	SA	A	U	D	SD
1. Girls education beneficial to development of a country	-	-	(3) 37.5	(4) 50.0	-	-	(1) 12.5	(425) 32.0	(384) 28.9	(123) 9.3	(197) 14.8	(198) 14.9
2. Education provides numeracy and literacy	(33) 68.7	(15) 31.3	(2) 25.0	(5) 62.5	-	(1) 12.5	-	(443) 33.4	(403) 30.5	(124) 9.9	(181) 13.6	(174) 13.1
3. Literacy beneficial in daily activities after school	(33) 68.7	(15) 31.3	(3) 37.5	(5) 62.5	-	-	-	(446) 33.6	(430) 32.4	(112) 8.4	(181) 13.6	(158) 11.9
4. Literacy and numeracy useful for training	(36) 75.0	(12) 25.0	(4) 50.0	(2) 25.0	(1) 12.5	-	(1) 12.5	(467) 35.2	(420) 31.7	(135) 10.2	(179) 13.5	(126) 9.5
5. Community problems	(40) 83.3	(8) 6.7	(2) 25.0	(5) 62.5	(1) 12.5	-	-	(522) 39.3	(415) 31.3	(122) 9.2	(133) 10.0	(135) 10.2
6. Literacy and numeracy helpful in nutrition and childcare	(39) 70.1	(9) 29.9	(3) 37.5	(4) 50.0	-	-	(1) 12.5	(569) 42.9	(386) 29.1	(129) 9.7	(131) 9.9	(112) 8.4
7. Girls schooling beneficial in family life education	(42) 87.5	(6) 12.5	(2) 12.5	(4) 50.0	(2) 25.0	-	-	(536) 40.4	(413) 31.6	(122) 9.2	(147) 17.1	(109) 8.2
8. Educated women encourage their children to attend school	(43) 89.5	(5) 10.5	(4) 50.0	(4) 50.0	-	-	-	(597) 45.0	(456) 34.4	(89) 6.7	(108) 8.1	(77) 5.8
9. Education discourages traditional practices	(48) 100.0	-	(2) 25.0	(4) 50.0	-	(1) 12.5	(1) 12.5	(679) 51.2	(440) 33.2	(72) 5.4	(74) 5.6	(62) 4.7
10. Education makes girls less dependent to men	(48) 100.0	-	(2) 25.0	(2) 25.0	(3) 37.5	(1) 12.5	-	(725) 54.6	(474) 35.7	(47) 3.5	(40) 3.0	(41) 3.1
11. Education helps girls to effectively manage their affairs	(43) 89.5	(5) 10.5	(1) 12.5	(6) 75.0	(1) 12.5	-	-	(768) 57.9	(450) 33.9	(52) 3.9	(30) 2.3	(27) 2.0

KEY: A- AGREE, D - DISAGREE, SA - STRONGLY AGREE, U- UNDECIDED, SD - STRONGLY DISAGREE

The dominant ideology in the primary schools is that girls are not expected to perform academically at the same level as boys, nor are they expected to achieve at the same rate. The problem of stereotyping girls who are struggling to achieve academically is particularly acute in rural districts where a majority of the primary school teachers are male. As shown in table 6:51, 75.8 per cent of the teachers in Kwale are male while in Taita-Taveta they are 56.0 per cent. This implies that female discrimination is particularly acute in the former than in the latter. Kwale has a substantial number of untrained teachers. It is readily seen that the lower calibre of teachers P3 and untrained teachers are concentrated in Kwale with the resulting low quality of education as opposed to Taita-Taveta which does not only have a high number of professionally qualified teachers but also among them women.

The female students tend to be aware of the academic and attitudinal obstacles that they have to overcome in order to persevere in school. As they approach Standard 8, they are faced with a serious problem that few of their cohorts will find places in secondary schools since as already discussed they have fewer opportunities than boys. When asked what they would do if they were not

accepted for a place in secondary school, some said, they did not know while others said they would get married or work at home. This appears to fit in with the expectations of their teachers and the wider society. Girls in rural areas of Kwale and Taita-Taveta have few vocational options other than getting married and becoming subsistence cultivators. In contrast boys in Standard 8 said that if they did not get a place in the secondary school they would either repeat Standard 8 in a hope of getting better results in the Kenya Certificate of Primary Education (KCPE) and enter a government secondary school or join a Youth Polytechnic or any other vocational training centre.

Perceptions on the Importance of Girls' Primary Education

The impact of education on the well being of women, their families and society at large is both multi-dimensional and complex. It has, however, been established that benefits from education accrue to individuals, families and society. There are broader social benefits of education, such as the lowering of fertility, better health and more education for the succeeding generations which have been established, (Floro, Wolf, 1991:56). This section attempted to

measure what were perceived to be the contribution of girls' education to the individual and the general development of the wider society.

As shown in table 6:52, it was acknowledged by household heads, headteachers and pupils in the two districts that primary education instills literacy, numeracy and cognitive skills. As other studies have also predicted, basic education increases women's participation in the labour force in economic terms. Education favourably affects women's willingness and ability to enter the labour market. It provides them with the necessary credentials for employment and hence a strong inducement to enter the labour force, (Floro, Wolf, 1991:112). Primary education being the only sector that is accessible to a majority of the children, it was pointed out, it is undoubtedly a major factor in bringing about changes in the economic roles and status of girls by affecting both the rates and types of labour force participation. By providing literacy, numeracy and cognitive skills primary education will enhance women's ability to perform the multitude of roles and even new tasks that vitally contribute to economic development and the well being of their families and themselves. The significance and urgent need to raise and improve the economic performance is felt more during the

current economic recessions with the slow economic growth, rising debt service, burden payments, severe budgetary constraints and chronic food shortages. All these factors serve to underscore the economic role of women as the main food producers..

Primary education was also perceived to be important in ones interaction with the wider society. Being able to read and write enhances participation in women groups and involvement in development programmes. In the interviews with the household members, such statements came out, "Education is very important these days". 'Without it one cannot read and write'. 'Education helps to work in women groups, because it is easy to count money and keep our records'. 'Without education you are nothing in this world'. Household respondents without any formal education had their inferiority impressed upon and at times, believed it themselves through such an answer, 'I am only an illiterate so I cannot answer that question'. There was therefore the general view that literacy and numeracy skills acquired in primary education were of particular importance to girls when they leave school. They are useful for vocational training, rural development projects, health, agricultural extention and others. With respect to health matters it was pointed out that primary education helped mothers to

know more about nutrition, sickness and childcare. Primary education was said to be a model through which women could encourage their children to participate in school and above all lead them to discourage 'traditional practices' that prevent the development of the community.

These views are in line with studies which have established a direct relationship between basic education and the development of some aspects of society. Considerable data for example have been accumulated on skills that girls acquire during schooling as they relate to aspects such as nutrition, recognition of illness, sanitation and other areas related to increasing child health. Literature reviewed on the effects of parental education on child health has concluded that maternal education is closely related to child health, whether measured by nutritional status or infant and child mortality, (Floro, Wolf, 1991:58). The advancing Basic Education and Literacy Project has also cited many studies which show that attitudes are changed through primary education on such aspects as the number of children girls desire to have, decrease in fertility rates, and mother's education as it relates to greater increase in education for female children than male children, (Floro, Wolf, 1991:60). More recently there have been studies

which have attempted to demonstrate that education increases control over life and income and shapes cultural perceptions towards modernity and development (Floro, Wolf, 1991:58-66).

Summary

This chapter has discussed the participation rates of girls in primary education in Kwale and Taita-Taveta and how they are influenced by socio-economic and socio-cultural factors, family educational background, household labour and school factors and the general perceptions of the importance of girls' primary education.

With respect to girls' participation rate it was established that there was an enormous expansion of primary education in the two districts of Kwale and Taita-Taveta for the years selected for discussion, namely, from 1971 to 1992. Kwale in particular registered high enrolments ranging from 49.4 per cent and 40.7 per cent in 1971 and 1974 respectively following the presidential directive granting 'free education'. The rapid expansion of primary education has often been claimed to have increased girls' opportunities for participation in education. This does not, however, appear to be the case as revealed by the boy-girl ratios, for the two districts in this study.

While in Taita-Taveta, the approximate ratio has remained around 1:1, Kwale which registered a higher expansion rate which has ranged between 2.5:1 and 1.2:1. Thus despite the increased expansion of primary education, girls participation tends to follow closely along the lines of past and present disparities in educational and socio-economic development. Government intervention through the abolition of the so-called 'school fees' benefitted girls only marginally, with a small rise in enrolment which did not significantly change the boy-girls ratio for Kwale District.

Girls participation is not only affected by low enrolments, but also by promotion or progression rates. It was established that with the expansion of primary education dropout rates rose from about 20 per cent for Kwale to about 40 per cent while in Taita-Taveta the range was from 11 to 20 per cent. Although dropout rates appeared high for both boys and girls in Kwale, it affected the latter more seriously than the former. There is a higher dropout rate for girls throughout the classes and becomes even more pronounced in the upper classes of the primary school.

Although Taita-Taveta registers a lower dropout rate, it is one of the districts with the highest repetition rate. The repetition rate is no longer a

phenomenon only confined to boys which means the district retains more girls in the primary school system than Kwale.

In terms of the socio-economic factors, the historical analysis showed that disparities in regional and the socio-economic conditions of the family were at the root cause of influencing access to school and the progression through school as well. The regional and socio-economic disparities between the two districts is quite important. By comparison, it was shown that Taita-Taveta had a higher proportion of parents in employment, business, and agricultural activities. With respect to employment and income, Kwale with its uneducated, illiterate and the large Muslim population is terribly disadvantaged. Unemployment is quite rampant as evidenced by the distribution of occupations. Poverty is therefore the major factor in denying a majority of children from Kwale District to primary schooling and the chance to complete it. Many household heads admitted that they are unable to meet and sustain the costs of primary education.

Closely related to parental socio-economic background is their educational level. It is a major factor influencing the participation of girls in primary education. Parents who themselves are educated

normally impart a positive view of schooling among their children. It is indeed a more significant predictor than many other factors. On parental level of education it was established that close to 87 per cent of the girls in Taita-Taveta District had fathers who had had primary education and 25 per cent who had been to secondary schools. This too applied to the education of their mothers who also had some schooling. This contrasted sharply with Kwale where 51.1 per cent of the fathers had no education while 67.1 per cent of the mothers had no education.

The socio-cultural factors centred on aspects which reflected the old division of labour and unequal training opportunities which require that women conform in what are considered suitable feminine work occupations, attitudes towards education and religion. It was established that parents are positive in their responses towards educating both boys and girls. But their attitudes towards girls' schooling were negative which make their daughters internalise the stigma of "failure" and to concentrate on skills that are associated with the care of others and even premature withdrawal from school.

An important cultural factor that however differentiates the rate of girls is one of religion. The predominant population of parents and their

children in Kwale were Muslims while Taita-Taveta was mainly Christians. Although Muslim parents seem to express positive views towards schooling, the Islamic religious leaders who also, are on the whole very influential with the Muslim population in Kwale are not only openly opposed to schooling in general but to girls education in particular. They cherish confining of women in the homes and argue that sending girls to school tends to destroy a valuable established tradition. They were quite critical of Western education which they accused of disrupting Islamic institutions. Their views have considerable influence on the participation of girls in primary education in Kwale.

The socio-cultural attitudes that tend to discourage girls' schooling encourage them to participate in more household chores. In the two districts, girls participate more in domestic and farm work. The girls expressed concern about the lack of study time at home due to childcare and household commitments. In comparison it was found that boys had twice as much time for studying at home as girls.

With respect to school factors although on the overall headteachers did not think that the school environment is discriminative against girls they could not deny the fact that teachers play an important role in influencing the academic motivation of their pupils.

From the interviews it was established that the primary teaching force which is male dominated in the two districts holds very negative views about girls' schooling which adversely influence their participation. The situation is, however, worse in Kwale District where there are relatively fewer women in the teaching staff.

Finally, it was established that parents, head-teachers, and pupils hold positive views about the importance of providing literacy, numeracy and cognitive skills, to girls. It was noted that by providing literacy, numeracy, and cognitive skills, primary education enhances women's ability to perform the multitude functions and even new tasks that contribute to economic development and the well being of their families as well as themselves.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents the summary of the study, findings, conclusions and recommendations for further action and research.

The purpose of this study was to investigate factors that determine female participation in primary education in Kwale and Taita-Taveta Districts of the Coast Province in Kenya.

The study was based on a conceptual framework which centres on a gender - structuring theory in which it is argued that culturally determined ways of defining women and men and their roles in a given society shape gender specific opportunities and constraints. It influences the manner in which the society orders its relations of production and the distribution of resources including education that result in gender differences.

A review of literature revealed that few studies have been done in Kenya to investigate factors that influence female participation especially in Kwale and Taita-Taveta in which there were sharp differences in the rates of participation.

The sample population of the study consisted of 120 household heads, 20 headteachers, 10 Islamic religious leaders, 2035 pupils from Standard Six, Seven and Eight of whom 1037 were girls. Data were collected through documentary review, indepth interviews with the household heads, headteachers and Islamic religious leaders, while primary school pupils completed a questionnaire.

Seven research tasks were derived from the purpose of the study to direct the investigation. These include: finding out the rate of both male and female enrolment, the socio-economic background of the families and household heads, educational level of the family members, socio-cultural factors, pupil involvement in domestic and farm labour, school based factors, and the general perceptions on the importance of girls' education.

Before the analysis of the major research tasks, the study focussed on the geographical and historical background of Kwale and Taita-Taveta for a better understanding of the economic disparities of the two districts. It was also important to review the state of girl access to primary education in Kenya for purposes of shedding more light on the specific issues that affect Kwale and Taita-Taveta.

Findings and Conclusions

In the analysis of the background of Kwale and Taita-Taveta districts, it was established that there exist serious disparities in the provision of educational resources in the two districts. This differentiation arises from an important historical factor that the more a district was closely integrated into the colonial economy, the higher the social demand for education and the more the administrative structures and the people were willing to devote resources to the development of education. In this regard, Taita-Taveta which was relatively among the richer districts in the country raised substantial amounts of money through taxation and levies to build more schools than Kwale.

It was also seen that Christian missionaries who were a dominant force in the development of African education, often had unplanned and unco-ordinated educational activities which contributed to educational differentiation between regions and districts. They also established their spheres of influence in the so-called Native Reserves which surrounded the colonial settler enclaves. In this respect, Kwale which was not fully integrated in the colonial economic system tended to suffer from Christian missionary neglect and hence had fewer schools than Taita-Taveta which was more favoured by them. Kwale was also on the

periphery of missionary activities because of religious antagonism between Christianity and Islam which curtailed the numbers of mission schools that could be established in the area.

By the time of independence in Kenya the process of regional and district disparity was continued. The regions which had been at the forefront of the colonial economy were after independence also the leading ones in all spheres of the economy and social life. Although the independent government instituted some compensatory policies for areas which were lagging behind, these policies have not worked successfully, and therefore the distribution of resources including schools between Kwale and Taita-Taveta have remained. This means that children in the former district have less access to schools.

In the overall process of colonial development disparities were not confined to regions and districts. They also affected particular groups which included women. The colonial transformation which paved the way for the disintegration of traditional division of labour between men and women, incorporated the former into the colonial economy and marginalised the latter. Men were therefore readily availed with education to facilitate their effective participation in the colonial structure. This situation was reinforced

by the Christian missionaries who having been influenced by Victorian ideals believed in the ideology of women inferiority. They therefore subjected girls who attended school to an inferior curriculum and were generally less inclined to provide education to them.

Post-independence socio-economic developments in Kenya have not succeeded in uplifting the low status of women. Gender discrimination and differentiation persists at all levels of the formal education system inspite of the alleged government efforts to promote equity in social policies. Women have had less access to education in terms of enrolment. Although parity in enrolment at the primary school level has been realised in many of the advanced districts which include Taita-Taveta, girls are victims of a high dropout rate at the lower levels of the primary school and of what has come to be known as 'push out' in Standard Eight.

Within this broad framework, participation rates for Kwale and Taita-Taveta were analysed. First and foremost, it was established that there was rapid expansion in primary education since 1971, the year that heralded the provision of free primary education. Kwale in particular registered high enrolments ranging from 49.4 per cent in 1971 and 40.7 per cent in 1974. It also registered a high enrolment increase of 26.2 per cent in 1979 and 27.8 per cent in 1984. Some of

the years selected for analysis. Taita-Taveta also recorded high increases of 18.3 per cent in 1971 and 24.2 per cent in 1974.

Although the rapid expansion of primary education has often been claimed to have increased girls' opportunities for participation in school, this was not supported by evidence adduced in this study. Boy-girl ratio for these years show that while in Taita-Taveta the approximate ratio has remained around 1:1 in Kwale, it has ranged from 2.5:1 in 1971 to 1.2:1 in 1992. Thus despite the increased expansion of the primary school system, girls participation tends to follow closely along the lines of past and present disparities in educational and socio-economic development.

Government intervention through the abolition of the so-called school fees benefitted girls only marginally with a small rise in enrolment which did not significantly alter the boy-girl ratio especially for Kwale. It was shown that the largest average increase in female enrolment initially occurred in this district with the greatest disadvantage to girls, which rose by about 200 per cent as compared to 100 per cent for Taita-Taveta. Kwale later experienced a very sharp drop, which made the gain too small to change girls' educational chances appreciably.

Girls' participation is not only affected by low enrolments but also by promotion or progression rates. It was established that with the expansion of primary education, drop-out rates rose from about 20 per cent for Kwale to 40 per cent while in Taita-Taveta the range was from 11 to 20 per cent. Although drop-out rates appeared high for both boys and girls in Kwale, it affected the latter more seriously than the former. Drop-out rates for girls are higher throughout the classes and become even more pronounced in the upper classes of the primary school.

Although Taita-Taveta registers a lower drop-out rate, it is one of the districts with the highest repetition rates. The repetition rate is no longer a phenomenon largely confined to boys and the district registers exhibits a high repetition rate for both boys and girls. This means that the district retains more girls in the education system than Kwale.

In terms of the socio-economic factors, the historical analysis showed that disparities in regional and socio-economic conditions of the family were at the root cause of influencing access to school and the progression through school as well. The regional and socio-economic disparities between Kwale and Taita-Taveta were quite prominent. By comparison, it was shown that Taita-Taveta had a higher proportion of

133

parents in employment, business and agricultural activities. With respect to employment, and income, Kwale with its uneducated, illiterate and large Muslim population is terribly disadvantaged. Unemployment is quite rampant as evidenced by occupational distribution.

In the estimation that was made in Kwale and Taita-Taveta in 1992 before the steep devaluation of the Kenya Shilling, the basic cost of primary education per pupil per year was close to 2000 K. Shillings or 45 US. dollars. This was well beyond the ability of an average household with four children in school. Poverty is therefore the major factor in denying a majority of children from Kwale District to primary schooling and the chance to complete it. Many household heads admitted that they are unable to meet and sustain the cost of primary education.

Closely related to the parental socio-economic background is the educational level of family members. It is an important factor influencing the participation of girls in primary education. Parents who themselves are educated impart a positive view of schooling among their children. It is indeed a more prominent predictor than many other factors. On parental level of education it was established that close to 87 per cent of the girls in Taita-Taveta

District had fathers who had had primary education and 25 per cent who had been to secondary schools. This too applied to the education of their mothers who also had had some schooling. Their eldest sisters as well had some education and formal employment. In a sharp contrast Kwale had 51.1 per cent of the fathers without education and 67.1 per cent of the mothers in the same category.

The socio-cultural factors centred on aspects which reflected the traditional division of labour and unequal training opportunities which require women to conform in what are considered suitable feminine work occupations,, attitudes towards girls' education and the role of religion, particularly Islam.

When asked whether they think it more important to educate a boy or girl, the vast majority of parents in both Kwale and Taita-Taveta expressed the view that both should be educated, although a noticeable percentage of 23.4 per cent in Kwale 6.2 per cent in Taita-Taveta were much more in favour of educating boys only. It was argued that it was more important to educate boys because they are more likely to return the educational investment and they are better able to concentrate on their studies. Girls by contrast were considered less serious and unable to concentrate

because they have other considerations such as getting married. Household heads in the two districts were generally less inclined to educate girls than boys to higher levels. It was concluded that girls tend to reflect the attitudes of their parents and the broader society that condition them to be less aspiring educationally and careerwise.

An important socio-cultural factor that seems to differentiate girls' rates of participation in primary education in the two districts is one of religion, especially Islam. The predominant population of parents and their children in Kwale were Muslims while Taita-Taveta was mainly Christian. Although Muslim parents express positive views towards schooling, the Islamic religious leaders who hold a strong sway over the population in Kwale are not only openly opposed to schooling in general but to girls' education in particular. They cherish the confining of women in the homes and argue that sending girls to school tends to destroy a valuable established tradition. They were quite critical of Western education which they accused of disrupting Islamic institutions. Their views and attitudes have considerable influence on the participation of girls in primary education in Kwale.

The socio-cultural attitudes that tend to discourage girls' schooling encourage them to participate

more in household chores. In the two districts, girls participate more in domestic and farm work than boys. Girls expressed concern about the lack of study time at home due to childcare and household commitments. In comparison it was found that boys had twice as much time for studying at home as girls.

With respect to school factors, although on the overall headteachers did not think that the school environment is discriminative against girls, they could not deny the fact that teachers play an important role in influencing the academic motivation of their pupils. From the interviews it was established that the primary teaching force which is male dominated in the two districts, holds very negative views about girls' schooling which adversely influences their participation. The situation is however, worse in Kwale District where the teaching force is 75.8 per cent male and 24.2 per cent female. In Taita-Taveta it is 56.0 per cent and 44.0 per cent respectively.

Finally, it was shown that parents, headteachers, and pupils hold positive views about the importance of providing basic education to girls. It was noted that by providing literacy, numeracy and cognitive skills, primary education enhances women's ability to perform the multitude functions and even new tasks

that contribute to economic development and the well being of their families as well as themselves.

Recommendations

The study has identified some major determinants of schooling that influence girls' participation. Knowledge of these factors has implications for the formulation of national policies to increase the rate of educational participation for girls for districts which seem to be lagging behind in enrolment.

A number of the factors identified in this study may be of little direct interest for educational planning, for they are not readily subject to alteration through policy intervention. Among these factors are, the occupations, a child's family members, gender and religion.

Several other factors are subject to change through national efforts. One of these factors is the number of adults in a child's family who are literate. The literacy level of family members is seen to be a very important determinant of female participation. This factor is particularly of immense importance as the government has been waging a national literacy campaign. With the support from non-governmental organisations, the government

should mount literacy courses for thousands of rural adults in districts with low female participation.

Another major constraint is on the relative educational opportunities for girls in the special household responsibilities that they bear. As it was discussed, girls are expected to perform more household duties than boys, particularly in the care of younger siblings. Village based programmes that permit girls to leave younger siblings in the temporary care of others while attending school would strengthen their rate of educational participation that would bring them closer to that of boys.

Changing societal attitudes is not an easy task, especially in rural areas where traditional gender beliefs and norms persist. An active campaign to change stereotypes about females, through the use of media at the national level, can, however, provide a beginning.

It is also important to change the teaching staff attitudes towards learners. Negative attitudes towards these pupils need to be channelled through pre-service and in-service courses that make gender awareness and sensitivity to gender structuring a central focus. Teachers are as much a product of societal attitudes as parents and pupils and therefore they have the

responsibility to implement changes in their classrooms and within the community that will facilitate gender equity in education at all levels.

Further Areas of Research

On the basis of this study and a review of literature, there are a number of areas that necessitate further research to examine factors that affect female participation in primary education.

A lot of research still remains to be carried out to determine Islamic perceptions of schooling and how they affect the participation of girls' education. As it was pointed out in the study the negative views about education were expressed by the Islamic religious leaders. Research is needed to focus more on Muslim households.

Research is also needed in the area of teachers attitudes and view about female pupils in the school environment. Much of what was discussed in this study was based on headteachers' views.

More locally based research is needed on the impact of education on women's socio-economic activities. Although considerable research has been reviewed in this aspect, much of it has not had a local focus.

LIST OF REFERENCES

- Abagi, J.O., "Education for All in Kenya: Improving Access and Retention of Marginal groups within the school System". Presented at a conference on BEFA, held in Kisumu, July, 1992.
- Anderson, C.H., The political Economy of Social Class, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1974.
- Anderson, J., The Struggle for the School, London: Longmans, 1970.
- Anderson, W.B., The Church in East Africa, 1840-1974, Nairobi, Uzima Press, 1977.
- Anderson, C.A., Social Selection in Education and Economic Development, Washington D.C., World Bank, Education Department, 1983.
- Anker, R. and Hein C., Sex Inequalities in Urban Employment in the Third World, London, Macmillan, 1986.
- Ashby, J.A. "Equity and Discrimination among Children", Schooling Decisions in Rural Nepal, Comparative Education Review, 29 (1), 1985.
- Bagha, Abdulhamid M., "Development of Secondary School Education in Mombasa and Kilifi Districts of Kenya - A Comparative Analysis: 1964-1978", Doctoral Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1981.
- Baur, J., The Catholic Church in Kenya: A Centenary History, Nairobi, St. Paul Publications, 1990.
- Baker, N.J., Schooling and Disadvantage in Sri Lanka and other Rural Situations, Comparative Education Review, 24(3), 1988.
- Belotti, E.G., Little Girls, London Writers and Readers Publishing Co-operative, 1975.
- Blaugh, M., "Literacy and Economic Development", The School Review, Vol.74, No.4 Winter, 1966.
- Borg, W.R. and Gall, Educational Research, An Introduction, New York, Longman, 1983.

- Bookman, A.E., "The Changing Economic Role of Luo Women: A Historical and Ethnographic Approach", Special Papers in Social Anthropology, Harvard University, 1973.
- Bowles, S., "Unequal Education and the Reproduction of the Social Division of Labour", in M.Carnoy's Schooling in a Corporate Society, New York; David McKay Company (2nd Edition), 1975.
- _____, "Education, Class, Conflict and Uneven Development" in John Simmons (Editor) The Educational Dilemma Policy Issues for Developing Countries in the 1980's, Oxford Pergmon press Ltd., 1980.
- Bowman, J., "Investing in Female Education for Development", Strategy for 1990's in Asia and the near East, Mimeograph, Philadelphia, University of Pennyslavania, 1990.
- Bowman, J.M, and Anderson A.C., "The Participation of Women in the Third World", Comparative Education Review, (23), June 1980.
- Brett, E.A., Colonialism and Underdevelopment in East Africa: The Politics of Economic Change 1919-1939, London: Heinemann, 1974.
- Brimer; M.A., and Pauli, L. Wastage in Education: A World Problem, Paris:UNESCO, International Bureau of Education, 1971.
- Brown, D.L. and A.O. Pala, "The Women's Group Programme in the SRDP - Case Study of the Kwale Area", IDS Working paper No.232, November, 1976. University of Nairobi, 1976.
- Brownstein, L., Education and Development in Rural Kenya: A Study of Primary School Graduates, Preager, New York, 1972.
- Caillods, E., "Women's Literacy for Development": A brief overview of the situation today, Symposium on women and Literacy - Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow. Hasselby Slott, 8-10 June 1989, Nordic Association for the study of Education in Developing Countries, 1989.

- Caldwell, J.C., Education is a Factor in Mortality Decline: An Examination of Nigerian Data, Population Studies, (33(3), 1979.
- _____, P.H., Reddy, and P. Caldwell, "The Causes of Demographic Change in Rural South India: A Micro Approach 'Population and Development Review', Vol. 8, No.4, 1980.
- Callaway, B., Education and the Emancipation of Hausa Muslim Women in Nigeria, Working Paper No. 129, Michigan State University, Women in International Development, 1989.
- Carlsen, J., Economic and Social Transformation in Rural Kenya, Uppsala: Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1980.
- Carnoy, M., and H. Thias, "Cost - Benefit Analysis in Education", A Case Study of Kenya, "Works Staff Occasional Papers", No. 147, Baltimore, The John Hopkins Press, 1972.
- _____, Schooling in Corporate Society, New York, David McKay Company, 2nd Edition, 1975.
- _____, "Economics and Education" In Nash Manning (Editor), Essays on Economic Development and Cultural Change in Honour of Bert Hoselitz, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- _____, "Education, Economy and the State" in Apple's (edition), Cultural and Economic Reproduction in Education, London and Boston, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982.
- Carnoy, M. and Levin, H. Schooling and Work in the Democratic State, Stanford University Press, 1985.
- _____, et. al. Can Educational Policy Equalize Income Distribution in Latin America? London, England, Saxon House, 1979.
- _____, "Earnings and Schooling in Mexico". Economic Development Cultural Change. July, 1967.
- _____, (ed), Schooling in a Corporate Society, (New York: McKay, 1972).

- _____, "Class Analysis and Investment in Human Resources: A Dynamic Model." The Review of Radical Political Economic, Vol.III, 4, 1972.
- _____, Education as Cultural Imperialism, (New York: David McKay, 1974.
- _____, and Levin; H.M., The Limits of Educational Reform (New York: McKay, 1976.
- Central Bureau of Statistics and Unicef, Situation Analysis of Children and Women in Kenya, Nairobi, 1984.
- Chege, A.N., "Education for Maasai Girls: Socio-Economic Background". Unpublished, M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1983.
- Chernichovský D., Socio-economic and Demographic Aspects of School Enrolment and Attendance in Rural Botswana. 'Economic Development and Cultural Change', Vol. 33, No.1, 1985.
- Clarke, P.B., "Islam, Education and the Development Process in Nigeria," Comparative Education, 14(2), 1979.
- Cliff, Lionel, "Rural Class Formation in East Africa", in Journal of Peasant Studies, Vol. 4, No.2, January 1977.
- Cochrane, S., Fertility and Education: What do we really know? Baltimore, Maryland, John Hopkins University Press, 1979.
- _____, D.J.O'Hara and J. Leslie, The Effects of Education on Health, World Bank Staff Working paper No.405, Washington D.C. The World Bank, 1980.
- Cohen, M., and Kinyanjui, K., "Some Problems of Capital and Class in Kenya", University of Nairobi: Institute for Development Studies, Occassional paper No. 26. 1977.
- Coombs, P.H., The World Bank Educational Crisis: A System Analysis New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

- Court David, "An Inventory on Education Research in Kenya", IDS Discussion Paper No.108, University of Nairobi, 1971.
- _____, "The Educational System as a Response to Inequality in Tanzania and Kenya", in Journal Modern African Studies, Vol. 14, No.4, December, 1976.
- Court, David and Kinyanjui, K., "Development Policy and Educational Opportunity: The Experience of Kenya and Tanzania", Paris: IIEP, UNESCO, 1978.
- Court, David and Ghai, D., (Eds.) Education, Society and Development: New Perspectives for Kenya Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Cowan, G.I., The Cost of Learning: Politics of Primary Education in Kenya: New York: Columbia University Teachers Press, 1970.
- Dalla Costa M., and James S., The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community, Falling Wall Press, Bristol, 1975.
- Davidson J., and Kanyuka M., "Girls' Participation in Basic Education in Southern Malawi", Comparative Education Review, Vol., 36, No.4, 1992.
- Deble I., The School Education of Girls: An International Comparative Study on School Wastage Among Girls and Boys in the First and Second Levels of Education, Paris, UNESCO, 1980.
- Deem R, Women and Schooling, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, Press, 1978.
- Department of Education, Annual Report, 1925, Nairobi Government Printer, 1926.
- Dirasse L., Gender and Education: Selected Issues in Gender and Educational Research in SADCC Region: Present and Future, Gaborone, Botswana Educational Research and Association, 1990.

- Dove L.A., The Role of the Community in Rural Transformation in Developing Countries, Comparative Education 16(1), 1980.
- Dubel, T., Women and colonisation: Ideology and Education, The Case of the Kikuyu: The Hague, Institute of Social Studies, Mimeograph, August, 1981.
- Education for All, "Creating Capacity for Educational Progress, Empowering the Education Manager", presented for Education for All, Jomtien, Thailand, March 1990.
- Eshiwani, G.S., "Educational Research and Evaluation in Kenya: Future Directions," Paper presented to the Educational Research Seminar/Workshop, University of Botswana and Swaziland, Gaborone, 1981.
- _____, "The Education of Women in Kenya, 1975-1984," Bureau of Educational Research, Kenyatta University, 1985.
- _____, Report to the National Seminar on Women's Access to Higher Education in Kenya. Kenyatta University College, Bureau of Educational Research, 1983.
- El-Sanabary N., "Determinants of Women's Education in Middle East and North Africa, illustrations from Seven Countries, Washington D.C., World Bank, Population and Human Resources Department, Education and Employment and Section, 1989.
- Fanon, F., The Wretched of the Earth, New York: Grove Press, 1968.
- Frontera, A., 'The Taveta Economy in the Pre-Colonial Period' in W.R. Ochieng and K.K. Jan Mohammed, (Eds.) Kenya Historical Review: The Journal of the Historical Association of Kenya, Vol.5, No.1, 1977.
- Floro, M., and J.M., Wolf, The Economic and Social Impacts of Girls' Primary Education in Developing Countries, Advancing Basic Education and literacy (ABEC) Project, Washington D.C. USAID, 1990.

- Furley, W.O., et. al., A History of Education in East Africa, New York: NOK Publishers, 1978.
- Gakuru, O.N., Pre-School Education and Access to Educational Opportunities, Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, 1979.
- Gardiner, J., Women's Domestic Labour, New Left Review, No. 89, 1975.
- Ghai, P., What is a Basic Need's Approach to Development All About? International Labour Office, 1977.
- Gillette, Cynthia, "A Test of the Concept of Backwardness: A Case Study of Digo Society in Kenya", Doctoral Thesis, Cornell University, 1978.
- Group Discussion Report, "Women in Rural Development". Conference on Assembling and Collecting Data on the Participation of Women in Kenyan Society, 1975.
- Herz, B., (Ed.) Letting Girls Learn: Promising Approach in Primary and Secondary Education, World Bank Discussion Papers, 133, Washington D.C. 1991.
- Heyer, J., 'The Origins of inequalities in Smallholder Agriculture in Kenya 1920-1973 in Eastern African Journal of Rural Development, Vol.8, No.1 and 2, 1975.
- Hollander, R.B., "Out of Tradition: The position of Women in Kenya and Tanzania. During the Pre-Colonial, and Post Colonial Eras," Doctoral Thesis, Michigan University Microfilm, Michigan, 1979.
- Hong, E., Rural Women in Development, in Ideas and Action Special Issue on Rural Women No. 158 Rome, Freedom from Hunger Campaign, 1984.
- Hughes, R., Mwiria Kilemi, Kenya Women, Higher Education and the Labour Market, Comparative Education Review, 25(2) 1989.

- Hyde, K., "Improving Women's Education in Sub-Saharan Africa", Background Paper Series 15, Washington D.C., World Bank, 1989.
- Institution of African Studies, "Kenya Socio-Cultural Profiles: Kwale District;" Draft Report, University of Nairobi, 1986.
- Jamison, D.T., and Lau, L.J., Farmer Education and Farm Efficiency, Baltimore, Maryland, John Hopkins University Press, 1987.
- Jogger, A., Feminist Politics and Human Nature, N.J. Totowa, Rowman and Allanheld, 1983.
- Jones, T.J., Education in East Africa, The Phelps Stokes Commission Report, 1924.
- Jones, L.W., "The Social Unreadiness of Negro Youth". Saturday Review, Vol. 45, p.42, 1962.
- Kasaju, P. and Mandhar, T.B., Impact of Parents' Literacy on School Enrolments and Retention of Children: The Case of Nepal in G., Carron and A. Bordia (ed) Planning and Implementing National Literacy Programmes, Paris, IIEP, 1985.
- Keino, E., "Opportunities for Female Technical Training in Kenya". A Focus on Primary, Secondary and Post-Secondary Levels of Training, Kenya Journal of Education 2(1), 1985.
- Keisling, H.J., "Multivariate Analysis of Schools and Educational Policy." Santa Monica, California: Rand Corporation, March, 1971.
- Kelly, G. and C. Elliot, (Eds.) Women's Education in the Third World: Comparative Perspective, Albany New York, State University of New York Press, 1982.
- Kenya, Native Affairs Department, Annual Report. Government Printer, Nairobi, 1935.
- _____, Department of Education (from 1963, Ministry of Education Annual Report, 1938, 1954, 1963-77 (Nairobi: Government Printer), 1938.

- _____, Population Census, 1948, 1962, 1969
(Nairobi: Government Printer), 1948.
- _____, African Education: A Statement of Policy,
(Issued with the Authority of the Member
of Education, Health and Local Government)
Nairobi, Government Printer, 1951.
- _____, "History of the Fort Hall Kikuyu Guard,
1952-55", A Confidential Document of the
Colonial Administration, Nairobi, Government
Printer, 1951).
- _____, Statistical Abstract, 1959, Nairobi
Government Printer.
- _____, Development Plan, 1964-70, Nairobi,
Government Printer.
- _____, African Socialism and its Application to
Planning in Kenya. Sessional Paper p.10
of 1965. Nairobi, Government Printer,
1965.
- Kenyatta, J., Facing Mount Kenya, New York, Vintage
Books Edition, 1965.
- Khandker, S., "Labour Market Participation, Returns
to Education and Male - Female Wage
Differences in Peru", Working Paper
No.461, Washington D.C. World Bank, 1990.
- King, K., "Development and Education in the Narok
District of Kenya; The Pastoral Maasai
and their Neighbours." African Affairs,
Vol.71, p.285, October, 1972.
- _____, "Primary School in Kenya, Some Critical
Constraints on Effectiveness." Chapter
6 in D. Court and D. Ghai (Eds.), Education,
Society and Development. 1977.
- King, E.M., "Educating Girls and Women", Investing
in Development, Washington D.C., World
Bank, 1990.
- Kinyanjui, K., Education and Formal Employment
Opportunities for Girls in Kenya, Some
Preliminary Data in A. Pala, T. Awori
and A. Krystal (Ed.), The Participation
of Women in Kenya Society, Nairobi, Kenya
Literature Bureau, 1978.

- KNA, Taita-Taveta District, Annual Report, 1939.
- Annual Report, 1947
- Annual Report, 1945.
- Kohn, Melvin, L., "Social Class and Parental-Child Relationships: An Interpretation. "The American Journal of Sociology, Vol.LXVIII P.4, January, 1963.
- Krystall, A., The Education of Women since Independence, Bureau of Educational Research, University of Nairobi, 1978, n.d.
- Kuhn Annette, Wolpe, A.M., Feminism and materialism, Women and Modes of Production, Routledge and Kegan Publishers, London, 1978.
- La Belle, T.J., Non-formal Education in Latin America and the Carribean, Stability, Reform or Revolution? New York, Praeger, 1986.
- Lamb, G., The Neo-colonial Integration of Kenyan Peasants, Development and Change Vol.8, 1977.
- Lavy, M., "Supply Constraints and Investment in Human Capital", Schooling in Rural Ghana, Washington D.C., World Bank 1992.
- The Local Newspaper, Daily Nation Newspaper, Col.3, March 27, 1993.
- Lavin, H., "Workplace Democracy and Educational Planning" in Education, Work and Employment, Paris, UNESCO Vol.II 1980.
- Levin, H.M., "Equal Opportunity in Western Europe: A Contradictory Relation". Paper prepared for the Annual meetings of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 4, 1976.
- _____, "Educational Planning and Teaching - Learning Strategies --- The Notes of a skeptic". Paper prepared for participants in the IIEP/UNESCO, Paris 8-12 March 1976.

- Levy, M., "Determinants of Primary School drop-outs in Developing Countries". Comparative Education Review, Vol.15, 1971.
- Lewis, John, and Max Weber; Value-Free Sociology: A Marxist Critique, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1975.
- Leys, C., Underdevelopment in Kenya: The Political Economy of Neo-colonialism, London, Heinemann, 1975.
- _____, "Politics in Kenya: The Development of Peasant Society."
- _____, Norman, Kenya, London, Hogarth Press, 1924.
- Lindsay, B., M.E. Millner and J. Harris, "Women and National Development in Africa, A Critical Assessment", Discussion of Paper No.4030, Bureau of Educational Research, Kenyatta University, n.d.
- Maleche, A.J., A New Status for Women in Kenya, East Africa Journal, 9, 1972.
- _____, "Interrelationships between Economic and Educational Change in Kenya." Canadian International Education, Vol.5, p.1, June 1976.
- Malekela, G.A., Access to Secondary Education in Sub-Saharan Africa, The Tanzania Experience, Unpublished Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1983.
- Mambo, R.M., "Local Natives Councils and Education in Kenya," The Case Study of the Coast Province 1925-1950, Department of History, Kenyatta University College, Staff Seminar Paper, KUSP 3/1981/82.
- _____, "Challenges of Western Education in the Coast Province of Kenya, 1890-1963", Doctoral Thesis, Columbia University, 1980.
- Marin, A., and Psacharopoulos G., "Schooling and Income Distribution", Review of Economics and Statistics, No.58, 1976.

- Maritim, E.K., The Dependence of 'O' and 'A' Level Results on the Sex of Examinees in Kenya. Journal of Education, 1990.
- Martin, V., Gender Differentiation in Secondary Education in Zambia, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1983.
- Marx, K., The Form of Value, First Edition of Capital Value; Studies by Marx, 1976.
- _____, Pre-Colonialist Economic Formations (New York: International Publishers, 1977).
- _____, and Engles, Theories of Surplus Value Part I, Lawrence and Wisharf, London, 1972.
- Mbilinyi, M., The Education of Girls in Tanzania, A Study of Attitudes of Tanzanian Girls and their Fathers Towards Education, Dar-es-Salaam Institute of Education, 1969.
- _____, The problem of Unequal Access to Primary Education in Tanzania in M.J. Mbilinyi (Ed.) Who goes to school in East Africa, University of Dar-es-Salaam, 1976.
- _____, "Access to Education." Rural Africana, p.25, Fall 1974.
- _____, "Attitudes, Expectations and the Decision to Educate in Rural Tanzania." University of Dar-es-Salaam, Research Paper No.3/1/ 1973.
- _____, and Mbughuni, P., (Eds.) Education in Tanzania with a Gender Perspective, Summary Report, Stockholm Swedish International Development Authority, Education Division, Documents No.53, October, 1991.
- McGrath, P.L., The Unfinished Assignment: Equal Education for Women, Worldwatch Institute, 1976.

- McSweeney, G.G., and Freedom, M., "Lack of Time as an Obstacle to Women's Education:" The Case of Upper Volta. Comparative Education Review, 24(2), 1980.
- Megarry, J., "Sex, Gender and Education" in S. Acker, J. Maggery, S. Nesbit and E. Hoyle (Eds.), 1979.
- Meyer, J.w., "The Social Charter: The Conditions of Diffuse Socialization in Schools," In W. Richard Scott (Ed.) Social Structures New York, Reinhart and Winston, 1970.
- Mincer, J., 'Labour Force participation of Married Women, A Study of Labour Supply in National Bureau of Economic Research, Aspects of Labour Economics, Princeton, Princeton university Press, 1962.
- Miller, .M., School Drop-outs. A Commentary and Annotated Bibliography, Syracuse University, Youth Development Center, 1964.
- Mills, C.W., The Poor Elite, New York, Oxford University Press, 1956.
- Mitchnik, D.A., The Role of Women in Rural Zaire and Upper Volta: Improving Methods of Skill Acquisition, Geneva International Labour Office, 1976.
- Munro, J.F., Colonial Rule and the Kamba: Social Change in the Kenya Highlands 1889-1938: Clarendon Press, 1975.
- Mulopo, M.M., Why Most Girls Opt for Biological Sciences Rather Than Physical Sciences in G.F. Lungu and I.M. Shinyangwe, Women and Development in Africa, Lusaka Professors' World Peace Academy, 1988.
- Mutoro, H., 'History' in G.S., Were and D. Nyamweya (Eds.) Kwale District Socio-Cultural Profile, Nairobi, Institute of African Studies, University of Nairobi, 1987.
- Mutua, R.W., Women's Education and Their Participation in the Changing Society of East Africa in A. Pala, T. Awori and Krystal, The Participation of Women in Kenyan Society, Kenya Literature Bureau, Nairobi, 1978.

- _____, Development of Education in Kenya: Some Administrative Aspects, 1846-1963, Nairobi, East African Literature Bureau, 1975.
- Murray, J., The Kikuyu Female Circumcision Controversy with Special Reference to the Church Missionary Society's Sphere of Influence. California, 1974.
- Mwakio, J.M., The Origin of the Wataita: Their Culture and Political Evolution, M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi, n.d., 1975.
- Nelson, C., Islamic Tradition and Women's Education in Egypt in S. Acker, J. Megarry, S. Nesbitt and E. Hoyle (eds.) Women and Education World year Book of Education: World Year Book of Education London, Kegan, 1984.
- Nazzaro, A., Changing Use of the Resource Base among the Taita of Kenya, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Dar-es-Salaam, 1977.
- Ngau, M., "The Effects of Grade Retention and Drop-outs on the School System and Pupils", KUTERA/IDRC, Education Research Project, 1990.
- Ngwira, N., Women and Development in Malawi: Issues, Problems and Priorities for Research (Zimba, University of Malawai, Centre for Social Research), 1988.
- Nkinyangi, J.A., Socio-Economic Determinants of Repetition and Early School Withdrawal at the Primary School Level and their Implications for Educational Planning in Kenya, Ph.D. Thesis, Stanford University, 1980.
- Nyerere, J., Education for Self-Reliance, Dar-es-Salaam, Government Printer, 1967.
- Nzomo, M., Research Priorities and Support Needs on Women and Development in Kenya, in Z. El. Bakri and R.M. Basha, Women and Development in Eastern Africa: An Agenda for Research, Addis Ababa, Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern Africa, 1989.

- Obura, A.P., Changing-Images: Portrayal of Girls and Women in Kenyan Textbooks, Nairobi, Acts Press, 1991.
- Ogot, B.A., (Ed.), Hadith 2, (Nairobi: EAPH), 1970.
 (Ed.), Hadith 3, (Nairobi: EAPH), 1971.
 (Ed.), Politics and Nationalism in Colonial Kenya (Nairobi: EAPH, 1972.
 _____, Textbooks, Nairobi, Acts Press, 1991.
- _____. Kenya Under the British Rule 1895-1963 in B.A. Ogot (ed.) Zamani: A Survey of East African History, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, Nairobi, 1974.
- Osogo, J.N., 'Educational Development in Kenya, 1911-1924 with Particular Reference to African Education' in B.A. Ogot (Ed.) Hadith 3.
- Oxenham, J., New Opportunities for Change in Primary Schooling, Comparative Education 20(2), 1984.
- Papanek, H., "Class and Gender in Education - Employment Linkages, Comparative Education Review, Vol.29, No.2 1985.
- Palmer, G.S., "The Shimba Hills Settlement Scheme: The Administration of Large Scale Innovation in Kenya", Doctoral Thesis, University, Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1971.
- Ponsi, F.T., Sex and Birth Order Selective Under-Enrolment in the Primary Schools of Kenya's Arid and Semi-Arid Districts and Kipyiong Phenomenon, Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, Working Paper No.462, 1988.
- Pala, A.O., "A Preliminary Survey of the Avenues for the Constraints on Women in Development Process in Kenya", I.D.S., Discussion Paper No.218, 1976, University of Nairobi, 1976.
- Porter, M., "Swahili Girls' Education: An Examination of the Issues," Berc Bulletin, No.18, 1990.

- Porter, M., "Swahili Women's Education: A Study of Social Change in Coastal Kenya." A Doctoral Thesis, University of Washington, 1986.
- Prewitt, K., "Education and Social Equality in Kenya in D. Court and D. Ghai (eds.), Education, Society and Development.... 1974.
- _____, "Schooling Stratification, Equality: Notes for Research." In Michael, M., Kirst (ed.) State, School and Politics, 1974.
- _____, "The Functional Justification of Inequality and the Ndegwa Report: Shaping and ideology." Paper presented to the Annual Social Science Conference of the East African Universities, Nairobi, 1972.
- Prosser, R.A., "The Development and Organisation of Adult Education in Kenya with Special Reference to African Rural Development 1945-1970", Doctoral Thesis, Edinburgh University, 1971.
- Prins, H.J., Coastal Tribes of the North-Eastern Bantu, London International African Institute, 1952.
- Psacharopoulos, G., "Critical Issues in Education and Development: A World Agenda", In International Journal of Educational Development, vol. 8, No.1, 1988.
- _____, "Time Trends of the Returns to Education, Cross-National Evidence." In Economics of Education Review, 8(3), 1989.
- Ranger, T., "African Attempts to Control Education in East and Central Africa, 1900-1939" in Past and Present No.2, 1965.
- Republic of Kenya, "Sessional Paper No.1 on Economic Management for Renewed Growth, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1986.
- _____, Kenya Development Plan (1989-1993), Ministry of Planning and National Development, Nairobi Government Printer, 1989.

- _____, The KANU Manifesto, Nairobi Government Printer, 1963.
- _____, Ministry of Education, "Kenya Country Paper for Eastern and Southern Africa Regional Consultation on Education for All," Nairobi Government Printer, 1989.
- _____, Ministry of Education, Sessional Paper No.6 of 1988 on Education and Manpower Training For the Next Decade and Beyond, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1988.
- _____, Kwale: District Development Plan, 1989-1993, Ministry of Planning and National Development, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1989.
- _____, Taita-Taveta District Development Plan, 1989-1993, Ministry of Planning and National Development, Government Printer, Nairobi, 1989.
- _____, Education Commission Report, 1964, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1964.
- _____, Central Bureau of Statistics, Educational Trends, 1973-1977, Nairobi, Ministry of Economic Planning and Community Affairs, UNICEF, 1978.
- _____, and UNICEF, Situation Analysis of Children and Women in Kenya, Nairobi, UNICEF Country Office, 1989.
- _____, Development Plan 1970-1974, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1969.
- _____, Development Plan 1974-1978, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1975.
- _____, Central Bureau of Statistics, Situation Analysis of Children and Women in Kenya, Nairobi, 1984.
- _____, Educational Trends 1974-1977, Nairobi, Central Bureau of Statistics, 1978.

- _____, Economic Survey, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1989.
- _____, Socio-Economic Profiles, Nairobi, Government Printer, 1990.
- Remy, D., Underdevelopment and Experiences of Women, A. Zaria, Case Study in R. Reuter (ed.) Towards an Anthropology of Women, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975.
- Robertson, C., "Women's Education and Class Formation in Africa, 1950-1980" in C. Robertson and I. Berger, (eds.) Women and Class in Africa, New York, Africana Publishing Company, 1986.
- Rodney, W., How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, Washington D.C., University Press, 1974.
- Roth, G., and C. Wittich, Education and Society Vol.3, 1968, New York 1968.
- Sajogyo (ed.) Different Perspectives, West Java Project on Rural House Economics and the Role of Women in Women in Developing Agriculture, Food and Agriculture Organisation, FAO, 1985.
- Salim, A.I., Swahili Speaking People's of Kenya's Coast, 1895-1965, Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1973.
- Schultz, T.P., Returns of Women Education, Working Paper No.001 Washington D.C., World Bank 1989.
- Shepherd, N.E., African Women in Kenya, Nairobi, Department of Community Development and Rehabilitation Mimeograph, May, 1955.
- Shrestha, G.M., et.al., Determinants of Educational Participation in Rural Nepal Comparative Education Review, Vol.30 No.3, 1986.
- Sifuna, D.N., Development of Education in Africa: The Kenyan Experience, Nairobi, Initiatives Publishers, 1990.

- Smock, A., "Women's Education and Roles in Kenya." I.D.S. Working Paper No.316, University of Nairobi, 1977.
- Sorrenson, M.K., Origins of European Settlement in Kenya, Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Spear, T., The Kaya Complex: A History of Mijikenda People of the Kenyan Coast to 1900, Kenya Literature Bureau, Madison University of Winsconsin, 1978.
- Stitcher, S., Women and labour Force in Kenya 1895-1964 in Rural African No.29 Michigan 1975-1976.
- Strayer, R.W., The Making of Mission Communities in East Africa, Heinemann, 1978.
- Strobel, M., Muslim Women in Mombasa, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1979.
- Stovold, K.E., The C.M.S. in Kenya, Book I, The Coast, 1844-1944, The C.M.S. Bookshop, Nairobi, 1946.
- Temu, A.J., British Protestant Missions, London, Longman Group Limited, 1972.
- Tignor, R.L., The Colonial Transformation of Kenya: The Kamba, Kikuyu and Maasai from 1900 to 1939, Princetown, Princetown University Press, 1976.
- Tugan, M., "Kenya" in N. Parkinson, Educational Aid and National Development: An International Comparison of the Past and Recommendation for the Future, London, MacMillan, 1976.
- United Nations, The Status and Role of Women in East Africa, New York, 1967.
- _____, The State of the World's Women, 1985 World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the United Nations Decade for Women, Equality, Development and Peace, Nairobi, Kenya, July 15-26, 1985.

- UNESCO-UNICEF, Educational Opportunities for Girls and Women: A Review of Problems and Some Suggestions for Action, Paris, 1979.
- _____, Statistical Year Book, Paris, 1988.
- UNICEF and GOK, Situation Analysis of Children and Women in Kenya, Nairobi, 1989.
- _____, Children and Women in Kenya, A Situation Analysis 1992, Nairobi, Regal Press Ltd., 1992.
- UNICEF, The Situation of Pre-School Muslim Children in Kenya. A Report presented to UNICEF of Kenya Country Office on the situation of Pre-School Muslim Children in Kenya, 1991.
- Urdang, S., And Still they Dance: Women, War and the Struggle for Change in Mozambique, New York, Monthly Review Press, 1989.
- Wamahiu, S.P., "Continuity, and Change in a Digo Woman's Roles, Status and Education," Ph.D. Thesis, Kenyatta University, 1988.
- _____, "Changing Roles of Women in Agricultural and Household Production: The Case of Kwale", Draft proposal presented to Kenya Educational Award Scheme, Bureau of Educational Research, Kenyatta University, 1986.
- _____, Educational Situation of the Kenyan Girl - Child Working Paper for ERNIKE. Nairobi: UNICEF Regional Office, 1992.
- World Bank, Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Politics for Adjustment, Revitalisation and Expansion. World Bank, Washington D.C. 1988.
- _____, Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth. The World Bank, Washington D.C., 1988.
- _____, "Recognising the Invisible woman in Development." The World Bank, Washington D.C, 1989.

- _____, Gender and Poverty in India, Washington D.C., 1990;
- _____, Kenya, The Role of Women in Economic Development, World Bank Country Study. Washington D.C., 1989.
- _____, "Discussion Papers", No.133, 1991.
- Zimbabwe Women's Bureau, We Carry a Heavy Load: Rural Women in Zimbabwe Speak Out, Salisbury, 1981.
- Zwanenberg, R.M., Colonial Capitalism and Labour in Kenya, 1919-1939, Nairobi, EAPH, 1975.

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR HOUSEHOLD HEADS

Before the questionnaire is administered, the interviewee needs to have:

Explained about the purpose of the visit.

Informed about the objectives of the research project.

Kindly requested for his/her co-operation and patience in responding to the interview.

Informed that the information obtained will be used for research purposes only.

A: Identification

1. District -----
2. Division -----
3. Location -----
4. Ethnic Group -----
5. Sub-location -----
6. Village -----
7. Name of Respondent -----
8. Name of respondent's child in school -----

9. Name of interviewer -----
10. Date of interview -----

B: Personal Characteristics

11. Sex: Male -----
 Female -----
12. Age: -----
13. Marital Status:
 Single: -----
 Married: -----
 Divorced: -----
14. What is your mother tongue? -----
15. Do you speak Kiswahili?
 None Little Well Very well

- Do you speak English?
 None Little Well Very well

16. What is your religion?
 Catholic -----
 Protestant -----
 Name denomination -----
 Muslim -----
 Traditionalist -----
 No religion -----

C: Socio-economic level

17. What is your main occupation? (Occupation here means an engagement that takes much of your working time)

Pastoralist -----

Subsistence farmer -----

Petty trader -----

Subsistence/Cash crop farmer (small scale)

Large scale cash crop farmer -----

Big businessman/woman -----

Wage earner/salaried employee -----

Unemployed -----

18. Estimated income per month -----

Explain: -----

19. If you are not currently working for a salary or wage, have you done so in the past?

Yes ----- No -----

If yes, what was your occupation and when did you work last?

Occupation -----

Year -----

Salary -----

20. Do you have have any other source of income?

Yes -----

No -----

Specify and explain -----

21. What is your wife's/husbands occupation?

What is his/her estimated monthly income?

22. Do you have any sons who are employed?

Yes -----

No -----

If yes, how many are they? -----

What kind of employment do they have? -----

Explain -----

23. Do they support your family?

Yes -----

No -----

If yes, in what way do they support the family? Explain: -----

24. Do you have any daughters who are employed?

Yes ----- No -----

If yes how many are they? -----

What kind of employment do they have?

Explain: -----

Do they ever support your family?

Yes ----- No -----

If yes in what way do they support your family? Explain: -----

25. Do you have any piece of land?

Yes ----- No -----

If yes, how big is it? -----

26. What subsistence crops do you grow?

What income do you normally get from the
sale of your cash crops? -----

27. Do you keep any livestock on your farm?

Yes ----- No -----

Which type of livestock do you keep? -----

What income do you normally get from the sale
of your livestock? -----

28. Do you keep any poultry for sale?

Yes ----- No -----

If yes what income do you normally get
from the sale of your poultry? -----

D: Educational Background

29. Have you ever attended school?

Yes ----- No -----

If yes, what is the highest level of

education you completed?

Primary -----

Secondary -----

University -----

If no, have you ever attended adult literacy
classes? Yes ----- No -----

If yes, how long? -----

Can you read with understanding and write
meaningfully? Yes ----- No -----

If no, why have you not attended adult
literacy classes? Explain: -----

E: Education of Children

30. How many children do you have? -----

How many are sons? -----

How many are daughters? -----

31. How many of them are currently staying with you?

32. How many children of primary school age (7-15)
do you have? -----

How many of them are sons? -----

How many of them are daughters? -----

33. How many completed school? -----

Sons -----

Daughters -----

Primary school -----

Sons -----

Daughters -----

Secondary school -----

Sons -----

Daughters -----

University -----

Sons -----

Daughters -----

34. How many children never went to school? -----

Sons -----

Daughters -----

35. How many go to primary school? -----

Sons -----

Daughters -----

36. How many go to secondary school and specify
class.

Sons -----

Daughters -----

37. How many went to school, but dropped out? ----
 Sons -----
 Daughters -----
38. If some children dropped out, why was this
 the case? Explain: -----

39. If some never started school, why was this
 the case? Explain: -----

40. If some go to school, do you discuss with them
 about what they learn and the progress they
 are making?
 Never -----
 Once in a while -----
 Often -----
 Very often -----
41. Do you check the way they do their homework?
 Never -----
 Once in a while -----

Often -----

Very often -----

42. How far is the nearest primary school to your home? -----

Do you consider this distance a problem to your children's attendance of school?

Yes ----- No -----

Which children are affected most by this distance? Are they sons or daughters?

43. If your children attend primary school, do you ever go to school to discuss with the teachers about your children's school progress?

Yes ----- No -----

If no why don't you do that?

Explain: -----

44. How often do you attend school committees at your children's school?

Never -----

Once in a while -----

Often -----

Very often -----

45. If you do attend school committees, which matters are commonly discussed?

School buildings -----

Raising funds for development -----

Pupils class performance -----

Community development -----

Teachers -----

Any others (specify) -----

46. In your opinion which of the children would you most prefer to obtain education.

Boys -----

Girls -----

Both -----

47. What highest level of education would you wish each of them to attain:

Boys:

Primary -----

Secondary -----

University -----

Girls

Primary -----

Secondary -----

University -----

F. Children's household labour and income

48. Traditionally children participate in household labour, do your children undertake this kind of labour?

Yes ----- No -----

49. Indicate the frequency of your children's work

	Never -----	Once in a while -----	Often -----	Very often -----
Work daily after school	-----	-----	-----	-----
Work on week- ends and vaca- tions only	-----	-----	-----	-----
Work daily after school and on week- ends and vacations	-----	-----	-----	-----

50. Which activities are your daughters mostly involved in?

	4-6 yrs	7-8 yrs	9-11 yrs	12-15 yrs	Over 16yrs
Agriculture	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Herding	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Household	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Fetching water	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Childcare	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Collecting firewood	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Trade	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

51. Which activities are your sons mosly involved in?

Agriculture	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Herding	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Household	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Fetching water	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Childcare	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Collecting firewood	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

52. In terms of employment which one would you most prefer for boys and girls?

Boys

Girls

53. Is any of your daughters employed outside the household as a maid or labourer.

Yes ----- No -----

54. If yes how much money does she earn? -----
 Is any of your sons employed outside the household as a servant or labourer?

Yes ----- No -----

If yes how much money does he earn? -----

E: Below are statements which represent some people's opinions regarding certain issues, I would also like to know your opinion. Please respond to the statements which follow.

55. Education is not good because it interferes with traditional practices and customs.

Agree ----- Disagree -----

56. Education has no value since it does not lead to employment.

Agree ----- Disagree -----

57. Education is known to make girls discontented and immoral.
Agree ----- Disagree -----
58. Parents normally resist sending their daughters to school because education spoils them.
Agree ----- Disagree -----
59. Education interferes with the traditional practices of preparing girls as future housewives and mothers.
Agree ----- Disagree -----
60. Schooling does not adequately prepare girls as future housewives and mothers.
Agree ----- Disagree -----
61. Educating girls normally leads to pregnancies.
Agree ----- Disagree -----
62. Girls should stay at home to be trained and assist in household labour.
Agree ----- Disagree -----
63. Parents resist sending their daughters to school because when married they will

contribute to a different family than their own.

Agree ----- Disagree -----

64. Boys and not girls need to acquire knowledge and skills that will provide them with access to wage employment.

Agree ----- Disagree -----

65. Girls are expected to depend on their husbands for their livelihood.

Agree ----- Disagree -----

66. Girls should be given in marriage at the age of 12 and 13 years.

Agree ----- Disagree -----

67. When the cost of education is high parents prefer to send boys to school instead of girls.

Agree ----- Disagree -----

68. Parents generally prefer sending boys to school than daughters.

Agree ----- Disagree -----

69. In some Muslim communities, schooling interferes with the girl's system of

seclusion or purdah.

Agree ----- Disagree -----

70. Parents do not like sending their daughters to primary schools because schools are mainly dominated by male teachers.
Agree ----- Disagree -----
71. In places where schools are far from home it is considered more risky to send girls to school than boys.
Agree ----- Disagree -----
72. The presence of more female teachers would encourage parents to send their daughters to school.
Agree ----- Disagree -----
73. Girls do more work in the homes than boys and that consequently interferes with their schooling.
Agree ----- Disagree -----
74. It is more profitable for girls to stay in the homes and work than going to school.
Agree ----- Disagree -----

75. Girls earn more money for their families when they are employed as housemaids instead of attending school.
Agree ----- Disagree -----
76. Girls usually drop-out of school because of household work and early marriages.
Agree ----- Disagree -----
77. Girls drop-out of school because of early pregnancies.
Agree ----- Disagree -----
78. In school, teachers tend to give more attention to boys than girls.
Agree ----- Disagree -----
79. Girls usually drop-out of school because of harassment by boys.
Agree ----- Disagree -----
80. The community in this district does not generally like educating girls.
Agree ----- Disagree -----

81. Girls drop out of school due to lack of funds by their parents.
 Agree ----- Disagree -----
82. Women are inferior to men and their place should be in the homes and gardens.
 Agree ----- Disagree -----
83. Through primary education girls as well as boys obtain literacy and numeracy skills.
 SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
84. Literacy and numeracy skills acquired in the primary school are important in girls' daily life when they leave school.
 SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
85. Literacy and numeracy skills acquired by girls at the primary school are useful for vocational training, rural development projects, health, agricultural extension and others.
 SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
86. Literacy and numeracy skills at primary school assists in solving problems in their surrounding and the community.
 SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

87. Literacy and numeracy skills acquired at the primary school helps girls to know more nutrition, sickness, sanitation, childcare and others.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

88. Education changes girls attitudes about the number of children they desire and in many cases fewer children.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

89. Women who have some education encourage their children to attend school.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

90. Women with education provide some assistance through advice in the running of homes.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

91. Education helps women to discourage traditional practices that prevent the development of the community.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

92. Education helps women to acquire good jobs and therefore become less dependent on men.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

93. Education helps women to control the income and affairs of their homes.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PRIMARY SCHOOL HEADMASTERS/
HEADMISTRESSES

A. Background of the School

1. District -----
2. Division -----
3. Location -----
4. Name of School -----
5. Name of Headmaster/Headmistress -----

B. Teachers and qualifications

6. Please list number of teachers in the school and their qualifications.

<u>Teachers' qualifications</u>	<u>Number of Teachers</u>	
	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>
S1	-----	-----
P1	-----	-----
P2	-----	-----
P3	-----	-----
P4	-----	-----
Untrained specify level of education	-----	-----
Other specify	-----	-----
Total number of teachers	-----	-----

7. Which of these teachers are from within the district?

Number of men -----

Number of women -----

8. Does your school experience any shortage of teachers?

Yes ----- No -----

What are the reasons for this shortage?

C. Enrolment in the School

9. Please list the number of boys and girls in each class.

<u>Standard</u>	<u>Number of boys</u>	<u>Number of girls</u>	<u>Total number of pupils in class</u>
1	-----	-----	-----
2	-----	-----	-----
3	-----	-----	-----
4	-----	-----	-----
5	-----	-----	-----
6	-----	-----	-----
7	-----	-----	-----
8	-----	-----	-----
Total number of boys in school	-----	Total number of girls in school	Grand Total
-----	-----	-----	-----

10. Do you have any pupils who are repeating these classes?

Yes ----- No -----

If yes can you please indicate the number of repeaters per class.

Standard	Number of boys	Number of girls	Total number of repeaters
1	-----	-----	-----
2	-----	-----	-----
3	-----	-----	-----
4	-----	-----	-----
5	-----	-----	-----
6	-----	-----	-----
7	-----	-----	-----
8	-----	-----	-----

Total number of boys repeating Total number of girls repeating Grand Total of pupils repeating

What are reasons for repeating? -----

11. Do you in the course of the year experience pupils drop-out from school?

Yes ----- No -----

Please indicate the number of boys and girls who dropped out last year (1991).

Standard	Number of boys	Number of girls	Total number of pupils who dropped out
1	-----	-----	-----
2	-----	-----	-----
3	-----	-----	-----
4	-----	-----	-----
5	-----	-----	-----
6	-----	-----	-----
7	-----	-----	-----
8	-----	-----	-----
Total number of boys who dropped out	-----	Total number of girls who dropped out	-----
		Grand total of pupils who dropped out.	-----

12. In your view what are the reasons for boys dropping out of school? -----

13. What are the reasons for girls dropping out of school? -----

14. Can you please comment on male teachers discrimination of girls in their teaching?

D: School Funding and the Community

15. Does the school have any special funds that parents are expected to raise for its running and development?

Yes ----- No -----

If yes, what are they? -----

16. In your view are these funds easily raised by parents?

Yes ----- No -----

If no, what particular problems do they experience in raising these funds? -----

17. Do you think these funds in any way affect pupil enrolment and drop-out in your school?

Yes ----- No -----

If yes, can you please explain how they affect enrolment? -----

18. If the funds do affect enrolment and drop-out rates, which children are most affected? , Are they boys or girls? -----

Why is this particular group most affected?

19. How often do you hold school committee meetings?

Never -----

Once in a while -----

Often -----

Very often -----

What would you say is the attendance by parents?

Very high -----

High -----

Low -----

Very low -----

20. What issues do you regularly discuss in your meetings?

Pupil discipline -----

Pupil performance -----

Development of the school -----

Community development -----

21. How often do the parents/guardians of your pupils consult with you regarding their

children's education?

Often -----

Sometimes -----

Rarely -----

Never -----

22. Do you think your school is located in such a place that pupils have to travel long distances for attendance?

Yes ----- No -----

If yes, how does it affect enrolment and attendance?

23. Do you think the surrounding community has interest in girls' education?

Yes ----- No -----

If no, why do you think it does not have much interest in girls' education? -----

E. KCPE results 1989-1991

24. Can you please indicate the number of pupils who sat for the examination:

KCPE 1989

Number of boys -----

Number of girls -----

KCPE 1990

Number of boys -----

Number of girls -----

KCPE 1991

Number of boys -----

Number of girls -----

25. Please indicate their destination after the examination.

		Govt. Sec.	Harambee Sec.	Private Sch.	Repeated	Training
1989	No. of boys	----	----	----	-----	-----
	No. of girls	----	----	----	-----	-----
1990	No. of boys	----	----	----	-----	-----
	No. of Girls	----	----	----	-----	-----
1991	No. of boys	----	----	----	-----	-----
	No. of girls	----	----	----	-----	-----

F. Below are statements which represent some people's opinions regarding certain issues. We would like to know your opinion. Please respond by placing a tick against one which best represents your feelings. If you strongly agree with the statement place your tick against AS and if you just agree place a tick against A. If you are not sure place a tick against U; if disagree slightly place a tick against D, and if you strongly disagree place a tick against SD.

26. Education has no value since it does not lead to employment.

Strongly Agree (SA) --- Agree (A) ---

Undecided (U) --- Disagree (D) ---

Strongly Disagree (SD) ---

27. Education is not good because it interferes with traditional practices.

SA---- A ---- U ---- D ---- SD ----

28. Parents normally resist sending their daughters to school because education spoils them.

SA ---- A ---- U ---- D ---- SD ----

29. Education is known to make girls discontented and immoral.
SA ---- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
30. Education interferes with the traditional practices of preparing girls as future housewives and mothers.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
31. Educating girls normally leads to early pregnancies.
SA ---- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
32. Schooling does not adequately prepare girls as future housewives and mothers.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
33. Girls should stay at home to be trained and assist in household labour.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
34. Girls earn more money for their families when they are employed as housemaids instead of attending school.
SA----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
35. Parents resist sending their daughters to school because when married they contribute

to a different family from their own.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

- 36 When the cost of education is high, parents prefer to send boys to school instead of girls.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

37. Boys and not girls need to acquire knowledge and skills that will provide with access to wage employment.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

38. Girls are expected to depend on their husbands for their livelihood.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

39. Girls should be given in marriage at the age of 12 and 13 years.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

40. Parents generally prefer sending sons to schools than daughters.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

41. In some Muslim communities schooling interferes with girl's system of seclusion or purdah.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

42. In places where primary schools are far from home it is considered more risky to send girls to schools than boys.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

43. Parents do not like sending their daughters to primary schools because they are mainly dominated by male teachers.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

44. The presence of more female teachers would encourage parents to send their daughters to school.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

45. Girls do more work in the homes than boys and that tends to interfere with their schooling.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

46. It is more profitable for girls to stay in the homes and work than going to school.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

47. Girls earn more money for their families when they are employed as housemaids instead of attending school.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

48. In schools teachers tend to pay more attention to boys than girls.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- U ----- SD -----
49. School materials like textbooks are written in a way in which they favour boys than girls.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
50. Girls usually drop out of school because of household work and early marriages.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
51. Girls usually drop out of school because of early pregnancies.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
52. Girls usually drop out of school because of early pregnancies.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
53. Girls drop out of school due to lack of funds by their parents.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
54. Women are inferior to men and their places should be in the homes and gardens.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

55. The community in this district does not generally like educating girls.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SA -----
56. Educating girls is beneficial for their future and the development of the country.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
57. Through primary education girls as well as boys obtain literacy and numeracy skills.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
58. Literacy and numeracy skills acquired in the primary school are important in girl's daily life when they leave school.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
59. Literacy and numeracy skills acquired by girls at the primary school are usually for vocational training, rural development projects, health, agricultural extension and others.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
60. Literacy and numeracy at primary school assists in solving problems in their

surrounding and the community.

SA ---- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

61. Literacy and numeracy skills acquired at the primary school helps girls to know more nutrition, sickness, sanitation, child care and others.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

62. Education changes girls attitudes about the number of children they desire and in many cases have fewer children.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

63. Women who have some education encourage their children to attend school.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

64. Women with education provide some assistance through advice in the running of homes.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

65. Education helps women to acquire good jobs and therefore become less dependent on men.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

66. Education helps women to acquire good jobs

and therefore become less dependent on men.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

67. Education helps women to control the income and affairs of their homes.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

CODESRIA - LIBRARY

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PRIMARY SCHOOL PUPILSInstructions:

This is not to test you, but to help us understand problems connected with primary education. The answers are written in the spaces provided.

A. Identification

1. Name of pupil -----
2. School -----
3. Class -----
4. District -----
Division -----
Location -----
5. Village -----

B. Personal Characteristics

6. Sex: Male -----
Female -----
7. Age -----
8. Ethnic group,
e.g. Digo, Taita, Kamba etc. -----
9. Religion -----

C. Family background (if either your mother or father is dead, describe your guardian).

10. Father's religion -----

11. Mother's religion -----

12. Father's level of education, e.g. Primary, Secondary, University -----

13. Mother's level of education -----

14. How many wives does your father have? Tick one only

None -----

One -----

More than one -----

15. Are any of your brothers and sisters employed?

Yes ----- No -----

If yes, how many brothers are employed? -----

State the kind of work they do -----

How do they support your family?

How many sisters are employed? -----

State the kind of work they do

How do they support your family? -----

16. What do your parents do? Tick

<u>Father's Occupation</u>	<u>Mother's Occupation</u>
Teacher -----	Teacher -----
Clerk -----	Clerk -----
Policeman -----	Policewoman -----
Army man -----	Secretary -----
Chief/Sub-Chief/ Headman -----	Shopkeeper -----
Watchman -----	Army woman -----
labourer -----	Works in the home ---
Other job (specify) -----	Other job (specify) -----

17. Do your parents have any piece of land?

Yes ----- No -----

If yes, how big is it? -----

18. Do they grow any cash crops?

Yes ----- No -----

If yes, what crops do they grow? -----

Where are the cash crops sold? -----

Do they earn them a lot of money? -----

If yes how much money do you think they

earn out of the cash crops? -----

19. Do they grow any subsistence crops?

yes ----- No -----

If yes, what crops do they grow?

20. Do your parents keep any livestock?

Yes ----- No -----

If yes, what type of livestock do they keep?

Is it for sale or domestic use? -----

If it is for sale how much money do you think
they earn from it? -----

21. Do your parents keep any poultry for sale?

Yes ----- No -----

If yes, how much money do you think they earn
from it? -----

22/(a) Do your parents have any other source of
income?

Yes ----- No -----

If yes, please state -----

22.(b) Does your family own any of these items?

- (i) Bicycle: Yes ----- No -----
 (ii) Radio: Yes ----- No -----
 (iii) Record Player: Yes ----- No -----
 (iv) Television: Yes ----- No -----
 (v) Motorcar: Yes ----- No -----

- 22(c) (i) Do your parents own the house or do they
 they rent it? own ----- rent -----
 (ii) If they rent, how much do they pay per
 month? Kshs. -----
 (iii) Number of rooms in the house ----- rooms.

D. Brothers and sisters education

23. How many children are you in your family?

How many are boys? -----

How many are girls -----

What position are you in the family? -----

1st, 2nd, 3rd etc. -----

24. How many children of primary school age

(7-15) are you in your family? -----

How many are boys? -----

How many are girls? -----

25. How many completed school? -----
 How many of them are boys? -----
 How many of the girls? -----
 Please indicate how many completed the
 various levels of education system.
- Primary school -----
 Boys -----
 Girls -----
- Secondary school -----
 Boys -----
 Girls -----
- University -----
 Boys -----
 Girls -----
26. How many children are now in school? -----
 Boys -----
 Girls -----
 Please indicate the level of school they are:
- Primary school -----
 Boys -----
 Girls -----
- Secondary school -----
 Boys -----
 Girls -----

University -----
 Boys -----
 Girls -----

27. How many children never went to school? -----

Boys -----

Girls -----

28. (a) How many children went to school, but
 dropped out?

Boys -----

Girls -----

(b) At what levels did they drop out of school?

(c) Why was this so? -----

29. Do you ever discuss with your parents what
 you learn in school?

Never -----

Once in a while -----

Often -----

Very often -----

30. (a) Pupils are sometimes sent away from school for a number of reasons. Some of these may be:

- (i) Failure to pay fess on time -----
- (ii) Lack of school uniform -----
- (iii) Failure to bring other items
required by the school -----

(b) If you have ever been sent away for any of these reasons, indicate by ticking:

Length of period away from school

- (i) More than 3 weeks -----
- (ii) 2 - 3 weeks -----
- (iii) 4 - 5 weeks -----
- (iv) 1 - 2 weeks -----
- (v) 1 - 3 weeks -----
- (vi) Never -----

31. How far is your home from school? -----

(a) Is this distance a problem to your school attendance?

Yes ----- No -----

(b) If yes, can you explain why -----

(c) How long does it take you to get to school?

- (i) Over 40 min. -----
(ii) 30 - 40 min. -----
(iii) 20 - 30 min. -----
(iv) 10 - 20 min. -----
(v) Less than 10 min. -----

(d) Do you get to school late?

- (i) Frequently -----
(ii) Sometimes -----
(iii) Almost never -----
(iv) Never -----

(e) How do you normally get to school every-day?

Walking ---- Bicycle ---- Bus ---- Car ---

32. Tick the following comments as they appropriately reflect your parents/guardian's interest and support for your education:

(a) They quickly pay school fees, buy uniforms and provide for other items and materials required by the school.

1. Agree ----- 2. Disagree -----

(b) They encourage me to read or study at

home. 1. Agree ----- 2. Disagree -----

(c) They buy me books other than text books to read at home.
1. Agree ----- 2. Disagree -----

(d) They help me to do homework or they provide private coaching.
1. Agree ----- 2. Disagree -----

33. With knowledge of your parents/guardians financial means and resources, how far do you think you can go with your education?
(1) Finish primary education -----
(2) Finish at Form 2 -----
(3) Finish at Form 4 -----
(4) Enter University -----
(5) No opinion/do not know -----

34. (a) Which career would you like to pursue in later life when you have finished your education? -----

(b) Do your parents or guardians sometimes speak of what career they would like to see when you have finished your education?
1. Yes ----- No -----

35. Show your agreement or disagreement with the following statements.

When I have not understood something in class I ask the teacher for more explanation.

1. Always ----- 2. Sometimes -----
3. Rarely ----- 4. Never -----

36. Through their comments and assistance, my teachers are very interested, not interested in my education and progress.

1. Very interested -----
2. Interested -----
3. Not so interested -----
4. Not interested -----

37. Pupils in my class help each other after class to go over homework or to understand difficult problems.

1. Always -----
2. Rarely -----
3. Sometimes -----
4. Never -----

38. How good do you think your school is, (that is its teachers, buildings, equipment, facilities and so on) compared to all other

primary schools you know of in Kenya or in your area?

1. Very good -----
2. Good -----
3. Not so good -----
4. Poor -----

39. Do your parents attend school committee meetings?

- Never -----
- Once in a while -----
- Often -----
- Very often -----

E. Household Labour

40. Do you normally assist with work in the home?

Yes ----- No -----

If yes, please list the kind of work you

do in your home -----

41. How often do you work? Please tick.

	Never	Once in a while	Often	Very often
Work daily before school	-----	-----	-----	-----
Work daily after school	-----	-----	-----	-----
Work daily after school, on week-ends and vacation	-----	-----	-----	-----

42. The following are some of the activities we normally do in our homes, please list them in order beginning with the ones you mostly do and finish with those you least do.
Agriculture, herding, household work, fetching water, collecting firewood, childcare, and trade, preparing food.
- 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.
 - 4.
 - 5.
 - 6.
 - 7.
43. Does involvement in family work affect your school work? Yes ----- No -----
If yes, explain how? -----
44. Are any of your brothers employed by other people outside your home? Yes ----- No -----
If yes, how many ? -----
What work do they do? -----
45. Are any of your sisters employed by other people outside your home? -----

If yes, how many? -----
 What work do they do? -----

F. Below are statements which represent some people's opinions regarding certain issues. We would also like to know your opinion. Please respond by placing a tick against one which best represents your feelings. If you strongly agree with a statement, place your tick against SA, and if you just agree place a tick against A. If you are not sure place a tick against U, if you disagree slightly place a tick against D, and if you strongly disagree place a tick against SD.

46. Education has no value since it does not lead to employment.

Strongly Agree (SA) ---- Agree (A) ----
 Undecided (U) ----- Disagree (D) ----
 Strongly Disagree (SD) -----

47. Education is not good because it interferes with traditional practices.

SA ---- A ---- U ---- D ---- SD ----

48. Parents normally resist sending their daughters to school because education spoils them.
SA ---- A ---- U ---- D ---- SD ----
49. Education is known to make girls discontented and immoral.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
50. Education interferes with the traditional practices of preparing girls as future housewives and mothers.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
51. Educating girls normally leads to early pregnancies.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
52. Schooling does not adequately prepare girls as future housewives and mothers.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
53. Girls should stay at home to be trained and assist in household labour.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
54. Girls earn more money for their families when they are employed as housemaids instead

of attending school.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

55. Parents resist sending their daughters to school because when married they contribute to a different family from their own.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

56. When the cost of education is high parents prefer to send boys to school instead of girls.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

57. Boys and not girls need to acquire knowledge and skills that will provide them with access to wage employment.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

58. Girls are expected to depend on their husbands for their livelihood.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

59. Girls should be given in marriage at the age of 12 and 13.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

60. Parents generally prefer sending sons to

school than daughters.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

61. In some Muslim communities schooling interferes with the girl's system of seclusion or purdah.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

62. In places where primary schools are far from home it is considered more risky to send girls to school than boys.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

63. Parents do not like sending their daughters to primary schools because, they are mainly dominated by male teachers.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

64. The presence of more female teachers would encourage parents to send their daughters to school.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

65. Girls do more work in the homes than boys and that tends to interfere with their schooling.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

66. It is more profitable for girls to stay in the homes and work than going to school.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
67. Girls earn more money for their families when they are employed as housemaids instead of attending school.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
68. Girls usually drop-out of school because of early pregnancies.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
69. Girls usually drop-out of school because of household work and early marriages.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
70. In schools, teachers tend to pay more attention to boys than girls.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
71. School materials like textbooks are written to favour boys more than girls.
SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----
72. Girls usually drop out of school because of

harrassment from boys.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

73. Girls drop out of school due to lack of funds by their parents.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

74. Women are inferior to men and their place should be in the homes and gardens.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

75. The community in this district does not generally like educating girls.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

76. Educating girls is beneficial for their future and the development of country.

SA ----- A ----- U ----- D ----- SD -----

77. You acquire the following skills in primary education:

(a) Tick the ones you have acquired.

Reading ----- Painting -----

Writing ----- Construction -----

Arithmetic ----- Farming -----

Singing -----

Business skills ----- Specify any other
skill you have
Cooking ----- acquired -----
Sewing -----
Carpentry -----

(b) Which skills do you apply in your daily
life? -----

(c) Which skills help you to earn a living
after you leave school?

(d) Explain how these appropriate skills will
make you self reliant/get employment.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

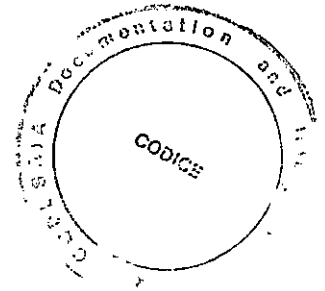
APENDIX D

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR ISLAMIC RELIGIOUS LEADERS

1. Name -----
2. Location -----
3. Religious Designation -----
4. For how long have you serve in this position?

5. Islamic Religious training -----
6. Level of Western education -----
Primary -----
Secondary -----
University -----
Adult Education -----
7. Occupation -----
8. What do you consider to be the main aims
of Islamic Education? -----

9. Briefly explain how children are trained in
Islamic Education
Boys -----



Girls -----

10. What main aspects are children expected to know from Islamic Education by the time they become adults?

Women -----

Men -----

11. What are your views about the importance of Western Education in the upbringing of Muslim children? -----

Boys -----

Girls -----

12. What are your views about attempts that have been to integrate Islamic Education with Western Education? -----

13. What suggestions would you like to make about the future integration of Islamic and Western Education? -----

CODESRIA LIBRARY